The language of Rapa Iti: A grammar of a language in change

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THE LANGUAGE OF RAPA ITI:
DESCRIPTION OF A LANGUAGE IN CHANGE

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Dedicated to my god-daughter, Pākora, and to all of the other young people of Rapa Iti. You all are the reason I have done this project and I hope it serves you well.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

What an adventure this dissertation has been - linguistically, professionally, and personally. This path began for me five years ago, when, somewhat randomly, I chose to study a language spoken in the most faraway place I could find in French Polynesia. I now know that this choice was not random at all, but a critical decision for my life. My friend Tākura once told me as we were looking out over Ahurei Bay one afternoon in Rapa, "there are many secrets here for you, I can't tell them to you, but I hope you will tell me when you find them out." She was right - the secrets of language and of life that were revealed to me in Rapa are invaluable. They have changed me and my perceptions of the world. I am not the same researcher nor am I the same person that I was when I first arrived there. I met friends for life on that island, and my partner for life there. I was loved, supported, and cared for by virtual strangers, who, because of their kindness, are now some of the most important people in my life. There are no words in any language that have the capacity to describe the love and the gratitude I have for that island and the people there, but I hope that this dissertation is a start. Tōku Rapa hoa, tongia roa. I am indebted to you all.

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My nana and my grandmother, for their wisdom and encouragement.

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Ma'urei Angia
Tākura Angia
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M. le Maire, Tua Nāri'i
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ABSTRACT

This dissertation presents the results of a language documentation project carried out in Rapa Iti, the southernmost island of French Polynesia. It first highlights the indigenous language of Rapa Iti ("Old Rapa") as an endangered and under-documented Polynesian language and provides the first linguistic description of it. Second, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate that the language spoken today on Rapa Iti is a language undergoing rapid and visible change. Very little of Old Rapa is still spoken, the modern language ("Reo Rapa") has become heavily Tahitianized, and a "new" Rapa ("New Rapa") is emerging from revitalization efforts through which the Rapa Iti people are striving to define a unique Rapa identity.

Through these two primary aims, this dissertation intends to contribute to typological studies of languages in general, language contact studies, knowledge of East Polynesian languages, and language change studies. This dissertation not only provides documentation of the Old Rapa language, thereby avoiding loss of the unique grammatical, phonological, syntactic and lexical phenomena of Old Rapa, but also provides a linguistic description in a cultural context, demonstrating how unique linguistic features provide insight into the unique culture and knowledge of the Rapa people. Furthermore, this dissertation addresses the sociolinguistic implications of the language's heavy contact with Tahitian, discussing the language change that has occurred as a result, as well as the ways in which language and the creation of a new Rapa language represent Rapa identity.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1DuExcl	first person dual exclusive
1DuIncl	first person dual inclusive
1PlExcl	first person plural exclusive
1PlIncl	first person plural inclusive
1s	first person singular
2Du	second person dual
2Pl	second person plural
2s	second person singular
3Du	third person dual
3Pl	third person plural
3s	third person singular
Abs	absolutive
Acc	accusative
Adv	adverb
Agt	agent
Ana	anaphoric
Art	article
Atk	Aitutaki
Caus	causative
Cep	Central Eastern Polynesian
Com	human concomitant
Comp	comparative marker
Conj	conjunction
Def	definite
Deic	deictic
Dem	demonstrative
Dir	directional
Emp	emphatic
EP	Eastern Polynesian
Erg	ergative
Foc	focus
GenA	genitive a-noun
GenO	genitive o-noun
Gen	genitive
Haw	Hawaiian
Imp	imperative
Indef	indefinite
Ipfv	imperfective
Loc	locative predicate marker
Mao	Māori
Met	metaphorical marker
Mia	Mangaia

MQS	Marquesan
MVA	Mangarevan
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
NR	New Rapa
OBL	oblique
OR	Old Rapa
PASS	passive
PCE	Proto Central Eastern Polynesian
PEN	Penrhyn
PEP	Proto Eastern Polynesian
PER	person marker
PFV	perfective
PL	plural classifier
PN	Polynesian
PossA	possessive a-noun
PossO	possessive o-noun
PPN	Proto Polynesian
PREC	precative marker
PREP	preposition
PST	past
RAR	Rarotongan
REFL	reflexive
RR	Reo Rapa
SEP	South Eastern Polynesian
SBJV	subjunctive
TAH	Tahitian
TAM	tense-aspect-mood marker
TUA	Tuamotuan
V	vowel
VP	verb phrase

Chapter 1

Introduction

Perhaps the most common question I receive in discussing my fieldwork and research is "Why Rapa?"[1] Five years ago, as a beginning master's student and a fluent French speaker with a budding interest in Polynesia, I decided to focus my research on the endangered and under-studied languages of French Polynesia. At the time, I knew little about the geography of the region, and I was unaware of the fact that there were so many small islands within it. So, I found a map and started collecting information. I was immediately intrigued by a small island due south of Tahiti that was not part of any other island group. This island was called Rapa Iti. After some initial searching, I learned the following things about Rapa: less than five hundred people live there; the indigenous language is almost completely undocumented and is dying; the island is accessible only by ship; and special visa permissions are required as the ship's schedule is unpredictable and it is entirely possible that a visitor could end up having to stay for months at a time. The challenge of working on such a small, remote island was incredibly attractive. The reasons that had deterred so many others were the very reasons I knew I had to go there. From that point on, I was determined to document Rapa Iti's disappearing language. After years of planning, I finally did make it to the tiny isolated island in 2012. I have now spent many months over two years observing, listening to, and examining the multiple languages of Rapa Iti.

This dissertation thus presents the results of my investigation of language on Rapa Iti. It first highlights the indigenous language of Rapa Iti (henceforth referred to as "Old Rapa") as an

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1   Rapa Iti is often referred to in French Polynesia and by Rapa islanders as simply "Rapa." For this reason, I use Rapa and Rapa Iti interchangeably to refer to the island's name.

endangered and under-documented Polynesian language and provides the first linguistic description of it. Second, this dissertation seeks to demonstrate that the language spoken today on Rapa Iti is a language undergoing rapid and visible change. Very little of Old Rapa is still spoken, the modern language (hereafter "Reo Rapa") has become heavily Tahitianized, and a "new" Rapa ("New Rapa") is emerging from revitalization efforts through which the Rapa Iti people are striving to define a unique Rapa identity.

Through these two primary aims, this dissertation intends to contribute to typological studies of languages in general, language contact studies, knowledge of East Polynesian languages, and language change studies. This dissertation not only provides documentation of the Old Rapa language, thereby avoiding loss of the unique grammatical, phonological, syntactic and lexical phenomena of Old Rapa, but also provides a linguistic description in a cultural context, demonstrating how unique linguistic features provide insight into the unique culture and knowledge of the Rapa people. Furthermore, this dissertation addresses the sociolinguistic implications of the language's heavy contact with Tahitian, discussing the language change that has occurred as a result, as well as the ways in which language and the creation of a new Rapa language represent Rapa identity.

1.1 Contributions of the dissertation

As a response to the need for documentation of Old Rapa, this dissertation's primary contribution is that it provides the first grammatical sketch of the language. This sketch grammar includes the phonological, morphological, and syntactic foundations of Old Rapa. The grammar takes a practical approach, as its goal is not only to be valuable for general linguistic and interdisciplinary

academic purposes, but also to be potentially useful in pedagogical and revitalization efforts by future generations of Rapa people (Himmelmann 2006). Taking a functional and typological approach, the grammar addresses how individual components of the language work together and how the language compares with other Polynesian languages. In order to achieve this type of description, each phonological and structural attribute is first outlined with several examples and then discussed in detail. The examples, which come from the data I collected during my fieldwork, are given a morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear analysis, using the Leipzig glossing conventions, and translated into English.

The second product of this dissertation is a series of micro-dictionaries and short books. These books are the result of a book project that I initiated with the Tomite Reo Rapa (Rapa Language Committee) and the local elementary teachers (Walworth to appear). The short books are designed for practical use by the community and the local elementary school, and are organized by culturally relevant themes. They represent a necessary part of the language's description as they contain important and unique Old Rapa vocabulary.

Finally, this dissertation gives a clear and comprehensive analysis of language change in Rapa Iti by examining the mixed Tahitian-Old Rapa language, Reo Rapa. Detailed tables and examples are provided to demonstrate how the Old Rapa language has undergone change due to Tahitian influence.

The intention of this dissertation is, at base, to advance the linguistic study of endangered Polynesian languages. However, this dissertation will also be valuable for other fields of research and for the Rapa Iti community. In summary, this dissertation (1) creates necessary linguistic documentation of Old Rapa, a language on which no comprehensive linguistic research had been

previously accomplished; (2) contributes to modern ethnographic research on the Rapa Iti people; (3) highlights the unique opportunity of observing a language in a state of rapid change and provides a template for describing such a language; (4) measures the extent of mixing, in the language being spoken today (Reo Rapa) and demonstrates the influence of outside contact in order to shed light on the genetic affiliation of Old Rapa; and (5) provides a foundation for community pedagogical materials.

Old Rapa is very under-documented and is critically endangered. This combination is "deadly" as the language is already on a path to extinction, and without documentation could be completely lost. The loss of Old Rapa would be both an issue for cultural heritage and a serious detriment to Polynesian linguistics. This critical situation urgently requires that Old Rapa be documented and described, making the motivation for this dissertation one of necessity.

The methods I used for this documentation and description were based on collecting culturally relevant texts in order to capture an accurate picture of how and when Old Rapa is used, as well as to uncover terminology that is specialized and used only in particular traditional contexts. As a result of this methodology, this dissertation is able to document not only structural elements of the language, but cultural details and socio-cultural activities, offering ethnographic insight into the lives of the Rapa people.

The Rapa language is a language in visible transit between an older, virtually no longer spoken form and a language being created through efforts to build a new, unique Rapa identity. Due to this situation, studying language in Rapa requires research on three languages: Old Rapa – the indigenous language spoken on Rapa Iti; Reo Rapa – the mixed Tahitian-Old Rapa language spoken currently, in day-to-day use; and New Rapa – a speech style emerging out of a renewed

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Rapa Iti identity.   A description of this unique situation is important, as it could provide grounds

for advances in theories of language change, on both a local and a typological level.

This dissertation provides the first detailed historical analysis of Old Rapa that offers

specific correlations with other Polynesian languages to offer evidence about Rapa Iti's prehistoric

contact and genetic affiliations. Old Rapa has not yet been well described and therefore its

classification in the Polynesian language family has not been thoroughly examined.   In Chapter 6,

the genetic classification of Old Rapa is investigated through a typological lens, with respect to

Eastern Polynesian languages and Polynesian languages in general.

Finally, this dissertation is valuable for the Rapa community. The community has an active

interest in language revitalization and in creating a unique linguistic identity for Rapa Iti. Because

it investigates remnants of Old Rapa and provides the first detailed description of this older form of

the Rapa language, this dissertation provides a foundation for the Tomite Reo Rapa to create

materials for teaching the language, both in school and for the wider community.

1.2 Data collection methods

All data used in this dissertation are data that I personally collected over a period of nearly two

years (August 2012–April 2014), during which I spent a total of 15 months in residence in French

Polynesia. In that time, I made four field visits to Rapa Iti, spending approximately nine months

there altogether. The data were collected through both elicitation and casual speech recordings

(conversations, public meetings, story telling, instructional activities). Elicitation was used in order

to gather verb paradigms, isolate grammatical elements of speech, build wordlists, and collect texts.

Casual speech recordings were used primarily to observe more natural patterns of speech and to

investigate language choices in different social and generational situations.

In addition, to gain further access to language use in cultural context and specialized vocabulary and speech patterns in specific activities, I used a participant observation approach to data collection. This involved immersing myself in daily family and community life and participating in traditional activities whenever possible. These activities included: taro cultivation, fish preparation, community food preparation, bread-making, traditional oven preparation, flower crown making, food gathering, stone gathering for earthen ovens, hat making, seed and shell jewelry making, and gardening. During these activities, I would ask the consultant(s) to describe actions and objects throughout the entire process, while also noting casual interactions between participants. Video and photo stimuli that showed cultural activities were also used on occasion to elicit descriptions of traditional activities. In this way, elicitation was culturally relevant, and thus I was able to capture unique linguistic elements that I might otherwise have overlooked (Franchetto 2006; Jukes 2011; Mosel 2011; Pawley 2011).

1.3 Consultant profiles

To gather as much language data as possible for the purpose of documentation (Himmelmann 1998, 2006), and to properly assess language differences between Old Rapa, Reo Rapa, and New Rapa, I required a multitude of consultants. These consultants were divided into two groups: (1) my core group of ten consultants from whom I collected the bulk of the data; and (2) the thirty-six Rapa individuals who were participants in my generational comparison and language choice study. The range and number of my consultants gave me access to a broad range of linguistic knowledge, and facilitated the comparison of language use across generations.

My ten core consultants were chosen carefully based on age, accessibility, and linguistic knowledge. They are the following individuals, identified in this dissertation by their initials:

MN   male   83*[2]

LW   male   80

TV   female 70

TT   male   68

TM   female 60

MAv   male   58*

JM   female 54

TA   female 50

MA   male   47

MM   female 24

The elders of this group were critical in the data collection of Old Rapa. TA and MA are brother and sister known for preserving Old Rapa, and they represent the very rare younger speakers of Old Rapa. JM and TM were critical to my understanding of Reo Rapa, as they do not speak Old Rapa. MM represents the youngest age group of adult speakers and was consulted on New Rapa.

The group of thirty-six individuals included six members of each age group (18–29; 30–39; 40–49; 50–59; 60–69; 70+) who were chosen based on the following factors: that they self-identify as a Rapa islander; that they grew up in Rapa; and that they currently reside on Rapa. These people represent a range of speech varieties and provided the bulk of my comparison data for Chapters 7 and 8. When cited in the dissertation, their sex and age are provided. A list of the sex and age of these thirty-six surveyed consultants is found in chapter 7, section 7.1.3.

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2   Both MN and MAv have died since I last was in Rapa in April 2014.

The names of individuals referred to in recorded conversations and transcribed here have been changed to protect both the named individual and the speakers who were talking about them.

1.4 Dissertation structure

This dissertation has three major parts: (1) a phonological, grammatical, and historical sketch of Old Rapa; (2) a description of Reo Rapa; and (3) a discussion of New Rapa's genesis and the mechanisms used in its creation. The entirety of the dissertation is intended to be user-friendly, in particular by the Rapa community. To this end, I have minimized the use of special fonts and diacritical markings. I have chosen a phonemic orthography that adheres to the one used by the Tomite Reo Rapa. Furthermore, the language description takes a functional approach to phonology, morphology, and syntax, illustrating the individual function of each component, as well as how each component works with other components. This should allow for ease of cross-referencing and future elaboration.

The dissertation has nine chapters including this introduction. Chapter 2 provides ethnographic details about the Rapa Iti people and outlines their complex language situation. Chapter 3 presents Old Rapa phonology and discusses the language's phonemes, syllable structure, and prosodic elements. Chapter 4 introduces Old Rapa's grammatical categories and general morphological profile. Chapter 5 investigates Old Rapa syntax. Chapter 6 outlines Old Rapa's genetic affiliation in the Polynesian language family, and reflects on prehistoric contact based on striking elements in the language. Chapter 7 looks at how language is currently used in Rapa iti, through examining Reo Rapa. Chapter 8 presents New Rapa, discussing its creation and its cultural implications. Finally, Chapter 9 provides a summary and conclusions on the languages of Rapa Iti.

Chapter 2

Rapa Iti: the island, the people, and the language

2.1 General facts

Rapa Iti is the southernmost island in French Polynesia, a French overseas collectivity with a

population of about five hundred residents (Challier 2012).[3] It is located 670 nautical miles

southeast of Tahiti, south of the Austral archipelago, at 27.60° S, 144.33° W. Figure 2.1 shows the

location of Rapa Iti relative to the rest of French Polynesia. Figure 2.2 then shows the island in

isolation.

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3 Based on my observations, there are not more than about three hundred people permanently living on the island. The official census number is likely inflated due to two main factors: (1) students who board nine months of the year on other islands for school; (2) permanent residents of Tahiti with Rapa heritage claiming residency in Rapa Iti to maintain a cultural connection with the island.

Figure 2.1. Rapa Iti in French Polynesia
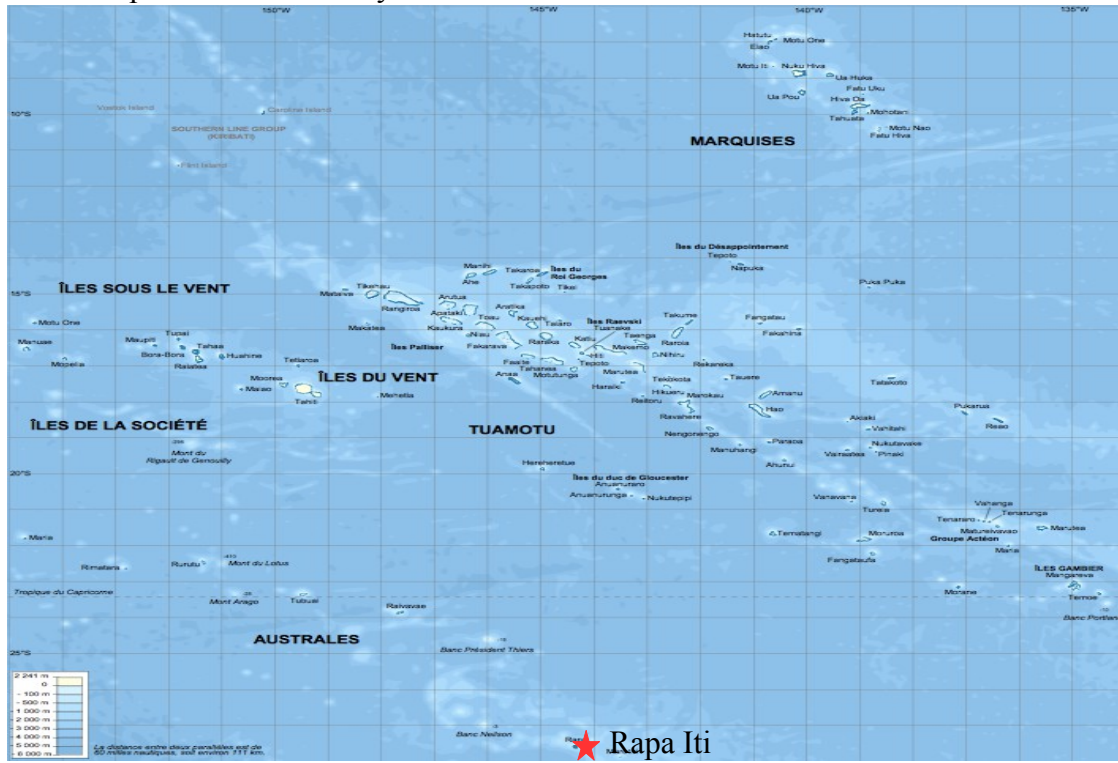
Figure 2.2. Rapa Iti satellite image

As demonstrated by the map in figure 2.1, Rapa is geographically isolated. Unlike many other Polynesian islands, it is not a member of an archipelago, which means that it is quite distant from any other inhabited island. The island is not only isolated in a physical and geographical sense, but it is socially isolated from its closest neighbors as well. Travel to and from Rapa is possible only by a several-day-long boat trip, making consistent interaction with outsiders difficult. The closest island to Rapa is Ra'ivavae, an island of the Austral archipelago, which is about three hundred nautical miles away, and requires at least two days by ship to reach. Travel from Tahiti requires at least three days of travel by ship. There is no airport on Rapa, and the only air service to the island is a helicopter, which comes only in health-related emergency evacuations.

Though at forty square kilometers, the island is relatively large compared to many other islands in French Polynesia, the core living area for all Rapa people is restricted to the area surrounding Ahurei Bay.[4] All Rapa residents live in one of two villages, Area or Ahurei, which are positioned at opposite ends of the bay. Ahurei and its surrounding "districts,"[5] where more than half of the population lives, covers a greater surface area than the village of Area. The two villages are connected by one main semi-paved road that is nearly ten kilometers in length. Travel between the villages is, however, typically done by sea, via personal fishing boats as there are few cars on the island and the road can be treacherous in inclement weather. When school is in session and when there are island-wide events taking place, a larger boat owned by the mayor's office is used to provide transportation. Both villages have a church and a banquet hall attached to the church for community activities: dance rehearsals, prayer groups, feasts, and Bible study. There is one post office (which also serves as the bank), one elementary school, one gymnasium, one health clinic,[6]

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4 Sometimes called Ha'urei or A'urei. The likely original name was A'urei as [h] is an introduced sound from Tahitian.
5 While greater in size than the village of Area, the entire Ahurei area is positioned along only approximately 5 km of the main road. "Districts" in this small area are made up of two to three residences at most.
6 The health clinic is staffed by two nurses, and visited by a medical doctor from Tahiti twice per year. The nurses and

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and one mayor's office, all of which are located in Ahurei. There are no government commissioned

markets or grocery stores on Rapa; however, some households have built small and informal stores

near or attached to their homes. These stores rarely have consistent hours and are far from

numerous (two regularly active stores in Ahurei and one in Area). Their wares generally consist of

processed goods and non-perishable items, and sometimes cold drinks and frozen meats. Electricity

is unrestricted; however, it is limited to service along the main road of the island. It is run by large

diesel generators, which were shipped in from Tahiti, as is the fuel to keep them running. There is

no back-up source of electricity, and when the generators have issues or need to be replaced, Rapa

is left without power until new parts or new generators can be sent down from Tahiti.[7] Internet

access is available as well as cell phone and regular telephone service, and most homes have basic

television service via satellite.

2.2 Life in Rapa

Due to Rapa's remoteness, life there continues to be somewhat self-sustained, with each family

working for themselves, growing and catching their own food, and tending to their own self-care by

relying on traditional medicines and knowledge. However, there is increasing reliance on Tahiti for

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doctor are never local Rapa people; during my field visits, I encountered six different nurses in total: two French men, one French woman, two Tahitian men, and one Marquesan woman. Because the population is under a thousand people, the French Polynesian government will not provide a doctor or any surgical services to the island clinic. The nurses have the ability to provide medication and general care to islanders, but more serious health concerns must be addressed in Tahiti. In these cases, a helicopter is called in to airlift the patient to Ra'ivavae, a six-hour round trip. They are then flown commercially to the main hospital in Tahiti. Two of the nurses confided in me that because the process for evacuation is so long, they will only call in the helicopter if they believe the patient will survive eight hours. Additionally, since the early 1990s, women are required to go to Tahiti for the last trimester of their pregnancy due to the absence of a medical doctor on the island.

7 I experienced one of these "black-outs," which lasted five days until the boat arrived from Tahiti to repair the failed generator. Life went on mostly as usual in Rapa – the school and post office remained open and church services were held; even the health clinic remained operative – however, some households had to discard frozen food stock (mostly stores of fish, lobster, bread, taro, and fruit), which had been built up over several months; such frozen stores make up the bulk of the Rapa diet.

jobs, food, electricity, building supplies, fuel, health care, and so forth. In most families, at least one adult is employed by the French Polynesian government in some capacity. Such government employees include the four school teachers; the two school care-takers; three school cafeteria workers; the head of *service technique* ('technical services'), who is also the town boat driver and the fire department chief; four part-time firemen and women; the mayor, who also serves as the postman; the mayor's secretary; four deputy mayors; the town hall cleaning woman; the policeman; two weather station monitors; an administrative assistant for the health clinic; and seven men who work for *service technique* doing various tasks that include checking the functionality of the large generators that power the island, turning the street lights on and off, repairing the roads, and picking up trash. When there is adequate funding from the French Polynesian government, younger adults (under the age of 30) can apply for several months of paid intern type work for the town hall (gardening, cleaning public buildings) or for assisting elders in maintaining their land (helping in the taro fields, picking coffee, gathering wild fruit, and gathering plants for weaving). This is called *contrat access à emplois* (job access contract) and is also paid for by the French Polynesian government.

The typical Rapa household is multigenerational, spanning at least three generations, where grandparents (elders) reside with their own children, their children's children (grandchildren), and, sometimes, their great-grandchildren. Women tend to begin to have their own children in their late teenage years while still residing at home, and as a result, it is common for grandparents to play a very active role in raising their grandchildren. The in-laws are welcomed into the parents' home, but are viewed as outsiders. It is standard practice for parents to actively denigrate their son- or daughter-in-law's upbringing, cultural background (if not from Rapa Iti), work-ethic, and general

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contribution to the household. Young Rapa couples typically reside with the man's family, unless the man's family resides on another island, in which case, the couple will live with the woman's family. The couple and their children reside with their elders until they are given permission to move into their own residence. This typically occurs around age 30–35.

Among the several families I observed in my fieldwork, household roles appear to be consistent. Men work to provide food – hunting, fishing, and working in the taro-beds. Women above the age of 30 engage in cultivating food (taro, fruit trees, vegetable gardens), gathering food and other materials (sea cucumbers, wild fruit, coffee, reeds for weaving, shells for jewelry), processing and preparing food (scaling and gutting *eika* 'fish', *tata te vana* 'removing the edible part of urchins from the spiny shell', pounding *pōpoi* 'fermented taro paste', and making bread). Women under the age of 30 typically stay home, maintain the house (cleaning and cooking), and look after the children.

All islanders must reside along the main road that stretches from the jetty at the far end of Ahurei to the end of Area village. Some members of the community have cabin-like second homes on other parts of the island, which serve only for short stays and are used for hunting or gathering wild taro. The location of all primary residences in only these two villages is the product of an island requirement for Rapa people to reside in either Area or Ahurei, and nowhere else. This requirement comes as a result of Rapa's approach to collective land-ownership and land rights (Bambridge and Ghasarian 2002; Hanson 1970; Hanson and Ghasarian 2007).

2.3 Rapa identity

The island's general isolation causes non-Rapa French Polynesians to view it as "backward." Rapa

Islanders are falsely viewed as less educated, more inbred, and generally less sophisticated or advanced than other islanders in French Polynesia. It is important to note that these presumptions have no merit and are based on Rapa being difficult to get to, as well as one of the few islands in French Polynesia maintaining its cultural practices and self-sustainability. On more than one occasion, I was told by Tahitians to be careful of people in Rapa because they were different. When I asked how they were different, I was told multiple times that they were "siki siki," a term meaning someone who has very dark skin, and non-local.[8] The Rapa people are no darker complected than any other person of Polynesian descent; however, non-Rapa French Polynesians' perception of their relative "otherness," due to their distance and isolation causes them to be viewed as outsiders and thus become labeled using a term designated for outsiders.

Perhaps also contributing to this notion of Rapa people as outsiders is that they see themselves as historically separate from the rest of Polynesia. When I asked about origin legends or stories, the same type of response is given every time: "We have always been here. We did not come from somewhere else." The ubiquity of this response suggests the degree of solidarity among community members in their desire to preserve a unique Rapa identity. Their historical identity is not part of a larger story; it is a Rapa-exclusive history. I suggest that this view of their origins informs their view of themselves as culturally different from the rest of French Polynesia and their desire to maintain that difference. The Rapa people's efforts to safeguard traditional practices and their use of Old Rapa tokens in everyday speech, though the Old Rapa language itself is nearly lost and rarely used, are ways in which they manifest this cultural identity. This identity is complex, however, as it emerges alongside the historical cultural influence and heavy social pressure from

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8 The use of *siki* to mean "dark skin" dates back to the turn of the twentieth century when a Senegalese boxer named Siki became popular among Tahitians. It has since been used to describe foreigners with dark skin.

Tahiti. The Rapa people are simultaneously projecting a distinct cultural identity from Tahiti and seeking membership in what is perceived as the more modern Tahitian society. These juxtaposed conflicting desires resonate in their language choices and in the severe endangerment of the Old Rapa language, the primary foci of this dissertation.

2.4 Language situation

The Rapa people's projection of a unique Rapa Iti identity, concurrent with a strong Tahitian socio-cultural influence, has affected their language attitudes and has permeated the actual forms and uses of language on Rapa. As a result, a distinctive linguistic situation has arisen, where three speech variants of a Rapa indigenous language can be observed: (1) Old Rapa; (2) Reo Rapa; and (3) New Rapa.[9] These languages, defined in table 2.1, represent different stages of language evolution on Rapa Iti. French and Tahitian are also used on the island and are important to understanding the broader linguistic situation on Rapa Iti. For this reason, I have included them in the table.

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9 The terms "Old Rapa" and "New Rapa" have been used by other scholars (Rutter 2006; Schooling 1981; Stokes 1955) to describe stages of the Rapa language; however, my use of them is different.

Table 2.1 Speech varieties in Rapa Iti

Speech Varieties	Definition	Speaker Base[10]
Old Rapa	The indigenous language of Rapa Iti.	Some elders and very few middle aged speakers.
Reo Rapa	A contact variety based on Tahitian and Old Rapa. Tahitian is the dominant source language.	Everyone in the community.
New Rapa	A variety of Reo Rapa that "rapanizes" Tahitian components and includes newly coined terminology that attempts to sound "more Rapa".	Middle aged and younger community members.
Tahitian	The Tahitian language.	Middle aged community members and elders in certain domains.
French	The French language.	Almost everyone, except for the oldest members of the community.

Most islanders are multilingual in Reo Rapa, Tahitian, and French. Old Rapa is highly endangered and spoken by very few people, mostly of the oldest age group. Based on my field observations, I would say that Old Rapa mainly exists as a linguistic memory that can be documented only in certain traditional activities or through elicitation from elders. Old Rapa has been gradually replaced by Reo Rapa, Tahitian, and French in all domains over the past century.

Reo Rapa likely emerged from the Tahitian contact situation of the mid-nineteenth century, when islanders were bilingual in both Old Rapa and Tahitian. Tahitian had an even greater social prestige at the time, leading to a preference for it over Old Rapa that resulted in the Tahitian-Old Rapa speech variety that is widely used today. More recently, a variant of Reo Rapa, New Rapa, is being used by middle aged and younger speakers in more formal domains. This new style of

10 These are generalizations based on my observations during fieldwork, as well as on language use survey data collected island-wide in December 2012. There are of course exceptions to these generalizations (where, for example, an elder might speak French); however, these exceptions are few.

speech seems to be part of these age groups' efforts to construct a unique Rapa identity, separate from Tahiti.

French and Tahitian are also used on Rapa Iti. Tahitian, as discussed in chapter 7, maintains a high level of prestige due to its current and historical influences in Rapa Iti society. It is used in multiple cultural domains (see section 2.4.2), and in interaction with other French Polynesian islanders who do not speak Reo Rapa. The use of French has increased steadily since the early 1980s, when Schooling (1981) observed that there was little comprehension of it on Rapa Iti. While it is not used in multiple domains in Rapa Iti, it is the primary language of use in Tahiti and is a lingua franca for the entire French Polynesia region. As a result, its general influence in Rapa Iti is growing. Today, code-switching between French and Reo Rapa is widely used among people age 35 and younger. Most people, except for the elders, can speak some French and will code-switch when speaking to members of the younger age group. The youngest age groups (20 and younger) speak almost exclusively in French.

2.4.1 History of cultural and linguistic contact

The multiple speech varieties used in Rapa Iti are best understood in the context of the general impact of outside contact on the island. This section first covers the general history of contact in Rapa Iti, demonstrating that the impact of outside contact in Rapa has been profound. The high level of impact from contact resulted in massive population fluctuation over the past two centuries, and has therefore played a fundamental role in creating the current linguistic situation. Furthermore, the historical dominance of the Tahitian language has led to language mixing and language shift.

A drastic population decline in the nineteenth century was the cause of the initial language loss in Rapa Iti. The swift depopulation of Rapa can be attributed to outsiders who brought new diseases to the island in the first half of the century (Richards 2007:3). Representatives of the London Missionary Society were the first outsiders to arrive, in 1825. Subsequent contact occurred frequently thereafter, as missionaries (John Davies in 1826, J. A. Moerenhout in 1834, George Pritchard and Alexander Simpson in 1829), exploring expeditions (Hugh Cuming in 1828), and those in search of resources or provisions (the US schooner *Dolphin* in 1826, Stutchbury in 1826, Percival in 1830) made landfall (Richards 2007). In only a five year span, between 1825 and 1830, over three quarters of the Rapa Islanders died due to disease (Richards 2007:3). By 1867, the population was down to 120 residents, a ninety percent decline from the estimated two thousand residents at the time of the first contact in 1826 (Caillot 1932; Hanson 1970). This decline in population undoubtedly had effects on the stability of the Rapa culture and society (Hanson 1970:186). The population loss also likely threatened the vitality of the indigenous Rapa language, making it more susceptible to influence from outside languages.

While the depopulation can be attributed to contact with Europeans (Hanson and Ghasarian 2007:69) and their introduction of disease, the majority of cultural and linguistic influences in Rapa Iti since Western contact has actually been from Tahiti, due to Tahiti's central political and economic position in French Polynesia, as well as the Protestant Christian mission that originated in Tahiti (Hanson 1970:162). Tahiti has historically been the religious, educational, economic, and political center of French Polynesia. Tahiti has also served as the gateway for European influence to the rest of French Polynesia and continues to act as a filter for Western influence; everything comes through Tahiti first before going out to the other islands. It is no surprise then that Tahiti

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would have influenced Rapa Iti both culturally and linguistically, as the language of transmission would be Tahitian. The domains of religion, education, government, home, and media have thus been infiltrated by Tahitian, making it a prestigious language that the Rapa people desired to learn. The overt prestige of Tahitian is discussed at length in chapter 7; however, it is important to note here, as its permeation into so many social domains in Rapa Iti is the primary factor in the endangerment of the indigenous Old Rapa language.

2.4.2 Language use in cultural domains

In the following subsections I describe language use for each major Rapa Iti sociocultural domain to illustrate the extent of outside influence in Rapa Iti and to highlight the lack of Old Rapa use in any cultural domain. These descriptions are based on my field observations, as well as language-use surveys I conducted in December 2012 and January 2013 with approximately twenty percent of the population. The survey is reproduced in Appendix A.

2.4.2.1 Religion

Christian religion is an important part of Rapa life, and the Protestant church is its center. All holidays and major life events are celebrated in the Protestant church, with nearly the entire community attending, regardless of religious preference. There are weekly Catholic church services, but the Protestant services are preferred and often attended by Catholics. Protestant members of the middle and older age groups attend multiple services per week. There are also frequent Bible study sessions for adults, as well as weekly Sunday school for children. Additionally, all cultural and community events begin with an opening prayer and are formally

ended by prayer.

   Tahitian is the dominant language in all of these religious activities. French is used rarely in the

Protestant church, except in Sunday school with children and occasionally by the pastor when he is

aware of non-Tahitian speakers in the congregation. Some Protestant prayers and chants have been

written in Reo Rapa, and recent translations of the Bible have been done in New Rapa. Both

French and Tahitian are used in Catholic services.

2.4.2.2 Education

Formal education on Rapa Iti is required to be conducted in French because the island is regulated

by French government education standards as it is part of a *collectivité d'outre-mer de la*

République française ('French overseas collectivity'). Owing to the Reo Ma'ohi (Tahitian:

'indigenous language') activist movement[11] across French Polynesia (Saura 2009), one or two hours

of class time per week are now allocated for local indigenous language classes as a government

policy. However, due to the lack of teacher knowledge of the indigenous Old Rapa language, the

allocated hours of "indigenous language-learning" on Rapa Iti are conducted in Tahitian. In

interviews, all four of the teachers expressed hesitation about what to teach as none of them identify

as Old Rapa language speakers.[12] Moreover, the teacher in charge of the indigenous language

learning curriculum was candid about her lack of knowledge of Old Rapa. She said that she was

not comfortable teaching Old Rapa as a result, and that she taught Tahitian instead. Old Rapa is

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11 This movement was begun in the 1970s by local literary figures in Tahiti. A reaction against French colonial power, this was a movement toward recognizing the various indigenous identities throughout French Polynesia. While it began in the realm of literature, it expanded into the political sphere and has since played a major role in local educational, religious, and cultural programming and legislation (Saura 2009). A direct result of this was a 1982 decision by the Territorial Assembly to implement Tahitian in upper level schooling, and later, in 2004, legal enforcement of regular indigenous language learning in elementary schools (Direction de l'Enseignement Primaire 2012).
12 Of the four teachers, two are not from Rapa, and the other two identify as "from Rapa" but did not grow up there.

never used as a medium of instruction and students are actually learning Tahitian rather than Old

Rapa for most of their "indigenous" language schooling.

2.4.2.3 Home

Generally speaking, adults speak Reo Rapa language to each other, with some French mixed in.

The younger the adults are, the more French they tend to use. Elders speak almost exclusively

Tahitian or Reo Rapa, as they have very little knowledge of French. Children are usually addressed

by their parents in French, with occasional Reo Rapa. Children typically respond to their parents in

French. Among themselves, children use French almost exclusively.

2.4.2.4 Government

The local government in Rapa Iti consists of the mayor, the mayor's assistant, four deputy mayors,

and a policeman. All political and bureaucratic activity takes place at the *mairie* (French*:* 'town

hall'). Among the employees at the town hall, French is the primary language used, though

Tahitian can also be heard in their exchanges with elder members of the Rapa community. On

formal occasions, when the mayor is required to speak publicly, he addresses the population in

Tahitian. Furthermore, the Council of Elders, an unofficial community regulatory group made up

of elders who make decisions on land use and other culturally related matters, uses Tahitian in their

meetings almost exclusively. The *rāhui* (Tahitian: 'restriction') committee[13] also uses Tahitian in

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13 Rapa Iti Islanders historically use community-wide restrictive practices to conserve frequently used resources. Previously, these restrictions have included taro and other land resources; however, today this practice is strictly related to fish. A committee is appointed by the commune annually to decide which areas of the island are off-limits for fishing. It is then prohibited to fish there except for two days per year (typically in December) when these zones are opened. These two days are major island events, where all of the local fisherman fish together and bring back their catch to the organizing committee by mid-day. The committee then distributes the fish to every household on the island that afternoon, according to the number of household members. Photos of this distribution (from December 2012 and December 2013 are found in Appendix B)

their meetings, though French is also used due to the presence of members of the younger age group on the committee.

2.4.2.5 Media

The languages that dominate the media are French and Tahitian. There is a radio station on Rapa Iti that broadcasts for a few hours in the middle of the day during the week; however, the reports and speech are in Tahitian, with only occasional use of Reo Rapa. Televised Tahitian news programs are watched by almost every family in the evening. Most of the individuals I surveyed stated a preference for Tahitian television over French television. Internet is available on Rapa Iti; however, the use of it, which seems to be mainly for Facebook, YouTube, and Skype, appears to be limited to the younger age groups (under 50). The survey respondents reported a strong preference for using French online. I have noted in my own observations of Rapa Iti Facebook activity that Reo Rapa and New Rapa are used frequently in posts between Rapa Iti Islanders. Most of the respondents also reported that they mainly use French for texting, while some reported using Tahitian.

2.5 Status of endangerment

UNESCO uses the following nine factors to gauge the level of a language's endangerment[14]: (1) intergenerational language transmission; (2) absolute number of speakers; (3) proportion of speakers within the total population; (4) shifts in domains of language use; (5) response to new domains and media; (6) availability of materials for language education and literacy; (7)

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14 It is worth mentioning that the Endangered Language Catalog (ELCat) uses similar factors to assess levels of endangerment. I have chosen UNESCO because the United Nations is more widely recognized internationally as an institution for human and indigenous people's rights.

governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use; (8)

community members' attitudes towards their own language; and (9) type and quality of

documentation. These factors are assessed and rated on a scale of 0 to 5. The following

subsections will provide a discussion of each factor as it relates to the Old Rapa language in order

to demonstrate its overall "severely endangered" status (Lewis and co-authors 2014). All tables are

from UNESCO (2003), and the shaded areas indicate the "grade" that I have given to Old Rapa

based on my observations.

2.5.1 Intergenerational transmission

Table 2.2. Degrees of endangerment: Intergenerational language transmission

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Speaker Population
safe	5	The language is used by all ages, from children up.
unsafe	4	The language is used by some children in all domains; it is used by all children in limited domains.
definitively endangered	3	The language is used mostly by the parental generation and up.
severely endangered	2	The language is used mostly by the grandparental generation and up.
critically endangered	1	The language is used by very few speakers, mostly of the great-grandparental generation.
extinct	0	There are no speakers.

Transmission of an endangered language between generations is a critical component of a

language's health (Fishman 1991; Ingram 2006; McConnell and Thieberger 2006; Nettle and

Romaine 2000; UNESCO 2003; Waldrip and Walworth 2010). If the elder generation does not

transmit a language to the next generation, knowledge of the indigenous language will be halted, its

lineage severed, and the language will rapidly deteriorate. UNESCO (2003) therefore describes a

"safe" language as one that "is spoken by all generations" and has "no sign of linguistic threat from any other language," and for which "the intergenerational transmission of the language seems uninterrupted."

The shift from the Old Rapa language to Reo Rapa is quickly leading to complete replacement of the Old Rapa language, consequently hindering intergenerational transmission of both the language and the culture of Rapa Iti and resulting in only elders above the age of 60 using Old Rapa with any frequency. While these older speakers feel that the language is severely at risk, few of them are active or healthy enough to share their knowledge. As the elders pass away, there are fewer opportunities for other speakers to use or learn the language and thus, the language becomes increasingly endangered. As one of my elder consultants reported (TT January 2, 2013), "only very few of us have knowledge of the real Rapa language and even we cannot remember it all. If I speak my language, no one will understand." [15]

2.5.2 Number of speakers

UNESCO (2003) does not provide a scale for grading population. This is likely because a small population can still be a viable one. However, UNESCO states that small populations are at a higher risk for language endangerment than larger populations as they are more vulnerable to cultural and linguistic merging with a neighboring population. This is precisely what has happened in Rapa Iti, where the small population of less than five hundred over the last century and a half has made it more susceptible to outside influence, resulting in language loss.

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15 The quotes provided throughout this dissertation were originally stated in French. I have translated them from French to English for a non-French speaking audience.

2.5.3 Proportion of speakers

Table 2.3. Degrees of endangerment: Number of speakers

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Reference Population
safe	5	All speak the language.
unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language.
definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language.
extinct	0	None speak the language.

UNESCO (2003) states that a major indicator of language vitality is the proportion of speakers to the entire population. As explained above, only people aged 60 and above use Old Rapa and even then, they rarely use it fluently or casually. The primary reason for this is that no one else seems to have knowledge of the language. The grandparent generation tends to use Reo Rapa with everyone, the parent generation uses Reo Rapa and French, and children tend to use mostly French.

2.5.4 Linguistic shift and declining domains

Table 2.4. Degrees of endangerment: Domains and functions

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
universal use	5	The language is used in all domains and for all functions.
multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
dwindling domains	3	The language is used in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for very few functions.
highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted number of domains and for very few functions.
extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain for any function.

Lewis and Simons (2010) in their discussion of language endangerment assessment wrote that when the domains of language use decrease, a language loses speakers and is then more susceptible to a disruption of intergenerational transmission. A safe language, then, is one that is used regularly in all domains.

In Rapa Iti, the strong cultural influence of Tahiti has led to a massive linguistic shift towards Tahitian. As demonstrated in section 2.4.2, the Old Rapa language is no longer used in any domain. It is not completely devoid of function, however, because of its emergence in certain cultural activities, and among groups of certain elders.

2.5.5 Response to new domains and media

Table 2.5. Degrees of endangerment: New domains

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Endangered Language
dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
receptive	3	The language is used in many new domains.
coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

Domain expansion is widely discussed among linguists as a factor in language vitality (Grenoble and Whaley 2006; Ingram 2006; Otsuka 2007; Waldrip and Walworth 2010). The UNESCO (2003) declaration on language vitality and endangerment stated that as new language spaces are created in a culture, if a community does not choose to use the indigenous language in those spaces, "it becomes increasingly irrelevant and stigmatized." In Rapa Iti, new domains have opened in the realm of media; most notably, Facebook and popular music. The inclination of Rapa Islanders in these new cultural spaces is to use New Rapa, likely because this domain is dominated by the younger generations who are playing an active role in creating the New Rapa language.

2.5.6 Availability of materials for language education and literacy

Table 2.6. Degrees of endangerment: Materials for language education

Grade	Availability of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography and a literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not a part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography is available to the community.

According to the UNESCO declaration in 2003, education in a language is necessary for its vitality: "Needed are books and materials on all topics for various ages and language abilities." A "safe" language is therefore one that has established materials for use in education for all ages.

There are no existing materials in Old Rapa; however, some materials are being written in it. The Tomite Reo Rapa and I are creating small theme-based, monolingual books, based on my research with the elders (see Appendix C for examples). The Tomite Reo Rapa is also attempting to translate some prayers. The orthography used for these projects is the same that is used for Reo Rapa, which has been agreed upon by the Tomite.

2.5.7 Institutional language attitudes and policies

Table 2.7. Degrees of endangerment: Institutional language attitudes

Degree of Support	Grade	Official Attitudes towards Language
equal support	5	All languages are protected.
differentiated support	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
passive assimilation	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
active assimilation	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language.
forced assimilation	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
prohibition	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

This particular factor is not straightforward in Rapa Iti due to the complex layers of endangerment in the whole of French Polynesia. While Tahitian is the language of dominance in Rapa Iti, and in other small islands throughout French Polynesia, in Tahiti, the Tahitian language is itself endangered because of the increased use of French. In order to promote cultural conservation, Tahitian has thus become a priority language for the French Polynesian government, and now both French and Tahitian are the official languages of French Polynesia. Tahitian is required for a few hours per week in all schools, most high schools offer Tahitian as a second language alongside English and Chinese, it is encouraged in media (there is a Tahitian news program every evening and several Tahitian only programs throughout the day on television), and it is used in general bureaucratic affairs (municipal signage, political interviews, bilingual ballots, etc.). As a result, the governmental focus for "indigenous languages" is on Tahitian, not on smaller languages like Old Rapa.

2.5.8 Community language attitudes

Table 2.8. Degrees of endangerment: Community language attitudes

Grade	Community Members' Attitudes towards Language
5	All members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	Most members support language maintenance.
3	Many members support language maintenance.
2	Some members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only a few members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	No one cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

Many members of the Rapa Iti community recognize that severe language loss has occurred and they are very much in support of documenting and revitalizing Old Rapa. However, there are also many people who do not even recognize that language loss has occurred. These people are typically between the ages of 50 and 60. This age group was the first group of islanders more formally educated, and they were forbidden to speak Old Rapa at school. Simultaneously, this generation was heavily influenced by religion, where Tahitian has always been the medium. This combination likely led to some embarrassment about speaking Old Rapa. Exemplifying this sentiment, a 59-year old woman (TM October 10, 2013) said to me: "I can teach you the real Rapa language, it is all in the Bible. I don't understand why people try to say that isn't the true language. That is the language of the church and the language I learned here in Rapa."

2.5.9 Type and quality of documentation

Table 2.9. Degrees of endangerment: Existing language documentation

Nature of Documentation	Grade	Language Documentation
superlative	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts, and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
good	4	There is one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated everyday media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
fair	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient numbers of grammars, dictionaries, and texts but no everyday media; audio and video recordings of varying quality or degree of annotation may exist.
fragmentary	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings of varying quality, with or without any annotation, may exist.
inadequate	1	There are only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.
undocumented	0	No materials exist.

Old Rapa is critically under-documented, which contributes to general concern for its future vitality. Without more comprehensive documentation of the language, any remnant of Old Rapa has little chance of persisting. Lack of documentation will also present challenges to the Rapa Iti community in any effort they may make to revitalize their heritage language in the future.

The documentation that does exist is very limited. The earliest text documentation of language in Rapa Iti is an 1864 word list collected by James L. Green from the London Missionary Society (Fischer 1996). This word list included terms in Rapa with glosses in three other

languages: English, Tahitian, and Tupuaian (Tubuaian). All other text materials are from more than fifty years after this short word list. Most notable among them is a five volume unpublished manuscript written by J. F. G. Stokes in 1930, which contains ethnographic material and a great deal of lexical information. In 1955, Stokes also published a word list and a short description of Rapa based on his own research as well as the research of Frank Stimson, who had collected several word lists in 1921.

A, unpublished lexicon compiled by the Tomite Reo Rapa with Paulus and Anjte Kieviet in 2006, not only represents the most recent field collection of Rapa words, but also includes words from other more recent sources, including words used in a collection of legends (later published in a book; Ghasarian and Make 2008). This lexicon also provides some preliminary observations about Tahitian borrowing into Rapa, and notes the recent rapanization of Tahitian borrowings. Ghasarian and Make's book (2008) is a bilingual Rapa-French collection of Rapa legends that was produced by a Swiss ethnologist, Ghasarian, in collaboration with a Rapa elder, Alfred Make.[16]

2.6 Describing a severely endangered language

It should be clear from this chapter's assessment that Old Rapa is in a fragile state and that description of it is critical for the future of the Rapa people and the safeguarding of their unique culture. The language is in severe danger of completely disappearing within the next generation. It is because of this that I spent a good portion of my fieldwork focusing on the linguistic memory of the elders. However, as the Old Rapa language is no longer spoken regularly by even the elders, it is nearly impossible to try to thoroughly describe the language. The description that follows in Part

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16 I had hoped to work with Alfred Make; however, he passed away just before my first visit to Rapa Iti.

One (chapters 3–6) is therefore a phonological, grammatical, and historical sketch of Old Rapa; a last grasp at the remaining threads of a language that will soon be completely replaced. Part Two then focuses more on language use today in Rapa Iti. Chapter 7 describes Reo Rapa, the primary language used on the island, and Chapter 8 addresses a variety of Reo Rapa, New Rapa.

PART ONE

OLD RAPA

Chapter 3

Phonology of Old Rapa

3. Introduction

In this chapter, I provide an overview of the phonology of Old Rapa. First, I examine consonant

phonemes, exploring their articulations as well as any allophonic variation. I next address the

vowel phonemes, highlighting Old Rapa's diphthong formation and contrastive vowel length. I

then examine phonotactics, discussing permissible syllable shapes and reduplication. Finally, I

address Old Rapa's prosody, focusing on patterns of stress and intonation.

The orthography used in this chapter and henceforth in this dissertation is the orthography

that the Tomite Reo Rapa has decided to use. In this orthography, long vowels are indicated by a

macron over the vowel; glottal stop is indicated by '; alveolar tap is indicated by *r*, and the velar

nasal is indicated by *ng*. Aside from the velar nasal (which is not present in Tahitian), this

orthography parallels the orthography employed by the Fare Vāna'a ('house of orators', otherwise

known as the Tahitian Academy) for the Tahitian language. In phonetic transcriptions, however, I

employ IPA conventions.

3.1 Consonants

With only nine consonants, Old Rapa has a relatively small consonant phoneme inventory. Its

consonant inventory is, however, very typically Eastern Polynesian.[17] Voice is not distinctive, and

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[17]   Consonant phonemes of other EP languages: Hawaiian = 8, Māori = 10, Tahitian = 9. The smallest consonant
inventory among EP languages is found in Rurutu, which exhibits only seven consonant phonemes (based on my
data collection in Rurutu in 2010).

in fact, Old Rapa exhibits only one voiced obstruent, /v/. Table 3.1 indicates Old Rapa's consonant reflexes from PPN, PEP, and PCE. Table 3.2 shows Old Rapa's consonant phoneme inventory.

Table 3.1. Old Rapa's consonant reflexes from PPN, PEP, and PCE[18]

PPN	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	*ʔ	*f	*s	*h	*w	*l	*r
PEP	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	*ʔ	*f	*s	ø	*w	*r	*r
PCE	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	ø	*f	*s	ø	*w	*r	*r
OR	p	t	k	m	n	ŋ	ø	ʔ	ʔ	ø	v	r	r

Table 3.2. Old Rapa's consonant phoneme inventory

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dento-Alveolar	Alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p		t		k	ʔ
Nasals	m			n	ŋ	
Fricatives		v				
Tap				ɾ		

3.1.1 Minimal pairs

To demonstrate the validity of the phoneme inventory shown in table 3.2, contrastive sets are presented in examples (3.1–3.4).

(3.1)   plosive stop contrast

/p/ : /t/ : /k/ : /ʔ/

/po:/	'night'	/to:/	'sugar cane'	/ko:/	'a spear'	/ʔo:/	'give'
/pau/	'rotten'	/tau/	'argue, fight'	/kau/	'swim'	/ʔau/	'peace'
/paki/	'slap'	/taki/	'guide'	/kaki/	'starving'	/ʔaki/	'fern'
/para/	'finished; ripe'	/tara/	'peak; horn'	/kara/	'fish liver'	/ʔara/	'lie'

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18 Reconstructions for PPN, PEP, and PCE are taken from Marck 2000 (23–24).

(3.2)   nasal stop contrast

/m/ : /n/ : /ŋ/

/mau/ 'take'   /nau/   'thistle'   /ŋau/   'swallow whole'

/mana/ 'power'   /nana/ 'extract meat from urchin'   /ŋana/ 'fish species'[19]

(3.3)   labiodental fricative

a.   /v/ : /p/
                        /vaka/ 'clan, army'   /paka/ 'shell, hard covering'

b.   /v/ : /m/
                        /vai/   'fresh water'   /mai/   'towards'

(3.4)   alveolar tap

a.   /r/ : /t/
                        /roto/   'inside'   /toto/   'hand-line for fishing'

b.   /r/ : /n/
                        /ra:kau/   'wood; medicine'   /na:kau/   'intestines'

3.1.2 Articulations of some consonant phonemes

3.1.2.1 Voiceless stops

The stops, /p/, /t/, and /k/, are unaspirated. Regarding place of articulation: /p/ is bilabial; /t/ is

dento-alveolar in all environments, with the tip of the tongue noticeably more fronted than an

alveolar [t];[20] and /k/ has a wide range of place articulations, from pre-velar to uvular, linked to the

frontness or backness of the following vowel segment. For example: in *kite* 'know', /k/ is pre-velar

---

19 *Auxis thazard.*
20 In the closely related languages of Tahitian (personal observations) and Māori (Harlow 2012), /t/ palatalizes
before /i/. This is not evidenced in Old Rapa, but it is important to mention the lack of it because it *is* evidenced in
some Reo Rapa words that have been sourced from Tahitian.

(though not quite palatal) before the high fronted [i]; in *kete* 'basket', /k/ is velar before mid-front

[e]; in *karakua* 'parent', /k/ is more backed (though not quite uvular) before low-back [ɑ] and is

uvular before high-back [u]; in *komo* 'sleep', /k/ is uvular before mid-back [o].

It may be worth mentioning that any alveolar or post-alveolar stop articulation is interpreted

as /k/. An example of this comes from an elicitation session, between myself and consultant MA,

of several terms that included the prefix *tā-*. Though somewhat anecdotal, it does a nice job of

demonstrating the native-speaker misinterpretation of alveolar [t] as phoneme /k/. In the following

transcription, I was listing terms given to me by another consultant that included prefix *tā-* in order

to confirm their meaning with MA. MA was unaware of the target *tā-*.

(Recorded on May 1, 2013)

MW: *Tākate.* [listing]

MA: *Kākake.* [repeating]

MW: Non (no), ***t**ākate*.

MA: *Ka*, eh? *Kā kake*. Oui, 'tu as monté' (yes, 'you climbed').

MW: Hmm, et (and) *tā**k**ate*?

MA: *Kā kake*, oui (yes).

MW: *Tākate.* [writes word for MA]

MA: Ah! *Ta-te*! [laughter] Non, on n'a pas (no, we don't have)

tākate.

This misinterpretation of alveolar [t] as /k/ occurred frequently with other consultants when I would

echo their /t/ utterances with a non-dental, more alveolar [t].

3.1.2.2 Alveolar tap

The alveolar tap is usually realized as an alveolar tap, although word initially it is trilled (see section 3.1.3.2). Stokes (1955:317) described this sound as somewhere between "a clear *l* as in English and soft *r*, the preponderance being on the *l* side. It was found both initially and medially as *l*." My data show no evidence of *l* whatsoever, nor did I note any lateral quality in the speech of my elder consultants. Absence of a lateral approximant could be attributed to continued Tahitian influence, which Stokes believed at the time of his visit to be already responsible for the presence of the *r* (I assume that what he meant by "soft *r*" was a tap). However, my elder consultants did not attest to hearing *l* ever used in their lifetimes.

3.1.2.3 Voiced labiodental fricative

The labiodental fricative /v/ is articulated as a labiodental approximant [ʋ] among older speakers. This is not an uncommon articulation for CEP reflexes of PPN *w. For example, Schütz (1981:31) has argued, based on early descriptions, that Hawaiian's /w/ may have previously been articulated as a "fricated [ʍ]" (which Rehg [2007:125] described to mean either a bilabial approximant or a labiodental approximant). According to Schütz (1981:28–31), modern Hawaiian's [w] or [v] articulations for /w/ may be a recent fortition stemming from the considerable influence of English in Hawai'i. Tahitian, like Hawaiian, according to Tryon, previously exhibited approximant features for /v/. He described Tahitian /v/ as "also realised as [ß], which is like English v, except that it is pronounced with the upper and lower lips, instead of with the upper teeth and lower lip" (1970:1). In my observations of Tahitian speech, I never remarked /v/ as an approximant, although my

observations were primarily of non-elder speakers who are bilingual in Tahitian and French. Perhaps our contrasting observations, some forty years apart, are indicative of a fortition from an earlier Tahitian approximant realization of /v/ due to contact with an unrelated language. In Tahiti's case, the influential language is French, which does contain a voiced labiodental fricative in its phoneme inventory.

Younger age groups in Rapa Iti, due to the influence of Tahitian's labiodental fricative consonant, tend to articulate a fricative and almost never exhibit an approximant. This fortition among younger age groups is discussed in the context of generational language variation in chapter 7.

3.1.3 Phonological processes: Consonants
3.1.3.1 Intervocalic velar stop lenition

Velar stop /k/ becomes a fricative intervocalically, in unstressed syllables.   This rule is optional.

$$k \rightarrow x \: / \: V\_\_\check{V}$$

For example, in *kōta'e* 'water', /k/ occurs as [k] in a stressed syllable. By contrast, in *eipoko* 'head', /k/ occurs as [x] in an unstressed syllable.

This rule is also exhibited at the phrase-level and is driven by phrase-level stress. For example, spoken in isolation, *komo* 'sleep' will not be subject to this rule: ['komo]. However, in the phrase *ka komo ou* 'I fell asleep', *komo* exhibits lenition: [kɑ.xo.'mou]. Affixed forms are also subject to this process (refer to the contrast between examples 3.5i and 3.6d). However, copies of unaffected syllables in reduplicated forms do not exhibit this process (example 3.6c).

The examples in (3.5) demonstrate instances where velar stop lenition can occur; the

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examples in (3.6) show where it does not occur. The lexemes provided in (3.6) were all spoken in isolation; that is, not in continuous speech as a part of a phrase.   As discussed later in this chapter, stress is on the syllable containing the penultimate mora, unless a long vowel or diphthong is present, in which case stress is on the heavier syllable (see discussion on primary stress in section 3.4.1.1).

(3.5)

a.	/vaka/	'tribe'	>	['ʋɑ.xɑ]
b.	/puke/	'group of children'	>	['pu.xe]
c.	/kaki/	'neck'	>	['kɑ.xi]
d.	/naku/	'go'	>	['nɑ.xu]
e.	/kavake/	'young taro'	>	[kɑ.'ʋɑ.xe]
f.	/keka/	'path; road'	>	['ke.xɑ]
g.	/mi:kaka/	'taro'	>	['mi:.xɑ.xɑ]
h.	/ʔa:ikete/	'learn'	>	['ʔɑ:i.xe.te]
i.	/ta:-koe/	'your'	>	['tɑ:.xoe]

(3.6)

a.	/kokura/	'taro variety'	>	[ko.'ku.ɾɑ]
b.	/kuri:/	'dog'	>	[ku.'ri:]
c.	/ko:komo/	'deep sleep'	>	['ko:.ko.mo]
d.	/koe/	'2S'	>	[koe]

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This rule is not obligatory among any of my consultants, and in the environments shown in the examples, a stop and a fricative can be used in free variation. Furthermore, non-elder speakers do not exhibit any frication whatsoever, and retain a stop articulation. The free variation of this process may indicate that the rule is now optional (see chapter 7 for a discussion on why this is no longer occurring among younger age groups).

Cross-linguistically, it is typical of consonants to weaken in unstressed syllables (Gordon 2014), and therefore the presence of the velar stop lenition in unstressed syllables in Old Rapa is unsurprising. However, the velar fricative, even present phonetically, is atypical of Polynesian languages.[21] On the grounds of it being an areal abnormality, its existence in Old Rapa is therefore important to acknowledge.

3.1.3.2 Alveolar tap fortition

An alveolar tap becomes a trill when it is in the onset position of a stressed syllable.

$$ɾ → r / \_\_\acute{V}$$

Some examples are provided in (3.7). Examples that retain a tap are provided in (3.8).

(3.7)

a.	/rapa/	'name of island'	>	['rɑ.pɑ]
b.	/roki/	'taro-bed'	>	['ro.xi]
c.	/raːkau/	'plant-life'	>	['rɑː.xau]
d.	/roto/	'inside'	>	['ro.to]
e.	/tamariki/	'child'	>	[tɑ.mɑ.'ri.xi]

---

21 Bauer (with co-authors 1993:633) reported intervocalic frication for /k/ in certain dialects of Māori.

	f.	/kara:/	'pounding stone'	>	[kɑ.'rɑ:]

(3.8)

	a.	/karakua/	'parent'	>	[kɑ.ɾɑ.'ku.ɑ]
	b.	/ʔare/	'house'	>	['ʔɑ.ɾe]
	c.	/ŋaru/	'wave'	>	['ŋɑ.ɾu]
	d.	/taratika/	'ridge'	>	[tɑ.ɾɑ.'ti.xɑ]
	e.	/meri/	'Meri'	>	['me.ɾi]

The trill is quite common among Eastern Polynesian languages, both phonetically and phonemically. Tryon reported that Tahitian /r/ is "a so-called flap sound" though is "sometimes trilled like a Scottish *r*"(1970:1). I have not at this stage analyzed enough of the Tahitian /r/ to know where it is trilled and where it is not, though based on Tyron's description, it is safe to assume that Tahitian does have some trill variation of the alveolar tap. Nukuhiva Marquesan exhibits trilled /r/ as a consonant phoneme (Lynch 2002:865).

3.2 Vowels

Old Rapa has a five-vowel system, as shown in figure 3.1. /i/, /u/, /o/, and /e/ are regularly articulated as [i], [u], [o], and [e]; /a/ is realized as low, open, and unrounded [ɑ]. /i/ and /e/ are also unrounded; /u/ and /o/ are rounded.

Figure 3.1. Old Rapa's vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-Mid	e		o
Mid			
Open-Mid			
Open			ɑ
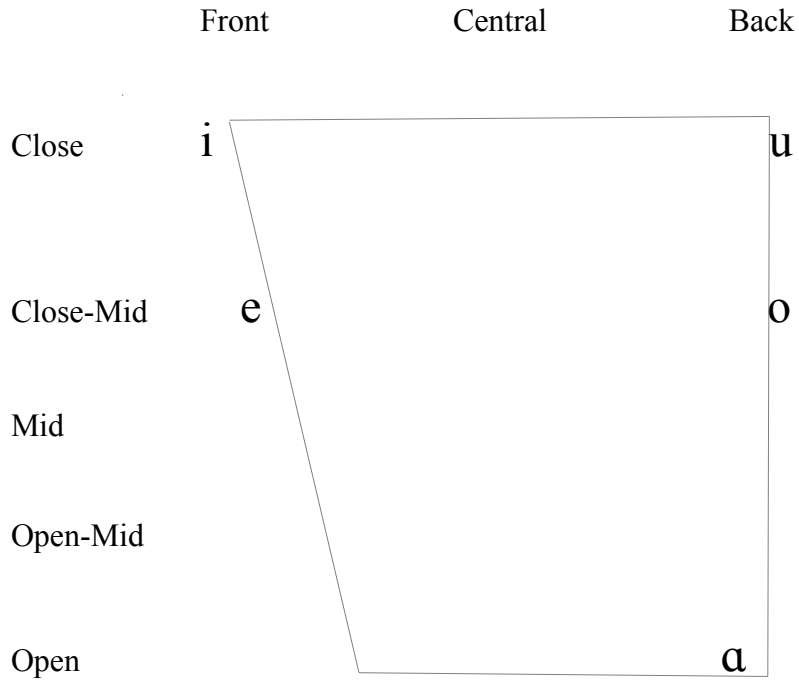
The following minimal pairs demonstrate Old Rapa's vowel phonemes.

(3.9)   /i/ : /e/

            /pini/   'peg'   /pine/   'quick'

(3.10)   /i/ : /u/

            /vari/   'blood'   /varu/   'eight'

(3.11)   /i/ : /o/

            /veri/   'worm; centipede'   /vero/   'animal neck'

(3.12)   /i/ : /a/

            /rangi/ 'sky'   /ranga/ 'weave'

(3.13)   /e/ : /u/

            /tare/   'mucus-like secretion'   /taru/   'small grassy plant'

(3.14) /e/ : /o/

/tea/   'far'   /toa/   'brave'

(3.15) /e/ : /a/

/tope/ 'measure'   /topa/ 'fall'

(3.16) /u/ : /o/

/toru/   'three'   /toro/   'hold out hand'

(3.17) /u/ : /a/

/manu/ 'bird'   /mana/ 'power'

(3.18) /o/ : /a/

/mango/ 'shark'   /manga/ 'point of an angle'

3.2.1 Contrastive vowel length

Old Rapa also exhibits a distinction between short and long vowels. Minimal pairs are shown in examples (3.19–3.23).

(3.19) i : ī

/ki/   'preposition'   /ki:/   'full'

(3.20) e : ē

/e/   'imperfective'   /e:/   'soaked'

(3.21) u : ū

/puʔa/ 'hallowed-out tree trunk'   /pu:ʔa/ 'worthless'

(3.22) o : ō

/ko/   'there'   /ko:/   'spear'

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(3.23) a : ā

/ka/   'perfective'   /ka:/   'burn'

There are two possible explanations for Old Rapa's contrastive vowel length: (1) vowel length is phonemic; or (2) long vowels are underlying successions of two like short vowels. In support of the former explanation, vowel length in Old Rapa is not rule-governed and is not predictable by any segmental or suprasegmental environment. However, I argue in favor of the latter explanation in which vowel length is a surface-level contrast only, and surface long vowels are underlyingly geminate short vowels[22]. My analysis is based on the following observations: (a) a constraint exists in Old Rapa against geminate vowels in both monomorphemic forms and across morpheme boundaries; (b) long vowels are infrequent.

3.2.1.1 Constraint against geminate vowels

In Old Rapa, sequences of identical short vowels do not occur in monomorphemic forms, nor may a long vowel be directly adjacent to its corresponding short vowel. Furthermore, there is a preference for avoiding a sequence of two geminate vowels even across morpheme boundaries. As a result, sequences of two like vowels across morpheme boundaries are realized as one long vowel. This can occur phrasally, as in example (3.24) and (3.25), or in affixation, as in example (3.26).

(3.24)   *ka   ara   koe*   >   ['kɑ:.ɾɑ.xoe]

PFV   wake   2S

'You have awoken'

---

22 It was brought to my attention that, although I argue against underlying long vowels in Old Rapa, I use diacritical marking (macrons and IPA length notation) that might be suggestive of underlying length. The length marking I use denotes the surface value of the long vowel, not the underlying value.

(3.25)   *a*   *'aka-kai*   *i*   *a-na* >   [a.ˌʔɑ.xɑ.ˈkai̯ː.ja.na]

IMP   CAUS-eat   ACC   PER-3S

'Feed her'

(3.26)   *'aka-apu*   >   [ʔɑ.ˈkɑː.pu]

CAUS-water.container

'scoop water out of boat'

The preference in Old Rapa to fuse adjacent identical short vowels across morpheme boundaries and the prohibition of like short vowels occurring in sequence in monomorphemic forms indicate a general constraint against like short vowels occurring in succession, and a preference for phonetic long vowels when they do occur. This type of cross-morpheme fusion may provide evidence for a general preference for phonetic long vowels, even in monomorphemic forms.

3.2.1.2 Frequency of long vowels

Long vowels in Old Rapa are far less frequent than short vowels. While this alone cannot be considered evidence against phonemic long vowels, it does greatly reduce the number of short vowel to long vowel minimal pairs.

3.2.1.3 Underlying representation of long vowels in Old Rapa

If vowel length is not phonemic, then why is stress driven by vowel length and why does the

language exhibit minimal pairs of long and short vowels? To answer this question, it is necessary

to describe the underlying representation of phonemic long vowels (Figure 3.2) as compared with

Old Rapa long vowels (Figure 3.3.).

Figure 3.2, modified from a figure by Rehg (2007:123), shows the underlying weight

(temporal), segmental (x), and surface (feature (F)) tiers of true underlying short and long vowels.

One mora (μ) corresponds to the weight of one vowel. In figure 3.2, we see that a short vowel is

underlyingly one mora, consists of one segment, and emerges at the surface as one feature. An

underlying long vowel, however, contains two mora (μ), but consists of only one segment, and

emerges in the surface syllable as one feature.

Figure 3.2. Representations of true underlying short and long vowels

	Short Vowel	Long Vowel
Temporal tier	μ	μ μ
Segmental tier	x	x
Feature tier	F	F
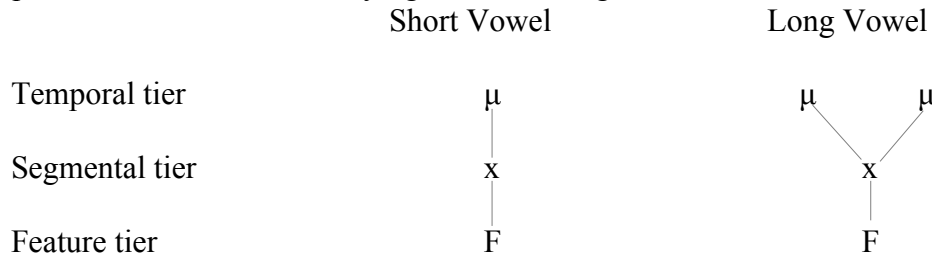
Figure 3.3 demonstrates how long vowels in Old Rapa are represented. In Old Rapa, I suggest that

while long vowels emerge at the surface as one feature, they are underlyingly two segments

consisting of one mora each. Essentially, the two separate segments fuse into one feature because

they are identical.

Figure 3.3. Underlying representation of long vowels in Old Rapa

	Short Vowel	Long Vowel
Temporal tier	μ	μ μ
Segmental tier	x	x x
Feature tier	F	F
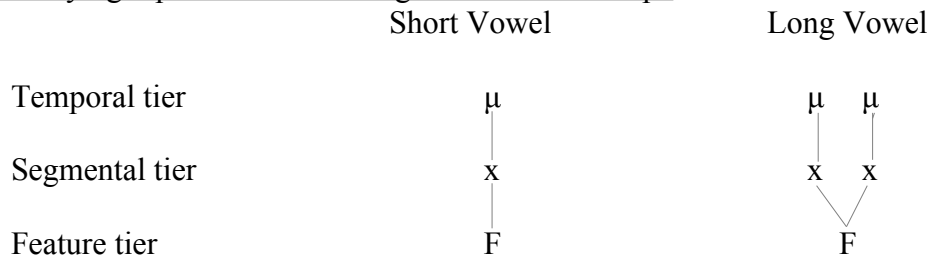
This vowel fusion is reminiscent of Poser's "Syllable Fusion" process which he described for Tongan (1985:5). Poser claimed that when like short vowels are adjacent, they may be fused into the same syllable "yielding a long vowel". Poser proposed that a similar fusion process of certain combinations of unlike adjacent vowels was also responsible for diphthongs. The combinations of unlike vowels he observed to fuse in Tongan (ei, ai, ae, ao, au, oi, oe, ou) are precisely those that fuse in Old Rapa, as discussed in the following section.

3.2.2 Surface Diphthongs

Old Rapa exhibits twelve surface diphthongs, including eight short and four long diphthongs. There are fewer long diphthongs than short, and they are used with much less frequency than short ones. All surface diphthongs exhibited in my data set are listed in table 3.3, with examples. Surface diphthongs in Old Rapa fall in sonority, and result from unlike adjacent vowels where the first vowel is more sonorant than the second.

Table 3.3. Surface diphthongs in Old Rapa

Short Diphthongs	Example	Gloss
ae	*akaekae*	'small sea cucumber'
ao	*ao*	'day'
ai	*maitaki*	'good'
au	*mau*	'take'
ei	*keiā*	'steal'
oi	*koi*	'quick'
oe	*koe*	'2S'
ou	*mounga*	'mountain'
Long Diphthongs	**Example**	**Gloss**
āo	*pāoa*	'unlucky'
āi	*'āikete*	'learn'
āu	*māua*	'1DuExcl'
ōu	*kōura*	'lobster'

Rehg proposes three possible underlying sources for Hawaiian's falling diphthongs (2007:120), and the same proposals may be applied to Old Rapa: (1) /V̯/, an underlying unit phoneme that involves gliding articulation from the position of one vowel to that of another; (2) /VV/, an underlying sequence of two non-identical vowels, in which the second vowel is less sonorous than the first; (3) /VG/, an underlying sequence of a vowel followed by a glide. These can be represented by the tiered representations in figure 3.4 (modified from Rehg 2007:123).

Figure 3.4. Underlying representations of surface falling diphthongs
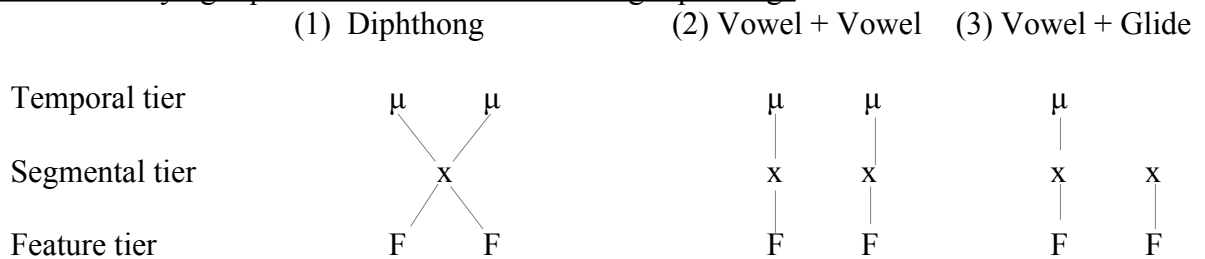
My analysis of diphthongs in Old Rapa parallels my analysis of long vowels in the language, which is that they are a sequence of more than one underlying vowel. Diphthongs in Old Rapa are surface-level, phonetic diphthongs, resulting from adjacent vowels (underlyingly represented as in (2) in figure 3.4) where V_i is more sonorous than V_{ii}. They are not unit phonemes, and are instead a result of the fusion of unlike adjacent vowels. This argument is supported by the following evidence: (1) native speaker intuition on syllable division; and (2) surface diphthongization across morpheme boundaries.

3.2.2.1 Native speaker intuition

Perhaps the most obvious evidence against diphthongs as unit phonemes in Old Rapa comes from native speakers' separation of diphthongs into individual syllables in slowed speech. For example, *kōura* 'lobster' is pronounced with two syllables as ['koːu.ɾɑ] in normal speech, but as three syllables, ['koː.u.ɾɑ], in slowed speech. The following diphthongs were also tested in slower speech, and they demonstrate the same type of diphthong separation. If these surface diphthongs were underlying diphthongs, a native speaker would not be able to separate the surface diphthong into separate vowel segments in separate syllables.

(3.27) *pūai* 'strong; loud'

FAST   SLOW

['puː.ɑi]   ['puː.ɑ.i]

(3.28) *kāuari* 'stroll'

     FAST   SLOW

     ['kɑ:u.wɑ.ɾi]   ['kɑ:.u.ɑ.ɾi]

(3.29) *'oe* 'paddle'

     FAST   SLOW

     [ʔoe]   [ʔo.e]

3.2.2.2 Diphthongs across morpheme boundaries

Further evidence for surface-only diphthongs in Old Rapa comes from the surface diphthongization of adjacent vowels across morpheme boundaries. These vowels must follow the same requirements as the vowel segments that make up surface diphthongs within a base, where V_{ii} must be less sonorous than V_i. Examples (3.30) and (3.32) demonstrate diphthongization in affixation; example (3.31) shows diphthongization in compounding.

  (3.30)

            FAST   SLOW

  'aka-inu   > [ʔa.'kɑi.nu] [ˌʔa.xɑ.'i.nu]

  CAUS-drink

  'give a drink'

(3.31)

				FAST	SLOW
pā	+	*ika*	>	['pɑːi.xɑ]	['pɑː.i.xɑ]
boundary		fish			

'fish trap'

(3.32)

		FAST	SLOW
'aka-ora	>	[ʔɑ.'kao.ɾɑ]	[ʔɑ.xa.'o.ɾɑ]
CAUS-life			

'save'

3.2.3 Phonological Processes: Vowels

Old Rapa exhibits three major vowel phonological processes: lengthening of geminate vowels, diphthongization, and glide epenthesis. These are discussed in detail in the following sections, presented in order of their occurrence.

3.2.3.1 Lengthening of geminate vowels

As discussed in section 3.2.1, sequences of identical short vowels become long vowels. This occurs at the word-level as well as across morpheme boundaries. Several examples are provided in section 3.2.1.

3.2.3.2 Diphthongization

As discussed in section 3.2.2, sequences of a more sonorous vowel and a less sonorous vowel diphthongize. This occurs at the word-level as well as across morpheme boundaries. Several examples are provided in section 3.2.2.

3.2.3.3 Glide epenthesis

Old Rapa does not exhibit any phonemic glides; however, glides do emerge in regular speech[23] as transitions between less sonorous vowels and more sonorous vowels. The type of glide inserted is based on the roundedness of the less sonorous vowel. This occurs after geminate vowel lengthening (section 3.2.3.1). Furthermore, glide insertion occurs in the opposite environment to surface diphthongization. Whereas surface diphthongs are the result of a more sonorous vowel directly preceding a less sonorous vowel, glides are inserted between less sonorous vowels and more sonorous following vowels.

$$\emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} j \\ w \end{bmatrix} / \begin{bmatrix} i,e \\ u,o \end{bmatrix} \_\_ \text{V[-high]}$$

(3.33)   *i   a-na*   >   [i.'jɑ.nɑ]

PREP   PER-3S

'to him/her'

(3.34)   *kiekie*   >   ['ki.je.'ki.je]

'roots of mangu plant[24]'

_____

23 In very slow speech, no glides occur.
24 This is a plant endemic to Rapa Iti, found high on cliffs and in the summer months (December and January), has an edible pink fruit. Scientific name: *Freycinetia rapensis*

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(3.35)   *ngaio*   >   ['ŋɑi.jɒ]

              'sandalwood'

(3.36)   *mea*   >   ['me.jɑ]

              'thing'

(3.37)   *reo*   >   ['re.jɒ]

              'language'

(3.38)   *e*   *ou*   >   [e.'jou]

              AGT   1S

              'by me'

(3.39)   *naku*   *ou*   >   [nɑ.xu.'wou]

              'go   1S'

(3.40)   *mua*   >   ['mu.wɑ]

              'ahead'

(3.41)   *puai*   >   [pu.'wɑi]

              'strong, loud'

(3.42)   *roa*   >   ['ro.wɑ]

           'long'

3.3 Phonotactics

3.3.1 Syllables

The syllable structure of Rapa is ((C)V(V)). The language allows onsets, though it never allows

codas, and as a result syllables are always open, as is typical of Polynesian languages (Biggs 1971).

Syllables may be light or heavy in Old Rapa. A light syllable contains only one mora, and a

heavy syllable contains two or three mora.

Light Syllable: Heavy Syllables:
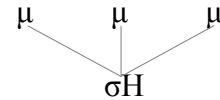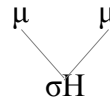
In Old Rapa, there are three kinds of heavy syllables, those that contain surface long vowels, those

that contain surface short diphthongs, and those that contain surface long diphthongs. This results

in a total of four types of syllables in the language, shown in figure 3.5. As demonstrated here,

long diphthongs are trimoraic.

Figure 3.5. Light and heavy syllables in Old Rapa
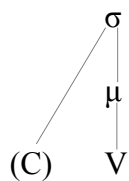
| Light Syllable: | Heavy Syllable (Long Vowel): | Heavy Syllable (Short Diphthong): | Heavy Syllable (Long Diphthong): |
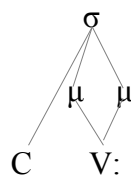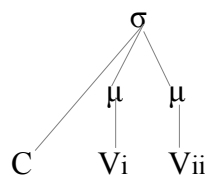
58
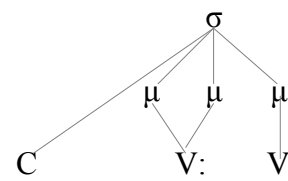
While a syllable is permitted to be monomoraic, a content word must consist of at least one foot, and a foot must contain at least two mora. Therefore, a content word must consist of at least two mora. This minimally required word structure is schematized in figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6. Minimal word structure in Old Rapa

```
      W                      W
      |                      |
      F                      F
     / \                     |
   LS   LS                   HS
```

Because a short vowel contains only one mora, a content word may not consist of only a short vowel. Conversely, grammatical markers can consist of a single segment: *i* 'preposition'; *e* 'stative TAM'; *a* 'imperative TAM'; *o* 'possessive'; *a* 'possessive'.

There do not appear to be any restrictions on the number of syllables in affixed and compounded words. However, bases longer than three syllables that have not undergone reduplication, compounding, or affixation are not found in my data. Unaffixed words are typically one to two syllables long, and trisyllabic forms usually contain a fossilized affix.

3.3.2 Distribution and frequency

Old Rapa shows a tendency for consonant onsets. This is evident from the high percentage of consonant initial free morphemes. In a corpus of about 2500 words (both content words and grammatical words), approximately 97 percent are consonant initial. In initial consonants, there is a preference for voiceless plosive stops. Vowels are equally distributed, except that almost no words begin with /e/.

3.3.3 Reduplication

Old Rapa exhibits significant reduplication, which is typologically consistent with other Polynesian languages. There are four forms of reduplication in Old Rapa: full, rightward (suffixation), leftward (prefixation), and medial (infixation). Full reduplication and rightward reduplication occur with almost equal frequency; leftward and medial, however, are much less frequent than the other two. Furthermore, leftward and medial reduplication appear to occur only as CV reduplication.

Table 3.4. Examples of Reduplication Forms

	Base Form	Reduplicated Form
Full Reduplication	*kini* 'pinch' *kati* 'bite'	*kinikini* 'pinch skin' *katikati* 'nibble'
Rightward Reduplication	*māringi* 'pour' *taka'uri* 'go backward' *pātī* 'bounce' ngaru 'wave'	*māringiringi* 'pour continuously' *taka'uri'uri* 'roll back and forth' *pātītī* 'splash (of raindrops)' *ngaruru* 'sea sick'
Leftward Reduplication	*komo* 'sleep' *kume* 'drag'	*kokomo* 'deep sleep' *kukume* 'large, flat leaf seaweed'
Medial Reduplication	*maitaki* 'good; well'	*maitataki* 'excellent; very well'

Reduplication does not have inflectional functions in Old Rapa, but does demonstrate possible derivational functions. For example, rightward partial reduplication almost always has an iterative function. Medial and leftward partial reduplication typically denote emphasis. However, these functions are not always predictable. Functions of full reduplication can overlap with partial reduplication and some reduplicated forms appear to be fossilizations. In fossilizations, the form of the base is recognizable, but there is either no distinguishable meaning between the reduplicated form and the base; they have become synonyms; or the meaning of the base has been lost. An example of synonymous reduplication and base is *kōmirimiri* 'caress'. The base, *kōmiri*, also means

'caress' and there is no distinction in meaning between the two. An example of a base that has lost meaning is *akuaku* 'hunt, chase, follow'. *Aku* in isolation does not have meaning. The varying semantic functions of reduplication are further discussed in chapter 4.

It is important to note that reduplication in Old Rapa maintains strong base boundaries. Consequently, phonological processes do not appear to function across reduplication base-copy boundaries.

3.4 Prosody

Prosody plays an important role in Old Rapa in that functionality at the morphological and syntactic level are deeply connected with patterns of stress and intonation. Two levels of stress are exhibited in Old Rapa: word-level stress and phrase-level stress. Both levels play equal and important roles in the functionality of the language. This section first discusses word-level stress in Old Rapa, in both monomorphemic and affixed forms. Next, this section examines Old Rapa's pitch contour in various sentence types and explores the grammatical functions of intonation in the language.

3.4.1 Word-level stress

3.4.1.1 Primary stress

Primary stress in Old Rapa is directly related to the relative weight of syllables, where surface long vowels and surface diphthongs (both long and short) attract stress as a result of their heavier weight. Thus, stress in Old Rapa is predictable based on the metrical structure of the base.

In Old Rapa, the prosodic foot consists of two or three mora and is built from the right edge of the word. Primary stress falls regularly on the penultimate mora (3.43).

(3.43) *ivi*

'bone'

['i.vi]

```
              W
              |
              F
             / \
            μ   μ
            |   |
            σ   σ
            |   |
            i   vi
```
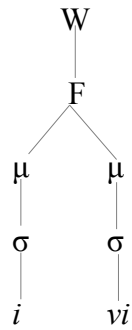
In some words (3.44), there is evidence of an stray syllable; that is, a foot-less syllable. In these cases, primary stress remains on the penultimate mora.

(3.44) *puaka*

'pig'

[pu.'ɑ.xɑ]

```
                W
               / \
                   F
                  / \
            μ    μ   μ
            |    |   |
            σ    σ   σ
            |    |   |
            pu   a   ka
```
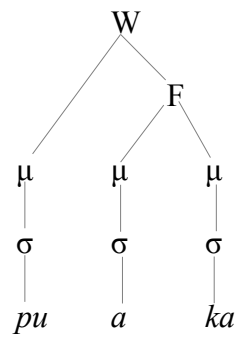
In words with more than one foot, primary stress falls on the penultimate mora of the second (counting from the right) foot.

(3.45) *tāpū*

'cut'

['tɑ:.pu:]
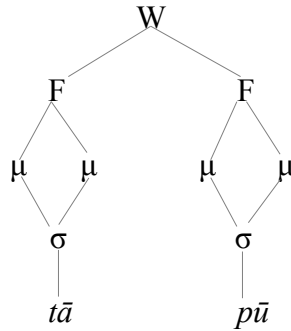
Recall from section 3.3.1 that a foot consists of either one heavy syllable or two light syllables. In Old Rapa, a heavy syllable attracts stress; therefore, a foot with a heavy syllable will take stress.

(3.46) pō'otu

['po:.ʔo.tu]

'rock'

(3.47) *mangavai*

[mɑ.ŋɑ.'vɑi]

'river'

W
├── F
│   ├── μ ── σ ── *ma*
│   └── μ ── σ ── *nga*
└── F
    ├── μ ── σ ── *vai*
    └── μ
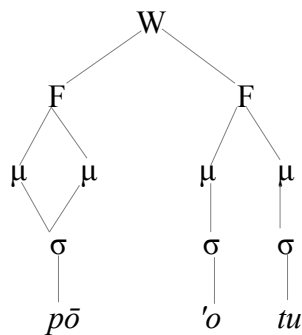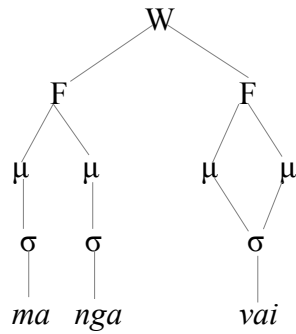
Here again, there can be the presence of a stray syllable:

(3.48) *'angai*

[ʔɑ.'ŋɑi]

'adopt'

W
├── μ ── σ ── *'a*
└── F
    ├── μ ── σ ── *ngai*
    └── μ
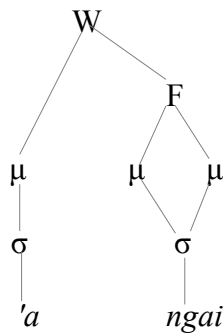
What this analysis does not yet account for is the observed preference in Old Rapa to stress syllables with geminate vowels (surface long vowels) over non-geminate vowel clusters

(diphthongs). Both make up heavy syllables, so logically, under a system of stress that is governed by syllable weight, they should be treated equally. However, they are not, as is demonstrated in example (3.49). If heavy syllables were treated equally, we would expect stress in *keiā* to fall on the penultimate mora of the second foot; on the syllable *kei*. As is shown, this is not what occurs.

(3.49) *keiā*

[kei.'ɑ:]

'steal'

This example implies a hierarchy among Old Rapa's three vowel types, where long vowel heavy syllables are ranked higher than diphthongal heavy syllables. Therefore, I suggest that primary stress in Old Rapa is governed by the following hierarchy (see Bauer and co-authors 1993:657 for the same hierarchy in Māori stress):

$$(C)V_iV_i > (C)\ V_iV_{ii} > (C)V$$

In this hierarchy, heavier syllables take precedence over lighter, monomoraic syllables, and geminate vowels are higher than non-geminate clusters. Old Rapa stress rules, maintaining this hierarchy, can be outlined as follows:

(a) Primary stress falls on the foot that contains the syllable highest on the hierarchy.

(b) When all feet contain the same type (hierarchical status) of syllables, then stress falls on the penultimate mora of the second foot.

3.4.1.2 Secondary stress

Secondary stress is evidenced in forms of four or more syllables. As previously discussed, unaffixed forms in Old Rapa do not appear to exceed three syllables; thus, secondary stress is only

evidenced in affixed forms. Recall that primary stress falls regularly on the syllable containing the penultimate mora. Secondary stress is harder to recognize given that sequences of five or more syllables are not easily found in Old Rapa. However, based on some limited examples, it appears that secondary stress falls on the penultimate mora of the leftmost foot, as shown in examples (3.50–3.53).

(3.50) *'akatika*

[ˌʔa.xa.'ti.xa]

'level the taro bed'

(3.51) *pake'ia*

[ˌpa.xe.'ʔi.a]

'risen sun'

(3.52) *kite'anga*

[ˌki.te.'ʔa.ŋa]

'knowledge'

(3.53) *'akaoti'anga*

[ʔa.ˌkao.ti.'ʔa.ŋa]

'finale; closing ceremony'

3.4.1.3 Stress in reduplication and compounding

Word-level stress is unaffected by reduplication (3.54) and compounding (3.55). In both processes, word boundaries remain strong, and the stress pattern of the base is retained. This stress is more prominent (more intense) than secondary stress, as it is a reduplication of the primary stress.

(3.54) *pona*   *ponapona*

['po.nɑ]   ['po.nɑ'po.nɑ]

'grow lines of a bamboo stalk'   'muscular (showing muscle form)'

(3.55) *kiri/ngutu*   *kiri ngutu*

['ki.ɾi] ['ŋu.tu]   ['ki.ɾi'ŋu.tu]

'skin/mouth'   'lips'

3.4.2 Phrase level stress

Beyond studies of Māori's prosodic system, phrase level stress has not been examined much in other Eastern Polynesian languages. Based on the data presented here for Old Rapa, the published work on Māori's phrase-level stress (Bauer and co-authors 1993; Biggs 1969, 1971; Schütz 1985), and limited research on intonation in Hawaiian (Murphy 2013), it becomes clear that the phrase is not only a grammatical unit, but also a phonological unit in Eastern Polynesian languages. This section describes phrase stress and pitch contour as they are observed in Old Rapa in hopes of contributing to future studies of this phenomenon.

Biggs (1969:17) said of Māori that the phrase is the largest unit of stress because each phrase can be separated by a "natural pause unit." The same description applies to Old Rapa, where

phrases are also separated by pauses that mark the phonological unit. Any phrase, nominal or verbal, in Old Rapa is made up of a content word, the nucleus; and its corresponding functional markers. Due to this structure, Old Rapa phrases tend to be relatively compact, forming single phonological words. A phonological word is more complex than a single lexeme but is less complex than a sentence. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the pronominal object noun phrase (3.56).

(3.56)

a.	*i*	*a-na*	>	[i.ˈjɑ.nɑ]
	ACC	PER-3S		
	'to him/her'			
b.	*i*	*a-ku*	>	[i.ˈjɑ.xu]
	ACC	PER-1S		
	'to me'			

Within the phonological word (phrase unit), there is only one majorly stressed syllable. This is predictable, as with word-level stress, and follows the same syllable hierarchy and rules as word-level stress. Consider the sentence in (3.57).

(3.57)	*ka*	*inu-'ia*	*e*	*ou*	*te*	*kōta'e*
	PFV	drink-PASS	AGT	1S	INDEF	water
	'Some water was drunk by me.'					

Here, we have three grammatical phrases, or phonological words. A verb phrase, *ka inu'ia*; and two noun phrases, *e ou* and *te kōta'e*. Stress patterns for the individual phrases are indicated below in

(3.58), (3.59), and (3.60) respectively.

    (3.58)   *ka*   *inu-'ia*   >   [ˌkai.nu.ˈʔi.jɑ]

    (3.59)   *e*   *ou*   >   [e.ˈjou]

    (3.60)   *te*   *kōta'e*   >   [te.ˌko:.ˈtɑ.ʔe]

Examples (3.61- 3.62) further demonstrate stress rules. This is the same type of phrase

grammatically – both are noun phrases that include a definite article and a corresponding deictic

marker. Phrase-level stress falls on [ne] of /va'ine/ in example (3.61). However, in example (3.62)

stress falls on [nei] due to it being a heavier syllable.

    (3.61)

            tō   *va'ine*   *ra*   >   [ˌto:.va.ʔi.ˈne.rɑ]

            DEF   woman   DEIC

            'the woman (previously seen or mentioned)'

    (3.62)

            tō   *va'ine*   *nei*   >   [ˌto:.va.ʔi.ne.ˈnei]

            DEF   woman   DEIC

            'the woman (just seen or mentioned)'

Furthermore, the same phonological rules that are dictated by stress at the word-level also apply at

the phrasal level. For example, and as mentioned in section 3.1.3.1, unstressed syllables with /k/ in

a phonological word can be reduced to [x]. This is demonstrated in (3.63).

(3.63) *a*   *kai*   *i*   *tā-koe*   *eika*

        IMP   eat   ACC   INDEF.PossA-2S   fish

        'Eat your fish.'

        [ɑ]   [kɑi] [i]   [tɑ:koe]   [eixɑ] >   [ɑ.'kai:.'tɑ:.xoe.'ei.xɑ]

3.4.3 Intonation

As discussed in section 3.4.2, the phrase is a not only a fundamental grammatical unit in Old Rapa, but is also a major phonological unit. As a result, pitch contour and grammatical function of a phrase intersect. Pitch contour varies depending on the type of sentence, and can be the sole distinguishing factor between sentences that intend to convey different grammatical functions. This is observed primarily in morphologically unmarked imperative sentences and morphologically unmarked yes/no questions. The following sections discuss contour in declaratives, questions both marked (employing question words) and unmarked (yes/no questions), and imperatives.

3.4.3.1 Declarative intonation

Declarative utterances generally demonstrate a pitch rise in the first phrase, and then a gradual fall in the final phrase. Final phrases are distinct from all other phrases in that they demonstrate a deep descent on the final syllable and also exhibit decreased loudness. This is important to note, as final unstressed syllables are often virtually inaudible and only detectable based on the stress placement of the preceding syllable. In figure 3.7 (and those that follow), the more dramatic line (green) represents intensity, and the more stagnant line (blue) shows intonation.

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Figure 3.7. Intonation of declarative: *e naku na ou i Ta'iti*

e naku na ou i Ta'iti
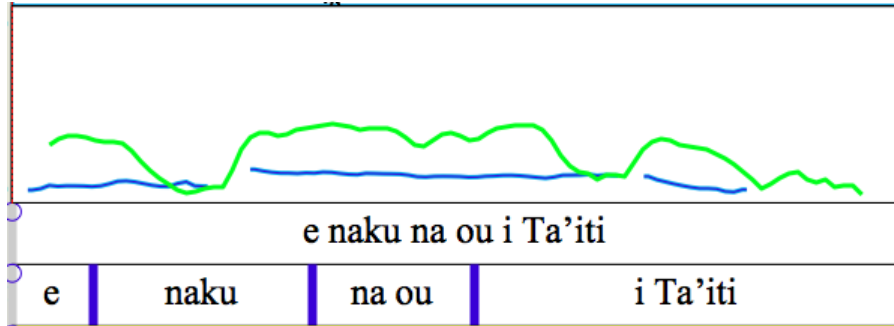
| e | naku | na ou | i Ta'iti |

(3.64)   e   naku   na   ou   i   Ta'iti

         IPFV   go   DEIC   1S   PREP   Ta'iti

         'I am going to Tahiti.'

3.4.3.2 Interrogative intonation

Interrogative sentences are marked in two ways: question words (see chapter 4) or final rising pitch. Morphologically unmarked yes/no questions are marked by differences in pitch contour from their declarative counterparts. As shown in figure 3.8, unmarked interrogatives show a rise on the final phrase in contrast to the final fall of a declarative utterance. Furthermore, there is a noticeable rise on the final syllable.

Figure 3.8. Intonation of unmarked yes/no question: *nākoe tō tati ra*

nākoe tō tati ra?
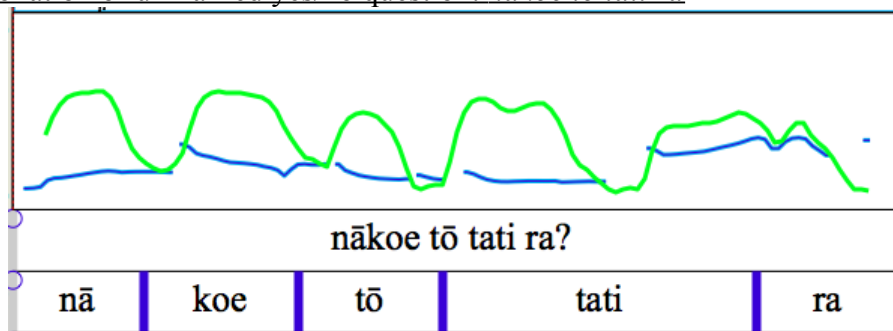
| nā | koe | tō | tati | ra |

(3.65) *nā-koe*   *tō*   *tati*   *ra*

GEN.A   DEF   baby   DEIC

'[Is] that baby yours?'

Marked yes/no questions are tag questions that employ the question marker /nē/ at the end of an otherwise declarative sentence. These follow the declarative pattern with a rise only on the question marker.

Finally, content questions that are marked by question words follow a declarative pattern of intonation, with, however, a noticeably higher onset in pitch than a declarative utterance.

Figure 3.9. Intonation of question: *e a'a tākoe himene*
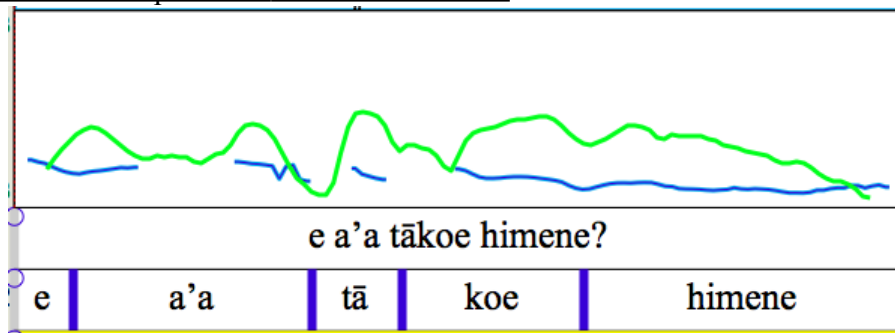
(3.66) *e*   *a'a*   *tā-koe*   *himene*

IPFV   what   PossA-2S   song

'What's your song?'

3.4.3.3 Imperative intonation

The imperative is typically marked by *a* (see chapter 4); however, this is often elided. What remains consistent after the imperative marker elision is the marked intonation of the imperative

sentence. Even as the grammatical element that defines it as imperative is elided, the utterance is still clearly imperative based on the intonation. Imperative pitch begins higher than declarative, notes a steep fall on the final phrase and then a rise in pitch on the final syllable. Demonstrated in figure 3.10 is this pattern of an unmarked imperative utterance.

Figure 3.10. Intonation of imperative: *tāka'ika'i te moko*
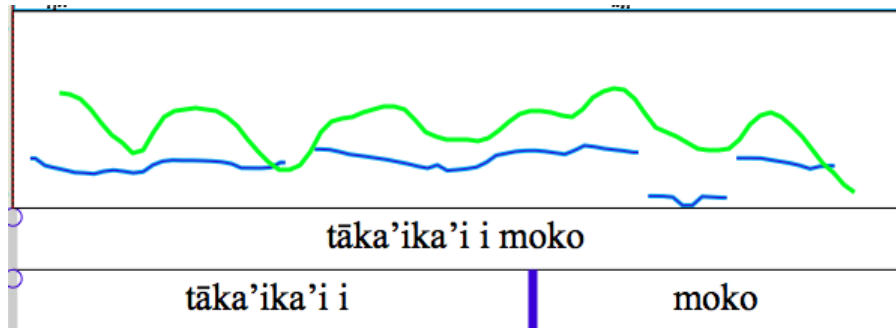
(3.67) tāka'ika'i   i   moko

crawl   PREP back

'Crawl on [my] back.'

Chapter 4

Grammatical categories and word formation

4. Introduction

This chapter discusses grammatical categories in Old Rapa and provides information on word formation strategies. The examples provided serve to highlight that Old Rapa, like most Polynesian languages, has limited morphology. First, I address the major word classes of nouns, verbs, and adjectives, describing any obligatory or non-obligatory particles that co-occur with them. Second, I examine the locative predicate marker. Third, I describe derivational morphemes. Fourth, I describe the fossilized affixes that I have identified in the corpus. Fifth, I discuss question words, and sixth, I examine the anaphoric particle. Finally, I detail the various functions of reduplication in Old Rapa.

4.1 Major word classes

Verbs, nouns, and adjectives make up the major word classes in Old Rapa. These categories are open and fluid, meaning that in most cases a given word can function as a noun, as an adjective, and as a verb. The various related meanings can be disambiguated by the morphosyntactic context; that is, with what kinds of other items the forms co-occur. For example, nouns are preceded by an article or a pre-nominal (case) particle; verbs are preceded by a tense-aspect-mood marker; adjectives follow nouns (as a modifier). The fluidity of word classes in Old Rapa, which is

demonstrated in examples (4.1–4.5), is typologically consistent with other Polynesian languages. It

has been well-documented in the literature on Polynesian languages (Biggs 1969, 1971; Broschart

1997; Harlow 2012).

(4.1)   *maki*   'illness, sick'

    a.   noun

        te   *maki*

        INDEF   'sick'

        'an illness'

    b.   verb

        e   *maki* *na*   *'ōna*

        IPFV sick   DEIC 3S

        'She is sick.'

(4.2)   *eika*   'fish'

    a.   noun

        te   *eika*

        INDEFfish

        'a fish'

    b.   adjective

        ve'inga   *eika*

        leaf.packet   fish

        'fish packet'

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(4.3) *maitaki* 'good, well'

    a.   verb

        e   *maitaki*   *na*   *ou*

        IPFV be.well   DEIC 1S

        'I am doing well.'

    b.   adverb

        ka   *kai*   *maitaki*   *ou*

        PFV   eat   well   1S

        'I ate well.'

(4.4) *rekareka* 'happy'

    a.   verb

        ka   *rekareka*   *roa*   *ou*

        PVF   be.happy   much   1S

        'I was very happy.'

    b.   adjective

        te   *pē'ā*   *rekareka*

        the   woman   happy

        'the happy woman'

(4.5) *ua*   'rain'

    a.   verb

        e   *ua*

        IPFV   rain

        'It's raining.'

    b.   noun

        te   *ua*

        INDEFrain

        'a rainfall'

As Harlow (2012:96) wrote, in reference to Māori but equally applicable to Old Rapa, most lexical items can appear "in a variety of syntactic environments." In Old Rapa, the isolating nature of the morphemes and the lack of inflectional morphology allow for lexical items to somewhat freely participate in all phrase types (nominal, verbal, and adjectival), assuming the corresponding particles are involved. This section identifies those particles and describes how they can mark a lexical item for a particular word class.

4.1.1 Nouns

Nouns fall into three classes: common nouns, proper names, and pronouns. Old Rapa does not typically permit bare noun phrases, except for pronouns in subject position. As a result, nouns co-occur with an obligatory pre-nominal particle. These obligatory particles are articles (for common nouns) and case markers (for proper names, common nouns, and object pronouns). Nouns may also

occur with non-obligatory particles, based on the type of noun and the intended meaning of the phrase.

4.1.1.1 Common nouns

Common nouns obligatorily co-occur with either the specific indefinite marker *te* or the definite marker *tō*. They also co-occur with an obligatory case marker, which may be either overt or zero-marked (see section 4.1.1.7.1). Thus, for a common noun, the noun phrase must include at least the constituents in Figure 4.1.

Figure 4.1. Obligatory common noun phrase constituents

Case Marker	Article	Common Noun

Common nouns may also co-occur with one or more of the following optional particles: quantifiers, possessives, plural classifiers, adjectives, and deictics.

Figure 4.2. Obligatory and optional common noun phrase constituents

Case Marker	(Quantifier)	Article	(Possessive)	(Plural)	Common Noun	Adjective	(Deictic)

4.1.1.2 Proper names

Proper names co-occur with an obligatory case marker. Proper names occurring in object position are additionally marked by *a*, 'person marker'. They are not permitted to occur with plural or deictic markers.

Figure 4.3. Proper noun phrase constituents

Case Marker	(Person Marker)	Proper Noun

4.1.1.3 Pronouns

As is typical of Polynesian languages and can be reconstructed for PPN (see Wilson 1982:63–72), Old Rapa maintains a singular, dual, plural pronominal system that marks both inclusivity and exclusivity in first person dual and plural forms. The exclusive forms mark the speaker and others but do not include the addressee(s); the inclusive dual form marks the speaker and one addressee; and the inclusive plural form marks the speaker and addressee(s), and can extend to others as well.

It is important to note that the first and third person singular exhibit bound forms. These are the forms used with the person object marker, as well as in possessive and genitive constructions.

(4.6) *tō-ku*   *'are*

       INDEF.PossO-1S   house

       'my house'

(4.7) *tā-na*   *tāne*

       INDEF.PossA-3S   man

       'her husband'

Table 4.1. Pronouns in Old Rapa

	Singular		**Dual**	**Plural**
	Free	**Bound**		
First Person Exclusive	*ou*	*ku*	*māua*	*mātou*
First Person Inclusive			*tāua*	*tātou*
Second Person	*koe*		*kōrua*	*koutou*
Third Person[25]	*'ōna,koia*	*na*	*rāua*	*rātou*

---

25 The form *koia* was described to me as an older form of the third personal singular that is rarely used today.

4.1.1.3.1 Cardinal Pronouns

Cardinal pronouns co-occur with case markers, and with a person marker when in object position, but they may not be modified by pre-nominal particles such as plurals or post-nominal particles such as deictics and adjectives. They are the only kind of noun in Old Rapa that can be bare in certain instances; pronouns are unmarked as subjects.

(4.8) intransitive with a pronominal subject

ka   mate   'ōna

PFV   die   3S

'She died.'

(4.9) intransitive with a proper name subject

ka   mate   'o   Taifa

PFV   die   NOM   Taifa

'Taifa died.'

(4.10) intransitive with a common noun subject

ka   mate   tō   pē'ā

PFV   die   DEF   woman

'The woman died.'

4.1.1.3.2 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns consist of three morphemes: the indefinite specific article *te* + possessive

marker *a/o* + pronoun. The article and possessive markers are fused into the portmanteau forms

tō/tā. For first person singular and third person singular, the bound form is used.[26]

Table 4.2. Possessive pronouns in Old Rapa

	Singular		**Dual**		**Plural**	
First Person Inclusive	*tōku*	*tāku*	*tō māua*	*tā māua*	*tō mātou*	*tā mātou*
First Person Exclusive			*tō tāua*	*tā tāua*	*tō tātou*	*tā tātou*
Second Person	*tōkoe*	*tākoe*	*tō kōrua*	*tā kōrua*	*tō koutou*	*tā koutou*
Third Person	*tōna*	*tāna*	*tō rāua*	*tā rāua*	*tō rātou*	*tā rātou*

4.1.1.4 Demonstratives

Deictics can function as nouns (i.e., they can be combined with the indefinite specific article) to

serve as demonstrative pronouns. Of these, there are three: *tenei* 'this, close to speaker'; *tena* 'that,

close to addressee'; and *tera* 'that, away from speaker and addressee'. Demonstratives are very

rarely used in Old Rapa, and my data suggest that there is an overwhelming preference to use the

definite article and a deictic, as a demonstrative determiner, rather than to employ a demonstrative

pronoun.

4.1.1.5 Adjectives

Most content words may be used to modify a noun as an adjective. Adjectives are postposed to the

noun they modify, and they occupy the position directly to the right of the noun, as shown in

examples (4.11–4.13).

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26 Selection of *a* or *o* is semantically driven by the relationship of possessor to possessum. This distinction is discussed at length in section 4.1.1.9.

(4.11) *te   'are   rākau*

INDEFhouse   wood

'a wooden house'

(4.12) *te   tamarua   matamua*

INDEFboy   first

'the first boy'

(4.13) *te   kororio   puaka*

INDEFsmall.animal   pig

'a small pig (a small animal of the pig type)'

4.1.1.6 Quantifiers

Old Rapa exhibits two quantifiers, which are pre-posed of the noun. These are *tonga* 'all' and

ngare 'most' . *Ngare* is always used with a plural classifier (see section 4.1.1.7.3).

(4.14) *tonga   te   tamariki*

 all   INDEF children

'all of the children'

(4.15) *ngare   te   anga   pē'ā*

many   INDEFPL   woman

 'most of the women'

4.1.1.7 Pre-nominal markers

As discussed in the previous sections, pre-nominal markers include case markers, articles, and classifiers.

4.1.1.7.1 Case markers

Old Rapa is a nominative-accusative language, like most Eastern Polynesian languages (Bauer and co-authors 1993; Chung 1978; Clark 1976; Otsuka 2011). In Old Rapa, common noun and pronominal subjects of transitive verbs are zero-marked in the nominative case. Proper noun subjects of transitive verbs are marked by *'o*.[27] All objects in the accusative case are marked by the accusative marker *i*. Proper names and pronouns (i.e., nouns with specific human referents) are additionally marked by the person marker, *a*. The oblique agent for all nouns is marked by *e*. Case markers are outlined in table 4.3. The patterns in which these case markers are used, as well as the types of verbs associated with them, are discussed in chapter 5.

Table 4.3. Old Rapa case marking

	NOM	ACC	AGT
Common Noun	ø	*i*	*e*
Proper Noun	*'o*	*i*	*e*
Pronoun	ø	*i*	*e*

4.1.1.7.2 Articles

Old Rapa employs two articles: indefinite *te* and definite *tō.* There are no separate plural articles,

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27 Based on regular sound correspondences, and reflexes of PPN *ko in other EP languages that retain PPN *k (Greenhill and Clark 2011), I would expect Old Rapa to exhibit *ko* for the nominative case; however, it does not. I suggest that this is an instance of complete Tahitian replacement.

and the indefinite and definite articles can refer to both plural and singular nouns (e.g., *te puaka* can mean both 'the pigs' and 'the pig'). In specific cases, particularly where context does not indicate whether or not the noun is plural, Old Rapa uses classifiers to denote plurality (see section 4.1.1.7.3).

Table 4.4. Pre-nominal articles in Old Rapa

	Definite	Indefinite
General (Singular and Plural)	*tō*	*te*

The labels "indefinite" and "definite" are not adequate in and of themselves to describe the full functionality of *tō* and *te*, as the use of these articles is heavily driven by an addressee's ability to identify the referent within the discourse. It is necessary, then, to discuss these articles in terms not only of their definiteness, but also of their referentiality or specificity.

A definite expression, according to Guérin, can be employed

> when a speaker makes the pre-supposition that the referent of the expression is accessible to the hearer. That is, the speaker assumes that there is a unique referent that the hearer can identify. …[An indefinite expression is used when] the speaker makes no assumption about the familiarity or accessibility of the referent to the hearer. (2007:539)

Regarding specificity, Guérin (2007) wrote that "a noun phrase is understood as specific/referential when the speaker assumes the existence of a particular referent in the universe of discourse" (540). A definite-specific expression, therefore, is one in which the speaker assumes that the referent in fact exists (rather than potentially exists) and is identifiable to the listener; an indefinite-specific expression is one in which the referent is being introduced into the discourse for the first time, and is not necessarily identifiable to the listener, but can be assumed to exist (539).

Old Rapa *tō* and *te* fit well under these definitions of the definite and indefinite, respectively, but *te* needs to be further defined. As Guérin (2007) points out, specificity is not

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necessarily determined by definiteness. In Old Rapa, *te* is indefinite, but sometimes refers to something specific, though it may not be readily identifiable to the addressee. *Te* is used to mark a new noun phrase in the discourse, but can mark one that certainly exists (example 4.16). The article *tō* is also specific but is definite in that it marks a noun phrase that has been mutually seen or previously mentioned in the discourse (example 4.17). The article *tō* can be used alone, but there is a speaker preference to use it with deictic *ra*, and occasionally *nei* or *rara*, to further specify its referentiality (4.18–4.19).

(4.16) *te   tangata*

INDEFperson

'a person'/'the person (identifiable to the speaker, but not necessarily to the listener)'

(4.17) *tō   tangata*

DEF   person

'the person'

(4.18) *tō   tangata   nei*

DEF   person   DEIC

'that person (just there/just mentioned)'

(4.19) *tō   tangata   ra*

DEF   person   DEIC

'that person (previously seen or mentioned)'

No other EP language exhibits an article *tō* to mark the definite. As discussed in chapter 6,

Old Rapa *tō* is a reflex of PEP *taua 'retrospective definitive' (Greenhill and Clark 2011). In other

EP languages, reflexes of *taua function as retrospective markers. In Old Rapa, *tō* has retrospective

functions, but the particle has extended its functions to also include marking definite expressions.

Other EP languages tend to express definiteness via a reflex of PPN *te 'definite article'. Old Rapa

does demonstrate a reflex of PPN *te; however, as I have shown, in Old Rapa *te* functions as an

indefinite article. To mark indefiniteness, many EP languages demonstrate a reflex of PNP *se

'indefinite article' (Greenhill and Clark 2011). Based on my data, Old Rapa has no reflex of *se;

however, Stokes reported *e* (a clear reflex of *se) as an indefinite article in 1930. This is no longer

used, and indefinite expressions are all marked by *te*.

The shift of *te* from definite to indefinite in Old Rapa may seem to be an odd semantic

replacement. However, it may be that PPN *te was used to express both definite and indefinite

specific. Clark first mentioned the ambiguity of *te* in PN languages in his 1976 reconstruction of

Proto Polynesian syntax:

> It should be pointed out that the distinction [between definite and indefinite] involved,
> in many PN languages and probably in PPN, is not the same as the definite-indefinite
> distinction in English…the distinction thus corresponds more precisely to that between
> <u>specific</u> and <u>non-specific</u>. (1976:47–48; emphasis original)

Many EP languages use *te* to express indefinite specific as well as definite. In Māori, for example,

te can occur with indefinite referents (Bauer and co-authors 1993:436). It would seem, then, that

PPN *te had a more inclusive function of both definite and indefinite specific. In Old Rapa, *te* has

lost the definite function, which *tō* has incorporated, resulting in three articles relating to

definiteness: *e* 'indefinite', *te* 'indefinite specific', and *tō* 'definite'. Over time, and under the steady

influence of Tahitian (an EP language that does not exhibit a reflex of *se and uses *te* for both indefinite and definite expressions), Old Rapa lost the *e* 'indefinite non-specific' article completely, allowing *te* to mark both indefinite non-specific and indefinite specific.

4.1.1.7.3 Classifiers

As mentioned in the previous section, Old Rapa does not mark plurality via the use of a plural article. Instead, Old Rapa employs plural classifiers, which are used in combination with either article, *te* or *tō*. This type of plural construction is atypical of Eastern Polynesian languages, most of which show reflexes of PPN *nga 'plural marker preposed to definite or specific nouns' (Greenhill and Clark 2011). According to Clark (1976:54), in most EP languages, the respective reflexes of *nga are functional alone as specifying plural markers and so any article is deleted. In Old Rapa, while the forms of the plural classifiers appear to be reflexes of PPN *nga, the plural classifiers must co-occur with either the indefinite or definite article.

I have identified two plural classifiers in Old Rapa: *anga* 'general plural' and *nana* 'animate plural'. The *anga* classifier may be used with both animate and inanimate nouns (examples 4.20–4.22); however, *nana* is more restricted and is ungrammatical when used with inanimate nouns and human nouns. Looking at examples (4.20-4.23), we see that *nana* works for *manu* 'bird' and *puaka* 'pig' but cannot be used to modify *tamariki* 'children' or *puta* 'book'.   It was also permissible with *namu* 'fly' (*te nana namu* 'some flies'). It seems, then, to be a plural form only for animals or insects.

(4.20) *tamariki*   'child'

     a.   *te*   *tamariki*

            INDEFchild

            'a child'

     b.   *tō*   *tamariki*

            DEF   child

            'the child'

     c.   *te*   *anga*   *tamariki*

            INDEFPL   child

            'some children'

     d.   *tō*   *anga*   *tamariki*

            DEF   PL   child

            'the children'

     e.   **tō*   *nana*   *tamariki*

            DEF   PL   children

            (intended: 'the children')

(4.21) *puaka* 'pig'

     a.   *te*   *puaka*

            INDEFpig

            'a pig'

b. *tō*   *puaka*

DEF   pig

'the pig'

c. *te*   *anga*   *puaka*

INDEFPL   pig

'some pigs'

d. *tō*   *anga*   *puaka*

DEF   PL   pig

'the pigs'

e. *tō*   *nana*   *puaka*

DEF   PL   pig

'the pigs'

(4.22) *puta*   'book'

a. *te*   *puta*

INDEFbook

'a book'

b. *tō*   *puta*

DEF   book

'the book'

c. *te   anga   puta*

INDEFPL   book

'some books'

d. *tō   anga   puta*

DEF   PL   book

'the books'

e. **te   nana   puta*

INDEFPL   book

'some books'

f. **tō   nana   puta*

DEF   PL   book

(intended: 'the books')

(4.23) *manu*   'bird'

a. *te   manu*

INDEFbird

'a bird'

b. *tō   manu*

DEF   bird

'the bird'

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<blockquote>

c.   *te*   *nana*   *manu*

INDEFPL   bird

'some birds'

d.   *tō*   *nana*   *manu*

DEF   PL   bird

'the birds'

</blockquote>

4.1.1.8 Post-nominal particles

Two types of particles may occur post-posed to the noun. These are the four deictic particles and the human concomitant particle.

4.1.1.8.1 Deictic particles

Old Rapa employs a four-way deixis. The deictic forms can be used as nominal modifiers when post-posed to the noun. They indicate the spatial position of the noun (table 4.5). They may also be used to express temporal location; both *nei* and *na* are used to express something existing in the present, and *ra* is used to express something that is in the past.

Table 4.5. Old Rapa deixis

Particle	Gloss
nei	'near to speaker'
na	'away from speaker but near to the addressee'
ra	'far from speaker and addressee'
rara	'very far from speaker and addressee'

4.1.1.8.2 Human concomitant

Old Rapa exhibits a pluralizing morpheme in addition to the plural classifiers. This particle, *mā*, is

a reflex of PNP *ma 'human concomitant pluralizer' (Greenhill and Clark 2011) and indicates a

group of people associated with the noun that it modifies. Old Rapa *mā* usually occurs only with

nouns that can refer to a specific human being: pronouns, proper names, and human specific

common nouns (e.g., 'woman', 'man', 'person'). My casual speech evidence shows *mā* co-occurring

only with proper nouns (4.24) or human-specific common nouns (4.25); however, according to my

consultants in elicitation, it is grammatical to use *mā* with pronouns as well (4.26). The particle *mā*

may also be used with island names or country names to refer to the inhabitants of that place (4.27).

    (4.24) proper noun

        Teraura   *mā*

        Teraura   COM

        'Teraura and his family' or 'Teraura and company'

    (4.25) common noun

        tō   *tangata*   *farani* *mā*

        DEF   person   French COM

        'the French person and company'

    (4.26) pronoun

        rāua   *mā*

        3Du   COM

        'they two and company'

(4.27) place name

> *Rapa Iti   mā*
>
> Rapa Iti   COM
>
> 'the people of Rapa Iti'

4.1.1.9 Possessive constructions

There are three types of possessive construction in Old Rapa: simple possession, article possession, and predicative possession. The syntactic behavior of these possessive constructions is discussed in chapter 5. This section simply indicates how Old Rapa's three noun types are marked as possessors in possessive constructions.

As discussed in section 4.1.1.3.2, pronominal possessors use a special set of possessive pronouns. These pronouns are preceded by the indefinite article *te* and the appropriate possessive marker *a* or *o*, and followed by the possessum. This is schematized in figure 4.4 and exemplified in (4.28).

Figure 4.4. Pronominal possession

indefinite article *te*	possessive marker *a/o*	possessive pronoun (possessor)	common noun[28] (possessum)

(4.28) *tō*   *koutou*   *karakua*

INDEF.PossO   2Pl   parent

'your (plural) parent(s)'

Non-pronominal possession is expressed in a different manner. Here, the possessum is preposed to the common noun or proper noun possessor. Additionally, the possessive markers are bare

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28 The possessum is generally a common noun, as an individual cannot possess a specific person.

and post-posed to the possessum. This is schematized in figure 4.5 (common noun possessors) and figure 4.6 (proper noun possessors). Examples (4.29–4.31) demonstrate common noun possession, and example (4.30) demonstrates proper noun possession.

Figure 4.5. Common noun possession

article	common noun (possessum)	possessive marking *a*/*o*	article	common noun (possessor)

Figure 4.6. Proper noun possession

article	common noun (possessum)	possessive marking *a*/*o*	proper noun (possessor)

(4.29) *te*   *pōpoi* *a*   *tō*   *tamariki*

INDEF   pōpoi PossA   DEF   child

'some pōpoi of the child'

(4.30) *te*   *tāviri*   *a*   *tō*   *tangata*

INDEF   machine   PossA   DEF   man/person

'the machine of the man'

(4.31) *te*   *'anga* *o*   *te*   *pē'ā*

INDEF   work PossO   INDEF   woman

'the work of a woman'

(4.32) *te*   *'are*   *o*   *Teuira Vahine*

INDEF   house Poss.O   Teuira Vahine

'the house of Teuira Vahine'

All three types of nouns may occur in the predicative possessive construction. Here, possessive particles *a* and *o* occur with preposition *nā* in order to form genitive constructions that express the meaning 'N belongs to N'. Example (4.33) demonstrates a proper noun possessor in this construction, example (4.34) shows a common noun possessor, and (4.35) shows a pronoun possessor.

(4.33) proper noun possessor:

nā	*Clara*	*tō*	*tāviri*		*nei*
GenA	Clara	DEF	machine		DEIC

'That machine is Clara's.'

(4.34) common noun possessor:

nā	*tō*	*tangata*	*ra*	*tō*	*tamariki*	*ra*
GenA	DEF	man	DEIC	DEF	child	DEIC

'That child is that man's.'

(4.35) pronominal possessor:

nō-koe	*tera*	*kāmi'a*
GenO-2S	DEM	canoe

'That canoe is yours.'

It is necessary here to discuss the distinction between the two possessive particles, *a* and *o*. Nouns in Old Rapa can take either *a-* or *o*-possession based on the possessor-possessum relationship. Some of these are listed in table 4.6. This distinction in nouns is present in all EP languages and is, as Wilson stated, "remarkably constant within Polynesia" (1982:13). At first glance, the relationship may appear to be one of alienability. However, the distinction is not simply alienability versus inalienability, because while all inalienable nouns are members of the *o*-class, not all *o*-class nouns are inalienable. Neither is this reflective of a dominant-subordinate relationship between the possessor and the possessum. Rather, possession in Old Rapa falls under Wilson's "initial control theory" (ICT) for Polynesian languages, in which "the possessor's control over the initiation of the possessive relationship [and not over the possessum] is the determining factor" (1982:16).

Biggs (1969) and Clark (1976) suggested that the *a-o* distinction in Polynesian languages is one of dominance where *a* marks the dominance of the possessor and *o* marks the dominance of the possessum. Wilson defined this as the "simple control theory," where the possessor's control over the possessum is the determining factor (1982:15). This approach to Polynesian possession is inadequate, according to Wilson, who remarked that it assumes that when an *a*-marked possessor and possessum are reversed, there must be *o*-marking. This, however is not always true of Polynesian possession. Take an example from Old Rapa: *te tāne a te va'ine* 'the husband of the wife'. If we reverse the possessor and the possessum in this case, the possessive marker stays the same: *te va'ine a te tāne*. For this reason, Wilson suggested that the distinction was less about the possessor controlling the possessum (and vice versa) and more related to "the presence or absence of control by the possessor" (15). Hence, the ICT better describes possession in Polynesian

languages.

In Old Rapa, *o*-possession marks a possessive relationship that was not initiated through the possessor's control; it was not volitional. By contrast, *a*-possession marks a relationship that was initiated through control by the possessor; it was volitional. In Old Rapa, *o*-marked nouns include those that are inalienable (e.g., body parts); a whole of which the possessor is a permanent part and cannot be removed (e.g., a household); kinship that cannot be chosen (e.g., parent, elder, sibling); people of a higher social or religious status (e.g., teacher, pastor, mayor); a vessel that facilitates a person's movement from one place to another (e.g., canoe, car, boat); actions that are necessary for survival (e.g., work); non volitional body functions (e.g., breathing, sleeping, thinking); and nouns that relate to indigenous identity (e.g., language, country). Wilson does note a major exception to the ICT in EP languages: some personal items (e.g., clothes, car, bed, chair) that under the ICT should be *a*-marked are actually *o*-marked (22). In Old Rapa, these are also *o*-marked. Similarly, there are items that are *a*-marked in Old Rapa (e.g., food, terrain, animals) that are not clearly volitional. An alternative to stating that these represent exceptions to the rule is to consider the association of a possessor's *mana* 'inherent power or energy' with respect to the possessum. Völkel (2010) describes this relationship as follows: in *a*-possession, the possessor has more mana; in *o*-possession, a possessor's mana is not superior. This is a compelling idea that has been discussed for other Eastern Polynesian languages (namely Mulloy and Rapu for Rapa Nui language, 1977) and should be considered in deeper investigations of possession in Old Rapa.

Table 4.6. o-marked versus a-marked nouns

o-marked	*a-marked*
house	terrain
canoe	taro bed
boat	children
parents	spouse
brother	food
sister	animals
country; island	oven
god	grandchildren
car	unborn child
teacher	a group that one is a part of (sport, association)
preacher	trip, comings/goings
friend	project/plans
sickness	
happiness, smile	
town	
body and body parts	
grandparents	
language	
chief	
life	
idea	

4.1.2 Verbs

Verbs in Old Rapa co-occur with an obligatory marker of tense, aspect, or mood (TAM). They can be followed by directional and deictic particles.

Figure 4.7. Verbal constructions in Old Rapa

TAM	Verb	(Directional Particle)	(Deictic Particle)

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4.1.2.1 Tense-Aspect-Mood Markers

Aspect markers in Old Rapa are obligatory, unless there are adequate contextual clues to the function of the verb. In that case, the TAM can be zero-marked. The primary tense-aspect markers used in Old Rapa are the imperfective, progressive, perfective, past, imperative, and subjunctive.

4.1.2.1.1 Imperfective

The imperfective is expressed by TAM *e* and denotes actions that have not yet occurred but are certain to occur (4.36), and inherent qualities (4.37).

(4.36) *e   naku   mai   te   'āikete   anana'i*

IPFV   come   DIR   INDEF teacher   tomorrow

'The teacher is coming tomorrow.'

(4.37) *e   mānea tō   pē'ā   ra*

IPFV   pretty DEF   woman   DEIC

'That woman is beautiful.'

4.1.2.1.2 Progressive

TAM *e* also functions as a progressive marker when used with deictics *na* or *ra*. With *na*, TAM *e* expresses the present progressive; action occurring at that exact moment (4.38–4.39). When used with *na*, TAM *e* can also express habitual action (4.40). With *ra*, TAM *e* expresses adjacent present progressive: action that was just witnessed and is presumably still occurring, but is not

readily available for the speaker or addressee to see (4.41). With directional *atu* and *ra*, e can also

mark something that has just happened (4.42).

(4.38) *e*   *'āikete*   *na*   *'ōna*   *i*   *te*   *tamariki*

IPFV   learn   DEIC   3S   ACC   INDEFchild/children

'He is teaching some children.'

(4.39) *e*   *kai*   *na*   *ou*   *i*   *kota'i*   *kororio*   *eika*

IPFV   eat   DEIC   1S   ACC   one   small   fish

'I am eating a small fish.'

(4.40) *e*   *tunu*   *na*   *ou*   *i*   *te*   *mīkaka*

IPFV   cook   DEIC   1S   ACC   INDEFtaro

tonga   *te*   *pōpongi*

all   INDEF   morning

'I cook taro every morning.'

(4.41) *e*   *kaikai*   *ra*   *te*   *kurī*   *i*   *te*   *moa*

IPFV   eat.continuously   DEIC   INDEFdog   ACC   INDEFchicken

'The dog is eating a chicken.'

(4.42) *e   mate   atu   ra   'ōna*

IPFV   die   DIR   DEIC   3S

'She has just died.'

4.1.2.1.3 Perfective

The perfective is marked by TAM *ka*. It marks actions that have already occurred and are finished, both recently and more distantly (4.43–4.44). It can also be used to mark habitual past (i.e., 'used to do something everyday, but no longer do') when used with deictic *na* (4.45).

(4.43) *ka   ngurunguru   te   kurī*

PFV   growl   INDEFdog

'A dog growled.'

(4.44) *ka   tākave tō   tangata   i   te   mango*

PFV   kill   DEF   man   ACC   INDEFshark

'The man killed the shark.'

(4.45) *ka   tunu   na   ou   i   te   mīkaka*

PFV   cook   DEIC   1S   ACC   INDEFtaro

tonga   te   pōpongi

all   INDEF   morning

'I used to cook taro every morning'

It is important to note that most other EP languages exhibit a reflex of PPN *kua 'perfective aspect marker' (Clark 1976:30). In Old Rapa, as discussed in section 4.1.2.1.3, the perfective is marked by *ka* (see chapter 6 for a discussion on the genesis of *ka* in Old Rapa). A reflex of PPN *kua, *kua*, does exist, but is limited to use with only a small group of intransitive verbs that incorporate a subject. With these verbs, *kua* and *ka* may both be used, but they express slightly different things. Here, *kua* seems to denote more of a past perfective. For the verb in (4.48), *ka* is not permissible.

(4.46)

    a.   *kua*   *ngaro*

           PFV   disappear

           'It disappeared.'

    b.   *ka*   *ngaro*

           PFV   disappear

           'It just disappeared.'

(4.47)

    a.   *kua*   *mākaro*

           PFV   shadow

           'A shadow passed.'

    b.   *ka*   *mākaro*

           PFV   shadow

           'A shadow just passed.'

(4.48)

    a.   *kua   māngarongaro*

            PFV   strange.taste

            'It was strange tasting.'

    b.   **ka māngarongaro*

            (intended: 'It was strange tasting.'

4.1.2.1.4 Past

TAM *i* marks past action (4.49). It is rarely used as a matrix TAM and is more frequently observed

in past embedded clauses as is seen in several constructions outlined in chapter 5 (4.50).

(4.49) *i   komo   mātou*

       PST   sleep   1PlExcl

       'We slept.'

(4.50) *e   a'a   koe   i   'aka-ineine*

       IPFV   what   2S   PST   CAUS-ready

       'What did you prepare?'

4.1.2.1.5 Imperative

The imperative is marked in Old Rapa by TAM *a*. Imperative expressions rarely utilize an overt

subject, as a second person subject is implied by the direct command of the imperative.

(4.51)   *a*   *naku*   *mai*

         IMP   come   DIR

         'Come here.'

(4.52)   *a*   *kai*   *tā-koe*   *eika*

         IMP   eat   INDEF.PossA-2S   fish

         'Eat your fish.'

Sometimes, the imperative TAM *a* is used with adverbial *kānei* to convey a more formal or polite request, rather than a straightforward command. *Kānei* was translated into French *s'il vous plaît* 'please' by all of my consultants. This is demonstrated in examples (4.53) and (4.54). *Kānei* is only evidenced in imperative constructions.

(4.53)   *a*   *rave*   *mai*   *kānei*   *tō*   *mea*

         IMP   take   DIR   PREC   DEF   thing

         'Please take the thing.'

(4.54)   *a*   *omono*   *kānei*   *koe*   *tō*   *ka'u*   *ra*

         IMP   dress   PREC   2S   DEF   clothing   DEIC

         'Please dress yourself in those clothes.'

Adverbial *kānei* is also used to express an impersonal relationship between the speaker and the listener, as in example (4.55). This example was provided to me as something one should say to a

pesky neighbor.

(4.55) *a   naku   kānei*

IMP   go   PREC

'Please leave now!'

4.1.2.1.6 Subjunctive

The subjunctive in Old Rapa is marked by *kia* (4.56) and can also be used in desiderative

expressions (4.57).

(4.56) *kia   naku   ou   i   te   'are   e   kaikai   ou*

SBJV come 1S   PREP INDEFhouse IPFV eat.continuously   1S

'When I get to the house, I will eat.'

(4.57) *kia   rekareka   kōrua*

SBJV happy   2Du

'May you two be happy.'

4.1.2.2 Directional markers

Old Rapa exhibits four directional markers: *mai*, *atu*, *ake*, and *i'o*. They are reflexes of PPN *mai

'toward speaker', *atu 'away from speaker', *hake 'upward', and *hifo 'downward' (Clark 1976:34).

They are employed directly after the verb and function as adverbs that describe where an action is

occurring, relative to the speaker.

Table 4.7. Direction markers

Marker	Gloss
mai	action toward the speaker
atu	action away from speaker
ake	action upward from speaker
i'o	action downward from speaker

4.1.2.3 Deictic

Deictic particles may be used after verbs in a sort of adverbial function, conveying where in time an action is taking place. Only *na* and *ra* are used in this capacity (insofar as my data suggest) and do so only in conjunction with imperfective TAM *e* (refer to section 4.1.2.1).

4.1.2.4 Passive

Old Rapa exhibits -*'ia* as a reflex of PPN suffix *-Cia 'passive'. The function of this suffix, as it relates to subject and object marking, is examined at length in chapter 5, so will only be briefly discussed here. Passive suffix -*'ia* is highly productive and may attach to most transitive verbs.

(4.58) *ka*　　　*ara-'ia*　　　　*tō*　　　*tati*

　　　 PFV　　awake-PASS　DEF　　baby

　　　 e　　　*tō-na*　　　　　　*karakua*　　　*pē'ā*

　　　 AGT　　INDEF.PossO-3S　　parent　　　　woman

　　　 'The baby was awakened by her mother.'

(4.59) *ka   kai-'ia   tō   pōpoi*

PFV   eat-PASS   DEF   pōpoi

'The pōpoi was eaten (by someone).'

4.1.2.5 Negative verbs

Old Rapa uses a special set of verbs to express negation. These verbs function as the verbal complex in a verb phrase, though they do not take an overt TAM. Examples of the negative verbs appear in chapter 5 in the discussion of negative constructions.

Table 4.8. Negative verbs in Old Rapa

Negative Verb	Gloss
kāre	'non-past negative'
ki'ere	'past negative'
eia'a	'prohibitive
e'ere	'nominal negation'

4.1.3 Adverbial expressions

This section examines lexical adverbs as well as prepositional phrases.

4.1.3.1 Lexical adverbs

There are two types of lexical adverbs (i.e., not prepositional phrases) in Old Rapa. The first type are used exclusively as adverbs and cannot be shifted to any other word class. This first type, "fixed adverbs," includes the directional and deictic particles that are used adverbially (refer to sections 4.1.2.2 and 4.1.2.3). The second type, "non-fixed adverbs," are lexical items that can shift word class (i.e., can also be used as nouns, verbs, adjectives). Syntactically, both types of adverbs

directly follow the verb. There are two exceptions to this: *peneake*, which always occurs at the beginning of the verb phrase, preceding the TAM and verb; and *mi*, which always follows the subject.

4.1.3.1.1 Fixed adverbs

There are eight adverbs in Old Rapa that are "fixed." These are: *ta'anga* 'continuous, still, always, forever' (4.60); *anake* 'only' (4.61); *peneake* 'possibly' (4.62–4.63); *ake*, which indicates a human-to-human comparison in addition to its directional function (4.64); *mi*, which denotes a metaphorical comparison (4.65); *noti* 'absolutely, precisely, indeed' (4.66), which can also be used in a reflexive sense (4.67); *atonga* 'also' (4.68); and *tuai*, which indicates that an action has indeed been carried out (4.69).

> (4.60) e   *'aka-ea*   *ta'anga*   *ou*   *i*   *Rapa*   *nei*
>
> IPFV   CAUS-stop   always   1S   PREP   Rapa   DEIC
>
> 'I'm staying in Rapa indefinitely.'

> (4.61) *e*   *pē'ā*   *anake*   *ra*
>
> IPFV   woman   only   DEIC
>
> 'There are only women.'

> (4.62) *peneake*   *e*   *rave*   *tāua*   *te*   *pahī*
>
> possibly   IPFV   take   1DuIncl   INDEFship
>
> 'We two might take the ship.'

(4.63) *peneake*　　*e*　　*pakepake*　　*anana'i*

possibly　　IPFV　sunny　　　　tomorrow

'It might be sunny tomorrow.'

(4.64) *mē*　　*ngare*　*ake*　　　　*tō*　　*pāre*　*nei*　*i*　　*tō*　　*pāre*　*ra*

thing　large　comparison　DEF　fort　DEIC　PREP　DEF　fort　DEIC

'This fort is larger than that fort.'

(4.65) *e*　　　*tāmaki*　*na*　　*te*　　*vaka*　*mi*　*te*　　*pereteki*

IPFV　fight　DEIC　INDEFtribe　MET　INDEFgrasshopper

'A tribe (that) fights like grasshoppers.'

(4.66) *ki'ere*　*noti*　　　　*ou*　　*i*　　*'aka-ea*　　*mai*

NEG　absolutely　1S　　PFV　CAUS-stop　DEIC

'I really cannot stay here.'

(4.67) *ka*　　*riri*　*'ōna*　*i*　　*a-na*　　　*noti*

PFV　angry　3S　　PREP　PER-3S　　REFL

'She made herself mad.'

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(4.68) *e*   *arataki*   *atonga*   *'ōna*   *i*   *a*   *Maiva*

       IPFV   guide   also   3S   ACC   PER   Maiva

       'He will also guide Maiva.'

(4.69) *ka*   *'anga* *tuai*   *ou*   *i*   *tō-ku*   *'anga*

       PFV   do   definitively   1S   ACC   INDEF.PossO-1S   work

       'I absolutely did my work.'

4.1.3.1.2 Non-fixed adverbs

Non-fixed adverbs are free lexemes that when positioned directly after the verb function as adverbs.

A few examples are listed below.

(4.70) *marū* 'slow'

       a   *naku*   *marū*

       IMP   go   slow

       'Go slowly.'

(4.71) *roa* 'much'

       ka   *rekareka*   *roa*   *'ōna*

       PFV   happy   much 3S

       'He was very happy.'

(4.72) *kino* 'bad'

      eia'a   koutou e   'akaero   kino

      NEG   2Pl   IPFV speak   bad

      'Don't swear'

4.1.3.2 Prepositional phrases

Other adverbial expressions are expressed as prepositional phrases.

4.1.3.2.1 Prepositions

Old Rapa has four prepositions: *ki*, *i*, *nā*, and *nō*. Of these four, *ki* and *i* are very typically

Polynesian, and are reflexes of PPN prepositions *ki and *ʔi. There are various opinions on the

distinction between PPN *ki and *ʔi. Biggs defined PPN *ʔi as a marker of "the direct comment

case," marking near goals and the cause of stative verbs, and PPN *ki as a marker of "the indirect

comment case," marking distant goals and instruments (1974:402). Clark offered a slightly

different distinction where *ʔi marked location, source, or cause, and *ki marked directional,

dative, and instrumental (1976:41–42). In Old Rapa, *ki* marks the instrument (4.73) and precedes

prepositional locative nouns (4.74), both of which might be considered "distant goal" under Biggs's

framework; *nā* marks 'by way of' (4.75–4.76); *nō* marks 'source' (4.77–4.78) as well as 'purpose'

(4.79) ; and *i* marks everything else. Some examples of *i* are shown in (4.80) and (4.81).

      (4.73) *ka   tata   ou   i   te   vana ki   te   rākau*

             PFV   hit   1S   ACC   INDEFurchin PREP INDEFwood

             'I hit some urchin with a stick.' (instrument: *ki*)

(4.74) ki   mua   tō   rātou   'are

PREP   front   INDEF.PossO 3Pl   house

'in front of their house'

(4.75) ka   naku   koutou nā   te   moana

PFV   go   2Pl   PREP   INDEFocean

'We went by sea.'

(4.76) ka   mate   tō   pē'ā   ra   nā   roto   i   te   komo

PFV   die   DEF   womanDEIC PREP   in   PREP   INDEFsleep

'The woman died while in sleep.'

(4.77) nō   mākiki mai   te   matangi

PREP   south   DIR   INDEFwind

'from south comes the wind.'

(4.78) nō   'ea   mai   koe

PREP   where DIR   2S

'Where do you come from?'

(4.79) *nō*   *te*   *mea*

PREP   INDEFthing

'for a thing' or 'because'

(4.80) *e*   *naku*   *ou*   *i*   *Ta'iti*

IPFV   go   1S   PREP Ta'iti

'I'm going to Tahiti.'

(4.81) *ka*   *kimi*   *i*   *te*   *kāka'e*

PFV   search PREP   INDEFstraw

'He searched for straw.'

4.1.3.2.2 Locational nouns

As in most other PN languages, Old Rapa employs a series of locational nouns (Clark 1976:54–55), or what Clark refers to as "L-class" nouns. They are part of the prepositional phrase and differ from common nouns in that they do not require a preceding article. However, they are usually preceded by preposition *ki*. Locational *ko* 'generic place' is slightly different from the other locational nouns in that it takes preposition *i* rather than *ki*, however like the other locational nouns, it also does not require a preceding article.

Table 4.9. Locational nouns

Locational Noun	Gloss
runga	'above, on, aboard'
roto	'inside, in'
raro	'under, below'
muri	'behind, with, after'
mua	'ahead, in front, before'
rapae[29]	'outside, out'
ko	'generic place'

4.2 Locative predicate marker

Old Rapa also utilizes a non-verbal method of expressing nominal locative predicate constructions (i.e., without a TAM). This is through the marker *ti*. Old Rapa *ti* is not used as a TAM and cannot co-occur with a verbal predicate. This marker in Old Rapa appears to function in a similar way to the lexeme *tei* in other Polynesian languages, which has been described as marking the present existence of something in an immediately locative sense, 'here' (see, for Tahitian, Fare Vāna'a 2009; Lemaitre 1973; for Rarotongan, Savage 1962; for Penrhyn, Shibata 2003 in Greenhill and Clark 2011).

(4.82) *ti   roto   i   te   roki   tō   pē'ā   ra*

LOC   in   PREP   INDEFtaro bed   DEF   womanDEIC

'That woman is in the taro bed.'

---

29 *Rāpae* is a Tahitian borrowing. Most other EP languages have reflexes of PPN *iso for 'out' (Greenhill and Clark 2011). However, Old Rapa has replaced any reflex of *iso with *rāpae.*

(4.83) *ti   te   'are   o   Mere*

       LOC   DEF   house   PossO   Mary

       '[This] is Mary's house.'

4.3 Derivational morphemes

Old Rapa demonstrates two major derivational morphemes, which are highly productive. These are the causative prefix *'aka-* and the nominalizing suffix *-'anga*.

4.3.1 Causative

Old Rapa exhibits *'aka-*, a reflex of PPN *faka- (Greenhill and Clark 2011). This is highly productive and can be applied to nearly any lexeme to create an active verb.

(4.84) *kino*   'bad'   >   *'akakino*   'make bad'

       ka   'aka-kino   ou   i   a-na

       PFV   CAUS-bad   1S   PREP   PER-3S

       'I made problems for him.'

(4.85) *kai*   'eat'   >   *'akakai*   'make eat'

       a   'aka-kai   tō   tati

       IMP   CAUS-eat   DEF   baby

       'Feed the baby.'

(4.86) *koikoi* 'fast' > *'akakoikoi* 'rush'

e   *'aka-koikoi*   *māua*   *i*   *te*   *anga*   *tamariki*

PFV   CAUS-fast   1DuExcl   ACC   INDEF   PL   child

'We two are hurrying the children.'

4.3.2 Nominalizer

Old Rapa employs a suffix -*'anga* to nominalize lexemes. This derivational affix, like *'aka*-, is very productive and can attach to nearly all content words.

(4.87) *'āikete*   'learn, teach' >   *'āikete'anga*   'education'

(4.88) *noko*   'look, see' >   *noko'anga*   'a look'

(4.89) *rekareka*   'happy' >   *rekareka'anga* 'happiness'

(4.90) *tai*   'arrive' >   *tai'anga*   'arrival'

(4.91) *komo*   'sleep' >   *komo'anga*   'bedroom'

(4.92) *ora*   'live' >   *ora'anga*   'life

4.4 Fossilized affixes

Old Rapa also exhibits a number of fossilized affixes. These are affixes from which we can derive function, but that are no longer productive. There are three major fossilized affixes that I have observed: *tā*-, *mā*-, and *tī*-. *Tā*- verbalizes the base if it does not already have a verbal connotation in its base form.

(4.93) *noko*   'look, see' >   *tānoko*   'navigate'

(4.94) *rere*   'fly' >   *tārere*   'suspend'

(4.95) *mau* 'take, hold' > *tāmau* 'memorize'

(4.96) *moka* 'free something' > *tāmoka* 'make a path'

Mā- narrows the semantic value of a base.

(4.97) *rere* 'fly' > *mārere* 'fall from a high place'

(4.98) *ringi* 'pour' > *māringi* 'little drops'

(4.99) *re'u* 'cinders' > *māre'ure'u* 'barely visible, tiny'

(4.100) *ve'e* 'divide' > *māve'e* 'part one's hair'

The function of *tī-* is less clear than that of *tā-* or *mā-*, but it seems to verbalize a base, and in such a way that it is the base that is used to carry out the action.

(4.101) *eipoko* 'head' > *tīpoko* 'dive, lower your head'

(4.102) *koro* 'hole' > *tīkoro* 'use a hand-hold when climbing'

4.5 Question words

Old Rapa exhibits five primary question words, which are outlined in table 4.10. Their various functions are discussed in chapter 5.

Table 4.10. Old Rapa question words

vai	*a'a*	*'ea*	*a'ea*	*'ia*
who	what	where	when	how many

4.6 Anaphoric Reference

Old Rapa exhibits an anaphoric particle, *ai*, in longer utterances or narratives. This particle

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replaces a noun that has already been mentioned and refers back to it. This can be used with any type of noun, and may be used with subjects or objects. Presence of this particle in Old Rapa is very consistent with other Polynesian languages (Otsuka 2011; Chung 1978, Clark 1976, Chapin 1974), most of which exhibit a reflex of PPN *ai 'anaphoric (Greenhill and Clark 2011). Example (4.100) shows two sentences of a story about a family en route to Mangareva. In example (a), the subject has been established. In example (b), *ai* is used to refer to the already established subject.

(4.103)

a.　*e　naku　na　rātou　i　Mangareva*

IPFV　go　DEIC　3Pl　PREP　Mangareva

'They are going to Mangareva.'

b.　*e　tae　atu　ai　i　Mangareva　i　kōta'i　hepetoma*

IPFV　arrive　DIR　ANA　PREP　Mangareva　PREP　one　week

'They will arrive at Mangareva in one week'.

4.7 Reduplication

The form of reduplication is discussed in chapter 3. This section serves only to demonstrate the observed functions of reduplication. The most evident of these are iterative, intensification, specification, diminutive, metaphorical, nominalizing, and adjectival.

(4.104) iterative:

a.　*naku*　　　　　　　　*nakunaku*

'come, go'　　　　　　　'pass by frequently'

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b. *ipuni*   *ipunipuni*

'hide'   'hide and seek'

(4.105) intensification:

a.   *mare*   *maremare*

'cough   'cough forcefully'

b.   *roa*   *roroa*

'much'   'very much'

c.   *maki*   *makimaki*

'sick'   'really sick'

(4.106) specification:

kini   *kinikini*

'to pinch'   'pinch skin'

(4.107) diminutive:

a.   *paki*   *pakipaki*

'slap, strike'   'clap'

b.   *kati*   *katikati*

'bite   'nibble'

(4.108) metaphorical (typically comparing an animal action with a human action):

    a.   *kapa*   *kapakapa*

          'mime with hands'   'flap wings (a bird)'

    b.   *mākuru*   *mākurukuru*

          'detach oneself'   'shed or molt'

    c.   *taŋi*   *taŋitaŋi*

          'yell'   'chirp (a bird)'

(4.109) nominalizing

    a.   *para*   *parapara*

          'finished'   'leftovers'

    b.   *panga'a*   *panaga'anga'a*

          'divide'   'a break, a divide'

(4.110) adjectival

    a.   *repo*   *reporepo*

          'dirt, earth'   'dirty'

    b.   *pake*   *pakepake*

          'sun'   'shining, bright'

As mentioned in chapter 3, there are also reduplications that do not produce any obvious change in meaning to the base (4.111), as well as a number of fossilized reduplications from which a base can

no longer be semantically extracted (4.112).

(4.111)   a.   *'eke*   *'eke'eke*

                  'tease'   'tease'

(4.112)   a   *paru*   *paruparu*

                  x   'tired'

        b.   *pūangi*   *pūangiangi*

                  x   'light breeze'

        c.   *pōkara*   *pōkarakara*

                  x   'waterspout'

Chapter 5

Basic syntax

5. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of basic syntax in Old Rapa. In section 5.1, I describe simple phrase structure and general word order. Section 5.2 then discusses nominal predication. Section 5.3 examines case marking and the passive. Section 5.4 addresses constructions that exhibit subject fronting, counter to the usual word order. Section 5.5 looks at the actor emphatic and cause emphatic. Section 5.6 explores questions, and section 5.7 addresses negative constructions.

5.1 Simple phrase structure

The basic word order of Old Rapa is VSO, which is typical of most Polynesian languages and all Eastern Polynesian languages.

5.1.1 The verb phrase

As outlined in chapter 4, a verb must co-occur with a TAM. The verb phrase thus minimally consists of a TAM and a verb (example 5.1).

(5.1) VP: [TAM + V]

ka *reva* *rātou*

PFV leave 3Pl

'They left.'

Verb phrases may optionally contain adverbs, deictics, and directional markers. If they occur, they are positioned after the verb. Adverbs occur before deictics, and deictics occur before directionals (example 5.2).

> (5.2)   VP: [TAM + V + (ADV) + (DIR) + (DEIC)]
>
> *e   naku   marū   atu   na   'ōna*
>
> IPFV   go   slow   DIR   DEIC   3S
>
> 'He is going slowly away.'

5.1.2 The noun phrase

In Old Rapa, an NP can minimally consist of only a noun in the form of a pronominal subject (5.3).

> (5.3)   *ka   komo   'ōna*
>
> PFV   sleep   3S
>
> 'She fell asleep.'

A proper name NP contains an obligatory case marker and proper name (5.4). It can additionally occur with the human concomitant as an optional post-posed modifying particle (5.5). Proper name NPs thus have the structure: [CASE + N + (COM)].

> (5.4)   *ka   komo   'o   Hinavai*
>
> PFV   sleep   NOM   Hinavai
>
> 'Hinavai fell asleep.'

(5.5) *ka*   *reva*   *'o*   *Ta'i*   *mā*

       PFV   leave   NOM Ta'i   COM

       'Ta'i and company left.'

The common noun NP must consist of an article and the noun (5.6). Quantifiers and plural classifiers may co-occur with common nouns as pre-posed particles (5.7–5.8). Adjectives and deictics may co-occur with common nouns as post-posed modifying particles (5.9). Possessives may be pre-posed or post-posed to the common noun (section 5.1.2.4). Thus, the common noun NP is constructed as follows: [(QUAN) + ART + (POSS) + (PL) + N + (ADJ) + (POSS) + (DEIC)].

(5.6) *ka*   *komo* *tō*   *tama'ine*

       PFV   sleep DEF   girl

       'The girl fell asleep.'

(5.7) *ka*   *komo* *tonga* *tō*   *tama'ine*

       PFV   sleep all   DEF   girl

       'All of the girls fell asleep.'

(5.8) *ka*   *komo* *tō*   *anga* *tama'ine*

       PFV   sleep DEF   PL   girl

       'The girls fell asleep.'

(5.9) *ka   komo   tō   tama'ine   koio   ra*

PFV   sleep   DEF   girl   small   DEIC

'That little girl fell asleep.'

5.1.2.1 The subject

Pronominal and common noun subjects are unmarked, as indicated in chapter 4. Proper noun

subjects are, however, overtly case-marked in Old Rapa. The nominative case marker for proper

names, *'o*, precedes the name. This is demonstrated in example (5.4) in section 5.1.2.

5.1.2.2 The direct object

As mentioned in chapter 4, all direct objects of regular verbal sentences are case-marked by *i* (5.10–

5.11). Pronouns and proper name direct objects also are obligatorily marked by *a* 'person marker'

(5.12).

(5.10) *e   roaka   i   te   eika*

IPFV   catch   ACC   INDEF fish

'I caught a fish.'

(5.11) *e   'aka-ma'u   na   ou   i   te   āno'i*

IPFV   CAUS-ferment   DEIC   1S   ACC   INDEF fermented.pōpoi

'I am adding some fermented pōpoi.'[30]

---

30 *'akama'u* is a process that accelerates fermentation of the *pōpoi*. In this process, old *pōpoi* that is very fermented is
   added to the crushed taro and then is whipped by hand creating air bubbles.

(5.12) *e*   *rave*   *'o*   *Teuria Vahine*   *i*   *a*   *Mere*

      IPFV   take   NOM   Teuria Vahine   ACC   PER   Mere

      'Teuira Vahine will take Mary.'

5.1.2.3 Prepositional phrases

Prepositional phrases follow the subject and direct object NP's. As discussed in chapter 4, there are four prepositions used in Old Rapa: ki, i, nā, and nō. The prepositional phrase consists of a preposition and NP. Examples follow in (5.13) to (5.15).

(5.13) *e*   *tuki*   *rātou*   *i*   *te*   *mīkaka*   *ki*   *te*   *karā*

      IPFV   crush   3Pl   ACC   INDEFtaro   PREP   INDEFbasalt.stone[31]

      'They are crushing the taro with stones.'

(5.14) *ka*   *'oro*   *mai*   *'ōna*   *nā*   *muri*   *i*   *a-ku*

      PFV   run   DIR   3S   PREP   behind PREP   PER-1S

      'He was running in the back of me' or 'He was running behind me.'

(5.15) *e*   *kake*   *kōrua*   *i*   *Perau*

      IPFV   climb   2Du   PREP   Perau

      'We two will climb Perau.'[32]

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31 *Karā* is a special basalt stone shaped like a brick with smooth rounded edges that every woman owns and uses in *pōpoi* making for crushing the taro into a paste.
32 Perau is the tallest mountain on Rapa Iti.

5.1.2.4 Possessive phrases

Possessive phrases are expressed in verbal constructions, as part of the subject or object NP.

Generally, possession employs an *a* or *o* possessive marker, which is post-posed to the possessum.

The possessive phrase conveys the meaning N of N (5.16) and (5.17). Post-posed to the subject NP

of a VP that includes a numeral, the possessive phrase denotes a "have" expression (5.18) and

(5.19).

(5.16) *e   naku   na   ou   i   te   'are   o   Teraura   mā*

IPFV go   DEIC 1S   PREP INDEFhouse PossO Teraura   COM

'I am going to the house of Teraura and family.'

(5.17) *e   'apu   te   pē'ā   a   Hermann*

IPFV   pregnant   INDEFwoman   PossA Hermann

'The wife of Hermann is pregnant.'

(5.18) *e   kota'i kāmi'a   o   tō   tangata   ra*

IPFV   one   canoe   PossO DEF   person   DEIC

'That guy has a canoe.'

(5.19) *e   toru   tamariki   a   Ma'urei*

IPFV   three   child   PossA Ma'urei

'Ma'urei has three children.'

As discussed in chapter 4, when the possessor is a pronoun, the possessive particle and the indefinite article are fused into a portmanteau form, *tā* or *tō*, which occurs before the possessor NP.

(5.20) *a*   *ūtaru* *tā-koe*   *roki*

IMP   weed INDEFPossA-2S   taro.bed

'Weed your taro bed.'

(5.21) *e*   *maitaki*   *tō-ku*   *'uru*

IPFV good   INDEF.PossO-1S   state

'My state is good.'

(5.22) *e*   *kōta'e* *tā-ku*   *inu*

IPFV water INDEF.PossA-1S   drink

'Water is my drink.'

5.2 Nominal predication

Typically, the predicate in Old Rapa is verbal; however, nominal predicates are used with equal frequency, often in locative, equational, or attributive expressions. As discussed in chapter 4, the defining marker of a verb is that it is preceded by a TAM. The TAM essentially allows a lexical item to function as a verb. In contrast, nominal predicates in Old Rapa do not and cannot occur with a TAM. There are four primary nominal predicate constructions that I have identified for Old Rapa: equational, locative *ti*, attributive *mē*, and possessive predication.

5.2.1 Nominal equational constructions

Two major equational constructions emerge in Old Rapa. In the first, the indefinite article *te* and a common noun constitute the predicate. In the second, a focus particle, *'o* (reflex of PPN *ko 'specifier particle'[33]), and a following proper noun make up the predicate. In both, the predicate is followed by a modifying NP, which acts as the subject. Example (5.23) shows an indefinite equational construction; (5.24–5.26) demonstrate various proper noun equational constructions.

(5.23) *te*   *taote*   *'ōna*

INDEF doctor 3S

'He is a doctor.'

(5.24) *'o*   *Te'a*   *ou*

FOC   Te'a   1S

'I am [called] Te'a.'

(5.25) *'o*   *Ronio* *tā-ku*   *tungāne*

FOC   Ronio INDEF.PossA-1S   brother

'My brother is Ronio.'

(5.26) *'o*   *Anatakuri*   *to*   *va'i*   *ra*

FOC   Anatakuri   DEF   place   DEIC

'Anatakuri is that place.'

---

33 Based on regular sound correspondences, one would expect the reflex *ko* in Old Rapa. I suggest that the *'o* form is the result of Tahitian influence as this form is also found in Tahitian.

5.2.2 Locative *ti* constructions

In locative *ti* constructions, the marker *ti* (see chapter 4) and the following NP make up the
predicate, with the subject as the following NP. One example is provided below in (5.27), and
others may be found in the section on the locative marker in chapter 4.

(5.27) *ti*   *ko*   *nei*   *tō-ku*   *no'o-'anga*

       LOC   place   DEIC INDEF.PossO-1S   stay-NMLZ

       'This place is my dwelling.'

5.2.3 Attributive *mē* constructions

In attributive *mē* constructions, the predicate consists of *mē* (said mea in slow speech) 'thing' plus
an adjective, followed by the subject NP. In this construction, the *mē* + adjective complex
structurally functions like a verb with *mē* acting as a TAM. However, it is not a TAM, nor can the
construction be used with a TAM[34].   For these reasons, it must be considered nominal predication.
In the following examples (5.28–5.29), the *mē* construction is provided in (a) and the
ungrammaticality of adding a TAM is shown in (b).

(5.28)

      a.   *mē*   *ngarengare*   *ra*   *te*   *vana*

           thing   very.large   DEIC INDEFurchin

           'The urchins are very large.'

---

34 In Tahitian, according to Vernaudon 2011, similar *m ē* constructions may be used with or without a TAM. In
   attributive constructions with TAM in Tahitian, mē is always realized as *mea,* however without a TAM, it is realized
   as it is in Old Rapa as *mē*

b. *e   mē   ngarengare   ra   te   vana

IPFV   thing   very.large   DEIC   INDEFurchin

(intended: 'The urchins are very large.')

(5.29)

a. mē   kē   roa   koe

thing   different   much   2S

'You are different (than usual).'

b. *e   mē   kē   roa   koe

IPFV   thing   different   much   2S

(intended: 'You are different.')

Mē constructions are also used to express a comparison *w*hen *ake* is post-posed to the adjective (5.30). This is the typical way of conveying a comparison in Old Rapa.

(5.30) mē   ngare   ake   ou   i   a-na

thing   tall   COMP 1S   PREP PER-3S

'I am taller than she.'

5.2.4 Possessive predication

As mentioned in chapter 4, Old Rapa exhibits a nominal construction that contains a possessive phrase as a predicate. In possessive predicates, genitive markers *nā* and *nō* are employed. These are combined with a possessor as the predicate. The possessum NP is the subject. The choice of

nā or *nō* is driven by the relationship of the possessor and the possessum, which is discussed at

length in chapter 4. Additionally, possessive predicates may be modified by an adverb, like verbal

predicates, as shown in example (5.36).

(5.31) *nā   Mere   tō   tāpo'o ra*

GenA Mary DEF   hat   DEIC

'That hat is Mary's (that she made but does not own).'

(5.32) *nā-ku   tō   puta   ra*

GenA-1S   ART   DEIC book

'That book is mine.'

(5.33) *nā-ku*

GenA-1S

'[That] is mine.'

(5.34) *nō   tō   tama'ine   tō   tāpo'o ra*

GenO DEF   girl   DEF   hat   DEIC

'That hat is the girl's.'

(5.35) *nō   tō-ku   karakua   tō   'are   ra*

GenO INDEF.PossO-1S   parent   DEF   house DEIC

'That house is my father's.'

(5.36) *nō-koe*   *noti*   *tō*   *'are*   *ra*

GENO2S   indeed DEF   house   DEIC

'That house is actually yours.'

5.3 Case marking and the passive

Old Rapa exhibits three types of verbal constructions: intransitive, transitive, and passive. Each of these constructions distinctively marks subjects and objects. This is very typically Eastern Polynesian (Bauer and co-authors 1997; Chung 1978; Clark 1976; Otsuka 2011). Otsuka provides the following schematization for EP verbal constructions (a modification of Clark 1976:72), which applies to Old Rapa as well.

Figure 5.1 Verbal constructions in Eastern Polynesian languages

INTRANSITIVE	V		AGT/PAT		
TRANSITIVE	V		AGT	*i*	PAT
PASSIVE	V-*Cia*	*e*	AGT		PAT

5.3.1 Intransitive constructions

In intransitive constructions, the verb requires only one argument. Only proper name subjects of intransitive verbs are marked; pronouns and common nouns are unmarked. Intransitive constructions may optionally contain modifier phrases, which are marked by the appropriate preposition based on the semantic function of the prepositional phrase (recall from chapter 4 that *ki* marks prepositional locative nouns and instrumental objects, *nō* marks source, *nā* marks 'by way of', and *i* marks all other objects). Examples (5.37–5.38) demonstrate subject marking with an

intransitive verb; examples (5.39–5.40) show object marking with an intransitive verb.

(5.37) *ka   kāuari māua*

PFV   stroll   1DuExcl

'We two strolled.'

(5.38) *e   naku   na   'o   Timi*

IPFV   come   DEIC   NOM   Timi

'Timi is coming.'

(5.39) *e   naku   na   ou   i   te   'are   'aikete*

IPFV   go   DEIC   1S   PREP   DEF   house   learn

'I am going to the school.'

(5.40) *e   naku   na   ou   i   Pape'ete*

IPFV   go   DEIC   1S   PREP   Pape'ete

'I am going to Pape'ete.'

5.3.2 Transitive constructions

Old Rapa exhibits both active and passive transitive constructions. In both, the transitive verb takes two arguments, an agent and a patient. In the active construction (Pattern 1), the agent is subject and the patient is object marked by *i*. In the passive construction, the patient is subject and the object is the oblique agent, marked by *e* (Pattern 2). Pattern 1 is the canonical transitive

construction in Old Rapa, demonstrating a nominative-accusative pattern. In Pattern 1, the nominative is unmarked and the accusative is marked by *i*. Under the nominative-accusative analysis, Pattern 2 is then regarded as a passive construction in which the verb is suffixed by a passive morpheme -*'ia*, the agent (underlying subject) is marked by *e*, and the patient (underlying object) is unmarked. This nominative-accusative analysis is the common view of case-marking in Eastern Polynesian languages (Clark 1976; Chung 1978). Table 5.1 schematizes case marking in Old Rapa.

Table 5.1. Old Rapa nominative-accusative case marking

Pattern 1	V	A	i O
Pattern 2a	V'ia	S	e A
Pattern 2b	V'ia	e A	S

Examples (5.41–5.44) demonstrate Pattern 1.

(5.41) *ka   kati   te   mango i   tō   tamariki*

PFV   bite   DEF   shark ACC   DEF   child

'The shark bit the child.'

(5.42) *ka   tāpoki   rāua   i   te   ngara'u*

PFV   cover   3Du   ACC   INDEF fire

'They covered the fire.'

(5.43) *ka   inu   ou   i   te   kōta'e*

PFV   drink 1S   ACC   INDEF water

'I drank some water.'

(5.44) *ka*　　*kai*　　*mātou*　　　　*i*　　　*tā-koe*　　　　　　*pōpoi*

PFV　　eat　　1PlExcl　　　　ACC　　INDEF.PossA-2S　　pōpoi

'We ate your pōpoi.'

Examples (5.45–5.48) demonstrate passivized constructions of the examples provided above for the canonical transitive pattern. These are examples of Pattern 2a.

(5.45) *ka*　　*kati-'ia*　　　*tō*　　*tamariki*　　　*e*　　*tō*　　*mango*

PFV　　bite-PASS　　DEF　　child　　　　　AGT　　DEF　　shark

'The child was bit by the shark.'

(5.46) *ka*　　*tāpoki-'ia*　　*te*　　*ngara'u*　　　　*e*　　*rāua*

PFV　　cover-PASS　　INDEFfire　　　　　　AGT　　3Du

'The fire was covered by those two.'

(5.47) *ka*　　*inu-'ia*　　　*te*　　*kōta'e*　*e*　　*ou*

PFV　　drink-PASS　　INDEFwater　　AGT　　1S

'Some water was drunk by me.'

(5.48) *ka*　　*kai-'ia*　　　*tā-koe*　　　　　　*pōpoi*　*e*　　*mātou*

PFV　　eat-PASS　　　INDEF.PossA-2S　　　pōpoi　AGT　　1PlExcl

'Your pōpoi was eaten by us.'

It is also important to note that *e*-marked agents in Pattern 2a can be omitted. Typically, in these utterances, the agent is implied (i.e., the action was carried out 'by someone') or the agent is contextual.

(5.49) *ka*   *'āikete-'ia*   *te*   *anga*   *tamariki*

PFV   taught-PASS INDEFPL   child

'The children were taught.'

(5.50) *ka*   *paki-'ia*   *tō-na*   *tāringa*

PFV   slap-PASS   INDEF.PossO-3S   ear

'His ear was slapped.'

(5.51) *ka*   *kami-'ia*   *te*   *tāringa*   *o*   *te*   *puakatoro*

PFV   pinch-PASS DEF   ear   PossO DEF   cow

'The cow's ears were pinched.'

(5.52) *ka*   *noko-'ia*   *koe*

PFV   see-PASS   2S

'You are being watched.' (lit. 'You have been seen.')

The reader will note from table 5.1 that Old Rapa exhibits two variations of Pattern 2. Pattern 2a is the typical Pattern 2 observed throughout Eastern Polynesian languages, where the

patient NP is unmarked and precedes the *e*-marked agent NP. In Pattern 2b, the word order is

reversed and the *e*-marked agent occurs immediately after the verb, followed by the patient NP.

(5.53) *ka*   *tāpoki-'ia*   *e*   *rāua*   *te*   *ngara'u*

       PVF   cover-PASS   AGT   3Du   DEF   fire

       'The fire was covered by those two.'

(5.54) *ka*   *inu-'ia*   *e*   *ou*   *te*   *kōta'e*

       PFV   drink-PASS   AGT   1S   DEF   water

       'The water was drunk by me.'

(5.55) *ka*   *kai-'ia*   *e*   *mātou*   *tā-koe*   *pōpoi*

       PFV   eat-PASS   AGT   1PlExcl   INDEF.PossA-2S   pōpoi

       'Your pōpoi was eaten by us.'

Pattern 2b is unusual given the VSO word order of Old Rapa, but this pattern was accepted by all of

my consultants. The semantic value of the utterance does not change, so it is evident that the *e*-

marked agent is not in this case reinterpreted as a subject (and then arguably ergative). Instead, I

view Pattern 2b as an instance of scrambling: a violation of generally accepted word order. This

pattern is also unusual for NOM-ACC Polynesian languages, and I can find only one other

Polynesian language that demonstrates this precise type of scrambling in the passive construction,

which is Pukapukan (Chung 1978:63):

(5.56) *na   vayi-ngia   e   te   wawine   te   yakari*

        past   split-Pass   Agt   the   woman   the   coconut

        'The woman split the coconut.'

                                                                        (Chung 1978:63)

Curiously, the passive suffix may also attach to intransitive verbs. This is rare among the

world's languages (Siewierska 1982:64–74) and is typologically inconsistent with other languages

in the Polynesian language family. It is, therefore, a highly unusual feature of Old Rapa. Here, the

patient is overt, and the agent is only implied. These constructions are infrequent, and attachment

of the passive suffix on an intransitive verb is usually not permitted in Old Rapa as is demonstrated

by example (5.59).

(5.57) *ka   komo-'ia   tō   va'i   nei*

        PFV   sleep-PASS   DEF   place   DEIC

        'Someone has already slept here.' (lit. 'This place has already been slept [by

        someone].')

(5.58) *ka   kino-'ia   tō-koe   eipoko*

        PFV   bad-PASS   INDEF.PossO-2S   head

         'You are crazy.' (lit. 'Your head was made bad [by your parents, by God].'

(5.59)

    a.   *ka*   *'anau*   *'ōna*

        PFV   give.birth   3S

        'She gave birth.'

    b.   *ka*   *'anau*   *'ōna*   *i*   *te*   *tāti*   *rua*

        PFV   give.birth   3S   PREP INDEFbaby   male

        'She gave birth to a baby boy.'

    c.   **ka*   *'anau-'ia*   *te*   *tāti*   *rua*

        PFV   give.birth-PASS   INDEFbaby   male

        (intended: 'The baby boy was given birth to.')

5.4 Subject-initial constructions

There are exceptions to VSO ordering in Old Rapa, and several constructions allow for subject raising. This section discusses *mi te mea* "conditional" constructions, initial proper noun constructions, and narrative subject raising. The emphatic constructions can also exhibit subject fronting, and they are discussed in the following section 5.5.

5.4.1 Conditional *mi te mea* constructions

In these constructions, the subject precedes the verbal complex and is itself preceded by the compound *mi te mea*. *Mi te mea* (in slow speech *mai te mea*) literally translates to 'towards a thing' where *mai* is DIR 'towards the speaker', *te* 'indefinite', *and mea* 'thing'. However, in these constructions, *mi te mea* carries an "if" connotation.

(5.60) *mi te mea*   *koe*   *e*   *naku*   *i*   *te*   *'oire*

if   2S   IPFV   go   PREP   INDEFtown

e   *naku-'ia*   *koe*   *i*   *te*   *pōpongi*   *roa*

IPFV   go-PASS   2S   PREP   INDEFmorning   very

'If you go to town, you will go in the early morning.'

(5.61) *mi te mea*   *rāua*   *ka*   *kai*   *i*   *tonga*   *te*   *pōpoi*

 if   3Du   PFV   eat   ACC   all   INDEFpōpoi

e   *poria*   *rāua*

IPFV   fat   3Du

'If they ate all the pōpoi, they will be fat.'

5.4.2 Proper noun subjects

Occasionally, when the subject is a proper noun and is topicalized, it may precede the predicate.

Example (5.62a) shows the regular VSO construction; in (5.62b), the subject occurs sentence-initially, preceding the verbal complex.

(5.62)

     a.   *e*   *kake*   *na*   *'o*   *Kiri*   *i*   *Pō'otu Takaviri*

            IPFV   climb   DEIC   NOM   Kiri   PREP   Pō'otu Takaviri[35]

            Kiri is climbing to Pō'otu Takaviri.'

---

35 This is a place name that translates to 'eel rock'. It is a cylindrical rock formation on the side of a high cliff that has an eel shaped image on the very top.

b.	*'o	Kiri	e	kake	i	Pō'otu Takaviri*

NOM	Kiri	IPFV	climb	PREP	Pō'otu Takaviri

'Kiri is climbing to Pō'otu Takaviri.'

5.4.3 Narrative subject raising

In narratives, or long continuous speech, the subject often precedes the verb complex. In these cases, the post-verbal subject position is occupied by a pronoun that is coreferential with the sentence-initial noun phrase. Chung observed this type of raising to be true for other Polynesian languages, referring to the post-verbal pronoun as a "copy" of the fronted transitive subject (1978:19). I suggest that in Old Rapa it is used in a narrative sense as a way to re-introduce characters in a multiple character story. The following examples are excerpts from the Rapa version of "The Three Little Pigs."

(5.63) *tō	kurī	noti	ra	e	tu	kino	'ōna*

DEF	dog	same	DEIC	IPFV	build	bad	3S

*i	tō	'are	rākau*

ACC	DEF	house	wood

'That same dog destroyed the wooden house.'

The copy of the pre-verbal subject can take another form, *ia* (5.64). This form for 3S occurs only in this context (i.e., as a copy of the fronted subject).

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(5.64)

tō	puaka	e	'akautana	ia	i	tā-na	tākaravai
DEF	pig	IPFV	carry	DEIC	3S	ACC	INDEF.PossA-3S	bag

'The pig carried his bag.'

5.5 Emphatic constructions

As established, basic verbal constructions in Old Rapa exhibit the following:

1) VSO order

2) Unmarked pronominal and common noun subjects; *'o* marked proper noun subjects

3) *i* marked objects in transitive constructions

There is, however, another kind of verbal construction that is used with regular frequency. These are the emphatic constructions in which an actor or cause NP is fronted (i.e., it precedes the verbal complex) in order to put emphasis on that actor or cause. In both the actor emphatic (AE) and the cause emphatic (CE), the agent or cause subject is marked as genitive (a noun modifying another noun), rather than nominative, using the preposition *nā*. Object marking by *i* is optional, and the subordinate clause perfective TAM *i* is used, rather than the matrix TAM *ka*. In sum, the emphatic construction differs from basic verbal constructions in that it exhibits:

1) SVO or SOV order

2) *nā-* or *nō-* marked subjects

3) optional *i*-marking on objects

4) perfective TAM *i* is used

Emphatic constructions, particularly the AE, are evidenced throughout Eastern Polynesian

languages (Clark 1976; Harlow 1986; Potsdam and Polinsky 2012).

5.5.1 Actor emphatic

There are three AE patterns observed in Eastern Polynesian languages (Potsdam and Polinsky 2012). The basic AE construction, Pattern 1, is:

$$n\bar{a} + SBJ + TAM + V + i + OBJ$$

In Pattern 2, the word order is the same as Pattern 1, however the object is unmarked:

$$n\bar{a} + SBJ + TAM + V + OBJ$$

In Pattern 3, both the subject and the object precede the verbal complex:

$$n\bar{a} + SBJ + OBJ + TAM + V$$

It should be noted that not all EP languages exhibit Pattern 2 (Harlow 1986:300); however, all three AE patterns are found in Old Rapa. Examples (5.65) and (5.66) demonstrate the regular verbal construction first, then the three AE patterns.

(5.65)

    a.   *ka*   *'anga* *ou*   *i*   *te*   *'anga* *nei*

        PFV   do   1S   ACC INDEFwork DEIC

        'I did some work.'

    b.   **(AE1)**

        nā-ku   *i*   *'anga* *i*   *te*   *'anga*

        PREP-1S   PFV do   ACC INDEFwork

        'I did some work.'

c. **(AE2)**

nā-ku   *i*   *'anga*   *te*   *'anga*

PREP-1S   PFV   do   INDEFwork

'I did some work.'

d. **(AE3)**

nā-ku   *te*   *'anga*   *i*   *'anga*

PREP-1S   INDEFwork   PFV   do

'I did some work.'

(5.66)

a. *ka*   *kati*   *tō*   *mango* *i*   *tō*   *tamariki*

PFV   bite   DEF   shark   ACC   DEF   child

'The shark bit the child.'

b. **(AE1)**

nā   *tō*   *mango* *i*   *kati*   *i*   *tō*   *tamariki*

PREP   DEF   shark   PFV   bite   ACC   DEF   child

'The shark bit the child.'

c. **(AE2)**

nā   *tō*   *mango* *i*   *kati*   *tō*   *tamariki*

PREP   DEF   shark   PFV   bite   DEF   child

'The shark bit the child.'

d. **(AE3)**

nā	tō	mango	te	tamariki	i	kati
PREP	DEF	shark	DEF	CHILD	PFV	bite

'The shark bit the child.'

According to Potsdam and Polinsky, the AE in other EP languages is "largely restricted to transitive verbs" (2012:65). They observed, however, that in Tahitian speakers do allow some intransitive verbs in the AE. Harlow (1986:300-301) also noted that some other EP languages allow intransitive verbs. From his observations, he concluded that intransitive verbs were allowed in the AE in EP languages that allow Pattern 2. As Old Rapa allows Pattern 2, it follows that intransitive verbs are permitted in the AE. In examples (5.67–5.70), example (a) represents the regular verbal construction and example (b) is the AE.

(5.67)

a.

e	himene	'o	Mere
IPFV	sing	NOM	Mary

'Mary will sing.'

b.

nā	Mere	e	himene
PREP	Mary	IPFV	sing

'Mary will sing.'

(5.68)

    a.   *e*   *'anga* *'o*   *Mite*

        IPFV work NOM Mite

        'Mite is working'

    b.   *nā*   *Mite*   *e*   *'anga*

        PREP Mite   IPFV work

        'Mite is working.'

(5.69)

    a.   *e*   *'akaero*   *tō*   *rangatira*

        IPFV speak   DEF   chief

        'The chief will speak.'

    b.   *nā*   *tō*   *rangatira*   *e*   *'akaero*

        PREP DEF   chief   IPFV speak

        'The chief will speak.'

(5.70)

    a.   *e*   *naku* *ou*

        IPFV go   1S

        'I am going.'

b. *nā-ku*   *e*   *naku*

PREP-1S   IPFV   go

'I am going.'

There does appear to be some restriction on what kind of intransitives are permitted in the AE. Verbs of motion (5.70) and unergative verbs where the subject is an agent-actor (like *himene* 'sing' in example 5.67, *'anga* 'work' in 5.68, and *'akaero* 'speak' in 5.69) are permitted. Verbs that do not express any volition (i.e., verbs that have unagentive subjects) are not permitted in the AE (5.71), nor are verbs that are used in stative expressions (5.72).

(5.71)

a.   *e*   *kite*   *ou*

IPFV   know   1S

'I know.' or 'I am aware.'

b.   **nā-ku*   *e*   *kite*

PREP-1S   IPFV   know

(intended: 'I know.')

(5.72)

a.   *e*   *maui*   *'ōna*

IPFV   pain   3S

'He is pained.'

b.   *nā-na   e   maui

        PREP-3S   IPFV   pain

        (intended: 'He is pained.')

5.5.2 Cause emphatic

For certain intransitive verbs that do not have an actor subject, a cause may be fronted and made emphatic. There are both semantic and structural differences, however, between the AE and CE. First, the fronted NP in the CE, unlike in the AE, may be inanimate. This is not unusual in other EP languages and is documented for Tahitian (Potsdam and Polinski 2012:66) as well as for Māori and Rarotongan (Harlow 1986:299). Second, unlike in the AE, anaphoric *ai* must occur in a post-verbal position in the CE, as a resumptive particle. Finally, while the AE never employs the preposition *nō* and always uses preposition *nā*, the CE only uses *nō*. This is likely due to the semantic value of *nō* as 'source' which more closely relates to cause.

In examples (5.73–5.75), (b) represents the cause emphatic. In the (a) examples, the cause phrase occurs after the subject, but in the (b) examples, the cause NP occurs sentence-initially and is marked by preposition *nō.* The anaphoric particle appears following the verb.

(5.73)

     a.   *ka*   *riri*   *'ōna*   *nō-ku*

        PFV   angry   3S   PREP-1S

        'He was angry because of me.'

b.   *nō-ku*   *i*   *riri*   *ai*   *'ōna*

PREP-1S   PFV   angry ANA 3S

'I angered him.'

(5.74)

a.   *ka*   *'āpu*   *'ōna* *nō-na*

PFV   pregnant   3S   PREP-3S

'She is pregnant because of him.'

b.   *nō-na*   *i*   *'āpu*   *ai*   *'ōna*

PREP-3S   PFV pregnant   ANA 3S

'He got her pregnant.'

(5.75)

a.   *ka*   *marō* *tā-ku*   *ka'u*   *nō*   *te*   *pake*

PFV   dry   INDEF.PossO-1S   clothing   PREP DEF   sun

'Your clothes are dry from the sun.'

b.   *nō*   *te*   *pake* *i*   *marō* *ai* *tā-ku*   *ka'u*

PREP INDEFsun   PFV   dry   ANA INDEF.PossA-1S   clothes

'The sun dried your clothes.'

This particular example also exhibits a pattern similar to AE Pattern 3. Note that the resumptive particle still follows the verb:

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		c.	*nō*	*te*	*pake*	*tā-ku*		*ka'u*	*i*	*maro*	*ai*
			PREP	INDEFsun		INDEF.PossA-1S		clothing	PFV	dry	ANA

'The sun dried your clothes'

5.6 Questions

This section examines yes-no question construction as well as constituent question formation in Old Rapa.

5.6.1 Yes-no questions

Yes-no questions tend to be indicated by rising intonation. A declarative sentence can be made into a question simply through rising intonation (as discussed in chapter 3).

(5.76)

	a.	*e*	*naku*	*ta'anga*	*na*	*koe*	*i*	*Area*
		IPFV	go	still	DEIC	2S	PREP	Area

'You are still going to Area.'

	b.	*e*	*naku*	*ta'anga*	*na*	*koe*	*i*	*Area*
		IPFV	go	still	DEIC	2S	PREP	Area

'Are you still going to Area?'

Inversion of NP and VP can also be used to ask a yes-no question. It is important to note that rising intonation of a declarative was tested for (5.77–5.79) and was moderately accepted; however, subject fronting was preferred. This is likely because the subject is the element in question in these

cases. It should additionally be noted that rising intonation still occurred on the final word in the

inversion, as it does in declarative form questions:

(5.77)

    a.   *ka*   *'ora*   *tonga*   *tō*   *anga*   *puaka*

           PFV   escape   all   DEF   PL   pig

           'All of the pigs escaped.'

    b.   *tonga*   *tō*   *anga*   *puaka*   *ka*   *'ora*

           all   DEF   PL   pig   PFV   escape

           'Did all of the pigs escape?'

(5.78)

    a.   *me*   *pūai*   *ra*   *tō*   *opape*

           thing   strong   DEIC   DEF   current

           'The current is strong.'

    b.   *tō*   *opape*   *me*   *pūai*   *ra*

           DEF   current thing   strong   DEIC

           'Is the current strong?'

(5.79)

    a.   *te*   *taote*   *'o*   *Jeremy*

           IPFV   doctor   NOM   Jeremy

           'Jeremy is a doctor.'

b.   *'o*   *Jeremy*   *te*   *taote*

NOM Jeremy   INDEF doctor

'Is Jeremy a doctor?'

Alternatively, a tag question particle, *nē*, can be post-posed to the utterance to indicate a yes-no question:

(5.80) *e*   *ro'iro'i* *na*   *koe*   *nē*

        IPFV   tired   DEIC 2S   tag

        'You are tired, yeah?'

5.6.2 Constituent questions

Constituent questions in Old Rapa employ question words. The reader will recall from chapter 4 that these question words include: *vai* 'who', *a'a* 'what', *'ea* 'where', *a'ea* 'when', *'ia* 'quantity (how much/how many)'. In nominal question constructions, the question word remains in situ. In verbal constructions, the position of the question word depends on the grammatical role being inquired about. Subject wh-arguments are fronted in intransitives and occur in situ in subjects of transitives; object wh-arguments remain in situ when they denote the patient of a transitive verb, but adverbial wh-phrases are frequently fronted.

5.6.2.1 Nominal subject questions

(5.81) *e　　a'a　　tō　　opape*

IPFV　what　DEF　current

'What's the current (like)?'

(5.82) *e　　a'a　　tā-koe　　　eika*

IPFV　what　INDEF.PossA-2S　　fish

'What's your fish?'

(5.83) *e　　a'a　　te　　rara*

IPFV　what　INDEFDEIC

'What's happening?' (lit. 'What's that?')

5.6.2.2 Possessive questions

(5.84) *nā　　　　vai　tō　　tamariki*

PREDPossA　who　DEF　child

'Who's child is this?

5.6.2.3 Locative questions

(5.85) *ti　　'ea　　tō　　roki*

LOC　where　DEF　taro bed

'Where is the taro bed?'

(5.86) *ti*   *'ea*   *roa*   *koe*

       LOC   where far   2S

       'Where (far) are you?'

5.6.2.4 Quantitative questions

(5.87) *e*   *'ia*   *eika*   *tera*

       IPFV how.many   fish   DEM

       'How many fish are there?'

5.6.2.5 Intransitive subject questions

For wh-questions asking about intransitive subjects, nominal constructions are used. The wh-word
occurs as the predicate, marked by *'o*. The subject is a headless relative clause, as indicated by the
form of TAM *i*. In (5.88) and (5.89), PFV is expressed by *i* instead of *ka*, which is used in regular
intransitive constructions.

    (5.88)

        a.   *'o*   *vai*   *i*   *mate*

             NOM who   PFV   die

             'Who died?' (lit. 'the one who died is who?')

        b.   **ka*   *mate* *('o)*   *vai*

             PFV   die   NOM 3S

             (intended: 'Who died?')

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(5.89)

    a.   *'o*   *vai*   *i*   *māngaro*

          NOM who PFV lost

          'Who disappeared?' (lit. 'the one who disappeared is who?')

    b.   **ka*   *māngaro*   *('o)*   *vai*

          PFV lost   NOM who

          (intended: 'Who disappeared?')

5.6.2.6 Transitive subject questions

Transitive wh-subjects cannot occur in situ in the regular verb construction.

(5.90) **ka*   *kai*   *vai*   *i*   *tō*   *pōpoi*

        PFV eat   who ACC DEF pōpoi

        (intended: 'Who ate the pōpoi?')

(5.91) **ka*   *'aka-'oki*   *vai*   *i*   *a*   *rātou*

        PFV CAUS-return who ACC PER 3Pl

        (intended: 'Who will bring them back?')

Unlike intransitive subject wh-questions, AE constructions rather than nominal constructions are used for transitive subject wh-questions.

(5.92) *nā   vai   i   kai   tō   pōpoi?*

PREP who   PFV eat   DEF   pōpoi

'Who ate the pōpoi?'

(5.93) *nā   vai   rātou   e   'aka-'oki*

PREP who   3Pl   IPFV CAUS-return

'Who will bring them back?'

5.6.2.7 Direct object questions

Direct object questions for things employ the question word *a'a* (5.94–5.95). Direct object questions about people use *vai* (5.96). Both occur in situ.

(5.94)

    a.   *ka   kai   'ōna   i   te   pōpoi*

           PFV   eat   3S   ACC   INDEFpōpoi

           'He ate some pōpoi.'

    b.   *ka   kai   'ōna   i   te   a'a*

           PFV   eat   3S   ACC   INDEFwhat

           'He ate what?' or 'What did he eat?'

(5.95)

    a.   *e*   *rave*   *ou*   *i*   *te*   *tipi*

         IPFV   take   1S   ACC   INDEFknife

         'I took a knife.'

    b.   *e*   *rave*   *ou*   *i*   *te*   *a'a*

         IPFV   take   1S   ACC   INDEFwhat

         'I took what?' or 'What did I take?'

(5.96)

    a.   *ka*   *ketekete*   *'ōna*   *i*   *a*   *Kā'ika*

         PFV   tickle   3S   ACC   PER   Kā'ika

         'She tickled Kā'ika.'

    b.   *ka*   *ketekete*   *'ōna*   *i*   *a*   *vai*

         PFV   tickle   3S   ACC   PER   who

         'She tickled whom?'

5.6.2.8 Adverbial questions

Questions about location employ the question word *'ea* 'where' preceded by the preposition *i*, in situ.

(5.97) *ka*   *naku*   *'ōna*   *i*   *'ea*

        PFV   go   3S   PREP   where

        'Where did he go?'

(5.98) *e   naku   na   koutou i   'ea*

IPFV   go   DEIC 2Pl   PREP where

'Where are you all going?'

Questions about the source of something use *nō te a'a* 'for the what'. This is observed in situ (5.99) in the regular verbal construction, and in situ via the CE (5.100). *Nō te a'a* may also be used in isolation to ask "Why?" and is usually translated by consultants as "Pourquoi?" which, in French, is usually phrase-initial. The fronting of the wh-prepositional phrase may then be perceived as due to French influence. However, I would argue against this because in perfective utterances, the embedded perfective TAM *i* is used rather than the matrix TAM *ka*, indicating that it is the CE.

(5.99) *e   riri   'ōna   nō   te   a'a*

IPFV   angry 3S   PREP INDEF what

'Why are you angry?'

(5.100) *nō   te   a'a   rātou i   naku   ai   i   Mangareva*

PREP INDEF what   3Pl   PFV   go   ANA   PREP Mangareva

'For what reason did they go to Mangareva?'

Questions regarding time employ *a'ea* in a fronted position. Because *a'ea* constructions employ the embedded perfective TAM *i* rather than the matrix perfective TAM *ka*, the fronting occurring here resembles the emphatic construction. However, expressions of time cannot occur in

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the emphatic construction as far as my data suggest. This matter may require further investigation.

(5.101) a'ea   'ōna   i   naku   i   Anatakuri

         when 3S   PFV   go   PREP Anatakuri

         'When did he go to Anatakuri?'

(5.102) a'ea   ra   tō-na   mahana   'ānau-'anga

         when DEIC INDEF.PossO-3S   day   birth-NMLZ

         'When was he born?' (lit. 'When was his birthing day?')

Finally, questions regarding how something was accomplished employ *'ea* preceded by the preposition *nā*. Here again, the wh-prepositional phrase moves to the beginning of the phrase and the embedded perfective TAM *i* is used.

(5.103) nā   'ea   'ōna   i   naku

         PREP where 3S   PFV   go

         'How did she come?'

5.7 Negation

Negation in Old Rapa is expressed by any of a set of negative verbs that occur sentence initially and are followed by the clause that is being negated. There are four negative verbs: *kāre* is used to negate non-past verbal constructions, *ki'ere* negates past verbal constructions, *eia'a* acts as a prohibitive (negative imperative), and *e'ere* is used to negate nominal predicate constructions and emphatic constructions.

Chung argues that negative constructions in Polynesian languages are bi-clausal where the "negative acts as the verb of its own clause, and the negated clause embedded under it" (1978:134). Old Rapa negation is constructed in a similar way, where the negative verb functions as the predicate, followed by the negated clause. It is important to note that the subject is preverbal in the embedded negative clause. In verbal negation, the TAMs *i* 'past' and *e* 'imperfective' introduce the subordinate, negated clause. The reader may recall from chapter 4 that *i* is rarely used as a matrix TAM but is always used to introduce a past or perfective subordinate clause.

5.7.1 The non-past negative

The negative verb *kāre* is used to negate non-past verbal constructions.

(5.104)

    a.   *e*   *'inangaro*   *ou*   *i*   *a*   *koe*

        IPFV   like   1S   ACC   PER   2S

        'I like you.'

    b.   *kāre*   *ou*   *e*   *'inangaro*   *i*   *a*   *koe*

        NEG   1S   IPFV   like   ACC   PER   2S

        'I don't like you.'

(5.105)

    a.   *e*   *pākika tō*   *keka*

        IPFV   slippery   DEF   path

        'The path is slippery.'

b. *kāre tō   keka   e   pākika*

NEG DEF   path   IPFV   slippery

'The path is not slippery.'

(5.106)

a. *e   kite   ou   i   a-na*

IPFV   know   1S   ACC   PER-3S

'I know him.'

b. *kāre   ou   e   kite   i   a-na*

NEG   1S   IPFV   know   ACC   PER-3S

'I don't know him.'

Additionally, *kāre* is also used with the adverb *kore* to mean 'not at all'.

(5.107) *kāre 'o   Mere   e   'aka-rongo*

NEG NOM Mary   IPFV   CAUS-hear

kore   i   te   'aka- 'ue

NEG   PREP DEF   CAUS restriction

a   tō-na   karakua   pē'ā

PossA INDEFPossO-3S   parent   woman

'Mary doesn't listen to her mother's orders at all.'

5.7.2 The past negative

The past negative is expressed by *ki'ere.*

(5.108) *ki'ere   koe   i   tai'o   tō   puta   ra*

NEG   2S   PFV   read   DEF   book   DEIC

'You did not read that book.'

(5.109) *ki'ere   rātou   i   tautai*

NEG   3P   PFV   fish

'They did not go fishing.'

(5.110) *ki'ere   rā   'ōna   i   mate*

NEG   DEIC   3S   PFV   dead

'She did not yet die.'

(5.111) *ki'ere   'ōna   i   keiā   tā-ku   kōpua-'anga*

NEG   3S   PFV   steal   INDEF.PossA-1S   plan-NMLZ

'She did not steal my project.'

5.7.3 Prohibitive

A negative imperative, or prohibitive, is formed using *eia'a*.

(5.112)

    a.   *a*   *naku*   *mai*

            IMP   come   DIR

            'Come here.'

    b.   *eia'a*   *e*   *naku*   *mai*

            NEG   IPFV   come   DIR

            'Don't come here.'

(5.113)

    a.   *a*   *komo*

            IMP   sleep

            'Sleep.'

    b.   *eia'a*   *e*   *komo*

            NEG   IPFV   sleep

            'Don't sleep.'

Eia'a can also be used to express exceptions, conveying the meaning 'except for'. In these cases, it functions as a sentence complement. It is always followed by deictic *ra* in these cases.

(5.114) *e   rave rāua i   tonga te   tamariki*

        IPFV take 3Du ACC all   INDEFchild

        eia'a ra   te   tamariki   koio

        NEG DEIC INDEFchild   very.small

        'They took all of the children, except for the very little one.'

(5.115) *ka   naku tonga mātou   i   tō   'are*

        PFV go   all   1EXCLPL PREP DEF house

        eia'a ra   tā-ku   tungāne

        NEG DEIC INDEF.PossO-1S   brother

        'We all went to the house, except for my brother.'

5.7.4 Nominal predicate negation

E'ere is used to negate nominal predicates as well as the actor emphatic.

    (5.116)

        a.   *te   'āikete 'ōna*

            INDEFteacher3S

            'She is a teacher.'

        b.   *e'ere 'ōna te   'āikete*

            NEG 3S   INDEFteacher

            'She is not a teacher.'

(5.117)

    a.   *nā-ku*   *tō*   *tipi*   *ra*

        GenA-1S   DEF   knife   DEIC

        'That is my knife.'

    b.   *e'ere* *nā-ku*   *tō*   *tipi*   *ra*

        NEG GenA-1S   DEF   knife   DEIC

        'That's not my knife.'

(5.118)

    a.   *nā-na*   *i*   *keiā* *tā-ku*   *kōpua-'anga*

        PREP-3S   PFV   steal   INDEF.PossA-1S   plan-NMLZ

        'She stole my project.'

    b.   *E'ere* *nā-na*   *i*   *keiā* *tā-ku*   *kōpua-'anga*

        NEG PREP-3S   PFV   steal   INDEF.PossA-1S   plan-NMLZ

        'She did not steal my project.'

Chapter 6

Historical reflections on Old Rapa

6. Introduction

Old Rapa's historical relationships have never been thoroughly analyzed due to the lack of documentation and description of the language. As a result, Old Rapa's close genetic affiliations have been more or less assumed based on very limited data or casual observations. Upon closer examination, however, it is evident that Old Rapa exhibits a number of unique features with respect to other Eastern Polynesian (EP) languages. The existence of these aberrant features merits further investigation into other EP languages in order to understand possible subgrouping relationships with Old Rapa. This chapter discusses the results of such an inquiry, and demonstrates the ways in which Old Rapa's unique linguistic qualities can lead to understanding the language's specific genetic affiliation as well as the Rapa people's prehistoric contacts.

In the following sections, I first summarize references to Old Rapa's genetic affiliation in historical observations and in the current literature on Polynesian languages. I then discuss evidence for Old Rapa as a Central Eastern Polynesian (CEP) language and examine its possible CEP internal relationships. Third, I explain some of Old Rapa's aberrant features, and discuss how these may demonstrate prehistoric relationships (either genetic or contact-based) with certain other Polynesian languages. Finally, I propose a scenario for Rapa Iti prehistory: early migration from the Southern Cook Islands, subsequent development of a wide-ranging contact sphere that extended to include other areas of South Polynesia, and then a period of significant isolation up until European contact.

6.1 References to Old Rapa's genetic classification

6.1.1 Historical observations

A number of explorers, missionaries, and early researchers who arrived in Rapa Iti during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made informal observations about the Rapa language with respect to other EP languages. While these accounts cannot be viewed as scientific or technically linguistic, they are important to consider as they indicate intelligibility with other EP languages and offer support that Old Rapa was a very different language than modern Reo Rapa. Observations on the language based on contact with Old Rapa speakers prior to heavy Tahitian influence indicate its clear relationship with other CEP languages, and identify it as notably different than Tahitian.

Vancouver was the first to describe his encounters with people from Rapa Iti. His first impressions of the language he heard in Rapa Iti led him to declare that the island was definitely "part of the Great South Sea nation"; however, he noted that a Hawaiian man traveling with him was unable to understand the Rapa people (Vancouver 1798:75). Stutchbury remarked more specifically that "they [Rapa people] do not speak the New Zealand or Tahitian language but something resembling the Marquesan" (1996:71–72). Davies also remarked on the dissimilarity of Old Rapa and Tahitian, reporting that two men who were taken from Rapa Iti onto his ship in 1825 could not understand much Tahitian upon arrival in the Society Islands (Davies in Newbury 1961:280). Furthermore, Cuming observed that while

> the language of the islanders without doubt had the same [distant] origin with those of the Society Islands…[in their] language, manner and customs [they] differ materially from the inhabitants of the Society Islands of which they had not any knowledge until the arrival of the native teachers from Otaheite…They could not understand them at first. (1828 in Richards 2007:6-7)

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Missionaries Pritchard and Simpson also noted the differences of Old Rapa from Tahitian: "The Rapan [language] in many respects is different from the Tahitian dialect. From the frequent use of the K and the ng or gn, it appears more to resemble New Zealand [Māori] or the Marquesans" (Pritchard and Simpson 1829 in Richards 2007:7). Ellis noted that Old Rapa sounded more like Māori than Tahitian (1838:364). Finally, Hale (1846:141) wrote that the language of Rapa must come from the Cooks as it was nearly identical to Rarotongan.

More linguistically oriented observations about Old Rapa come from Stokes and Schooling in the twentieth century. Stokes, while he did not suggest any specific genetic affiliation for Old Rapa, did note that by the time he had arrived on the island, men were speaking a language that resembled Tahitian, or a mixed Tahitian-Rapa language (1955:316). Women, on the other hand, were speaking the older language still, and Stokes observed that it was much different than the Tahitianized language that the men used. Finally, in his 1981 sociolinguistic survey, Schooling set out to quantify the extent to which Tahitian had influenced other French Polynesian languages. In this study, he did not go to Rapa Iti; however, he spoke with Rapa people in Tahiti. Based on his observations, he stated that "Rapan"[36] was a language closely related to Marquesan, with Mangarevan influences. He furthermore wrote that the Rapa language was "sufficiently different that neither a speaker of another Australs dialect, nor a Tahitian would understand [it] on first hearing it" (1981:22).

6.1.2 Current linguistic literature

In the existing body of literature on historical relationships of Polynesian languages, there is little

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36 Often, language from Rapa Iti is called "Rapan" by outsiders. This is not a term used by local people or by speakers of any form of language from Rapa Iti.

reference to Rapa Iti. The few that mention Rapa's language agree that it is an Eastern Polynesian language, though projections on its precise placement within EP are varied. Green (1966:27–28)[37] included "Rapan" among the Marquesic languages, citing four lexical correspondences: *taeti* 'child', *nga'u* 'bite', *rongo'uru* 'ten', and *kami'a* 'canoe'. Wilson disputed two of these four as genuinely Marquesic in 2010 (293, 298), and in 2012 (350–351) rejected the claims that any of these items are markedly Marquesic. Pawley and Green (1974:44), listed "Rapan" among other traditionally Tahitic languages, separate from the traditionally Marquesic languages (Figure 6.1). Marck, similar to Pawley and Green, identified Rapa as a Tahitic language (2000:185).

Figure 6.1. Pawley and Green's (1974:44) classification of Central Pacific languages
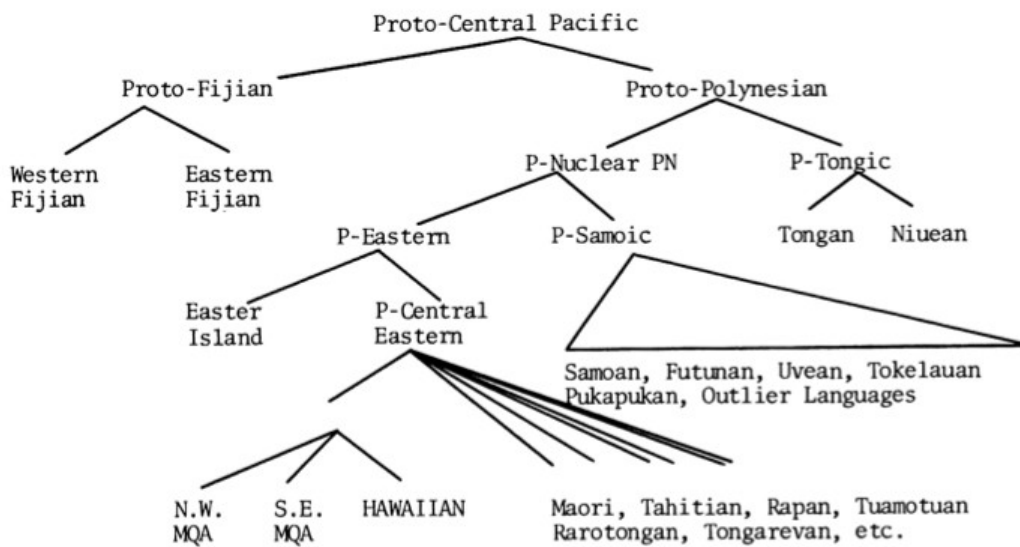
Fischer (2000) classified Old Rapa as Marquesic, and then, in 2001, hypothesized that it is actually part of a South-Eastern Polynesian subgroup, a direct descendant of an older form of Mangarevan that had undergone Marquesic influence. Under this hypothesis, he claimed that Rapa Iti had been settled directly from Mangareva.

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37 Based on data from Stokes 1955.

Figure 6.2. Fischer's 2001 SEP hypothesis
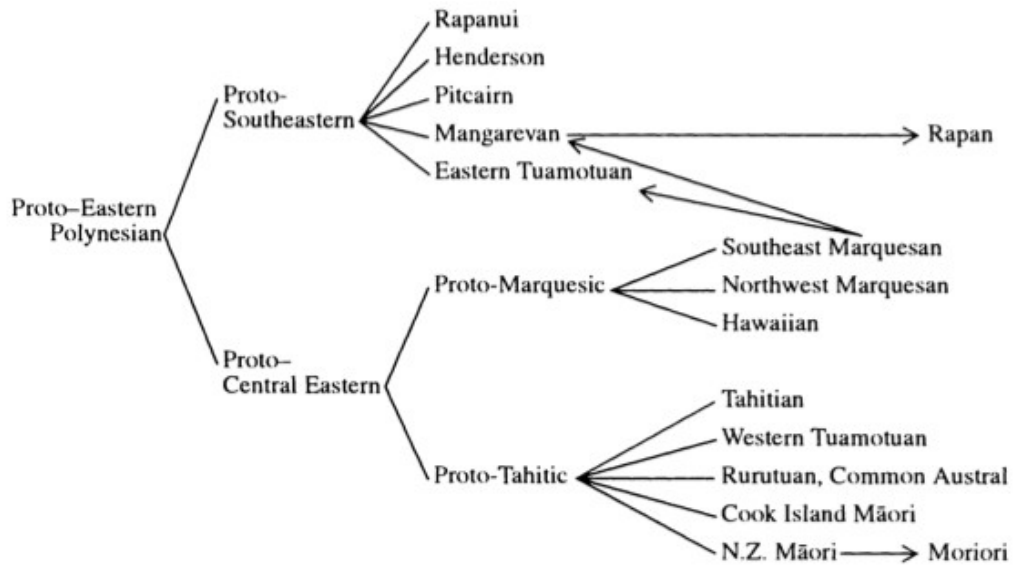
Fischer's SEP hypothesis is flawed as it is based on a group of languages that is extremely under-studied, including two languages (Henderson and Pitcairn) that can only be presumed to have been spoken and for which no actual records exist. Furthermore, the data he used to support this hypothesis are limited to Mangarevan. For these reasons, among others, his hypothesis has been widely disputed (Rutter 2002; Marck 2002; Wilson 2012:351–352).

6.2 Old Rapa as a CEP language

The assessments of Old Rapa described in section 6.2.2 are varied, and do not provide a clear classification of the language. The only commonality among the historical observations and linguistic categorizations is that Old Rapa is most certainly an Eastern Polynesian language. What is critically undecided is its more exact membership within Eastern Polynesian. Based on my present study, Old Rapa appears to share the same innovations as other CEP languages and can thus

be classified as such. Table 6.1 demonstrates Old Rapa's consonant reflexes from PEP and PCE.

Table 6.1. Consonant reflexes of PPN, PEP, and PCE in Old Rapa

PPN	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	*ʔ	*f	*s	*h	*w	*l	*r
PEP	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	*ʔ	*f	*s	ø	*w	*r	*r
PCE	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	ø	*f	*s	ø	*w	*r	*r
OR	p	t	k	m	n	ŋ	ø	'	'	ø	v	r	r

In addition to these consonant reflexes, Old Rapa exhibits most of the defining characteristics of CEP languages. The following have been identified as strong evidence for PCE.[38] Green (1966:17–18) identified three innovations for PCE: *kite 'know, understand' (lexical innovation), *tahito 'old, ancient' (semantic innovation); and a phonological innovation that was described by Biggs (1974:711) and Marck (2000:25) as two phonological innovations: (1) PEP *f merges with *s medially and before round vowels as PCE *h, and (2) PEP *f merges with *w word-initially before PCE *ah. The result of both changes is illustrated in table 6.2.

Table 6.2. PEP *faf- TO PCE *wah- (Marck 2000:25)

PEP	PCE	Gloss
*fafa	*waha	'carry on back'
*fafie	*wahie	'firewood'
*fafine	*wahine	'woman'
*fafo	*waho	'outside'

Marck (2000:132)identified an additional five sporadic sound changes in PCE. These appear in table 6.3.

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38 See Walworth 2014 (262–263) for further discussion and summary of PCE's defining characteristics.

Table 6.3. Sporadic sound changes in PCE (Marck 2000:132)

PEP	PCE	Gloss
*ŋu-feke	*mu-feke	'squid'
*ŋau	*ŋahu	'chew, bite'
*faahua	*paahua	'*Tridacna* (giant clam)'
*kai	*koi	'sharp'
*kau-natu	*kau-nati	'fire-plow'

Finally, Green (1985:12) and Marck (1996) presented nine grammatical innovations for PCE: *tei 'present position'; *ina(a) fea 'when (past)'; *le(')ila 'there, aforementioned place'; *noo/naa 'possessive particle'; *me 'and, with, plus'; *taua 'that aforementioned'; *aanei 'interrogative'; *vai 'who'; and *vau '1st person singular'.

Old Rapa exhibits Green's 1966 PCE lexical innovation *kite (OR *kite* 'to know') and semantic innovation *tahito (OR *ta'ito* 'old'). PEP *faf- to PCE *wah- is less evident, as OR has uniquely innovated forms for 'woman' (OR *pē'ā*) and 'firewood' (OR *rārā*) and does not exhibit a form that resembles PCE *waho 'outside'. However, one reflex of this group does persist, PCE *vaha 'carry on back' (OR *va'a* 'carry a baby on the back'), thus exhibiting Old Rapa's retention of PCE's dual phonological innovations. Of Marck's five sporadic sound changes, Old Rapa possesses *mī'eke* 'type of squid', *nga'u* 'bite', and *koikoi* 'sharp, pointy'. Practical explanations can be sought for the absence of Marck's two additional sporadic sound changes: Old Rapa has a unique innovation for 'fire-plow' and *Tridacna* are not found in Rapa Iti's cool waters (pers. comm. with local Rapa fisherman). Regarding the nine grammatical innovations, Old Rapa demonstrates the following reflexes:[39] PCE *tei as OR *ti* 'immediately, here, now'; PCE *noo/naa as *nō*/*nā* 'genitive particle'; PCE *taua as OR *tō* 'definite'; PCE *aanei as OR *nē* 'tag question marker'; and *PCE *vai as OR *vai* 'who'. Old Rapa does not exhibit reflexes of PCE *me, *ina(a) fea, or *vau. For PCE

39 See chapters 4 and 5 for examples and discussions on the functions of these grammatical markers.

*ina(a) fea, Old Rapa has merged the past and present interrogative forms for 'when' and uses *a'ea*

for both. Old Rapa forms for 'first person singular' (OR *ou*) and 'with, plus' (OR *ma*), have been

retained from PPN *au and *ma, respectively. The retention of PPN *au for 'first person singular'

is perhaps the most curious of these as all of the other CEP languages show a reflex for the PCE

innovated *vau.

The evidence presented in the previous section demonstrates that Old Rapa is most certainly

a CEP language. But what of its further classification within CEP? This is more difficult to

ascertain. Many scholars, as noted in section 6.2.2, have classified Old Rapa as a Marquesic

language, or in the case of Fischer (2001), a language descended directly from Mangarevan, after

Marquesic "intrusion." Others have categorized Old Rapa as Tahitic. However, this categorization

is likely due to the similarities to Tahitian that Reo Rapa exhibits, given that it is heavily mixed

with Tahitian. Based on my data and analyses, Old Rapa does not exhibit any particular features

that would classify it under either of the traditional CEP subgroups, which, in any case, are of

questionable status (see Walworth 2014). This is not to say that Old Rapa does not demonstrate

any particular relationships with other CEP languages. To the contrary, it has striking linguistic

similarity to several other CEP languages, but not under the traditional subgrouping framework. In

the sections that follow, I discuss these potential relationships while highlighting some of Old

Rapa's more unusual features.

6.3 Comparative analysis of some Old Rapa features

In this section, I examine some of the phonological, grammatical, and lexical features of Old Rapa,

paying particularly close attention to those features that represent a departure from most of the other

CEP languages, either as innovations or as retentions.

6.3.1 Phonological features

This section addresses Old Rapa's consonant reflexes and the other CEP languages that exhibit the same reflexes from PCE. Furthermore, this section highlights a select few sporadic vowel changes in Old Rapa that appear to be shared with Mangaian.

6.3.1.1 Consonant reflexes

Old Rapa's consonant reflexes from PCE are identical to those of Rarotongan, Mangaian, Aitutaki,[40] and Mangarevan. Rarotongan, Mangaian, and Aitutaki are languages spoken in the Southern Cook Islands (approximately 900 NM northwest of Rapa Iti). Mangarevan is spoken in the Gambier Islands (approximately 570 NM northeast of Rapa Iti). These shared consonant reflexes are striking, as this group of languages represents the largest group of EP languages to share identical consonant reflexes.

Table 6.4. Consonant reflexes of PEP and PCE in OR, RAR, MIA, MGV, ATK

PEP	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	*ʔ	*f	*s	*w	*r
PCE	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ŋ	ø	*f	*s	*w	*r
OR	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	'	'	v	r
RAR	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	'	'	v	r
MIA	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	'	'	v	r
MGV	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	'	'	v	r
ATK	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	'	'	v	r

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40 See Marck 2000 for a table of consonant reflexes of most EP languages from PEP.

6.3.1.2 Sporadic sound changes

Rapa does not appear to exhibit any other regular sound changes from PCE, but a few sporadic

changes are particularly notable, as they are shared with Mangaian.

(6.1) 'mountain' PCE *mauŋa[41] > Old Rapa *mounga*

(6.2) 'bathe' PCE *kaukau > Old Rapa *koukou*

Based on my data, this is not a regular change from PCE, nor does it occur in any specific

environment.

Not all of these are changes unique to Old Rapa. Some other CEP languages demonstrate

the same sporadic change from PCE *mauŋa: some dialects of Tuamotuan *moounga* (Stimson and

Marshall 1964); North Marquesan *mouka* (Dordillon 1904); South Marquesan *mouna* (Dordillon

1904); Tahitian *mou'a*[42] (Lemaitre 1973). Mangaian (Mangaian Dictionary Project 2014[43]) exhibits

both of these sporadic changes: *mounga* and *koukou.*

An additional sporadic change is equally worth noting as it is also shared by Mangaian.

PPN *ma(a)wete 'untied, loosened, separated' is reflected in Old Rapa as *māve'e*, 'the extensions of

a part or division'. This sporadic change of PPN *t > ʔ is also evidenced in Mangaian, *māve'e*. It is

important to note that the semantic change from PPN 'untied, loosened' to 'extensions of a part or

division' is also evidenced in Mangaian.

6.3.2 Grammatical features

This section highlights several of Old Rapa's grammatical words that are historically unusual with

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41 Unless noted otherwise, all reconstructed forms are taken from POLLEX (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
42 Tahitian exhibits both *mau'a* and *mou'a*, according to Lemaitre 1973 and Tahitian consultants.
43 The *Mangaian Dictionary Project* is a current project of the Auckland University of Technology and the University of the South Pacific, Cook Islands. This project is digitally archiving notes from Donald Marshall's fieldwork in Mangaia in the 1950s.

respect to other CEP languages. These include: the perfective aspect marker *ka*, adverbial *tuai*, adverbial *ta'anga*, negative past *ki'ere*, negative non-past *kāre*, and definite *tō*.

6.3.2.1 Perfective *ka*

Most Eastern Polynesian languages denote the perfective aspect using a reflex of PPN *kua 'perfective aspect marker' (Clark 1976:30).

Table 6.5. PPN *kua reflexes in some CEP languages

TAH	MAO	RAR	MSQ	HWN	TUA
'ua	*kua*	*kua*	*'ua*	*'ua*	*kua*

In Old Rapa, however, the perfective is marked by *ka*. A form *kua* does occur but can only be used with certain verbs, and it appears to have a deeper 'past' connotation that contrasts with the *ka* perfective (see chapter 4). There are two possible explanations for the change PPN *kua > Old Rapa ka: (1) Old Rapa experienced loss of [u] in *kua*, resulting in *ka* for the perfect marker. This change is not exhibited in any other EP language. (2) *ka*, as a perfective marker,[44] is an Old Rapa innovation. This innovation may be part of a shared innovation with Māori, Mangaian, and Mangarevan.

Bauer (with co-authors 1993; 1997) and Harlow (2012) offered evidence for a TAM marker *ka* in Māori, with, however, varied interpretations of its function. Harlow (1989) wrote that the particle *ka* serves only to mark that a phrase is verbal and denotes no tense, aspect, or modal value. He expanded on this in 2012: "When no adverbial or previous [tense-aspect] marking determines a tense, the default reading of *ka* is temporally present, aspectually aorist" (137). Bauer (with co-authors 1997:85) wrote that *ka* has more of a non-specific aspect function and can be used to

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44 *kaa has been reconstructed for PPN (Clark 1976:30); however its function was to mark 'future' or 'inceptive' aspect.

indicate past, future, or present tense.

Mangaian exhibits a similar *ka*; however, it is unclear whether it denotes perfective or is more non-specific and oriented to the surrounding context. The example below from the Mangaian Dictionary indicates a perfective translation, but provides no context, making it difficult to surmise if its semantic value is truly perfective or if it is contextually based.

(6.3)

ka	*'ītonga*	*te*	*kuru*
TAM	bruise	DEF	breadfruit

'The breadfruit is bruised.'

(*Mangaian Dictionary* 2013)[45]

Based on analysis of some published Mangaian texts (Reilly 1993) as well as examples from the Mangaian Dictionary (2013), it appears that Mangaian typically uses *kua* to denote the perfective. It follows, then, that *ka* in Mangaian may function as it does in Māori, as a non-specific aspect marker.

Finally, there is evidence of a somewhat ambiguous aspect marker *ka* in Mangarevan. According to Ena Manuireva (pers. comm. September 2014), this *ka* can be used to express imperative, future, and perfective. For example, the common 'goodbye' in Mangarevan to denote 'see you later' is *ka no'o koe,* literally, 'you (2S) should stay' or 'you (2S) will stay'. According to my consultant, *ka* in this case can mean both imperative and future, and can be interchanged with the imperative marker *a* or the future marker *e*. The inexact value of *ka* may indicate that it functions as a 'non-specific' aspect marker in Mangarevan as well.

This evidence of a *ka* aspect marker in Māori, Mangaian, and Mangarevan may indicate that

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45 I added the interlinear gloss and free translation.

a non-specific marker was a shared innovation in Māori, Mangaian, Mangarevan, and Old Rapa. Over time, Old Rapa replaced perfective *kua* with non-specific *ka*. The trace evidence of *kua* in Old Rapa (see chapter 4) and its slightly different semantic function from *ka* also support this explanation. Had a phonological change occurred (*kua > *ka*), evidence of a *kua* form in the Old Rapa corpus would be unlikely.

6.3.2.2 Adverbial *tuai*

Another notable feature in Old Rapa is the adverb *tuai* 'absolutely, definitely' (see chapter 4). This adverb is not found in any other EP language; however, it is found in Niue, a distantly related Tongic language, as a perfective tense-aspect marker. In Old Rapa, *tuai* functions as an adverb that carries perfective connotations in that it emphasizes that an action has indeed been carried out . In Niue, *tuai* has a primarily perfective aspect function (Seiter 1980:2), but is syntactically adverbial. Niue's placement of *tuai* is post-verbal, an atypical location for a Polynesian aspect marker, but the prototypical position of a Polynesian adverb.

(6.4)

Hau   tuai   e   tehina   haau.

come   PERF   ABS   brother   your

'Your little brother has come.'

(Seiter 1980:8)

According to Seiter (1980:8), the perfective in Niuean may be marked by a co-occurrence of the perfective aspect markers *kua* and *tuai*. This is, in fact, the most common way to mark perfective in Niuean (1980:8).

(6.5)

Kua	ligi	tuai	e	au	e	kapiniu	tī	ma-au.
PERF	pour	PERF	ERG	I	ABS	cup		tea	for-you

'I've poured a cup of tea for you.'

<div align="right">(Seiter 1980:8)</div>

There is nothing else by way of particular linguistic similarity that would point to a subgrouping relationship between Niue and Rapa Iti, so this single connection may be contact related. Strong evidence indicates similarities between Niuean and EP languages, which are typically attributed to borrowing through contact with the Cook Islands (Clark 1979; Marck 2000; Otsuka 2006). If EP features were borrowed into Niuean from contact with the Cooks, the existence of *tuai* in Old Rapa provides evidence that Rapa Iti was to some extent involved in this contact network.

6.3.2.3 Adverbial *ta'anga*

Old Rapa is the only CEP language that exhibits an adverbial reflex of PPN *tafaŋa 'naked, bare, clear'. It additionally appears to be the only CEP language with the semantic change from the PPN meaning to 'only, simply'. Reflexes of PPN *tafanga from other CEP languages are shown in table 6.6 to demonstrate that Old Rapa is the only CEP language in which PPN *tafaŋa is adverbial and has undergone semantic change. Outside of CEP, however, there is one other Polynesian language that demonstrates an adverbial reflex of PPN *tafaŋa, Rapa Nui *tahanga* 'simply, just like that'.[46] Rapa Nui's *tahanga* also indicates semantic change from PPN, similar to the meaning found in Old

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46 Personal communication with a Rapa Nui speaker, August 2013.

Rapa. I would not suggest that this shared semantic innovation signals a subgrouping relationship between Rapa Nui and Rapa Iti; however, it may be evidence for contact between the two languages.

Table 6.6. Reflexes of PPN *tafaŋa 'naked, bare, clear' in some CEP languages

TAH	MAO	RAR	MSQ	HWN	TUA	MGV
tahaa	*tahanga*	*taa'aka,* *taa'aakaa*	*tahaka*	*kohana*	*tahanga*	*ta'anga*

6.3.2.4 Negative past *ki'ere*

Old Rapa's marker for negative past constructions is *ki'ere*. This form is not evidenced elsewhere in Polynesia. However, it appears to be a compounded reflex of PCE *kihai 'negative' and PEP *ŋere 'deprived of' This would certainly be a unique construction for a Polynesian negative form, but is not improbable. This would mean that Old Rapa retained only the *ki portion of PCE *kihai, as *ki*, and compounded it with *ngere*, resulting in *ki-ngere*. At some later point, the velar nasal was reduced to glottal stop, likely to assimilate to the Tahitian reflex of PPN *ŋere, *'ere*. Old Rapa does borrow the nominal negative from Tahitian, *e 'ere*, which clearly incorporates the Tahitian reflex of PPN *ŋere. It is not unlikely then that an older Old Rapa form of *ki-ngere* might have experienced a similar shift, resulting in *ki'ere*.

Māori and Mauke are the only other CEP languages that have retained PCE *kihai. Based on evidence from Clark (1976:95) and Mauke linguist Sally Nichols (pers. comm. 2014), both Māori and Mauke demonstrate a reflex of *kihai (*kihai* and *ki'ai*, respectively) to mark the negative past, thus sharing Old Rapa's semantic value of the *kihai reflex.

6.5.2.5 Non-past negative *kāre*

Clark (1976:98–100) reconstructed PPN *kole as a verb that indicated 'lacking' or 'non-existence'. However, he remarked that its presence as a negative marker was only apparent among EP languages. He wrote, "Outside of this subgroup, not only is it unknown as a form of NEG, but plausible cognates of any sort are hard to find" (1976:98). For this reason, I find it more suitable to reconstruct *kole for PEP and PCE *kore due to the merger of *r and *l in PCE. In CEP languages, he observed that PCE *kore "fused" with either PCE *e 'future' or PCE *ka 'non-future',[47] which produced past, present, and future negative markers in EP languages.

Table 6.7. Reflexes of PCE *ka/*e + *kore in some CEP languages (Clark 1976:99)

	Past	**Present**	**Future**
MAO	*(kiihai)*	*kaahore*	*e kore*
RAR	*kaare*	*kaare*	*kaare*
PEN	*ei kore*	*ee kore*	*ee kore*
TAH	*'aore*	*'aore*	*'e 'ore*
MVA	*e kore*	*e kore*	*e kore*
	kakore	*kakore*	
MQS	*'a'o'e*	*'a'o'e*	*'a'o'e*
HAW	*'a'ole*	*'a'ole*	*'a'ole*

Clark additionally noted that in all CEP languages the tense + *kore form emerges as a negative existential (1976:100). Old Rapa's reflex of *kore, *kāre* can also function in this way (see chapter 5 for examples and discussion of Old Rapa *kāre* and for residual evidence of PCE *kore in Old Rapa adverb *kore*).

Old Rapa's non-past negative *kāre*, as Clark stated to be true for other CEP languages, likely

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47 It is important to note that Clark did not explicitly reconstruct PPN *ka in his discussion of PPN tense-aspect markers (1976:30–33). He does however reference this *ka "tense-marker" to mean 'non-future' in his analysis of PPN *kore and his treatment of CEP reflexes (99). Though he does not specify to what proto-language *ka is reconstructable, I interpret from the data he provided that *ka 'non-future' can be reconstructed for PCE.

derives from an earlier PCE *ka + *kore merger. The resulting form, *kakore, then underwent a

sporadic deletion of [k], followed by an assimilation of [o] to [a]. This assimilation resulted in

geminate [a], thus producing an apparent long [ā] in Old Rapa:

PCE *tense + *kore > POR *kakore > *kaore* > *kāre*

This identical series of sound changes appears to have also occurred in Rarotongan and Mangaian,

which exhibit *kāre* to indicate some form of the negative. As shown in table 6.7, Rarotongan uses

this form for past, present, and future negative constructions. It can, of course, following Clark's

observation for all CEP languages, also be used to mark the negative existential (see the Dictionary

of Cook Islands Languages 2014). In Mangaian, due to lack of documentation, the function of *kāre*

is not readily clear. However, the form does appear as a negative and seems to be derived from the

same sound changes from PCE as in Old Rapa and Rarotonga (example 6.6).

(6.6)[48]

kāre   ra   i   ariki-'ia

NEG   DEIC PFV   accept-PASS

'[He]was not accepted.'

6.3.2.6 Definite *tō*

In Old Rapa, *tō* functions as a definite article that is heavily discourse driven (see chapter 4). This

particular form is not found in any other Central Eastern Polynesian language; however, I believe it

is semantically related to PEP *taua*, which is evidenced in several other CEP languages (table

6.8).[49] Thus, the Old Rapa form is presumably phonologically derived from PEP *taua* through the

48 Text from Reilly 2007; interlinear gloss added.
49 *taua* 'retrospective definitive' has been reconstructed for PTA, but due to evidence of related forms in the traditionally "Marquesic" language Hawaiian (*ua*) as well as evidence in Rapa Nui that correlates with the Old Rapa form, I believe it is more suitable to posit a *taua* reconstruction for PEP.

following sound changes: a sporadic loss of final *a, *au > *ou*, and subsequent monophthongization *ou* > *ō*. This kind of change from PEP *taua is exhibited only in Rapa Iti among the CEP languages. However, it is very important to note that Rapa Nui exhibits the form *tou* as a reflex of PEP *taua (Langdon and Tryon 1983:23). The Rapa Nui form appears to have possibly gone through the same first two sound changes as Old Rapa. Identical sporadic sound changes such as these can provide compelling evidence for historical relationships, and in this case further suggest certain prehistoric contact between Rapa Iti and Rapa Nui.

Table 6.8. Reflexes of PCE *taua* in some CEP languages (POLLEX)

Language	Reflex	Description
Hawaiian	*ua*	Refers to a previously mentioned noun
Moriori	*wa*	'those'
Māori	*taua; aua*	'that, aforementioned'
Rarotongan	*taua; aua*	Demonstrative and relative pronoun; 'that aforementioned'
Tahitian	*taua*	'aforementioned' (pers. comm. Jack Ward); 'this/that', when used with DEIC *ra* (Lemaitre)
Tuamotuan	*taua; aua*	'that, the aforesaid'; 'those (several) aforementioned'
Mangaian	*taua*	'that/those aforementioned' (as demonstrated in Reilly 1993)

6.3.3 Lexical innovations

Old Rapa exhibits a significant number of basic lexical items that cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian. My study is not the first to comment on these as unusual phenomena. In John F. G. Stokes's 1955 article "Language in Rapa Iti," he noted several lexical items without cognates

anywhere else in Polynesia. Table 6.9 lists the lexical innovations that Stokes explicitly noted as

innovations. I have kept Stokes's spelling, which does not consistently recognize the glottal stop or

vowel length. Additionally, I have listed here only those items that constitute unique Old Rapa

innovations. In his 1955 list, Stokes included some items that retained meaning from what he

referred to as "ancient Polynesian." I do not include here any such reflexes of Proto-Polynesian, as

cognates of these terms can be found in multiple other Polynesian languages and thus cannot be

deemed Old Rapa innovations.

Table 6.9. Stokes's Rapa innovations

Gloss	Rapa Innovation
banana	*tautau*
canoe	*kami'a*
eel	*takaviri*
firewood	*raro*
hair of head	*rauka'a*
liver	*kupanga*
nose	*pitau*
oven	*kauatu*
parent	*karakua*
pregnancy	*kopitoro*
sleep/lie down	*komo, kakomo*
small	*kakaio, kirioi*
stone	*konii*
sun, day	*pake*
sweet-smelling	*makona*
taro	*ko'a, mikaka*
to proceed	*naku or nako*
water	*kare, kotae, koringiringi*
woman and wife	*pea*

Kieviet and Kieviet also remarked on some of this unusual terminology and offered "parallels" (cognates) in some other Polynesian languages (2006:6–10). The list of Rapa innovations has expanded through my recent linguistic work on the island. Table 6.10 provides my current and complete list of Rapa lexical innovations. This table also indicates PPN reconstructions for the same gloss and provides other possibly related higher-level reconstructions. These innovations represent either unique forms or unique semantic shifts in Old Rapa.

Table 6.10. List of Rapa innovations

Gloss	Rapa Innovation	Reconstructions in PPN (unless noted otherwise)	Related Forms (PPN, unless noted otherwise)[50]
armpit, tickle	*ketekete*	PCE *keke 'armpit'; PPN *ma-qene 'tickle'	*kete 'basket' (possibly related due to shape)
baby	*teiti, taeti*		PCE *taiti 'young male child'
back	*moko*	*tuqa 'back'	
banana	*tautau*	PEP *m(a,e)ika	*tau 'hang, be suspended'
buttocks	*kōmi*	PCE *remu	
calm sea	*karamate*		*mate 'die, dead'
canoe	*kāmi'a*	*waka	
change direction	*tīkoni*		
plant species: *Cordyline terminalis*	*karokaro, kaukaro*[51]	*ti	*kalokalo 'flower species'; *kau 'stalk, stem'
east wind	*mara'amu*		
eel, to coil	*takaviri*	*pusi	PCE *takawiri 'turn, twist'
eyebrow	*kene'u mata*	*tuke-mata	*mata 'eye'
family	*kōpū*	*saqa 'clan'	*koopuu 'gullet, stomach, belly, guts'
fire	*ngara'u*	*afi	*ŋarafu 'charcoal'
fire plow	*'ikā*		*sika 'make fire'
firewood	*rārā*	*fafie	*rara 'heat over fire'

50 Proto-forms were taken from Greenhill and Clark 2011, unless otherwise noted.
51 These two terms are generally used as synonyms today; however, all of my elder consultants report that *karokaro* is the young leaf, curled in the center of the plant; *kaukaro* refers to the entire plant.

fishing net	ngake	*kupeŋa[52]	
forest	raro rākau		*lakau 'tree'; *lalo 'below, under'
fresh water	kōta'e	*wai	*tafe 'to flow, especially of a current'
fresh water source, waterfall	kōringiringi		*liŋi 'pour'
generation, divide	kopanga		
group of children	puke	*tamariki[53]	
hair of head	rauka'a	*lau-qulu	*lau 'leaf'; *kafa 'braided fibers'
happy, joy	rekareka	*fiafia	*leka 'pleasant'
high fort, fortified village	pāre		*pale 'defense'; *pa 'enclosure, fence'
immediate family	puke'anga		
indeed	noti	*foki	
large, numerous	ngare	*lasi	
lips	kiri ngutu	*lau-ŋutu	*ŋutu 'mouth'; PAN *kili 'skin'
make a path in the woods	tāmoka		
man	rua	*taqane	*rua 'two'
northeast wind	maoake		
nose	pitā'u	*isu	
old person	'ina'ina	*tupuna	*sina 'grey or white haired'
oven	ko'otu[54]	*umu	
overflowing of river	karea		
parent	karakua	*matuqa	
plant species: *Corokia collenetei*	raupata		*laupata 'tree species'; *lau 'leaf'; PCE *naupata 'scaevola plant'[55]

52 Old Rapa also exhibits a reflex of POC *kupeŋa (*kupenga*), but the meaning is slightly different, as *kupenga* is more general than *ngake.*
53 *Tamariki* is used to mean 'children' in Old Rapa.
54 Stokes lists this as *kauatu*.

pretty	*mānea*		*mana-qia 'handsome lothario'
ridge	*taratika*	*tuqa-siwi	*tala 'pointed object'; PEP *tika 'straight'
river	*mangavai*	*wai-tahe	*maŋavai 'tributary'
salt water, sea	*kara, kare*	*tahi; *miti	*kale 'a wave that ripples or breaks, rather than a swell'
skinny	*mokō'ī*		
small	*kakaio*	*riki	
small animals	*kororio*	*riki	
small sea cucumber	*'akaekae*	*loli[56]	
small taro bundles	*tīromi*		
south wind	*mākiki*		
spider	*kopitoru*	*lewelewe	
split into equal parts	*panga'a*		
spoken word	*koai*	*kupu	
stone, rock	*koni'i*	PCE *po-fatu	
sweet (smell and taste)	*kakona*	*maŋalo	*kona 'satiated, satisfied'
taro	*mīkaka*	*talo	
taro leaf	*raupaka*		*laupata 'tree species'; *lau 'leaf'; *pata 'spotted'
taro species	*'ara'ara*		*farafara 'plant species'
tear (n)	*karavai*	*loqi-mata	*wai 'fresh water'; *kala 'sting'
tired	*paruparu*	PCE *rufi	*palu 'knead, mix'[57]
to advance, charge	*mātu*	*qoso	
to escape	*moka*	*sola	
to go	*naku*	*saqele	
to learn	*āikete*	*ako	

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55 According to Tiffany Laitame, a biology PhD candidate at Université de la Polynésie Française and member of the Rapa Iti community, *Scaevola* and *Corokia* are not biologically similar, nor do they have any surface similarities. Furthermore, *Scaeveola* is not found on Rapa Iti.

56 Old Rapa does have a reflex of PCP *loli, *rori*, meaning 'larger sea cucumbers'.

57 The semantic connection is that feeling tired may be related to feeling beaten or worked over.

to peel	*'oni*	*fore	*soni 'cut into'
to see	*noko*	*kite	
to sleep	*komo*	*mohe	
to speak	*'akaero*[58]	PEP *kii	*reo 'voice'
tribe, clan	*vaka*		*waka 'canoe'
two extensions of a fork/part/division	*māve'e*		*ma-wete 'untie, separated'; PCE *wehe 'divide, separate'
valley	*tīkoko*		*kookoo 'hole'
weak	*mōkiki*	*ŋawari	
wet taro-bed	*roki*		*loki 'enclosed area'[59]
white	*uouo*	*tea	
wild sugar cane	*tāmi'a*	*too	
wild taro	*matae*		
woman	*pē'ā*	*fafine	
young taro	*kāvake*		*kawake 'moon, month'

6.3.3.1 Social motivation for innovation

While some of the items on this list are entirely new forms, without any clear provenance (*pē'ā, karakua, kopanga, panga'a, mīkaka, akaekae, koni'i, pitā'u, moko, kōmi, āikete, koai, nākū, mātu, mokō'ī, kakaio, noko, komo, kororio, ko'otu, kāmi'a, karea, moka, tāmoka, tāmi'a, tīromi, ngare ngake, kopitoru, uouo, matae*), the majority of Old Rapa's innovations appear to have been derived from other terms that likely already existed in the Old Rapa lexicon. The "other" reconstructed forms in column four in table 6.10 offer the reconstructions for lexical items that may have had reflexes in Old Rapa, but have undergone unique semantic innovations.

Stokes remarked on his list that these innovations in Old Rapa were nearly all terms of

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58 This looks like a metathesized form of *reo* with a fossilized causative prefix *'aka-*. *Ero* does not have any meaning alone.
59 Hawaiian shares a semantic cognate, *lo'i,* for wet taro-bed.

"ordinary life" (1955:320–321), otherwise known as basic vocabulary items. This remains true of my more extensive list. Most of the aberrant vocabulary found in Old Rapa is "basic" in that it is vocabulary that relates to the everyday life, activities, and environment of Rapa Iti culture. These types of terms are the least likely to change so drastically from prototypical forms barring some significant social motivation. This is particularly the case among Polynesian languages where basic vocabulary tends to be conservatively retained.

So what was the motivation for deriving and inventing new forms for words that presumably already existed in the Old Rapa lexicon? Stokes (1955:319) suggested that the unique terms found in Rapa must be indicative of a "custom of word-changing." While he admits not finding local confirmation of such a custom having existed in Rapa, he suggests that it is the only possible explanation for the changing of basic terminology. Stokes gives two main reasons for his hypothesis: (1) because many of the unique Old Rapa terms can be "derived from other terms" and (2) because relics of terms more consistent with Proto-Polynesian reflexes can be found in Old Rapa.[60] Stokes argued, then, that these terms represented "local word-coining" due to social pressure, or some sort of speech taboo.

Speech taboos were a common practice among Polynesians (see, for Tonga: Haugen and Philips 2010; Sāmoa: Duranti 1992; Tahiti: Ahnne 1926; Peltzer 1994), and were usually used to mark respect for the aristocracy or religious leaders. The most noted of these systems for lexical modification, as also described by Stokes (322–329), were the "chief's language" in Samoa and the

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60 While Stokes does not provide much evidence, he was correct in his assumption. I have found reflexes of some PPN basic vocabulary in place names and in people's names in Rapa Iti indicating that these terms may have at one time been part of the lexicon, perhaps prior to the language innovations. Some examples are: *Tevaitau* lit. 'the fresh-water fight', where two clans supposedly fought over a claim to a fresh water source; *Teumukopuke* lit. 'the oven place for children', where (according to legend) a cannibalistic giant cooked children; and *va'ine*, used in the married names of some elder women, such as *Te'a va'ine* (where Te'a is the husband's given name).

Tahitian *pi'i* system.[61] Both systems are practices for expressing respect for kings and gods. In

Samoa, it was a system of deference, where certain terms and metaphoric expressions were coined

for use only in reference to kings. This created a more formal speech register. For example,

> a chief is not "sick" (although perhaps seriously ill) but is "indisposed," "weary,"
> "turned aside," "wrapped in covering" and so forth…[a king] does not "wake" (ala) but
> does maleifua, perhaps "emits a cough." (Newell 1911:89, cited in Stokes 1955:322)

In the Tahitian *pi'i*, certain words or sounds that were similar to the names of chiefs or gods were

not allowed to be used by the general public. A term or even a syllable that was part of a chief's

name could be prohibited for use in regular speech or to refer to anything other than the chief

himself. As a result, new words were coined (by the royal family) or borrowed from other nearby

languages (Ahnne 1926; Stokes 1955:324) to replace the chiefly sounding terms and syllables

throughout the language.

Stokes's hypothesis was that there was "no doubt" a similar system of language restriction in

Rapa Iti. Local oral traditions, however, do not support this idea. Stokes reported (1955:326) that

the Rapa royals he spoke with denied such a system existing in Rapa Iti. I, too, was unable to

confirm with any elder consultants that such a system ever existed in Rapa. I am nonetheless

inclined to agree with Stokes's hypothesis, due to Rapa Iti's history of clan division (Hanson 1970;

Hanson and Ghasarian 2007; Stokes 1930). Oral history (Stokes 1930; pers. comm. with Rapa Iti

elders) indicates that there were at one time twelve different, and opposing, clans (*kōpū*) in Rapa Iti.

Each of these clans had claim to a fort (*pāre*) and the valley land below the *pāre*. According to

multiple legends, Rapa's clans were in constant conflict, each trying to appropriate more land and

resources from the others. Archaeological research also offers evidence of a warring culture in

Rapa Iti. Anderson and coauthors (2012:253) wrote of clan warfare:

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61 Stokes refers to the Tahitian system as *pi*, but the name is actually *pi'i,* meaning 'to call' in Tahitian.

It first becomes apparent archaeologically with the establishment of the Noogorupe and Ruatara fortifications between AD 1300 and 1400, the new need for defensive architecture implying the beginning of stronger status rivalry between competing polities than existed at the time of initial colonisation or developed soon afterward. If it is accepted, as ethnographic data suggest, that the flat-topped towers at the centres of large forts were places of chiefly habitation, then 10 competing chiefly polities existed on Rapa by the 18th century. *Pare* at that time tended to have more defensive features (e.g. Morongo Uta, Potaketake, Kapitanga), some of which cut through existing architecture, suggesting improvements to defensive structure. The higher elevation refugia sites (Ngapiri and Pukumia) also suggest increased warfare late in the Rapan sequence. The overall trend in fort construction, from two in the 14th century, gradual increases into the 17th century and an accelerated burst through the 18th century, suggests that conflict and the threat of war increased through the sequence. The most likely reasons for this increase were either direct population growth or indirect population pressure on resources, such as agricultural land.

The leaders of Rapa's multiple clans, in trying to assert authority and negotiate space on such a small and crowded island, may have used language restrictions to create socio-political boundaries and clan demarcations. Perhaps as the population became more unified, the unique vocabulary of the more powerful clans persisted.

6.3.3.2 Evidence of Old Rapa's unique vocabulary in other PN languages

Regardless of why Rapa's innovative vocabulary may have been coined, its existence is important to investigate. Due to the divergence of Rapa's innovative vocabulary from Proto-Polynesian and Proto-Eastern Polynesian, attestations of similar forms in other Polynesian languages provide convincing evidence for pre-historic relationships with other island communities. The four languages that share some of Rapa Iti's lexical or semantic innovations are the languages of Rapa Nui, Rarotonga, Mangareva, and Mangaia. Rapa Nui shows evidence of the semantic innovations of *kakona* 'sweet smelling' and *reka* 'happy', as well as the form innovations *matu* 'to advance' and *honi* 'peel' (Rapa Nui consultant, September 2013).[62] Rarotongan shows evidence of three

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62 *Honi* (RN) and '*oni* (OR) look like a retention of PEO *soni 'to cut into' and a subsequent semantic narrowing to

innated terms: *ngake* 'a small scoop net with a handle', *maoake* 'north-easterly or easterly wind',

vaka 'clan, tribe' (Buse 1995). Mangarevan shares four innovations: *koko* 'valley', *noti* 'indeed',

'ina'ina 'grandparent', and *kami'a* 'canoe' (Mangarevan consultant, November 2013). The language

of Mangaia has the greatest number of shared lexical innovations with Rapa Iti. These are outlined

in table 6.11.

Table 6.11. Mangaian shared innovations with Rapa Iti

Gloss	Mangaia[63]
back	*moko*
canoe	*kami'a*
children	*puke'anga*
Plant: *Cordyline terminalis*	*karokaro*
crab found on cliffs	*karami*
family, clan	*kōpū* (Walter and Reilly 2010)
fire plow	*'ikā'ia*
forest	*raro rākau*
fresh water	*kota'e*
fresh water source	*koringiringi*
generation, divide	*kopanga*
happy, joy	*rekareka*
high fort, fortified village	*pāre*
immediate family; household	*puke'anga*
many	*ngare*
name of a wind	*maraamu*
name of a wind	*makiki*
north-east wind	*maoake*
nose	*pita'u*
old person	*inaina*
oven	*kauatu*

'peel' from PEO 'cut into'. Retention of the PEO form is not evidenced in any other EP language.
63 All terms were taken from the Mangaian Dictionary Project's online database between Oct. 2013 and Feb. 2014,
unless otherwise noted. Many of these terms are also found in Marshall 2009.

parent	*karakua*[64]
pretty	*mānea*
skinny	*mokō'ī*
small	*kakaio*
small (for animal)	*kororio*
small fishing net	*ngake*
small taro bundles	*tīromi*
soft clay-like earth	*keretu*
stone, rock	*koni'i* ('weapon of stone')
sweet-smelling	*kakona*
taro	*mikaka*
taro leaf	*paka*
taro species	*'ara'ara*
the two extensions of a fork/part	*māve'e*
tickle	*ketekete*
to come and go	*naku*
to go	*matu*
to learn	*aikete*
to lie down	*komo*
to see	*nokoia; nokoroa*[65]
tribe	*vaka* (Walter and Reilly 2010)
wet taro-bed	*roki*
wild taro	*matae*
woman	*pe'ā*

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64 *Karakua* appears only in the context of adoptive parents or in-laws.
65 *Nokoia* is likely *noko'ia*, with a passive suffix. *Nokoroa* is likely *noko roa* 'to see far'. The base-word is thus the same as Rapa Iti's *noko*,'to see'.

6.4 Subgrouping of Mangaia and Old Rapa

Sections 6.4.1–6.4.3 outlined some of Old Rapa's divergent features and showed the results of a typological investigation of similar phenomena in other Polynesian languages. The results of this investigation strongly suggest a subgrouping relationship between Mangaian and Old Rapa. Uniquely shared innovations as well as identical consonant reflexes from PEP indicate that these two languages may be more closely related to each other than to the rest of the languages in the EP group. Their identical sound correspondences alone signal shared development, but what is perhaps more convincing are their shared grammatical features and extensive shared innovations in basic vocabulary. The nature of the shared features between Mangaian and Old Rapa points to an especially close genetic relationship between the two languages.

Subgrouping of these two languages implies that there may have been a direct settlement from one of these islands to the other. Recent archaeological dates for initial settlement of Rapa Iti are around 1200 AD (Kennett et al. 2006, 2012:196, 201), with a marked increase in population around 1400 AD (Kennett et al. 2012:201). Mangaia's settlement appears to be slightly earlier, between 1040 and 1220 (Walter and Reilly 2010). The periods of settlement for both islands overlap, meaning that it is very unlikely that there was direct settlement from one island to the other. Thus, the development of shared linguistic features in unlikely to have occurred out of a direct settlement scenario. This, however, does not discount the possibility that the two languages still may have shared an original source. Given the settlement dates, I propose that the shared features of the Rapa and Mangaian languages developed out of prolonged contact rather than through stationary isolation in a homeland and subsequent migration from that homeland. Based on the lack of reliable archaeological data and the dearth of linguistic data from other very under-

documented languages in south-eastern Polynesia, it is impossible to know if Rapa Iti was settled by Mangaia in several waves of migration, or if their shared linguistic features were developed simply from prolonged contact based on their shared original source. In either case, it is clear from the linguistic evidence that the two islands maintained some level of regular contact. This kind of continued contact would have facilitated the development and sharing of linguistic features between the two speech communities. Continued contact into later periods of Rapa Iti's clan divisions and fort developments would also have allowed for innovations to have been exchanged between the two islands.

Support for extensive and prolonged contact is provided by the existence of the word *pāre*, meaning 'hilltop fortress or fortified village', on Mangaia, an island where there are not, nor were there ever, such structures (Walter and Reilly 2010). *Pāre* do, however, exist in both physical and linguistic form on Rapa Iti, and as discussed in section 6.3.3.1, were a major feature of Rapa Iti's socio-political structure. In order for the word *pāre* to become part of the lexicon of Mangaian, spoken on an island that does not exhibit forts of any kind, two-way interaction would have been required. In other words, the existence of the term *pāre* in Mangaian demonstrates that Mangaians did not just settle and stay in Rapa Iti, but rather, were going to Rapa Iti and then returning home to Mangaia.

Further support for a close relationship between Mangaian and Old Rapa comes from lexical and historical attestations of similar, and unique, social structures. First, the terms *vaka* 'clan' and *kōpū* 'family' have undergone a significant semantic change in both languages. These changes are "significant" as they represent how early Mangaian and Rapa Iti populations may have been organized under their *rangatira* 'chief', as well as how they were divided. The use of these terms in

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identical ways in both languages points to a shared system of clan division and social stratification. Additionally, both Mangaia and Rapa Iti have stories of women warriors, something unique in Polynesian history. High-ranking women and chiefly women were certainly not uncommon in many parts of Polynesia (Gunson 1987); however, warrior women are extremely rare. In both Rapa Iti and Mangaia, however, women warriors seem to have been commonplace, perhaps pointing to a shared social structure between the two island communities. On Rapa Iti, there are two large, erected slabs of rock at opposing ends of the large A'urei Bay. According to a local historian, the taller of the two was to measure boys for war. The second and shorter stone was to measure girls for war. In both cases, if a child's shoulders reached the height of the stone, he or she was ready for battle. This same local historian stated that Rapa had women warriors who were in charge of guarding their clan's taro beds. These women were called *irari*. Reilly (2001) describes women in Mangaia also fighting in lines of battle. He wrote, "Women were clearly capable fighters who worked in a complementary wartime partnership with their husbands" (2001:160).

6.5 A south Polynesian contact sphere

Based on the linguistic evidence alone, subgrouping of Old Rapa and Mangaian is likely. In conjunction with the archaeological dates for settlement, and the nature of certain shared lexical innovations, a clearer picture of Mangaia and Rapa Iti's prehistoric relationship emerges: Rapa Iti and Mangaia share an original source. Through continued waves of contact between the two speech communities, interaction was maintained to the point where these communities were participating in each other's political and social systems. A localized contact sphere persisted between these two islands. Nevertheless, based on the shared features between Old Rapa and other

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languages, I hypothesize that their local contact sphere was only one part of a larger contact network that stretched across the Southern Pacific, from the Southern Cooks to Rapa Nui, and including Rapa Iti, the Australs, and Mangareva.

If Rapa Iti and Mangaia were involved in a two-way interaction sphere, it follows that people from Rapa Iti would have been voyaging to Mangaia. Due to the close proximity of the Southern Cooks (figure 6.3), it is not unlikely that these groups were also interacting with people from Rapa Iti. Linguistically, this is demonstrated in the shared features between Old Rapa and other Southern Cooks languages. Rarotongan, for example, demonstrates identical consonant reflexes from PPN, and shares many of Old Rapa's grammatical innovations, as well as a handful of Old Rapa's lexical innovations. Other languages of the Southern Cooks are not well documented enough to investigate grammatical and lexical correlations. However, it is certain that consonant reflexes from PPN for at least Ma'uke and Aitutaki are also identical to those of Old Rapa. Furthermore, as discussed in section 6.3.2.2, Old Rapa shares the unique grammatical marker *tuai* with Niue. Niue is not part of the Southern Cooks, but, as previously stated, Niue borrowed extensively from EP languages via contact with the Southern Cooks languages. If Rapa Iti voyagers were regularly involved in a Southern Cooks contact sphere, they may have had contact with Niuean speakers as well, leading to the incorporation of this shared grammatical marker into Old Rapa.

Figure 6.3. Map of the Southern Cook Islands[66]

I have also noted shared linguistic features between Old Rapa and Rapa Nui, as well as Old

Rapa and Mangarevan. These shared features are not as extensive as those between Old Rapa and

Mangaian, but they cannot be ignored as evidence for some sort of language contact. A contact-

based relationship between Mangareva and Rapa Nui with the Australs is also supported in

archaeology. Kirch (2000:244–245) proposed a contact network from the Southern Cooks through

to Mangareva that involved a smaller Austral-Mangareva sphere. He furthermore suggested that

Rapa Nui may have also participated in the Austral-Mangareva micro-network in a very early stage

(prior to significant isolation). Green (1988:55) suggested possible settlement of Rapa Nui from the

southern Australs, although he thought that any shared linguistic features would be undetectable

66 UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), 2013.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook_Islands#mediaviewer/File:Cook_Islands_-_Location_Map_(2013)_-_COK_-
_UNOCHA.svg

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today due to heavy outside language influence in the Austral languages. Lexically, Rapa Nui and Old Rapa do not show as compelling evidence for subgrouping as do Mangaian and Rapa Iti; however, the identical sound changes that have occurred from PEP *taua may lend credence to the idea of a period of shared development between these two languages as well. Perhaps these shared sound changes represent trace evidence of some former, however distant, relationship.

Early recorded histories from outsiders in the 1800s and early 1900s also describe a deeply rooted and direct connection between the southern islands. Gill (1876:26) wrote:

> The natives of Easter Island (Rapa-nui) claim to have come immediately from Rapa-iti, originally from Mangaia. From conversations with some of the Easter Islanders, I conclude their island to be the long and vainly-sought-for island of Tuanaki, of which I have heard the old men speak, and after which the south-western part of Mangaia is named.

Smith, in his 1910 review of various accounts of the relationship between Rapa Nui and Rapa Iti, wrote of Rapa Iti's early connections to Rapa Nui, Mangareva, and the Southern Cooks. On Rapa Nui: "Easter Island recognises different origins, but in which Rapa (Rapa-Iti) holds the most prominent place" (1910:172). And, as heard on Rapa Iti by a Dr. Couteaud:

> A long time ago, vanquished in war, Hotu-rapa, king of Rapa-(Iti), fled with his adherents in three canoes laden with provisions. The winds drove them in the direction of Rapa Nui…Rapa Nui was inhabited at that time by warriors with long ears…(Smith 1910:172)

Smith also described a relationship between Mangareva and Rapa Iti, "the Gambier (Mangareva) islands are near to Rapa, and relations have existed between them from ancient times" (1910:174).

6.6 Summary

Old Rapa is a Central Eastern Polynesian language that demonstrates a very close affinity with Mangaian through sound correspondences, sporadic sound changes, shared grammatical

innovations, and a number of shared lexical innovations. If the archaeological dates are accurate, the time-depth from the settlement of Mangaia to the initial settlement of Old Rapa was likely not great enough to have allowed for their complex shared developments to have occurred . Thus, it is unlikely that Rapa Iti was settled in one pulse from Mangaia. It is more likely that Mangaia and Rapa Iti share an original source, and that the shared linguistic features between the two languages spoken on these islands were developed within a micro-contact sphere. This contact network became part of a larger interaction network with the other Southern Cook Islands, Mangareva, and possibly even Rapa Nui, wherein linguistic features were exchanged and possibly developed. At some point, the smaller spheres of contact ceased to exist, and Rapa Iti remained isolated until Western contact in the nineteenth century. Support for this proposal of isolation comes from Old Rapa's truly distinctive features. These include the marker for past negative *ki'ere* and the use of *ka* as a perfective aspect marker. Perhaps contact stopped due to the aggressive in-fighting on Rapa Iti, or perhaps there was simply less of a need to exchange with other islands as later generations became more settled. These reasons are entirely speculative, however, and there is no way of knowing why Rapa Iti's interaction with other islands ended.

There are two wider implications of this prehistoric contact scenario. First, a long-distance contact network in which linguistic features were developed argues against the traditional PCE subgroups, Marquesic and Tahitic. This is perhaps a more minor issue, as evidence for these subgroupings has been proved unsubstantial (see Walworth 2014). Second, a southern contact sphere in which Rapa Nui participated argues against the long-held theory that Rapa Nui was significantly isolated (Fischer 1992; Kirch and Green 2001, among others) during periods of long distance voyaging between all of the other east Polynesian islands. This is critical, as this long

period of isolation accounts for the Rapa Nui language's conservative retentions from PEP, and lack of membership in the PCE subgroup. This problem requires a deeper investigation into the language of Rapa Nui, as well as other under-studied languages of south Polynesia. Further research on these languages will offer a clearer picture of historical relationships in the region.

PART TWO

REO RAPA AND NEW RAPA

Chapter 7

Language Mixing in Rapa Iti

7. Introduction

Old Rapa is the indigenous language of Rapa Iti; however, it is no longer spoken regularly in any

cultural domain (see chapter 2). The only speakers are elders who maintain it only through

linguistic memory. Old Rapa has been replaced in most institutional domains by Tahitian.

However, Reo Rapa, a fused Tahitian-Old Rapa language, has replaced the indigenous Old Rapa

language at home and between most people in regular social interaction. Reo Rapa translates

literally to 'speech of Rapa' in both Tahitian and Old Rapa. I have chosen this name because it

seems suitable for the language most widely used on Rapa Iti, and spoken by nearly the entire

population. This chapter describes Reo Rapa through an examination of its genesis and its

structure. The chapter furthermore explores how Reo Rapa fits into the current framework of

contact languages, highlighting it as a unique contact variety.

Reo Rapa is a contact language that mixes Tahitian and Old Rapa. It has developed from

the prolonged and dominant influence of the Tahitian language in Rapa Iti since the mid nineteenth

century (Stokes 1955:316). Reo Rapa speakers are very aware of the mixing that has occurred in

their language. While they cannot necessarily indicate which components of Reo Rapa are from

which source language, they do acknowledge that the language they speak is mixed – not fully

Tahitian, but not Old Rapa either. In language use surveys of approximately 55 people, I asked

community members what languages they speak and what language they use primarily. Sixty

percent responded that their common language was a mixture of Old Rapa and Tahitian. Some of

their responses are reproduced here:

We mix, we don't know what is the [real] language of Rapa.

—Female, 61; December 31, 2012

The modern language is only a little bit of Rapa.

—Male, 81; January 8, 2013

The Rapa language is not the same as before; it's more mixed.

—Female, 60; August 1, 2013

The Rapa I know is different than the one I grew up with.

—Male, 83; December 4, 2013

What we speak – it's mixed.

—Male 32; August 1, 2013

We don't speak Rapa much, we use them [Tahitian and Old Rapa]together.

—Male, 34; December 29, 2012

Clearly, the perception of the Rapa Iti community is that the language they speak is a fusion of Tahitian and Old Rapa. However, it is necessary to investigate what kind of fusion has occurred in Reo Rapa based on the established framework on contact languages. This chapter will address this matter by answering the following questions:

(1) How did Reo Rapa develop?

(2) How does it function?

(3) How consistent is the composition of Reo Rapa generationally?

(4) How can Reo Rapa be defined in the existing contact language framework?

Section 7.1 investigates how and why Reo Rapa came into existence through a discussion on the dominant influence and prestige of Tahitian in Rapa Iti. Section 7.2 examines precisely how Reo Rapa is mixed, highlighting which Old Rapa elements have been maintained (identifying tokens) and where shifts to Tahitian have occurred. Section 7.3 addresses generational variation in Reo Rapa and presents evidence for the continuation of the shift to Tahitian. Section 7.4 discusses code-switching between Reo Rapa and French as an indication of emerging French influence in Rapa Iti. Finally, section 7.5 discusses how Reo Rapa fits into the contact language framework.

7.1 Genesis of Reo Rapa: Tahitian prestige

Reo Rapa has emerged from a prolonged dominance of Tahitian in Rapa Iti. Tahitian has long been viewed as a more prestigious language among Rapa people, maintained in all major cultural institutions since the introduction of Christianity (see section 7.1.1) in the mid-nineteenth century. Historically, the prestige of Tahitian has been explicit: it has been associated with new religious ideals, forced Tahitian instruction in school, and use of Tahitian in the government. The prestige of Tahitian still is evident in these areas today, but is now more implicit than previously. Whereas the use of Tahitian was once more overtly enforced, today the language is implicitly required for participation in any socio-cultural domain, and to assimilate to what has become the Tahitian-centered culture of French Polynesia (see section 2.5.7). When Rapa Iti people do not demonstrate assimilation through their language, other French Polynesian islanders tend to perceive them as negatively different – less educated and not as modern (see section 2.3). One woman (age 54) confided in me that while she is proud to be from Rapa, she has been ridiculed by family and friends in Tahiti for using her mixed Tahitian-Old Rapa speech. Though they can understand her,

they say it makes her sound "obnoxious." Due to such experiences, she uses Tahitian more.

The sections below (7.1.1–7.1.5) discuss both the historical and modern dominance of Tahitian in the Rapa Iti domains of religion, education, economics, government, and media.

7.1.1 Tahitian missionaries and the influence of Christianity

Since the mid-nineteenth century, Rapa Iti has been a predominantly Christian (Protestant) island (Hanson 1970:9). While Christianity was a Western concept, its introduction to Rapa was very much Tahitian: "The Tahitian dialect was introduced into Rapa by native missionaries who, in 1826, brought the Bible and some other books of instruction in their own dialect" (Stokes 1955:316). In fact, the Christian missionaries in Rapa Iti were never European:

> Rapa has never had a resident European missionary. English preachers visited at intervals of from one to five years until about 1865 and less frequently thereafter, but the mission was left in the hands of native teachers (Hanson 1970:28)

European missionaries chose Tahiti as a base for spreading Christianity to other islands due to the larger population residing on Tahiti. Tahitians were trained by European missionaries to spread Christianity through a Tahitian translated Bible (Rutter 2006:4). Due to the linguistic similarities between Tahitian and the other languages of French Polynesia, the missionaries perhaps saw no need to translate the Bible into every language spoken in French Polynesia, and instead used the Tahitian translation throughout the region. Rapa Iti was no exception.

In Rapa, as in other islands, the Christian mission was carried out in the Tahitian language, with a Tahitian language Bible. It was reported by Ellis that in 1826 Davies brought in Tahitians armed with Tahitian language learning materials –"spelling books" and Tahitian translations of the scriptures – along with the lumber for a chapel (Ellis 1838:373). Tahitian quickly became a

prominent language on the island through the conversion of islanders. Upon his first visit to Rapa Iti, Davies reported that Tahitian was unintelligible on Rapa Iti. By 1829, Rapa people were actively participating in the church services, which were presumably in Tahitian (Ellis 1838:374). By 1835 most Rapa people were reported to be baptized (Newbury 1961:281), which further indicates that they would have had some command of Tahitian, at least enough to participate. The onset of Tahitian-based Christianity thus represents the beginning of bilingualism in Rapa Iti, and of Tahitian dominance in a prominent sector of Rapa life, a phenomenon that grew and persisted throughout the following century (Hanson 1970; Schooling 1981).

Today, as discussed in chapter 2, Tahitian remains the dominant language of the religious domain in Rapa Iti. With religion at the forefront of every cultural and life event in Rapa Iti, there is consistent and life-long exposure to Tahitian for all people who live on the island. Due to the high value of the religious cultural space, the Tahitian language is thus associated with prestige. Speaking it is a way of presenting oneself as more religious or devout. An elder consultant of mine explained that people think that if one speaks Tahitian, one is automatically considered to be a more religious person, and therefore better.

Furthermore, the pastor is never from Rapa Iti. Instead, there are visiting pastors-in-residence who come from Tahiti and typically spend two years on the island. This necessarily perpetuates use of Tahitian in church services and community events. It furthermore attaches prestige to Tahitian because it is believed that the pastor is a liaison between God and the community. It follows that if the pastor speaks Tahitian, then Tahitian can be interpreted as literally the language of God. As one consultant of mine joked: "If I pray in Rapa, God won't understand me!" (TT December 12, 2013). While he may not have been completely serious in his

sentiment, his comment does represent the idea of many Rapa people that Tahitian is directly connected to one's relationship with God.

7.1.2 Education

Formal education on Rapa Iti was originally part of religious education and was therefore conducted in Tahitian. For the elder age group, their religious-based schooling was in Tahitian and the use of Tahitian was strictly enforced. If you spoke Rapa at all at school, you were considered "stupid" and were punished. Many of my elder consultants (those 65 and older) have very vivid memories of being forced to recite the Tahitian alphabet, which was drilled into them by their Tahitian instructors. One of my oldest consultants recalled that even outside of school, speaking Tahitian was highly valued: "When you spoke Tahitian, you seemed more intelligent" (LW October 8, 2013).

As the island became more regulated by French government standards as part of a French territory (now an overseas collectivity), education moved from the church into the classroom. In the 1960s and 1970s, all indigenous languages of French Polynesia were banned from schools and only French was allowed. As discussed in chapter 2, the Reo Mā'ohi movement changed this, and now a few hours per week are allocated for indigenous language learning. As previously mentioned, these hours of instruction in Rapa Iti are conducted in Tahitian. Children are exposed to Tahitian early on and undoubtedly attribute a value to it, as they are learning it as their "indigenous language" in an institutionalized domain.

Formal education on Rapa Iti is limited to one elementary school, which teaches students from pre-school age up to CM2 (equivalent to grade 6 in the United States). Beyond the elementary levels, students must travel to the island of Tubua'i (one to three days away by boat) for

middle school education, and lycée level education (equivalent to US grades 9–11) is offered only in Tahiti (two to five days away by boat). This fact has reverberating effects on language use and perception of language in the educational sphere, as Tahitian is a dominant language both in Tubua'i and Tahiti. In 2012, my younger Rapa consultants reported that the common language of use between students in both Tubua'i and Tahiti schools is Tahitian. The main reason for this is that students are coming from throughout the Austral islands (in middle school) and from the entire French Polynesian area (in high school). Since this means that students are coming from a variety of language backgrounds (Rapa, Ra'ivavae, Rurutu, Marquesan, Tuamotuan, Mangarevan, and Tahitian), they seem to choose the "indigenous" lingua franca of French Polynesia in order to communicate with each other rather than any of their respective island languages. Between themselves, students from Rapa Iti also report using Tahitian. Perhaps this is to not mark themselves as too different, as a means of assimilation.

Additionally, higher levels of education beyond lycée are also only offered in Tahiti. These upper levels of education are necessary for employment in professional or technically skilled jobs. While French is the primary language of instruction at the higher levels, Tahitian is prestigious as it is the necessary "local" language of Tahiti. It is a necessary language for communication with extended family[67] and with other French Polynesian students.

7.1.3 Economic position of Tahiti

As gainful work on Rapa is limited (see section 2.2), Rapa people of the middle age group (25–45) are increasingly moving away to Tahiti for work. Once settled in Tahiti, Rapa people infrequently

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67 Students who go to non-obligatory upper levels of education do not typically receive board as a part of their education. As a result, they usually reside with extended family while in Tahiti.

move back to Rapa Iti due to the lack of economic opportunity on their home island. With the economic benefit of going to Tahiti, there arises a perceived benefit in learning Tahitian. People rarely visit Rapa Iti once they have moved away due to the high cost of traveling back to the island, as well as the time it takes to travel there and the time necessary to stay on Rapa before another boat arrives to take them back to Tahiti. During my multiple fieldwork visits, I observed some of these Rapa people who now live in Tahiti returning to Rapa to visit with family. I noted that these visitors tended to speak in Tahitian when interacting with their families and friends on Rapa Iti. It was reported by several of my consultants that when someone comes back to Rapa after being in Tahiti, they always speak only Tahitian as it is a mark of prestige and is intended to indicate to others that they have succeeded in moving beyond the island.

7.1.4 Local government

The local government in Rapa is not expansive, but it is a respected institution. The town hall is used as a central meeting place, and the mayor and his employees are consulted for permission to hold any type of meeting or to organize any event on the island. As noted in chapter 2, Tahitian (as well as French) is the primary language in important meetings at the town hall. Furthermore, the mayor typically addresses the public in Tahitian at public gatherings and events. Thus, Tahitian is associated with political activity and a perceived "official-ness" in yet another institutionalized domain.

7.1.5 Media

Finally, media has played a role in the perceived importance of the Tahitian language in Rapa Iti. It has been widely noted in studies of endangered languages that media communication can play a

direct and important role in language shift (de Graaf 1992; Dixon 1991; Dorian 1991; Grenoble and Whaley 1998; Otsuka 2007; Rouchdy 1989). In her assessment of Tongan as a potentially endangered language, Otsuka noted that media broadcasting in a majority language is a recognized factor in shift away from minority languages (2007:457). This is precisely the case in Rapa Iti; there are no radio or television programs in Old Rapa, and Tahitian is the preferred medium for television (when possible) and radio. The general preference for Tahitian in media and communication has thus undoubtedly contributed to the language shift to Tahitian in daily use.

7.2 Composition of Reo Rapa

There can be no question that Tahitian has been influential in Rapa Iti, to the point of bilingualism and subsequent dominance in nearly all cultural domains. From this situation, Reo Rapa, the speech variety made up of Old Rapa and Tahitian, has developed. This section addresses exactly how Reo Rapa mixes its source languages of Tahitian and Old Rapa.

Most Reo Rapa content words come from Tahitian, save for a special set of Old Rapa words, or Old Rapa tokens, that come from traditional activities and practices. Grammatical words, on the other hand, are more evenly sourced from both Tahitian and Old Rapa. Examples (7.1–7.4) demonstrate this varied level of mixing. In these examples, words in bold are Tahitian derived, underlined words indicate elements shared by both Old Rapa and Tahitian,[68] and plain italicized words are Old Rapa components.

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68 Because these two languages are so closely related, they share a number of lexical and grammatical features.

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(7.1)　*a*　　*haere*　*mai*　*tō-ku*　　　　　*fare*

IMP　go　　DIR　INDEF.PossO -S　　house

'Come to my house.'

(7.2)　*e*　　**'āpā**　　　*i*　　*tā-ku*　　　　　**hoa**

IPFV　embrace　　ACC　INDEF.PossA-1S　　friend

e　　**haere i**　　*te*　　**fare**

IPFV　go　　PREP　INDEFhouse

tunu　*tā-ku*　　　　　**ma'a**　*e*　　**tāma'a** *cafe*　*ka*　　*oti*

cook　INDEF.PossA -1S　　food　IPFV　dine　dinner PFV　finish

'I'll go kiss my friends, go to my house, cook my food,　eat dinner – done.'

(7.3)　*kāre*　*tō-na*　　　　　*taringa*　　　*e*　　**fa'a-　ro'o**

NEG　INDEF.PossO-3S　　ear　　　　IPFV　CAUS listen

'He does not listen.' (lit. 'his ears lack listening')

(7.4)　*tinaki*　　　　　*te*　　**mei'a**　　*'e*　　*te*　　*eika*

eat.with.hands　　INDEFbanana　　CONJ　INDEFfish

'Eat the banana and fish with your hands.'

In order to more precisely measure the division of features from Tahitian and Old Rapa, I analyzed both casual speech data and the results of a cross-generational language test that included

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127 words and 22 sentences. This test was administered primarily in November and December 2013, with some remaining participants tested in April 2014. I chose the test words and sentences based on my analyses of casual speech observed in 2012 and 2013. I noted frequent and seemingly consistent use of particular words in mixed speech by a number of speakers and so selected these terms as test items. The lexical list (table 7.1) was meant to identify which Old Rapa token vocabulary was consistent. The test sentences (table 7.2) allowed me to examine the use of these terms in a more connected speech (rather than as words in isolation) in order to assess approximate use of vocabulary and grammatical words, as well as to observe syntactic patterns. This second test was done because I observed that in some cases, speakers were aware of the Old Rapa terminology and in the word-list elicitation would produce an Old Rapa term, while in regular speech they would not use these terms. One example is the words used to mean 'go'. In word list elicitation, about 55 percent of participants produced the Old Rapa term, *naku*. However, in the phrasal elicitation, 91 percent of participants used Tahitian *haere* to mean 'go'. I observed that *haere* was also used by everyone in casual speech. For example, a common way to end an evening between friends is to say:

(7.5)

haere *'e̱* *komo*

go   CONJ sleep

'Go and sleep.'

Phrases were tested first, then terms. I would say the sentence or word in French (and in Tahitian for elder consultants who did not understand French, with the help of a Tahitian-speaking translator), and participants were instructed to translate the sentence into their "Rapa" language.

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Participants were surveyed by themselves in a semi-private space[69] and were asked to not disclose the questions to others. Initial responses from test participants were considered over secondary responses to accurately reflect their intuitive choice (in natural settings). For example, a common occurrence in word-list elicitation was for participants to state an initial response and then immediately after remember the Old Rapa word and retract. The following is an example from a male participant (TR), 44 years old, interviewed on November 23, 2013:

> MW: rouge [listing]
>
> TR: *'ute'ute* [pause]
>
> non, non – *kurakura*

The Tahitian form *'ute'ute,* instead of the Rapa form *kurakura*, was recorded as his response in this case.

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69 This space was a small office at the town hall that had windows and was semi-soundproof. This office is located directly in front of the town hall entry and anyone waiting to speak to the mayor or the mayor's secretary can see in. Often, people working with me were teased or interrupted during the sessions. In spite of these drawbacks, the officialness of using town hall space made my work more legitimate and made people more likely to show up to appointments.   In addition, it would not have been appropriate for me, a female, to have completely private sessions with male participants. A public space was therefore necessary.

Table 7.1. Elicited vocabulary for Reo Rapa test

Body Parts	Island Life	Kinship/People	Environment	Animals	Space/Time
head	house	woman	sky	small animal	day
hair	canoe	man	sun	octopus	night
beard	oven	parent	moon	dog	morning
chin	king	brother	fresh water	goat	
nose	chief	sister	river	shark	
mouth	school	grandparent	sea water	fish	
ear	weed (the taro bed)	family	calm sea	eel	
neck	peel taro with fingers	children	mountain	turtle	
stomach	pound taro	group of people	hill	tentacles	
fingers	taro bed	generation	island	lobster	
buttocks	paddle	person	wave	pig	
tear		name	stone		
skin		2Singular	wind		
cheeks		2Dual	wave		
teeth		2Plural	rain		
intestines			fire		
armpit					

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(Table 7.1 con't)

Flora	Verbs	Adjectives	Numbers	Nouns	Colors
taro	look	good	1	words	yellow
Cordyline terminalis	know	skinny	2	speech	red
tree	learn	hard/rough/spiny	3	food	black
	come/go	small	4	thought	
	eat	large	5	egg	
	talk	hot	6	small bundle	
	divide	cold	7	firewood	
	run		8	path	
	climb		9	cave	
	cover (close)		10		
	sleep		100		
	work		1000		
	bite				
	stroll				
	swallow				
	assemble				
	gather (plants)				
	dive				
	cry				
	smile				
	fight				
	sit				

Table 7.2. Elicited sentences for Reo Rapa test

1	I went to look for my brother.
2	The boy was sleeping at school.
3	The teacher woke the boy up.
4	What are you doing?
5	The woman is in the taro bed.
6	This fort is bigger than that one.
7	I am taller than she is.
8	I wish you two happiness.
9	That man has three children.
10	The shark bit the child.
11	Here is my house.
12	She is angry because of me.
13	I cook taro every morning.
14	This fish is bigger than the other fish I had the other day.
15	There's a woman over there.
16	All of the women are over there.
17	A few women are over there.
18	I did not go to the house.
19	He is jealous.
20	Your book is on the table.
21	That's not my book.
22	That's mine.

Participants in this survey were from all adult age groups and both sexes, and represent about 15 percent of the actual population. The goal was to survey five or six people from every age group, in order to see what patterns were consistent across all age-groups that speak Reo Rapa. This was also done to check for any generational variability, which is discussed in section 7.3. The age groups are organized as follows: age group 1: 18–29; age group 2: 30–39; age group 3: 40–49; age group 4: 50–59; age group 5: 60–69; age group 6: 70+. Table 7.3 presents the age and sex of

each participant, by age group. As described in chapter 1, these participants were chosen based on the following factors: (1) they grew up/spent their childhood in Rapa; (2) they currently live in Rapa, or have spent most of their lives there; (3) they self-identify as Rapa locals.

Table 7.3. Test participants' age and sex, by age group

age group 1[70]	age group 2	age group 3	age group 4	age group 5	age group 6
M, 29	M, 38	F, 49	M, 58	M, 68	M, 83
F, 29	F, 36	M, 47	F, 56	F, 65	F, 80
F, 24	F, 35	M, 44	F, 55	M, 64	F, 78
F, 24	M, 34	M, 44	F, 54	F, 62	F, 76
F, 23	F, 34	F, 42	F, 54	M, 60	M, 76
F, 21	M, 30	M, 42	F, 50	F, 60	F, 70

7.2.1 Phonological profile of Reo Rapa

Reo Rapa exhibits a mix of phonological features from both Tahitian and Old Rapa, where lexical items in Reo Rapa are phonologically marked for their respective source languages (apart from those contributions that are evidenced in both Old Rapa and Tahitian). As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, there is an active awareness that Reo Rapa mixes Old Rapa and Tahitian, but what's more is that speakers demonstrate some awareness of what sounds are from Tahitian or Old Rapa.[71]   As shown in table 7.4, phonemes that are absent in Tahitian, though present in Old Rapa, are the velar nasal /ng/ and the velar stop /k/; phonemes of Tahitian that are not found in Old Rapa are /h/ and /f/. Reo Rapa speakers generally understand that where there is a glottal stop in Tahitian, there "should" be a /k/ or /ng/ in Old Rapa, and where there is an /h/ or /f/

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70 In Rapa Iti, young people are meant to practice humility in front of members of the opposite sex. Because of this, young men generally avoided talking to or looking at me. It was therefore very difficult to find younger male speakers willing to work with me one-on-one. The man listed here only agreed to work with me because he is a fireman and the chief fireman invited me to spend a morning interviewing all of his team.
71 This is particularly notable in the emerging new variety of Reo Rapa, New Rapa, discussed in chapter 8.

in Tahitian, there "should" be a glottal stop in Old Rapa. As a result, most Reo Rapa speakers can

identify which components of Reo Rapa are Tahitian or Old Rapa, based purely on the

phonological form. On account of the general phonological awareness of speakers for each lexeme,

I analyze the Reo Rapa phonological system as layered or stratified, rather than demonstrating an

adaptive phonology.   In Reo Rapa, all consonant phonemes from both Old Rapa and Tahitian

have been maintained. Table 7.4 shows the consonant sound correspondences of PCE, Tahitian,

Old Rapa, and Reo Rapa, further demonstrating the layered consonant system.

Table 7.4. Consonant reflexes of PCE in Tahitian, Old Rapa, and Reo Rapa

PCE	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	*f	*s	*w	*r
TAH	p	t	'	m	n	'	f	h	v	r
OR	p	t	k	m	n	ng	'	'	v	r
RR	p	t	k / '	m	n	ng / '	f / '	h / '	v	r

Regarding vowels, Tahitian and Old Rapa share the same five-vowel system (see chapter 3), thus

Reo Rapa also exhibits five vowel phonemes. The precise articulatory nature of Reo Rapa's vowels

in contrast to those of Old Rapa and Tahitian is not examined in the current study, but is an

important topic for future investigation.

7.2.2 Morpho-syntactic profile of Reo Rapa

Table 7.5 provides an overview of the primary morpho-syntactic components of Reo Rapa, by

source language. Content words (lexicon) are mostly Tahitian and grammatical words come from

both source languages. Derivational morphemes also come from both, with the slight dominance of

Tahitian. The sources of syntactic structures are much harder to identify, as these languages are so

closely related and have very similar syntax. The only major syntactic differences between Old

Rapa and Tahitian is that Tahitian is not reported to exhibit Old Rapa's nominative-accusative

Pattern 2b or cause emphatic constructions (see chapter 5). Reo Rapa does not exhibit evidence of either pattern of the cause emphatic.

Some features such as imperfective aspect, imperative aspect, conjunctions, and the indefinite article are not included in the table because these features are realized by (morphologically) identical items in both Tahitian and Old Rapa (e.g., the indefinite article is *te* in both languages; the imperfective TAM marker is *e* in both languages; the imperative TAM marker is *a* in both languages; the possessive markers are *tā* and *tō* in both languages; all prepositions except 'instrumental'; and all prepositional location nouns except 'above'). Additionally, because Tahitian and Old Rapa are closely related, they have a high lexical similarity due to their many cognate reflexes from PCE. Thus, a clear identification of the source language for a particular Reo Rapa lexical item is only possible where either source language has developed separate innovations.

Table 7.5. Summary of source language contributions in Reo Rapa

	Old Rapa	**Tahitian**
Lexicon	culturally associated lexical items	most of the lexicon
Grammatical Words[72]	perfective lexical adverbs definite article 1S, 2S bound pronouns all free pronouns except 1S past negative non-past negative interrogative words	subjunctive grammatical adverbs locational noun for 'above' instrumental preposition classifiers 1S free pronoun existential negative prohibitive demonstratives quantifiers
Derivational Affixes	passive	nominalizing causative

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72 All Tahitian forms and their functions were observed with Tahitian speakers and confirmed in Fare Vāna'a (2009).

7.2.2.1 Lexicon

Although most of the lexicon comes from Tahitian, a small amount of Old Rapa vocabulary remains. These lexical items tend to be unique Old Rapa innovations, specialized vocabulary for traditional Rapa Iti activities, and some basic vocabulary. Table 7.6 presents the results of the word-list elicitation test. Here, I have presented each word elicited (in the same order as on the test), the Tahitian form, the Old Rapa form, the prevailing choice, and the percentage of participants who chose the prevailing form. Entries marked with an asterisk are those that showed evidence of almost full replacement by Tahitian in regular casual speech, even though in the elicitation test many speakers were able to identify the Rapa forms. Old Rapa lexical tokens are indicated by light shading. Additional Old Rapa tokens observed in regular speech are: *karā* 'basalt stone used for pounding *pōpoi*'; most plant names; and most fish names.

Table 7.6. Percentage of participants who chose Reo Rapa form in elicitation

	English Gloss	Tahitian Form[73]	Old Rapa Form	Reo Rapa Form	0%
1	head	upo'o	eipoko	eipoko	100%
2	hair	rouru	rauka'a	rauka'a	100%
3	beard	huruhuru ta'a	kumikumi	kumikumi	100%
4	chin	ta'a	tanga	ta'a	98%
5	nose	ihu	pitā'u	pitā'u	100%
6	mouth	vaha	ngutu	ngutu	88%
7	ear	tari'a	taringa	taringa	96%
8	neck	'a'ī	kakī	kakī	96%[74]
9	stomach	'ōpū	kōpū	kōpū	100%
10	fingers	manimani	maiki'o	manimani	92%

73 All Tahitian forms were taken from Fare Vāna'a's Dictionnaire Tahitien-Français (1999)
74 Many participants who did not use *kakī* instead used the word for throat in Tahitian, *'arapo'a*.

11	buttocks	'ōhure	komi	komi	100%
12	woman	vahine	pē'ā	vahine	77%*
13	man	tāne	rua	tāne	84%
14	look	hi'o/'ite	noko	noko	92%*
15	know	'ite	kite	'ite	52%
16	learn	ha'api'i	'āikete	ha'api'i	70%*
17	come/go	haere	naku	haere	61%
18	eat	'amu	kai	kai	70%*
19	parent	metua	karakua	metua	70%
20	brother	tu'āne	tungāne	tu'āne	86%
21	sister	tuahine	tua'ine	tuhine	86%
22	grandparent	rū'au	'ina'ina	'ina'ina	72%
23	sky	ra'i	rangi	ra'i	72%*
24	day	mahana	ao	mahana	75%*
25	sun	rā	pake	pake	81%
26	moon	'ava'e	kavake	'ava'e	100%
27	fresh water	vai	kōta'e	kōta'e	100%
28	river	anavai	mangavai	mangavai	98%
29	sea water	miti	kara	miti	100%
30	taro	taro	mīkaka	mīkaka	100%
31	good/well	maita'i	maitaki	maitaki	100%
32	one	ho'e	ta'i	ho'e	70%
33	two	piti	rua	piti	70%*
34	three	toru	toru	toru[75]	100%
35	four	maha	ā	maha	78%
36	five	pae	rima	pae	95%*
37	six	ono	ono	ono	100%
38	seven	hitu	'itu	hitu	52%*
39	eight	va'u	varu	va'u	98%
40	nine	iva	iva	iva	100%

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75 I have included the full list of numbers 1–10, although some of these terms are clearly identical in Tahitian and Old Rapa.

41	ten	'ahuru	rongouru	'ahuru	89%
42	calm sea	mania	karamate	mania	89%
43	tear (n)	roimata	karavai	karavai	92%
44	name	i'oa	eingoa	eingoa	100%
45	hundred	hanere	rau	hanere	95%
46	thousand	tauatini	mano	tauatini	95%
47	mountain	mou'a	mounga	mou'a	81%
48	hill	'āivi	taratika	taratika	83%
49	talk	parauparau	'akaero	parauparau	72%
50	words, speech	parau	koai	parau	61%*
51	children	tamari'i	tamariki	tamariki	100%
52	group of children	pupu	puke	pupu	52%*
53	generation	u'i	kopanga	u'i	89%
54	divide	vāhi	panga'a	vāhi	61%*
55	stone	ofa'i	kōni'i	ofa'i	78%
56	wind	mata'i	matangi	mata'i	52%
57	skinny	pārarai	moko'i	moko'i	78%
58	2ⁿᵈ Singular	'oe	koe	koe	100%
59	2ⁿᵈ Dual	'ōrua	korua	korua	100%
60	2ⁿᵈ Plural	'outou	koutou	koutou	100%
61	skin	'iri	kiri	kiri	100%
62	hard, rough	pa'a	paka	paka	100%
63	yellow	re'are'a	rengarenga	re'are'a	89%
64	red	'ute'ute	kurakura	'ute'ute	89%
65	black	'ere'ere	kerekere	'ere'ere	86%
66	house	fare	'are	fare	78%*
67	household	'utuafare	ngutua'are	'utuafare	92%
68	small	iti	koio	koio	100%
69	small animal	fanau'a	kororio	kororio	92%
70	run	horo	'oro	horo	95%
71	octopus	fe'e	'eke	fe'e	92%

72	large	rahi	ngare	rahi	86%
73	dog	'urī	kurī	kurī	100%
74	climb	a'e	kake	kake	100%
75	canoe	va'a	kami'a	kami'a	86%
76	cover	tāpo'i	tāpuki	tāpuki	72%
77	wave	'are	ngaru	ngaru	98%
78	island	fenua	'enua	fenua	86%
79	oven	umu	ko'otu	ko'otu	75%
80	cheeks	pāpāri'a	pāpāringa	pāpāringa	100%
81	sleep	ta'oto	komo	komo	100%
82	work	'ohipa	'anga	'ohipa	95%
83	rain	ua	kono'u	ua	92%[76]
84	night	ru'i	pō	pō	98%
85	fire	ahi	ngara'u	ngara'u	98%
86	person	ta'ata	tangata	tangata	92%
87[77]	teeth	niho	ni'o	niho	100%
88	goat	pua'a niho	puaka ni'o	puaka ni'o	100%
89	hot	ve'ave'a	veravera	ve'ave'a	89%
90	cold	to'eto'e	toketoke	to'eto'e	95%
91	Cordyline terminalis	tī	kaukaro	kaukaro	100%
92	intestines	'a'au	nakau	nakau	100%
93	food	ma'a	kaikai	ma'a	92%
94	shark	ma'o	mango	ma'o	100%
95	fish	i'a	eika	eika	100%
96	weed taro bed	-	ūtaru	ūtaru	86%
97	paddle (n)	hoe	'oe	hoe	100%
98	morning	po'ipo'i	pōpongi	po'ipo'i	83%

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76 No one uses *kono'u* in regular speech.

77 This was a particularly interesting contrast as 100% of participants stated *niho* for teeth and *puaka ni'o* for goat, lit. 'pig with teeth'. It may be of interest here to note that, in Old Rapa, *puaka* appears to signify any land mammal that has been recently introduced. Animals that were brought originally have their own unique names: *kurī* 'dog', *kiore* 'rat', *manu* 'bird', *moa* 'poultry', *puaka* 'pig'. Mammals that were introduced post-settlement take *puaka* and an identifier: *puaka ni'o* 'goat', *puaka toro* 'cow', *puaka 'oro 'enua* 'horse'.

99	eel	puhi	takaviri	puhi	95%
100	turtle	honu	'onu	honu	100%
101	thought (n)	mana'o	manako	mana'o	81%
102	egg	huero moa	'ua	huero moa	100%
103	tree	tumu	tumu rākau	tumu rākau	100%
104	stroll	ori	kāuari	kāuari	100%
105	swallow	horomi'i	omiri	omiri	86%
106	small bundle	pū'ohu	tākaravai	-	0%
107	firewood	vahie	rārā	vahie	100%
108	king	ari'i	ariki	ari'i	75%
109	chief	ra'atira	rangatira	ra'atira	83%
110	armpit	'ē'ē	ketekete	ketekete	86%
111	assemble	ha'aputu	'akaumu	ha'aputu	52%
112	gather plants	'ohi	ko'i	ko'i	100%
113	path	'e'a	keka	'e'a	75%
114	dive	hopu	tīpoko	hopu	83%
115	school	fare ha'api'ira'a	'are 'āikete'anga	fare ha'api'ira'a	86%
116	cry	ta'i	tangi	tangi	100%
117	smile	'ata	kata	kata	100%
118	tentacles	'ave	kakave	kakave	79%
119	lobster	'ōura	kōura	kōura	100%
120	taro bed	-	roki	roki	100%
121	sit	pārahi	no'o	pārahi	86%
122	peel taro with finger & thumb	-	'oni	'oni	100%
123	pound taro	tu'i	tuki	tuki	95%
124	pig	pua'a	puaka	puaka	100%
125	fight	moto	tāmaki	moto	81%
126	bite	hohoni	kati	kati	100%
127	cave	po'o	ana	po'o	89%

7.2.2.2 Grammatical Words

Grammatical words come from both source languages. Old Rapa contributes the following elements to Reo Rapa: perfective aspect marker *ka*; definite *tō*; question words *a'a* 'what', *'ea* 'where', *a'ea* 'when', *nā 'ea* 'how'; *'ia* 'how many'; negatives *ki'ere* past negative, *kāre* non-past negative; adverbial comparative *ake*;and all pronouns except for the first-person singular free pronoun. Some of these are presented in examples (7.6–7.12), and their functions are described in chapter 4.

(7.6) perfective aspect *ka*

ka	*rāhi*	*para*	*te*	*taofe*
PFV	much	ripe	INDEF	coffee

'The coffee was really ripe.'

(7.7) definite *tō*

e	*hina'aro*	*na*	*vau*	*tō*	*mei'a*	*ra*
IPFV	like	DEIC	1S	DEF	banana	DEIC

'I would like those bananas (you mentioned).'

(7.8) question words

	a.	*e*	*a'a*	*tō-koe*	*huru*
		IPFV	what	INDEF.PossO-2S	state

'How are you?' (lit. 'what's your state?')

b. ***haere*** <u>***na***</u> *koutou* <u>*i*</u> *'ea*

go DEIC 2Pl PREP where

'Where are you all going?'

(7.9) past negative

ki'ere ***vau*** <u>*i*</u> ***haere*** *i* <u>*te*</u> ***fare***

NEG 1S PFV go PREP INDEF house

'I did not go to the house.'

(7.10) non-past negative

kāre <u>*tā*</u>-*koe* ***puta***

NEG INDEF.PossA-2S book

'You don't have your book.' (lit. 'your book doesn't exist')

(7.11) Adverbial *ake*

<u>*me*</u> ***rahi*** *ake* ***teie*** *eika* <u>*i*</u>

thing big COMP DEM fish PREP

<u>*tā*</u>-*ku* *eika* *tō* ***mahana*** <u>*ra*</u>

INDEF.PossA-1S fish DEF day DEIC

'This fish is bigger than my fish the other day.'

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(7.12) first-person bound pronoun

e	***pohehae***	***'ōna***	*i*	*a-ku*
IPFV	jealous	3S	PREP	PER-1S

'She is jealous of me.'

In Reo Rapa, Tahitian inputs for grammatical words include: the subjunctive aspect marker *'ia*; preposition *i*; negatives *'aita* 'no', *eiaha* 'prohibitive'; prepositional locative noun *ni'a* 'above'; plural *mau*; demonstratives *teie* 'this', *terā* 'that'; first person singular *vau*; adverbs *noa* 'continually' and *iho* 'indeed, absolutely'; and quantifiers pauroa 'all' and *rahi te mau* 'most'. Most of these grammatical words function in the same way as their corresponding forms in Old Rapa.

Subjunctive aspect *'ia* functions in the same way as Old Rapa subjunctive *kia* (see chapter 4).

(7.13) ***'ia*** | rekareka | kōrua
| SBJV | happy | 2Du |

'I wish you two happiness.'

As discussed in chapter 4, PPN prepositions *ki 'direction, instrument, goal' and *ʔi 'location, source, cause' have reflexes in Old Rapa in two separate forms: *ki* and *i*. The two particles have merged in Tahitian (Fare Vāna'a 2009; Lazard and Peltzer 2000), and therefore, the distinction between the two PPN prepositions has been lost. Reo Rapa also shows a merger of these particles, taken from Tahitian.

(7.14) **haere** _tāua_   *i*   Hiri   _'e_   ko'i   _te_   _tuvava_

      go   1DuIncl   PREP   Hiri   CONJ   gather   INDEFguava

      'Go (you two) to Hiri and gather guavas.'

(7.15) 'ea   koe   komo   _ai_   *i*   _roto_   *i*   _tō-koe_   **fare**

      where   2S   sleep   ANA   PREP   in   PREP   INDEF.PossO-2S   house

      'Where is it that you sleep in your house?'

Tahitian contributes two negative particles, _'aita_ and _eiaha_. _'aita_ is used in Reo Rapa as a simple "no" response. In Tahitian, _'aita_ is also used in existential negation, for which Old Rapa typically uses non-past negative _kāre._ The Tahitian prohibitive negative _eiaha_ functions in the same way as Old Rapa _eia'a._ Most Reo Rapa speakers employ the Tahitian form.

(7.16) imperative and corresponding prohibitive

      a.   _a_   **haere** _mai_   *i*   _tō-ku_   **fare**

           IMP   go   DIR   PREP   INDEF.PossO-1S   house

           'Come to my house.'

      b.   **eiaha** _a_   **haere** _mai_   *i*   _tō-ku_   **fare**

           NEG   IMP   go   DIR   PREP   INDEF.PossO-1S   house

           'Don't come to my house.'

Most prepositional locative nouns are shared by Tahitian and Old Rapa. Both languages exhibit cognate reflexes of PPN *loto 'inside'; *lalo 'below'; *muri 'behind, with, after' *muqa

'ahead, in front, before'.[78] PPN *fafo 'outside, out' has been replaced with an innovation *rapae* in

Tahitian. This form has been borrowed into Old Rapa, in which we do not find a reflex of *fafo.

Thus, the source of this form in Reo Rapa is assumed to be Old Rapa rather than Tahitian. This

Tahitian innovation has fully replaced PPN *fafo 'outside' in Old Rapa. As a result of these shared

prepositional locatives, Reo Rapa also exhibits *roto*, *raro*, *muri*, *mua*, and *rapae*. The only

contrasting prepositional locative between the source languages is 'above': *runga* in Old Rapa and

ni'a in Tahitian.[79] Reo Rapa exhibits Tahitian *ni'a*.

(7.17) <u>*tā-koe*</u>   ***puta***   ***tei***   ***ni'a***   ***iho***   *i*   <u>*te*</u>   ***'amu-ra'a***

       INDEF.PossA-2S   book   LOC   above   ADV   PREP   INDEFeat-NMLZ

       'Your book is on the table.'

Recall from chapter 4 that Old Rapa marks general plurality with *anga*, a reflex of PPN

*nga 'plural'. Tahitian, on the other hand, employs an innovated term *mau* to indicate plurality.

Reo Rapa speakers use the Tahitian form, *mau*.

(7.18) *ka*   ***'ite***   ***vau***   <u>*te*</u>   ***mau***   ***vahine***   *ti*   *ko*   <u>*ra*</u>

       PFV   see   1S   INDEFPL   woman   here   place   DEIC

       'I see women just over there.'

Example (7.12) demonstrates that Reo Rapa employs the Old Rapa first person bound

pronoun. However, for the first person independent pronoun, Reo Rapa uses Tahitian *vau* rather

than Old Rapa *ou*. It is important to mention that in Tahitian, *vau* exhibits an allomorph *au* when

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78 The PPN forms in this section are taken from Greenhill and Clark 2011.
79 Old Rapa *runga* is a reflex of PPN *lunga 'above'. Tahitian has innovated the form *ni'a*.

following a front vowel[80]. Reo Rapa does not exhibit this allomorph and *vau* is used in all environments.

(7.19) *e*   *mana'o*   *vau*   *nā*   François   *i*   *'āfa'i*

     IPFV think   1S   PREP François   PFV   bring

     tō   *mei'a*   *ra*   *i*   *te*   *fare*

     DEF banana   DEIC PREP INDEFhouse

     'I think it was François who brought those bananas to the house.'

Tahitian and Old Rapa share the demonstrative forms *terā* 'that (far from speaker and addressee)' and *tenā* 'that (far from speaker)'; thus, these elements are used in Reo Rapa. A third demonstrative meaning 'near (to speaker)' is evident in both source languages, although with different forms: in Old Rapa, *te nei*; in Tahitian *teie*. Tahitian *teie* is the form used in Reo Rapa.

(7.20) *e*   *mānea*   *teie*   *mea*   *i*   *a*   *kōrua*

     IPFV pretty   this   thing PREP PER 2Du

     'You two are glowing.' (lit. 'this thing is beautiful on you two")

Finally, Tahitian contributes a number of adverbs to Reo Rapa. Tahitian *noa* is used in lieu of Old Rapa *ta'anga* to mean 'continuously'; Tahitian *iho* marks 'indeed, absolutely' and functions as a reflexive, as well as indicating an upward direction or that something has just occurred. This is used in place of Old Rapa *noti* (see chapter 4).

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80 The variation of vau is based on personal observations of Tahitian, but it is also reported in Fare Vāna'a's 2009 *Grammaire de la Langue Tahitienne*.

(7.21) *noa*

e	*fa'aea*	*noa*	*vau*	*i*	*Rapa*	*nei*	*atu*	*te*	*'ava'e*	*tītema*
IPFV	stay	ADV	1S	PREP	Rapa	DEM	DIR	INDEF	month	December

'I am staying in Rapa from now until December.'

(7.22) *iho*

Tevaitau	*terā*	*ai*	*pāre*	*tei*	*iho*	*i*	*te*	*oire*
Tevaitau	DEM	ANA	fort	LOC	ADV	PREP	INDEF	town

'Tevaitau is the fort that is up from town.'

7.2.2.3 Derivational affixes

Reo Rapa employs the causative and nominalizing affixes from Tahitian. The causative prefix in

Tahitian can be *ha'a-* or *fa'a-* and serves the same functions as Old Rapa *'aka-*. Reo Rapa uses both

Tahitian forms of the causative. This appears to be more lexical than grammatical, however, as I

have found no instance of either of the Tahitian prefixes being used with an Old Rapa base.

(7.23) | *kāre* | *e* | *ua* | *fa'a-hou* |
|---|---|---|---|
| NEG | IPFV | rain | CAUS-again |

'It's not raining anymore.' (lit. 'There is no more rain.')

(7.24) | *e* | *fa'a-'amu* | *na* | *Marie* | *i* | *te* | *puaka* | *ni'o* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| IPFV | CAUS-eat | DEIC | Marie | ACC | INDEF | pig | teeth |

'Mary is feeding the goat.'

(7.25) **ha'a-vitiviti**   <u>tā</u>   koe   **'ohipa**

CAUS-fast   PossA 2S   **work**

'Do your work faster.'

For nominalization, Reo Rapa uses Tahitian -ra'a instead of Old Rapa -'anga. This suffix is productive and is also used with OR bases, as shown in (7.26).

(7.26) *ka*   *oti*   <u>*te*</u>   *ko'i-**ra'a***

PFV   done   INDEFgather-NMLZ

'Gathering is finished.'

In passive affixation, Reo Rapa has maintained Old Rapa -'ia rather than Tahitian -hia. The Old Rapa form is used with Tahitian bases as well, as shown in (7.27–7.28).

(7.27) *ka*   *oti*   <u>*i*</u>   **tupa'i-*'ia***   <u>*te*</u>   <u>*vana*</u>   <u>*nā*</u>   <u>*te*</u>   *rākau*

PFV   done PFV   hit-PASS   INDEFurchin PREP INDEFwood

'I'm done hitting the urchin with a stick.'[81]

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81 In Rapa Iti, when men catch sea urchins, they dump them on the dock and women gather together to process them. This involves hitting the top of the urchin gently with a medium sized stick to crush the spines and break the top of the shell. They then take off the top of the shell, and carefully scoop out the meat with their forefinger and middle finger. It is a long process that takes patience and practice, and turns the hands purple.

(7.28) *ka*   ***rave-'ia***   <u>*tō*</u>-<u>*na*</u>   ***poti*** <u>*nō*</u>   <u>*te*</u>   <u>*ra*</u>

PFV   take-PASS   INDEF.PossO-3S   boat   PREP INDEFDEIC

ka   ***fati*** <u>*tō*</u>-*ku*   ***poti***

PFV   break   INDEF.PossO-1S   boat

'We took his boat because mine is broken.'

7.2.3 Discussion of source language contributions

The distribution of features from the source languages is consistent, however it is not obviously systematic; i.e. the lexicon from one language and the grammar from the other. The lexicon is sourced mostly from Tahitian, but grammar is sourced from both Old Rapa and Tahitian. Grammatically, the features are not clearly divided either; there is a mix of nominal and verbal morphology from both source languages, as well as derivational and inflection morphology. The only visible distinction in the source language contributions is that the Old Rapa features all contain a phoneme that contrasts with a corresponding Tahitian phoneme, in a given morpheme. Thus, source language division appears to be phonologically motivated, based on *phonological assimiliphobia*[82], where the Old Rapa contributions all contain an Old Rapa sound correspondence that contrasts with the Tahitian sound correspondence in the cognate form (i.e., OR *ng* – TAH *'*, OR *k* – TAH *'*, and OR *'* - TAH *h, f*).

7.3 Uniformity of speaker choice

This section considers the general consistency of Reo Rapa's composition through the lens of

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82 This term was coined by Yaron Matras based on his observations of the languages source language contributions during a personal discussion with me in January 2015.

generational variation. Here, I answer the question: do Reo Rapa speakers consistently pull the same components from the same source languages? The responses from the sentence elicitation portion of my multi-generational test indicate that Reo Rapa is very consistent. (7.29–7.35) are several examples of the sentences elicited. Here again, terms in bold are Tahitian, plain italicized terms are Old Rapa, and underlined terms represent identical forms in both languages. These examples include a top line with percentages indicating how many participants chose a particular morpheme. Percentages are generally high, thus signaling the stability of Reo Rapa.

(7.29)

86%	95%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	86%	95%	92%
ka	**fa'a-<u>ara</u>**	*tō*	**'orometua**	**ha'a-pi'i**	<u>*i*</u>	*tō*	*tamariki*	<u>*ra*</u>
PFV	CAUS-awake	DEF	master	CAUS-call	ACC	DEF	child	DEIC

'The teacher woke the student.'

(7.30)

100%	100%	95%	100%	86%	86%	92%
<u>*e*</u>	<u>*toru*</u>	*tamariki*	<u>*a*</u>	*tō*	*tangata*	<u>*ra*</u>
IPFV	3	child	POSS	DEF	person	DEIC

'That man has three children'

(7.31)

86%	92%	95%	86%	95%		92%	100%	100%	100%
ka	*kati-'ia*	*tō*	*tamariki*	*ra*		*e*	*te*	**ma'o**	
PFV	bitePASS	DEF	child	DEIC		AGT	INDEF	shark	

'The shark bit the child.'

(7.32)

100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
me	**rahi**	*ake*	**vau**	*i*	*a-na*
thing	tall	COMP	1S	PREP	PER-3S

'She is taller than I.'

(7.33)

81%	95%	100%
'ia	*rekareka*	*kōrua*

'I wish you two happiness.'

(7.34)

100%	95%	100%	92%	92%	100%	100%
ki'ere	**vau**	*i*	**haere**	*i*	*te*	**fare**
NEG	1S	PFV	go	PREP	INDEF	house

'I did not go to the house.'

(7.35)

86%   100%   100%

ka   ***riri***   *'ōna*

PFV   angry   3S

'She is angry.'

While the high percentages indicate a high level of consistency, some generational variation may be occurring, because younger age groups use more Tahitian components than older age groups.   In the sentence elicitation portion of the generational test, there were more fully Tahitian responses from the younger age groups. For example, three of my six age group 1 participants gave almost entirely Tahitian responses. Some phonological variation is also evident in younger speakers' speech, and will be necessary to investigate further. Two clear examples are lack of any /k/ frication in speakers under age 30 and articulation of /v/ as a labiodental fricative rather than a labiodental approximate in speakers under the age of 50 (see chapter 3 for details on /k/ > [x] as well as /v/ articulation in Old Rapa).

7.4 Code-switching with French

Code-switching between French and Reo Rapa occurs frequently in regular conversational speech. Code-switching here refers to the use of more than one linguistic variety in a manner consistent with the syntax and phonology of each variety. While I have not extensively examined the details of this code-switching, I have observed a few patterns. These patterns are worth mentioning, as

they reflect the growing influence of French on Rapa Iti. Furthermore, as contact with French speakers continues to increase, as fewer young people speak the local Polynesian languages, and as the prestige of French escalates from expanded use of it in multiple domains (see chapter 2), it is certain that French mixing will increase over the next generation.

Code-switching from Reo Rapa into French is particularly noticeable in younger age group speakers, who have had more exposure to French (e.g., they speak French at school and watch French dubbed films). Code-switching among younger people tends to be intra-phrasal code-switching, where most of the utterance is in French and words of Reo Rapa are mixed in. For example, the following is an exchange between a 24 year old woman and her 3 year old daughter on November 11, 2013. I was interviewing the woman, and her daughter was playing next to us. One of my questions involved a shark biting something, which the little girl overheard. She, in trying to be funny, interjected. French words are highlighted.

> child: **et le** ma'o, **il a** kati **le** komi **de Marie**? [imitating biting]
>
> 'And the shark, he bit Mary's buttocks?'
>
> MM: **non**, **il faut pas** kati! [annoyed]
>
> 'No, don't bite!'

Code-switching into French is also apparent in older age groups as well, but typically only when they speak to young children or non-Polynesian foreigners because these people do not understand Reo Rapa. These older speakers tend to code-switch inter-phrasally. Example (7.36) is from a 52 year old woman and example (7.37) is from a 56 year old man. Both examples were spoken to people under 30 years of age.

(7.36) **allez**   *koukou*

go.2Pl   wash

'Go and bathe.'

(7.37) a   *haere   amu*   **à la maison**

IMP   go   eat   **at the house**

'Go home and eat.'

7.5 Defining Reo Rapa

There is no question, as this chapter's discussion and examples make clear, that Reo Rapa represents language mixing of some sort due to contact. It is necessary now to explore what kind of language mixing is occurring in Reo Rapa, and precisely what kind of contact language Reo Rapa is.   Before attempting to define it, I will first summarize Reo Rapa's identifying characteristics.

1) Reo Rapa was born from the introduction of the Tahitian language into a monolingual community.

2) The community did not require new communicative means, but rather came to this new speech variety as a result of bilingualism and subsequent shift due to the dominance and prestige of Tahitian.

3) Tahitian and Old Rapa, the source languages of Reo Rapa, are both Central Eastern Polynesian languages and share many linguistic features including a number of cognate lexical items (both content words and grammatical words) as well as nearly identical syntactic structure.

4) There is consistency in source language mixing among all ages of speakers, indicating that Reo Rapa is stable and furthermore is inter-generationally transmitted.

5) There is clear uniformity in source language choice at the morpheme level, however the division in source language contribution is not divided systematically (i.e., grammar from one language and lexicon from the other; nominal morphology from one language and verbal from another; inflectional morphology from one language and derivational from another).

6) The source language choice is instead based on *phonological assimiliphobia.*

Given the above characteristics of Reo Rapa, how might we define it in the context of other contact languages? Is the mixing of Tahitian and Old Rapa just code-switching between two separate languages?   Is is simple borrowing from Tahitian, or even heavy borrowing from continuing shift to Tahitian? Is Reo Rapa perhaps a koine or a mixed language? Or is it a previously un-described type of contact language?

7.5.1 Code-switching

Perhaps the strongest argument against Reo Rapa as just code-switching, is consistency and predictability in speaker choice from the source languages. Tahitian forms and Old Rapa forms are not interchangeable for a given speaker. In fact, the distribution of Tahitian forms and Old Rapa forms is consistent across the entire speaker-base. Were it a case of frequent code-switching, we would expect a more random distribution of Tahitian and Old Rapa forms for a given set of

speakers.

7.5.2 Simple Borrowing

Borrowing refers to incorporating lexical items of one language into another language's vocabulary. Speakers typically consider the borrowed forms to be part of their language and often adapt the pronunciation of these forms to fit the native phonological system. This is not what we find in Reo Rapa. Rather, the speakers are aware that certain forms belong to Old Rapa or Tahitian, based on their phonological form.

7.5.3 Continuing shift

Once again, the evidence of high consistency between generations provides a strong argument against Reo Rapa as a phase in continuing shift to Tahitian. The consistency between generations indicates stability and intergenerational transmission of Reo Rapa, which would not occur in continuing shift.

   It is true that Reo Rapa was created through a "borrowing approach" (Meakins 2013:188), where shift occurred from bilingualism and overt social pressures to use Tahitian. In this way, the mixing of source languages in Reo Rapa has occurred via steady borrowing from Tahitian over time. However, the shift that was at one time progressive has stalled, as evidenced in the consistency of the language's components.   In the model in figure 7.1, taken from Meakins (2013:182), Reo Rapa would fall into the second category, "shift by degree," where mixing occurs by gradual shift from an ancestral language to an introduced language resulting from a change in dominance (183). According to Meakins, in the "shift by degree" category, the process of language

shift "does not go to completion and what remains is the mixed language" (183). The resulting

language can thus have varying amounts of material from the introduced language, but does not

represent complete language replacement. This is precisely what we see evidenced in Reo Rapa.

Figure 7.1. Direction of shift in mixed language genesis (Meakins 2013:182)
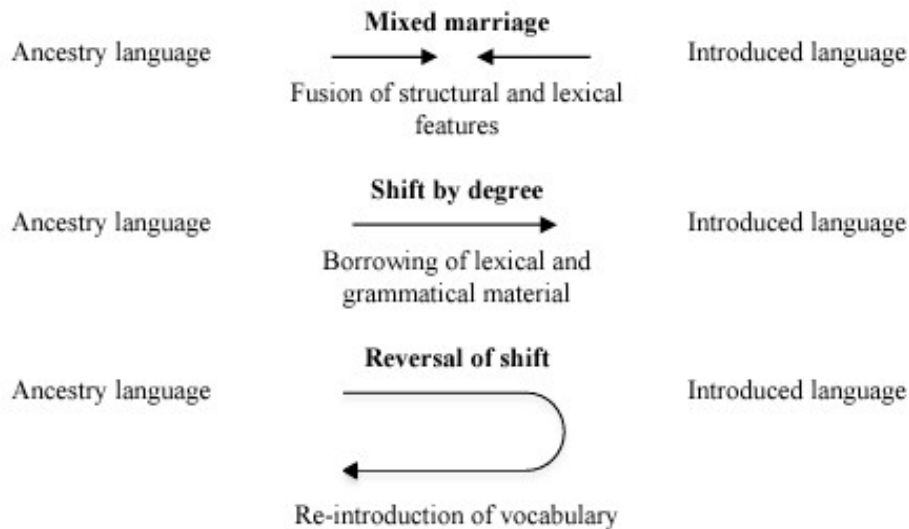
Meakins (2013:183) suggests two reasons for a halt in shift: (1) speakers do not have full

access to the introduced language, and/or (2) remaining parts of the ancestral language may be a

marker of social identity. The latter is true for Reo Rapa, and is evident in two ways. First, as the

majority of Old Rapa lexical elements in Reo Rapa have to do with traditional activities and Rapa

Iti practices, they likely represent a unique Rapa Iti identity and have thus been maintained. These

tokens of Rapa identity are reminiscent of what Matras and Bakker (2003:7) refer to as an

"inherited special lexicon" , or a selective retention of an ancestral language's vocabulary after

language shift, which "diachronically represents the selective retention of vocabulary, following

language shift." Second, as a result of an *anti-convergence* sentiment[83], wherein speakers want to

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83 The term *anti-convergence* was used by Yaron Matras in personal conversations with me about Reo Rapa, in January 2015.

retain Old Rapa in attempts to not speak Tahitian, the grammatical contributions of Old Rapa in Reo Rapa are consistently morphemes that contain some phonemic difference from Tahitian. The resistance to speech assimilation, to sounding Tahitian, has stopped the shift process from going to full completion.

7.5.4 Koine

Reo Rapa cannot be considered a koine because it did not emerge through koineization, a process in which "new varieties of language are brought about as a result of contact between speakers of mutually intelligible varieties of that language" (Kerswill 2002:669). According to Trudgill, koineization usually occurs when people from different parts of a single language area settle in a new place together (1986). Furthermore, koineization is the consequence of speech accommodation, the adaptation of speech between speakers (Trudgill 1986; Kerswill 2002), that results from "intimate and prolonged social interaction" (Siegel 2001:6-7). A koine is therefore a language that mixes features of mutually intelligible dialects due to the speech accommodation occurring between speakers of those dialects who have found themselves living together in a new settlement.

Under the above definition, Reo Rapa cannot be considered a koine[84]. First, Reo Rapa's source languages are Tahitian and Old Rapa, which are not mutually intelligible. These languages are members of the same subgroup (CEP), but they are not dialects of each other.   Second, the

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84 A reviewer of this chapter suggested that Reo Rapa might be in a pre-koine phase of koineization, but I do not think this is the case. Siegel defined the pre-koine phase as " the unstabilized stage at the beginning of koineization...in which various forms of the varieties in contact are used concurrently and inconsistently" (1985:373). Siegel's pre-koine coincides with Trudgill's "Stage I" of koineization (Trudgill 1998 in Kerswill 2002: 686). In Trudgill's Stage I, the speakers are migrants and are no first-language speakers. Under these definitions, Reo Rapa cannot be considered a pre-koine. I have demonstrated in this chapter that Reo Rapa is stable across generations, that it is intergenerationally transmitted, and that the source language contributions are consistent.

contact situation between Old Rapa and Tahitian speakers was indirect, and the two communities were never in prolonged, local contact. Instead, Reo Rapa emerged from bilingualism in a community that was previously monolingual, and then shift to the dominant Tahitian language. Reo Rapa is thus the result of shift in one speech community, not compromise between two communities, and it did not come about through speech accommodation.

7.5.5. Mixed language

If Reo Rapa did not emerge from accommodation or a need for mutual communication, Perhaps then, Reo Rapa is a mixed language. In the simplest terms, a mixed language is defined as "the result of the fusion of two identifiable source languages, normally in situations of community bilingualism" (Meakins 2014:392). Additionally, "what distinguishes mixed languages from other contact varieties is that they emerge as expressions of identity rather than as a result of a communicative need" (Meakins 2013:186). According to these basic criteria, Reo Rapa shows characteristics similar to other mixed languages: it emerged as a result of socio-cultural pressure, which lead to bilingualism and a subsequent fusion between Tahitian and Old Rapa. Reo Rapa was born from the introduction of the Tahitian language into a monolingual community; the community did not require new communicative means, but rather came to a new speech variety as a result of bilingualism and dominance of one language over the other.

Matras and Bakker (2003:1) further define mixed languages as "varieties that emerge in situations of community bilingualism, and whose structures show an etymological split that is not marginal, but dominant, so that it is difficult to define the variety's linguistic parentage as involving just one ancestral language." The fundamental element of an ambiguous "linguistic parentage" is

frequently referenced in literature on mixed languages (Matras and Bakker 2003; Meakins 2013; Thomason 1995:16, 2003:21). Matras and Bakker go so far as to write that mixed languages are radically different languages from their ancestral languages and that they are "substantially different from earlier stages of the language before the incorporation of structures from a second source" (2003:11–12). This factor is not clear-cut in Reo Rapa. It does apply to Reo Rapa in one sense, as certain features unique to Old Rapa have been replaced by Tahitian through mixing. This has led to classification of the ancestral language of Rapa Iti as Tahitic and even as a dialect of Tahitian, which is an inaccurate classification (see chapter 6). However, because the two source languages of Reo Rapa, Old Rapa and Tahitian, are so closely related, they already share a number of features, most notably their syntactic structure. With source languages so closely related, and so many cognate morphemes, there is no way to determine the source language for all of Reo Rapa's features. This is perhaps the most significant problem defining Reo Rapa as a mixed language.

Another potential difficulty in labeling Reo Rapa as a mixed variety is that contributions from source languages are not split systematically. Most mixed languages demonstrate mixed systems where the grammar is predominantly derived from one source language and the lexicon from another (Golovko 2003:191; Meakins 2013:179; Meakins 2014). While there is significant variation in the degree to which mixed languages fuse grammatical features form their source languages (Meakins 2014:393; 2013:179; Matras p.c. 2015[85]), mixed languages are typically categorized as either Grammar-Lexicon (G-L) mixed languages or Verb-Noun (V-N) mixed languages (Meakins 2013:179). V-N mixed languages are more structurally mixed, where the mixed language combines the nominal system of one source language and the verbal system of the

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85 Matras, in personal discussions with me about Reo Rapa, echoed Meakins and expressed that mixed languages are extremely varied in composition which makes it difficult to make a clear structural definition for contact varities categorized as "mixed languages".

other (173).   Reo Rapa does not fit either of these categories. At an item level, the mixing is consistent, but at the system internal level (e.g., lexical vs. grammatical/syntactic; nominal vs. verbal; inflectional vs. derivational), there is no stark differentiation of source languages. There is no clear-cut division in source language contribution at a system level. Although the contributions from each source language are clear and consistent in Reo Rapa, they can only be observed at a unit level.

7.5.6 Shift-break language

Reo Rapa does not fit perfectly into any of the criteria for the existing categories of contact languages. Reo Rapa thus represents a type of language mixing that has not yet been defined in the current framework for contact languages. It is an example of a new type of contact language, what I call a *shift-break language*: a language which has resulted from stalled shift due to a collective anti-convergence sentiment in the speech community. In Reo Rapa, as we have seen in this chapter's discussions, anti-convergence has manifested in unique Old Rapa vocabulary and phonological assimiliphobia.   Anti-convergence not only has caused the halt in shift, but has also prompted further changes toward a reversal in shift, leading to the variant of Reo Rapa, called New Rapa which is further examined in chapter 8.   Figure 7.2 demonstrates the flow of language shift in Rapa Iti.

Figure 7.2. Evolution of language shift in Rapa Iti
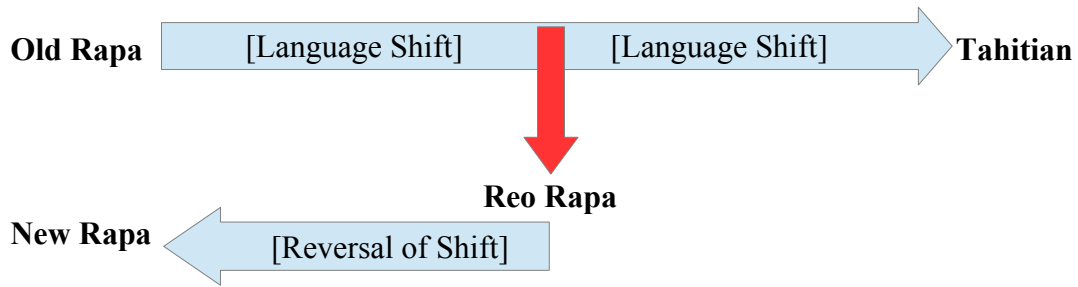
7.6 Summary

Reo Rapa is the primary language of use on Rapa Iti, and is a first language for most people who live on Rapa Iti. It is a language born from bilingualism in Rapa Iti of Tahitian and Old Rapa, and developed out of language shift and subsequent fusion of linguistic features. This shift has stalled due to anti-convergence sentiments, and Reo Rapa has become intergenerationally stable. The halt in language shift due to anti-convergence represents a new kind of contact language, a *shift-break language*. The shift-break has recently evolved into a reversal of shift and a new variety of Reo Rapa speech, New Rapa.

Chapter 8

New Rapa

8. Introduction

This chapter describes a variety of Reo Rapa, which I call New Rapa, that is occasionally used by

people under the age of 50. New Rapa represents an attempt by younger age groups in Rapa Iti to

reverse the shift to the Tahitian language. Whereas in Reo Rapa Old Rapa features that

phonologically contrast with Tahitian are retained, in New Rapa, Tahitian elements of Reo Rapa are

phonologically modified to reflect what speakers assume sounds more like Old Rapa. This desire

to make their language sound more like Old Rapa stems from a covert prestige in being a "true

local" Rapa person.

Section 8.1 discusses how New Rapa represents an intentional reverse shift. Section 8.2

identifies the source of the reverse shift to be a growing cultural nostalgia in Rapa Iti. Section 8.3

then discusses how this nostalgia has led to the covert prestige of Rapa localness, which has been

manifested in language creation. Section 8.4 identifies the main instigator of New Rapa's creation,

and highlights the involvement and function of the Tomite Reo Rapa. Section 8.5 explores the

methods used for language creation in New Rapa. Section 8.6 discusses the non-uniformity of New

Rapa. Finally, section 8.7 addresses the broader implications of this socially motivated language

change. The data on which I base the conclusions I draw in this chapter come from responses on

the generational test (see chapter 7); my observations of formal speeches at community events,

prayers recited at church services, and Tamariki Oparo[86] practices in Tahiti (April 2014); Facebook posts; and popular songs.

8.1 Reverse shift

Recall from figure 7.1 that Reo Rapa represents a language in which "shift by degree" has occurred. Under this same framework, New Rapa could be considered a "reversal of shift." It is a speech style in which younger Reo Rapa speakers are adding back what they assume to be lexical and phonological features of Old Rapa, as a means of language creation. These reverse additions to Reo Rapa are sometimes legitimately Old Rapa features; however, oftentimes the additions appear to be historically inaccurate, as discussed in section 8.5. Therefore, it would appear that the goal of the speakers is to create speech that sounds like Old Rapa, rather than truly returning to Old Rapa; they adopt an Old Rapa style of speaking, rather than speaking the Old Rapa language. This language creation, because it is centered on conscious generalizations about the Old Rapa language, is rarely used in casual or spontaneous speech. It is used more frequently in contexts where language can be planned (e.g., formal speeches, elicited speech, chants, and written materials). For this reason, and as discussed in chapter 2, it also emerges in newer forms of media, such as Facebook and popular music.[87]

The intentional use of modified speech to express a certain group identity mirrors what Thomason has referred to as "deliberate language differentiation" (1995:30). In deliberate language differentiation, a speech group will modify language in order to define a distinct cultural identity.

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86 Tamariki Oparo (lit. 'children of Rapa') is a dancing and singing group that performs and represents Rapa Iti in the annual Heiva competition in Tahiti. The group is based in Tahiti and run by a man from Rapa Iti. The dancers are a mix of young people (30 and younger) from both Tahiti and Rapa Iti.
87 The lyrics of a very popular song among Rapa people, "Pito," which was written in New Rapa, can be found in Appendix D.

New Rapa represents, then, a sort of linguistic "u-turn," (Boretzsky and Ilga:1994 in Meakins 2013:182) has described as "an intentional undoing of shift toward an outside language, where a speech group tries to reclaim their ancestral language." In Rapa Iti, however, the creation and use of New Rapa is not simply an attempt to reclaim the ancestral language; it is a form of resistance to Tahitian linguistic and cultural assimilation, and a reflection of an attempt to return to a unique Rapa Iti identity.

8.2 Cultural nostalgia and Rapa insider identity

In recent years, a motivation to form a unique Rapa identity apart from the rest of French Polynesia, most specifically Tahiti, has developed. Culturally, a Rapa-insider identity is being amplified. Those who are from Rapa Iti and do not move away from the island feel they have more knowledge of the past and therefore identify themselves as "more" Rapa than Rapa people who have moved away or outsiders who have moved to the island permanently.

Rapa Iti is caught between a desire to preserve its older traditions in order to be different from other islands in the French Polynesian Territory and the material desire of youth to move toward a more Tahitian, and increasingly French (Western), way of living. To this move by the youth, there is radical pull back by the elders. This manifests less in actual preservation and perpetuation of traditional activities and rather in a sort of *cultural nostalgia* – a longing for old ways that is expressed but not necessarily acted upon. This cultural nostalgia invokes positivity for the Rapa way of life by reflecting negatively on how things are done on other islands, particularly in Tahiti, and is conveyed through amplification of traditional Rapa activities:

The way we grow taro is so different than how they do it in Tahiti.
no one there has a fa'a'apu[88] like we do here.
       —Female, 33; December 20, 2012

They don't make pōpoi[89] there [in Tahiti] anymore, but we do, and
 we don't do it like anywhere else.
       —Female, 60; April 19, 2013

No other island makes bread like we do, they all eat baguettes,
but here, every house makes their own bread, in the wood fire ovens.
It's the best bread in the world.
       —Female, 49; December 17, 2012

Rapa artisans are the best. That grandma, she works all night on her hats.
       —Female, 52; January 2, 2012

The nostalgia is also expressed by positively contrasting life in Rapa with that in Tahiti:

Tahiti is too fast, there is too much traffic, and you need a car to go
 everywhere. Here, you can take a boat or you can walk.
       —Male, 58; November 24, 2013

In Tahiti, it's all about money. You can't live there without money.
In Rapa, you don't need money. You can still live off the land and
get by with very little.
       —Male, 56; May 11, 2012

This cultural nostalgia is observed socially, as well, in the treatment as outsiders of those who have

moved away permanently and those who are from different islands but have lived many years in

Rapa Iti. Family members who have been away from the island are treated kindly, but as visitors,

regardless of their affiliation to the island. In fact, people would sometimes claim not to know who

certain visitors were, even if they did.[90] The following conversation between myself and a young

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88 This is a Tahitian word, used in Rapa Iti to mean 'family plantation'.
89 'Pounded, fermented taro paste'.
90 It is worth explaining that because of the relatively small population, everyone knows who everyone else is, particularly if they are of Rapa descent. Furthermore, permanent island residents know who is on the island at any given time. The only way on to the island is by ship, and the arrival of the ship is a big event – everyone comes to the dock and no one makes plans for the day the boat is arriving, because everyone will be at the dock. Even days prior to the boat leaving, people will say, "okay, I'll see you on the dock," rather than "see you soon" or "see you later." Those getting off the boat do so in a single file line, so everyone can literally see who is arriving. If an unfamiliar person steps off the boat, there is an instant buzz of questions and within a matter of minutes, everyone knows who that person is and why they are in Rapa.

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woman, age 24, captures this:

> MW: Who is that? I didn't see him last time I was here.
>
> MM: I'm not sure. He doesn't live here and hasn't been here
>
> for many years.

She feigned not to know who this person was, although it was revealed in later conversations that she did. Pretending to not remember the person allowed her to separate that person from herself, placing that person "outside" of Rapa. It is important to note that this is not an isolated incident. The Rapa people have an impeccable knowledge of their family relationships and of who is related to whom. They can identify all of their family members and frequently recount precisely how they are related. It is not uncommon for people to explain their relationship to another person in casual conversation. For example: "Oh, you are going to see Teuira Vahine? She is my auntie, she and my mother are second cousins."[91] However, I observed that Rapa people who visited infrequently or only during vacation periods tended not to be acknowledged in this way. If they were accounted for at all, it would likely be with much ambiguity and would describe the person's relationship to others, rather than to the speaker.

Furthermore, there is a sense among the Rapa people that "outsiders" from Tahiti cannot understand how life is carried out on Rapa, and most importantly that they will not be able to cope with, or will not want to participate in, the more traditional lifestyle. One woman explained, "All these young girls coming from Tahiti, they won't go in the *roki* ('wet taro bed'). They don't want to get muddy and they are scared of eels." Another woman consultant of mine routinely said of her

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91 This is unsurprising due to incest restrictions. The small population on Rapa and its isolation have led to a significant level of intermarriage. As a result, nearly the entire population is somewhat related (see Gharsarian 2002; 1970:49-55). Incest taboos do exist but vary somewhat from family to family. Marriage between siblings is stringently opposed both socially and legally. On a purely social level, marriage between first-cousins is strongly disapproved of, and marriage between more distantly related cousins/family members is looked down upon. All families expressed a preference for their children to marry non-Rapa people, for this reason.

daughter-in-law, who grew up in Tahiti, *"She's lazy. [because] she's from Tahiti. She won't learn how to make *pōpoi* or help with making bread"* (though in reality, the daughter-in-law does try frequently to learn and help).[92]

8.3 Linguistic nostalgia and the covert prestige of "localness"

The cultural nostalgia that has developed out of pride in being a Rapa insider and the appreciation of Rapa ways of life expressed through the depreciation of Tahiti are paralleled in the creation of New Rapa. New Rapa thus reflects a *linguistic nostalgia*, a longing for the old ways of speech.

Where Reo Rapa developed from an overt pressure to use Tahitian in multiple official domains, New Rapa is developing from a less-explicit desire to mark an insider Rapa Iti identity. Linguistic nostalgia has led to a covert prestige, where localness is defined by how "Rapa" you sound. The Old Rapa special inherited lexicon (discussed in chapter 7) and the Old Rapa phonemes *k* and *ng* have become attributed to "localness." These linguistic marks of being local in New Rapa can be viewed as a reflection of covert prestige (in contrast to Tahitian's overt prestige in Rapa Iti society). Covert prestige generally refers to the hidden values that are associated with a non-standard form of speech (Labov 1972:249; Trudgill 1972:183). In this case, there is a hidden value in being more local and localness is attributed to non-standard, Old Rapa sounding lexemes.

8.4 New Rapa's genesis

The attachment of a "Rapa identity" to Old Rapa sounding forms can be almost entirely attributed to one man, Pierrot Faraire. Pierrot Faraire is the founder of the Tomite Reo Rapa (Rapa Language

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92 This particular situation is likely also related to the general treatment of in-laws in Rapa (see chapter 2).

Committee), a former principal of the Rapa elementary school, and the leader of Tamariki Oparo (a

dance group that performs and competes in a territory-wide competition, the Heiva, every July in

Tahiti). Pierrot founded the Tomite Reo Rapa in the late 1990s, in order to assemble the elders to

re-discover the older form of the language. He told me that he was motivated to start the Tomite

when he found a list of Old Rapa words that he had never heard before, and realized that his "true"

language was no longer being spoken. He said, "All of the Rapa words were there, even ones I

never heard! All of our history is in there, it has been written!" His account of this discovery is as

follows.[93] One rainy day in Rapa, he was walking along a path. As it rained harder, he noticed a

piece of paper in the mud that had been uncovered because of the heavy rain. He picked it up and

though it was worn from age, he could make out words that were old words of Rapa. He claimed

that the list of words was written by Stokes, and on it were many of the words he incorporates into

his writings today. Pierrot also told me that he has shared this story with many other Rapa people;

he is very open about it. His high status in the community, the discovery of something written in

the language, and his making a correlation with Stokes (who, is seen as the highest authority on Old

Rapa as he was the only person to ever write about it), has given credit to his story within the Rapa

Iti community.[94]

Regardless of the plausibility of Pierrot's story, his realization of language loss represents an

important moment in the evolution of language on Rapa Iti. It is this realization that caused him to

begin his "research" on the Old Rapa language and to start the language committee. He clearly

recognized that his language was no longer being spoken and he wanted to spark motivation in his

community to recognize that and try to change it. By claiming to have a written word list of old

93Personal interview, April 2014.
94 Nothing was locally written in Old Rapa when the language was spoken by more of the population. However,
because of increased literacy for schoolwork and for reading the Bible, written materials now have significance. If
something is written in Rapa, it is seen as factual and accountable.

words, very different from those used today, he attracted the community attention needed to form a language committee.

According to Pierrot, the Tomite Reo Rapa was started as a way to get a group of elders together to discuss what elements of the Old Rapa language had been lost. The function of this group was to meet and amass lexical items from their collective linguistic memory, and to eventually translate the Bible. Pierrot says that they met once per week to discuss the differences between what was spoken today and what was spoken previously. Products of these early meetings were a lexicon that was compiled with the help of two SIL linguists over a six week period in 2006, and a chapter of the Bible. The Tomite's efforts seem to have halted since then, most likely due to Pierrot's move to Tahiti, where he now resides permanently.[95] From such a distance, it has been difficult to maintain regular meetings of the committee, but he has nevertheless managed to maintain his linguistic influence from afar.

As the founder and longtime leader of the Rapa dance group, Tomite Reo Rapa, and a religious leader as well, Pierrot has been able to influence Rapa Iti society and in particular the teenage and young adult students from Rapa Iti who are going to school in Tahiti. For them, he perhaps represents a connection to their home island, and as the leader of the dance group Tamariki Oparo, he is a Rapa Iti celebrity. In his role as the dance group leader, he also writes chants and songs to accompany the dancing, using what he feels are sounds and words of an authentic Old Rapa language. According to him, "The chants that I write are a way to renew our language." These chants have a direct influence not only on younger Rapa people in Tahiti, but on people in Rapa, because the dance competitions are televised, and everyone in Rapa watches them and hears

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95 Pierrot moved permanently to Tahiti after his wife passed away about ten years ago. He says he has not been back to Rapa in seven years.

the new Tamariki Oparo songs. Pierrot's innovations thus quickly permeate the Rapa Iti society.

Many elders on Rapa disagree with the word creation exhibited in his chants. They believe

Pierrot's language to be fabricated, and some even refuse to use words that have become

commonplace now in Rapa. Among these are the common greeting *aronga* and a term meaning

'thank you', *tongia*.[96] In fact, non-elder members of the Rapa community admit to never having

heard "Pierrot's language" in the past; however, they do not challenge his authority and assume that

he has information about the past that they do not have.[97] The younger age groups, particularly

those who have participated in the cultural dance group, or have simply admired the dance group (it

is quite popular due to its success in the annual French Polynesia-wide competition), have begun

incorporating New Rapa, or *la langue de Pierrot* ('Pierrot's language') into their speech. They learn

his new terms in the performance chants for the cultural festival, and believe them to be some older

form of the language. They then use them to assert their Rapa Iti localness. This is precisely how

words like *aronga* and *tongia* have permeated the everyday life of Rapa people.[98]

Due to push-back from elders who challenge the authenticity of New Rapa and feel that

younger people under Pierrot's influence are "inventing words,"[99] Pierrot has had to defend his

word creations and has claimed them to be based on language research that he has performed.

When I asked Pierrot what his research consisted of, he told me, "Stokes, always Stokes. And the

96 According to my elder consultants, there were not Old Rapa terms for 'hello' or 'thank you'. These concepts were brought with Tahitian, and so the Tahitian words *'ia ora na* and *mauru ru* were used for 'hello' and 'thank you', respectively.

97 Whenever I engaged with non-elders about language, they would routinely ask me, "Have you talked with Pierrot? He probably knows."

98 An example of this use comes from a discussion over dinner with my host family. My host father was very involved with the church, and knowledgeable in Old Rapa (he was adopted by Ma'urei Angia's immediate family at a young age). Because of this, I was asking him one evening about the meaning of a word in a prayer that I had heard at church that morning. The word was *karanga*, in this context meaning 'speech' or 'the word'. He said that he did not recognize that meaning of the term, which, for him, meant 'world'. I made a note and as I was writing, my host sister (age 30), who had danced in Tamariki Oparo, said, "No, that's right. That word is in one of Pierrot's songs."

99 This claim was made in December 2012 by an elder woman, who has requested that she not be identified by name or initials.

elders." Of course, this is curious, as many elders dispute his claims. He elaborated that the elders will often confirm what he has discovered about the language, but that they do not use the words themselves because they are embarrassed to speak in a way that no one else does. When I asked him about the specific genesis of the words that are hotly contested by elders, such as *aronga* and *tongia*, he explained that *aronga* is based on other Polynesian words like *aroha* (Tahitian), *aro'a* (Rarotongan, Mangarevan), and *aloha* (Hawaiian), but the *ng* makes it sound more like it is from Rapa Iti. He says *tongia* was found in Stokes's manuscript.[100] Regarding other potentially innovated terms, he says that Old Rapa is very much like Rarotongan and so he has used Rarotongan dictionaries to find Old Rapa words. His rationale for using Rarotongan as a source for Old Rapa relates to the superficial similarity in their phoneme inventories. He explained this to me in the following way: "In Rapa, you will hear people use words with *f*. But those are not real Rapa words. In [Old] Rapa, there is no *f* or *h*, like in Rarotonga."

Regardless of the genesis of these newly created terms or the challenges to them, "Pierrot's language" is becoming a part of the Rapa speech today and is forming a new speech style on the island, New Rapa. For example, *aronga*, whether historically accurate or not, is now a common greeting used by everyone in Rapa Iti, save for a few elders who vehemently disagree that it is, or ever was, an Old Rapa word. *Tongia* is equally common as a way of saying 'thank you'. It is perplexing that these words have been able to enter into regularly used speech in Rapa Iti in spite of being disputed by elders. I suggest that it has been possible because Pierrot has told people that the words were recorded a long time ago. Speakers have no reason not to believe that they are truly ancient Old Rapa words, and words perhaps so far gone that even their elders do not remember them.

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100 It should be noted that the Stokes manuscript is written in English, a language very few Rapa people can speak.

8.5 Beyond Pierrot: processes of New Rapa's creation

New Rapa is growing beyond the isolated innovations of Pierrot and is evident in more formal

language use of younger age groups in Rapa Iti. New Rapa exhibits an attempt to "Rapanize" the

Tahitian elements of Reo Rapa in order to make Reo Rapa sound less like Tahitian.[101] The New

Rapa style of speech includes mostly the same distribution of source language features as Reo

Rapa. The major difference in New Rapa is that it also contains the following: (1)Tahitian lexemes

that have undergone Rapanization, by being phonologically modified to reflect Old Rapa's

consonant phoneme inventory; (2) borrowed terms from other languages that have the same

consonant phonemes as Old Rapa; and (3) Pierrot's creations (e.g., *aronga*).

8.5.1 Rapanization of Tahitian[102] lexemes

Much of New Rapa relies on the process of Rapanization. As a result, the speech style has

developed from speakers creating their own words based on what they think sounds more like Old

Rapa. It is an educated guessing game, based on what people generalize to be the phonological

differences between Old Rapa and Tahitian. Recall from chapter 7 that there is some speaker

awareness of which particular sounds exist exclusively in Old Rapa or in Tahitian. Speakers

generalize that the velar nasal *ng* and the velar stop *k* are "Old Rapa sounds" because they are

present in Old Rapa, but absent in Tahitian. Similarly, "Tahitian sounds" are generalized to be *h*

and *f*, as these are present in Tahitian but absent in Old Rapa. Based on these generalizations,

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101 Kieviet and Kieviet (2006) briefly mentioned that some words used in Rapa Iti appeared to be Tahitian words that
had been *rapanisé* 'Rapanized'. They did not explore this observation further, but they should be acknowledged as the
first to use the term "Rapanized" in this context.
102 All Tahitian terms referenced in this chapter were taken from Fare Vāna'a 1999, unless otherwise indicated.

speakers conclude that where there is a glottal stop in Tahitian, there must be a *k* or *ng* in Old Rapa; where there is an *h* or *f* in Tahitian, the corresponding form in Old Rapa has a glottal stop in its place. This awareness is used in the process of Rapanization to target what a speaker believes to be a Tahitian sound and replace it with an Old Rapa sound.

As Tahitian and Old Rapa share many reflexes from PPN, a speaker's intuition for Rapanization is often historically accurate; that is, it adheres to regular sound correspondences. The examples in table 8.1 are this kind of Rapanization. In these cases, there is no way of identifying if a form is actually a form that was used in Old Rapa, or if it is a modern Rapanization of a Tahitian form. In fact, the only way to determine this is when the two languages do not exhibit cognate forms (due to innovation in one or the other language). This is where the language modification is more visible and the process of reanalysis can be detected. Table 8.1 shows examples of Rapanized Tahitian forms that contrast with Old Rapa forms, due to innovation either in Old Rapa or in Tahitian.

Table 8.1. Rapanized forms in New Rapa with conflicting Old Rapa forms

	Old Rapa	Tahitian	New Rapa	PPN[103]	Gloss
1	*ka*	*'ua*	*kua*	*kua	'perfective'
2	*'anga*	*'ohipa*	*'o'ipa*	*sanga	'work'
3	*no'o*	*pārahi*	*pāra'i*	*nofo	'sit down; stay'
4	*takaviri*	*puhi*	*pu'i*	*pusi	'eel'
5	*ao*	*mahana*	*ma'ana*	*qaho	'day'
6	*kāvake*	*mahina*	*ma'ina*	*masina	'moon, month'
7	*pē'ā*	*vahine*	*va'ine*	*fafine	'woman'
8	*tīpoko*	*hopu*	*'opu*	*sopu	'dive'
9	*mānea*	*nehenehe*	*ne'ene'e*	*mana-qia[104]	'pretty'
10	*pō*	*ru'i*	*ruki*	*po	'night'
11	*ngare*	*rahi*	*ra'i*	*lasi	'large'
12	*ā*	*maha*	*ma'a*	*fa	'four'
13	*ketekete*	*'ē'ē*	*kēkē*	PCE *keke	'armpit'
14	*paruparu*	*rohirohi*	*ro'iro'i*	PCE *rufi	'tired'
15	*araara*	*fera*	*'era*	*fera[105]	'wide-eyed; revelation'
16	*ou*	*vau/au*	*vou*	*ou	'1S'
17	*tūra*	*pi'i*	*piki*	*kalanga	'to call out'

In other cases, as mentioned, it is not as clear if the New Rapa term is a Rapanization of a Tahitian form, or is a re-introduction of an Old Rapa form. These are instances where the Old Rapa form has been lost and so there is no way to compare the New Rapa form with the Old Rapa form, or instances where the Old Rapa form and the New Rapa form are identical. Table 8.2 shows examples of when the Old Rapa form has been completely lost; it is no longer remembered by elders. Furthermore, my elder consultants denied that these Rapanized forms existed in Old Rapa. We can therefore safely assume that the Rapanizations are not re-introductions of Old Rapa forms.

103 Greenhill and Clark 2011.
104 This is a possibly related proto-form, which meant 'handsome lothario' in PPN (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
105 PPN *fera 'spread wide open' (Greenhill and Clark 2011).

Table 8.2. Examples of Rapanized Tahitian lexemes rejected by elders

	Old Rapa	Tahitian	New Rapa (Rapanized)	PPN	Gloss
	ø	*'ori*	*kori*	*koli	'dance'
	ø	*here*	*'ere*	*sele	'love; beloved'
	ø	*pu'e*	*puke*[106]	*puke	'pile'
	ø	*huero*	*'uero*	*fua	'egg'
	ø	*fa'a'apu*	*'akakapu*	ø	'plantation'
	ø	*fatu*	*'atu*	PCE *fatu	'master; chief'
	ø	*fati*	*'ati*	*fati	'break'
	ø	*hoa*	*'oa*	*soa	'companion, friend'
	ø	*hepetoma*	*'epetoma*	-	'week'

There are two additional situations in which we can more clearly see a modern modification of terms. The first is when replacement of a Tahitian sound occurs in words or concepts that were borrowed into Tahitian after Western contact. In most cases, these represent concepts that were introduced through the missionaries or the Bible. Because Christianity was transmitted to Rapa Iti islanders through Tahitian, we can safely assume that the Tahitian forms for Christian concepts were the original forms in Rapa Iti. The two primary examples of this are Tahitian *himene* 'sing' and *puta* 'book' to New Rapa *'imene* and *puka*, respectively. Elders attest that *puka* and *'imene* are newer forms and that only the Tahitian forms were used previously. Consequently, we can safely assume that *puka* and *'imene* are modern Rapanizations.

The second situation in which we can more readily identify Rapanization is when only some of the Tahitian sounds are replaced. An example of this is Tahitian *'ohipa* 'work', which becomes New Rapa *'o'ipa*. If there were an Old Rapa cognate for the Tahitian form, based on sound correspondences of Old Rapa and Tahitian, we would expect the Tahitian initial glottal stop to be

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106 Recall from chapter 6 that OR *puke* means 'group of children'.

replaced, in addition to the Tahitian *h*. However, the New Rapa form only replaces the Tahitian *h*. As a result, I suggest that *'o'ipa* is a reanalyzed Tahitian borrowing and not an Old Rapa term. This partial replacement is also observed frequently in complex words, both compounds (example 8.1) and affixed forms (examples 8.2–8.6).

(8.1)　'suppress'

TAH　*'oroma'i*　　>　　NR　*'oromaki*

'oro is a reflex of PPN *koro 'intend; desire' and *ma'i/maki* are reflexes of PPN *maki 'sickness, illness, a sore' (Greenhill and Clark 2011). Based on regular sound correspondences, we would expect to see something like *koromaki* in Old Rapa. However, this is not the form that is exhibited and, as a result, we can presume that *'oromaki* is not an Old Rapa term, but is instead a Rapanized Tahitian form.

(8.2)　'obey'

TAH　*ha'apa'o*　　>　　NR　*'akapa'o*

(8.3)　'gather together'

TAH *ha'apu'e*　　>　　NR　*'akapu'e*

(8.4)　'learn'

TAH　*ha'api'i*　　　>　　NR　*'akapi'i*

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(8.5) 'reliance'

TAH *turu'ira'a* > NR *turu'i'anga*

(8.6) 'reading (n)'

TAH *tai'ora'a* > NR *tai'o'anga*

(8.7) 'celebration'

TAH *turu'ira'a* > NR *turu'i'anga*

In these examples, only the Tahitian sounds in the affix are replaced, but those in the root are not. This is due to a basic linguistic awareness that the Tahitian causative affixes *fa'a-* and *ha'a-* correspond with Old Rapa *'aka-*[107] (examples 8.2–8.4), and that the Tahitian nominalizing suffix *-ra'a* corresponds to Old Rapa *-'anga*[108] (examples 8.5–8.7).

8.5.2 Historically inaccurate Rapanization

There are many instances in which Rapanization does not follow regular sound correspondences; that is, the sound used in New Rapa is not expected based on regular sound correspondences between Old Rapa and Tahitian. There are two types of historically inaccurate Rapanization: (1) a historically unexpected "Old Rapa sound" replaces a "Tahitian sound" (e.g., *ng* is used where *k* might be expected); or (2) an "Old Rapa sound" hyper-inserts, thus creating a new syllable segment. This occurs with both content words and grammatical words.

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107 PPN *faka- (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
108 PPN *-Canga (Greenhill and Clark 2011).

8.5.2.1 Historically unexpected replacement

The most prominent example of this is *aronga,* which translates to both a greeting and 'love'. This word is used frequently on Rapa, but it is a "new" term that Rapa people recognize as not used until about ten years ago. Anyone who is familiar with regular sound correspondences in Polynesian would notice that this term is a result of an attempt to provide a reflex of Proto Polynesian (PPN) *qarofa, also meaning 'love' (Greenhill and Clark 2011).[109] One would also note the peculiar presence of the velar nasal. Based on regular sound correspondences, one would expect *aro'a* in Rapa as the reflex of PPN *qarofa, cognate with Tahitian *aroha* 'compassion, love, salutation' (Fare Vāna'a 2008). Here, in order to sound more like Old Rapa, the velar nasal is used in lieu of the expected glottal stop.

Similarly, in my lexical test (see chapter 7), many of my consultants under the age of 50 provided the form *tukāne* for 'brother or woman's brother'. The form in Tahitian is *tu'āne.* Based on other cognate forms in Eastern Polynesian languages (reflexes of PCE *tuŋane) and regular sound correspondences,[110] we would expect *ng* to occur in Old Rapa, in the place of Tahitian's glottal stop, resulting in *tungāne*. Here, however, the velar stop is used.

A slightly different instance of historically unexpected replacement is in the first person singular pronoun. In Old Rapa, first person singular is ou. In Reo Rapa, first person singular is *vau,* one of the Tahitian forms. In New Rapa, speakers often use a created form, *vou,* that exhibits a retention of the Tahitian labiodental fricative from *vau,* and a replacement of Tahitian *au* with Old Rapa *ou*. This is demonstrated below, in example (8.8), taken from a New Rapa translation of a

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109 Reflexes of *qarofa in many PN languages are used as a greeting. These reflexes are listed in Greenhill and Clark 2011 under PPN *qarofa.b.
110 Greenhill and Clark 2011.

Tahitian poem, "Te Poreho".

(8.8)   **'aka-rongo**   *ake*   *ra*   **vou**

CAUS-hear   ADV   DEIC   1S

ki   *te*   **ngarungaru**   *o*   *te*   *tai*

PREP   INDEF   waves   PossO   INDEFsea

'Then, I listened to the waves of the sea."[111]

8.5.2.2 Hyper-insertion of an "Old Rapa sound"

A fairly consistent example of hyper-insertion is the insertion of *k* in certain grammatical markers.

Recall from chapter 4 that two of Rapa's prepositional markers are *i* and *ki*. In Tahitian (and in Reo

Rapa), these two markers have merged to *i*. In New Rapa, *k* is inserted in all Reo Rapa instances of

preposition *i*, resulting in *ki* throughout. In this case, sounding more like Old Rapa means sounding

"not Tahitian"; thus, both the *i* and *ki* prepositions in Old Rapa are expressed as *ki* in New Rapa.

Similarly, the accusative marker becomes *ki* in New Rapa. In Old Rapa, as well as in Tahitian (and

Reo Rapa) the accusative marker is *i* (see chapters 4 and 5). Examples (8.9) and (8.10), elicited

from a male speaker (age 29) and a female speaker (age 24), demonstrate these hyper-insertions.

Hyper-insertions are in bold, and the reader may refer to section 7.3 for the standard Reo Rapa

utterances corresponding to these examples.

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111 *ake ra* functions in a narrative as a transition in time, 'then'.

(8.9) **kua** *fa'a-ara*   *te*   *orometua*   *ha'a-pi'i*

PFV   CAUS-wake   INDEFmaster   CAUS-call

ki   *tō*   *tamariki*   *ra*

ACC   DEF   child   DEIC

'The teacher woke the student.'

(8.10) *me*   *rahi*   *ake*   **vau**   **ki**   *a-na*

thing   tall   COMP 1S   PREP PER-3S

'I am taller than she.'

The elders have little tolerance for the hyper-insertion of *k* in these types of utterances. One of my elder consultants said, "They are putting *k* in everywhere. It sounds like k-k-k-k-k, *caca*."[112]

8.5.3 Borrowing from PN languages

Some terms have been borrowed from other Eastern Polynesian languages that are not Tahitian. For the most part, these terms appear to have been borrowed from Rarotongan, in-line with Pierrot's comment that he uses a Rarotongan dictionary to find Old Rapa words. These borrowings are typically found in prayers that were composed by Pierrot. One such example is *kōpapa* 'body; corpse' (also heard as *'akakōpapa* 'lie down; genuflect'). My elder consultants did not agree with this, reporting to have never heard this term and to have only ever heard *tino*, the Old Rapa reflex of PPN *tino 'body'. Rarotongan does have a term *kōpapa* 'body', which appears to be an innovation. Most other EP languages have a reflex of PPN *tino for 'body', including Tahitian. It is likely that

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112 *Caca* is French slang for excrement.

this term was borrowed by Pierrot from Rarotongan into Rapa because it is clearly distinct from the Tahitian form.

8.5.4 Re-introduction of Old Rapa lexemes

Not all of New Rapa is word creation. It does appear that some Old Rapa vocabulary has been reintroduced.   It is clear that these words have been reintroduced because the Old Rapa form is not used in standard Reo Rapa, where the Tahitian form is used instead. I suggest that they have been reintroduced via Pierrot through his chants and translated prayers.   Some examples of this are: *anga* 'plural classifier', *'enua* 'island', *ngutua'are* 'household', *ta'unga* 'leader'; *pē'ā* 'woman', and *karakua* 'parent'. These terms were all heard in prayers and sermons/convocations given by Rapa Iti deacons at church services (examples 8.11–8.14). *'enua* and *ngutua'are* have also appeared in Facebook posts by Rapa islanders as well as in song lyrics. It should be noted that the Old Rapa meanings of *ta'unga* 'leader', *karakua* 'parent', and *ngutua'are* 'household' have been expanded in the religious context to include 'deacon', 'God (as the ultimate father)', and 'congregation', respectively. In the following examples, New Rapa words are in bold. Examples (8.11–8.13) are taken from the prayers and sermons at church services; example (8.14) is from a Facebook post by a 30 year old Rapa woman.

(8.11) *te*   **_karakua_**   *nō*   *te*   **_'ere_**   *'e*   *te*   **_aronga_**

INDEFparent   PREP INDEFlove   CONJ INDEFcompassion

'aka-kōpapa *atu*   *na*   *mātou*   *i*   *mua*   *i*   *a-koe*

CAUS-body   DIR   DEIC 1PlExcl   PREP in.front   PREP PER-2S

'Father, for your love and compassion, we lay down before you.'

(8.12) **'aka-**tura   tō   **karakua**   tāne   'e

      CAUS-upright   DEF   parent   man   CONJ

      tō   **karakua**   **pē'ā**

      DEF   parent   woman

      'Respect the father and the mother.'

(8.13) **aronga**   te   **anga**   **ta'unga**

      greeting   INDEFPL   leader

      'Hello deacons.'

(8.14) te   'apa   maitaki   atu   nei   vau

      DEIC   embrace   well   DIR   DEIC   1S

      ki   **tō-ku**   **ngutua'are**   **ki**   te   **'enua**   Rapa

      ACC   INDEF.PossO-1S   family   PREP   INDEFisland Rapa

      'I am embracing my family there in Rapa.'

8.6 Non-uniformity of utterances

It is very important to note that New Rapa is not consistent between speakers; rarely do any two

speakers provide an identical utterance for the same meaning in elicitation. New Rapa is not

uniform because so much of it is based on the individual speaker's assumption of what is more Old

Rapa sounding, which in turn is often based on an inconsistent knowledge of sound

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correspondences and a lack of knowledge of Old Rapa forms. Building on their understandings of

the differences between Old Rapa and Tahitian, speakers "test out" various combinations to see

what will be accepted by their listeners as local "Rapa" speech. Over time, perhaps certain features

of New Rapa will become more stable, but presently, they are inconsistent. For example, the

phrase 'that woman in the taro bed' has one consistent Old Rapa form, and one consistent Reo Rapa

form, but New Rapa has multiple possibilities (example 8.15). In fact, the same speaker might

produce all the variations on separate occasions. There does not appear to be any pattern in which

variation is used when, nor are choices clearly based on social situations or present company.

Variations do not appear to be related to context, gender, presence of other speakers, or age group

of speaker. It seems to be simply language experimentation. The only clear motivation is to use

forms that are different from Tahitian.

(8.15) 'that woman in the taro bed'

Old Rapa:	*tō*	*pē'ā*		*ra*	*ki*	*roto*	*i*	*te*	*roki*
	DEF	woman		DEIC	PREP	in	PREP	INDEF	taro.bed
Reo Rapa:	*tō*	**_vahine_**		<u>*ra*</u>	***i***	<u>*roto*</u>	<u>*i*</u>	<u>*te*</u>	*roki*
	DEF	woman		DEIC	PREP	in	PREP	INDEF	taro.bed

New Rapa (bold items here are those that vary):

	tō	**_pē'ā/va'ine_**	*ra*	**_ki/i_**	*roto*	**_ki/i_**	*te*	*roki*

8.6.1 Doublets in Reo Rapa

Doublets are a common occurrence in language contact situations where significant borrowing has

occurred (Blust 2011). Reo Rapa also exhibits doublets due to the contact situation, but they are a

unique type of doublet that has resulted from the re-nativization of borrowings rather than through
implementation of a borrowed form. These doublets differ from those described by Blust in that
they are not lexical replacements that contradict native phonology. They are instead re-nativized
forms of lexical replacements. These doublets are made up of a Tahitian sourced Reo Rapa form
and a Rapanized form. Examples of some of Reo Rapa's doublets are given in table 8.3.

Table 8.3. Doublets resulting from Rapanization

	Reo Rapa (Tahitian)	New Rapa	Gloss
1	*'ori*	*kori*	'dance'
2	*'ohipa*	*'o'ipa*	'work'
3	*pārahi*	*pāra'i*	'sit down; stay'
4	*puhi*	*pu'i*	'eel'
5	*mahana*	*ma'ana*	'day'
6	*mahina*	*ma'ina*	'moon, month'
7	*vahine*	*va'ine*	'woman'
8	*hopu*	*'opu*	'dive'
9	*nehenehe*	*ne'ene'e*	'pretty'
10	*ru'i*	*ruki*	'night'
11	*rahi*	*ra'i*	'large'
12	*maha*	*ma'a*	'four'
13	*'ē'ē*	*kēkē*	'armpit'
14	*huero*	*'uero*	'egg'
15	*fa'a'apu*	*'akakapu*	'plantation'
16	*'ite*	*kite*	'to know'
17	*to'eto'e*	*toketoke*	'cold'
18	*rohirohi*	*ro'iro'i*	'tired'
19	*fera*	*'era*	'wide-eyed'
20	*hoa*	*'oa*	'friend; companion'

8.6.2 Homonyms

Finally, in the creation of New Rapa, homonyms are forming between Tahitian components of Reo Rapa and Rapanized forms. Examples (8.16–8.19) demonstrate some new homonyms that have resulted from Rapanization.[113]

(8.16) *ra'i*

RR (TAH)	'sky'	<	PPN	*langi	'sky'
NR	'large'	<	PPN	*lasi	'numerous, large, great'

(8.17) 'are

RR (TAH)	'wave'	<	PPN	*kale	'wave that ripples or breaks'
NR	'house'	<	PPN	*fale	'house'

(8.18) ma'a

RR (TAH)	'food'	<	PPN	*maqanga	'mouthful of food'
NR	'four'	<	PPN	*fa	'four'

(8.19) 'ere

RR (TAH)	'black'	<	PPN	*kele	'dark, black'
NR	'love, beloved'	<	PPN	*sele	'beloved, prized'

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113 All PPN forms in these examples are from Greenhill and Clark 2011.

8.7 Broader implications

The type of linguistic innovation discussed in this chapter is important to highlight as it demonstrates historical changes that are intentionally initiated by individuals in a speech community, and which do not follow regular sound correspondences. This kind of deliberate change provides evidence for socially motivated, rather than linguistically motivated, sound change and furthermore supports theories that sound change is not always linguistically motivated (Blust 2005; Milroy 2003). Blust wrote (2005:221) that "social forces are widely recognized as the engine driving the implementation of some sound changes, but until recently these have not been implicated at all in the actuation of sound change." In the creation of New Rapa there are clear "exogenous motivations" (Milroy 2003), system external motivations, for the changes occurring in the language. While a small example, New Rapa provides proof that actuation of sound change can be motivated by purely social forces.

The notion of altering one's speech in order to associate with (or disassociate from) a particular social group is not at all unusual. However, clearly identifying the source for the linguistic features that come to mark a particular social group is typically not possible; the precise source of actuation is rarely known (Labov 1972:317). In 2001, Labov (89-119) discussed actuation of language change in terms of a "triggering event", or cause event, which sparks system internal change, or in his words, "a bend in the chain of causality". However, as he shows through his many examples, while we can identify the change, the "bend", it is difficult to specifically identify the moment of actuation. Labov (2001) and Baker (2008) have furthermore proposed the idea of a *linguistic leader*; a speaker who notes a relationship between sound and identity and adapts their speech accordingly. This marked speech then spreads to other speakers and

consequently affects a sound change (Baker 2008:29). However, there are few real-time examples that offer evidence of linguistic leaders.

Whether through a triggering event or via a linguistic leader, the implementation of a linguistic feature that later becomes associated with a particular group's identity may go completely unnoticed, according to Labov (1972:319). He wrote specifically: "The change first appears as a characteristic feature of a specific subgroup, attracting no particular notice from anyone" (319). New Rapa contrasts with this description, as both the inception and implementation of its characteristic features are clearly visible. In this way, New Rapa provides a rare opportunity to identify the clear and deliberate speech changes a speech group is making in order to establish cultural distance from another group.

The changes developing in New Rapa and the visibility of actuation present a rather unusual opportunity. While there are many examples of language contact affecting language change, there are very few that can point to the precise moment or exact person that initiates a change. In fact, most of the discussion on possible language external forces being responsible for the actuation of language-internal change are speculative or anecdotal at best (Golovko 2003:184–185; Kulick 1992: 2–3; Laycock 1982:36). New Rapa therefore represents one of the only cases available for study that provides concrete evidence demonstrating non-linguistically motivated actuation of language change. Furthermore, and fundamentally, New Rapa's unique and visible genesis offers an excellent example of the importance of studying smaller and particularly endangered languages.

Chapter 9

Concluding remarks

9.1 The future of language in Rapa Iti

In January 2013, Ma'urei Angia was appointed by the mayor to replace Pierrot Faraire as president of the Tomite. At age 47, Ma'urei is not an elder member of the community. However, he comes from one of the very few families in Rapa Iti that maintained Old Rapa at home when he was growing up. He and his siblings learned Old Rapa from their grandparents. Ma'urei is also a *ti'a'au*,[114] meaning that he is a member of the Council of Elders (*Tō Hitu*[115]), and he has a deep knowledge of local history, of the environment, and of cultural spaces. Though he is extremely motivated to produce real revitalization efforts, he has little support from the rest of the community. First, the Tomite appears to be diminishing in number and motivation. Member numbers seem to vary depending on who is on the island at any given time, and meetings are infrequent and irregular. In my time in Rapa, only one meeting happened, and it was held expressly to welcome me. At this particular meeting, only five members out of fifteen were in attendance, including the mayor and his secretary. Ma'urei was appointed president shortly after this meeting, and since then, I have witnessed him make many efforts to assemble the Tomite. But the motivation of other members is low, and people simply do not show up to the meetings. He is the only one

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114 Tahitian word in Reo Rapa meaning 'guardian of the land'.
115 Reo Rapa term, meaning 'the seven'. This is a non-governmental committee that meets on the first Tuesday of every month, decides land distribution among islanders, and makes decisions on all local matters regarding the land, sea, and even community. For example, any researcher who wishes to study on Rapa Iti must meet with and get approval from the Tō Hitu. It was originally formed of seven appointed elders (*ti'a'au*) who were experts on which families owned which parts of the island (see Hanson and Ghasarian 2007 for a full description of Rapa Iti's land division and ownership practices). The committee has expanded in recent years to include fourteen *ti'a'au*, and not all of the members are elders.

demonstrating any real motivation for the revitalization of the language.

In spite of the lack of motivation in much of the community, Ma'urei is driven to safe-guard what he can of Old Rapa. For example, he and I have worked closely to create a series of monolingual Old Rapa picture books for the elementary school. Applying his wealth of knowledge about Rapa culture, both past and present, we have also created a short book recounting a local legend, using Old Rapa (Appendix E). He has also become involved in the school and has begun coaching students in oration, using materials he has written himself. Furthermore, when I last saw him in April 2014, he had begun work on translations of the Bible into Old Rapa with the resident pastor from Tahiti. He is single-handedly trying to revitalize his language.

When I asked him about New Rapa, and some of the words invented by Pierrot, Ma'urei said that the importance of revitalization for the Rapa community is less about returning to an older form of the language, and more about creating a unique linguistic identity. He therefore believes that some word creation, like that of the New Rapa style of speech, is necessary, especially when knowledge of Old Rapa is no longer available because an Old Rapa word has been completely replaced by Tahitian and is "lost." He said: "We need to invent in order to have a 'true language'."[116] He also feels that in some cases, language creation is a necessity in order to accommodate modernization. He prefers, in fact, that the Rapa people actively invent Rapanized terminology for introduced materials and concepts, rather than just borrowing the Tahitian or French forms. For example, just before I left Rapa in April 2014, he was working on creating signs for the local clinic using newly coined terms that incorporate Old Rapa and New Rapa Rapanizations. A few of these new words are presented in examples (9.1–9.4).

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116 Personal communication, April 2014.

(9.1)   *'are   maki*

house   sick

'clinic'

(9.2)   *kotikoti   'akaero*

write   talk

'secretary'

(9.3)   *va'i   komo-'anga*

place   sleep-NMLZ

'patient room'

(9.4)   *va'i   nō   te   rākau*

place   PREP   INDEFmedicine

'pharmacy'

These terms are new; they are created based on Rapa sounds and figurative translations using unique Rapa words. Ma'urei said that his goal is to expose the public to what words and sounds may have been previously used in Old Rapa.

In light of Ma'urei's and the Tomite's efforts to create a unique linguistic identity for both Old Rapa and New Rapa, this dissertation is very timely. Once translated into French, the sketch of Old Rapa language will certainly aid in creating teaching materials. Furthermore, Ma'urei and other

Rapa people have expressed their excitement for the short books of Old Rapa that have resulted from this study. The direct impact that this dissertation will have in the Rapa community is for me the most significant contribution of my work.

9.2 Contributions to the field of linguistics

Outside of the speech community, the most significant contribution of this dissertation is that it provides information and documentation on a language that was previously very under-studied. Furthermore, it shows that endangered language documentation is not always just about describing the nuances of one language, but may require investigating the broader language situation.

This dissertation also demonstrates the importance of approaching fieldwork from an ethnographic and participant observer angle. If I had not spent the time I did living with families in the community and participating as a member of their community, I would not have had the same perspective of the linguistic situation of the island. This perspective was necessary to identify the level to which Tahitian had mixed with Old Rapa, as well as to document the specialized vocabulary that facilitated my discovery of Old Rapa's extensive lexical innovations.

Finally, this dissertation demonstrates the broad-reaching effects and importance of language documentation. Through the documentation of one language, the dissertation offers information for historical studies of Polynesian languages and research on contact languages, and provides a case study of socially motivated language change.

9.3 Limitations of the current study

There were a number of limitations in this study. The greatest of these was the difficulty of

documenting a severely endangered language. Due to the intense endangerment of Old Rapa, it was only accessible through elicitation with elders. I was able to collect some texts, but they were contrived or mixed with Reo Rapa. This element is critical to understanding why I chose to write a sketch-grammar rather than a full descriptive grammar. Without being able to observe more natural speech data, I had to rely mostly on elicited data. This limitation, however, is important to acknowledge, as it demonstrates the importance of elicitation when working with a severely endangered language that exists only as a linguistic memory and is rarely spoken naturally.

A second major limitation was the difficulty of examining a contact language that results from two very closely related languages. To do so required a general understanding not only of Old Rapa but also of Tahitian, which meant that I needed to spend a significant amount of time in both Tahiti and Rapa Iti.

A final major limitation was simply time. In this study, as the first in-depth study of language in Rapa Iti, everything was new and everything was worth investigating further. As a result, this dissertation glosses over a number of topics that merit further research.

9.4 Opportunities for continued research

The most exciting element of this dissertation is that it presents a number of new questions that could spark numerous future studies. Among the most important of these is further research on Reo Rapa. Continued research involving more participants and more work on casual language use and language choice between genders and age groups would prove very interesting and would further what I have only begun in this dissertation. Including the speech of children would undoubtedly provide interesting results as well. Furthermore, based on the mechanisms for language creation

described for New Rapa, it would be valuable to test speakers (employing a matched guise test) for the value of "localness."

From a broader perspective, this dissertation demonstrates the need for language documentation of other under-documented and endangered Eastern Polynesian languages, particularly the under-studied languages of French Polynesia (such as Mangarevan, Rurutu, Ra'ivavae, and the multiple languages of the Tuamotu islands). Without adequate documentation of all of these languages, our understanding of the prehistoric context and the relationships between the languages is limited. Conducting this study, which attempts to separate the older forms of a language from the newer forms, has allowed me to provide a historical interpretation for the Rapa language. This kind of study should be accomplished in other parts of French Polynesia in order to better understand the entire historical picture of the area, an area of study that has been somewhat neglected since the 1970s.

There is much more to study about language in Rapa Iti. I look forward to continuing what I have started in this dissertation and, I hope, to inspiring others to direct their attention and research to this incredibly complex language situation.

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APPENDIX A
Language use survey

What is your name?

What is your age?

What language(s) do you speak?

What is your mother tongue?

What language(s) do you speak at home?

Do you have children? What language(s) do you speak with your children?

What language(s) do/did you speak with your parents?

What language(s) do you speak with your grandparents?

What language(s) do you speak with your spouse/significant other?

What language(s) do you speak with your friends here in Rapa?

Where did you go to elementary, middle, and high school?

     What language(s) did you speak in the classroom?

     What language(s) did you speak with your friends (on the playground)?

Do you have a job? What language(s) do you speak at work?

Do you go to church? What language(s) do you speak during them?

What language(s) do you use for emails?

What language(s) do you use for text messaging?

What language(s) do you prefer for the radio?

What language(s) do you prefer to watch television and movies in?

APPENDIX B
Photos of Rahui distribution

APPENDIX C
Monolingual Short Book Examples

Example 1(photos): "Pōpoi"

E 'akamata te pōpoi
ki roto i te roki

A to'i i te 'uri mīkaka

A tunu i te mīkaka

A 'oni i te mīkaka

A tuki i te mīkaka ki te karā

A tukituki ki runga i te tuki'anga

A 'akama'u i te ano'i

A veinga i te pōpoi ki roto i te pēnu

A kai i te pōpoi!

Example 2 (photos): kāka'e

A ko'i i te kāka'e

A to'i i te kāka'e

A tunu i te kāka'e ki roto i te kōta'e tāporo

A taraki i te kāka'e ki runga i te pake

A panga'a i te kāka'e

E pāraku i te kāka'e ki runga i te po

A ha'une i te hū'a kāka'e

Example 3 (Rapa children's illustrations): "tōku 'are"
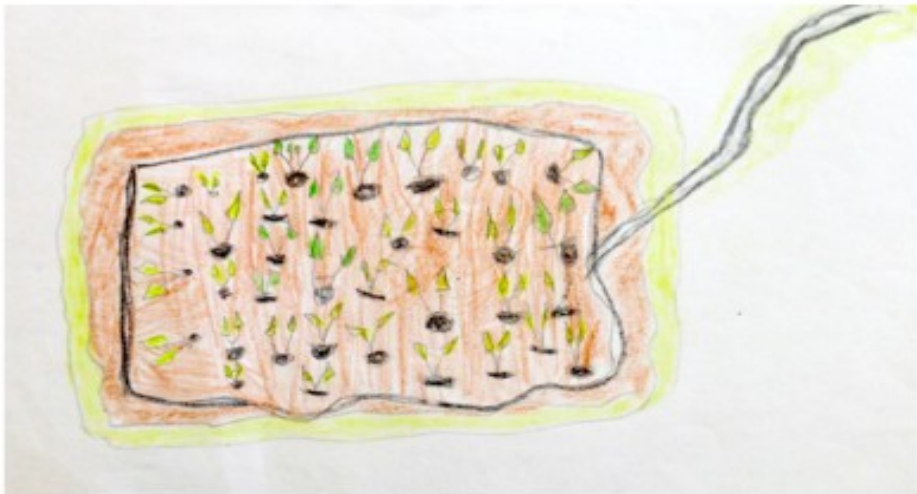
tōku 'are
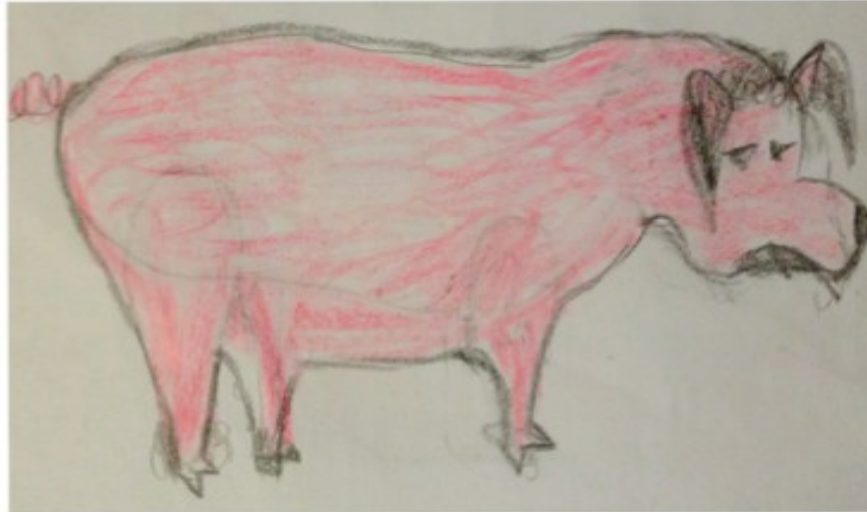

E komo ou ki runga i te komo'anga

E kaikai ou ki runga i te kai'anga

E tanu ou i te mīkaka
ki roto i te fa'a'apu

Example 4 (Rapa children's illustrations): "animara"

puaka

puaka toro

puaka ni'o

mīmī

kurī

manu

moa

"Pito"
Written by Uria Angia, 2008

(Rapanizations are emboldened)

'o'ipa   *teie*   *tupu*   **ki**   *runga* **ki**
occurence   this   develop   PREP   on   PREP
tō-ku   *nei*   *'enua*
INDEF.PossO-1S   DEIC   island
'This occurrence happened here on my island'

kua   *ngaro*   *te*   *tino*   *kota'i*   *taureka*   *e*
PFV   disappear   INDEF   body   one   youngster
'the body of a young person disappeared'

ki   *runga* **ki**   *te*   *tai*   **ki**   *raro*   **ki**   *te*   *moana*
PREP   on   PREP   INDEFsea-side   PREP   under   PREP   INDEFocean
'at the seaside, under the ocean'

auē   **hoki**   *e*
lament   return   EXP
'oh! come back'

te   **aronga**   *e*
INDEFlove   EXP
'love'

kua   *omiri*   *-'ia*   *te*   *tino*   *o*   *Pito*   *e*
PFV   swallow   PASS   INDEFbody   PossO   Pito
'The body of Pito was swallowed'

kua   *tāpuni* *-'ia*   **ki**   *te*   *ngaru*   *o*   *te*   *moana*
PFV   hide   PASS   PREP   INDEFwave   PossO   INDEFocean
'hidden in the waves of the ocean'

ki   *te*   *tai*   *tau*
PREP   INDEFsea   trap
'of the sea trap'

ki   *te*   *rara*   *tau*
PREP   INDEFDEIC   trap
'of that trap'

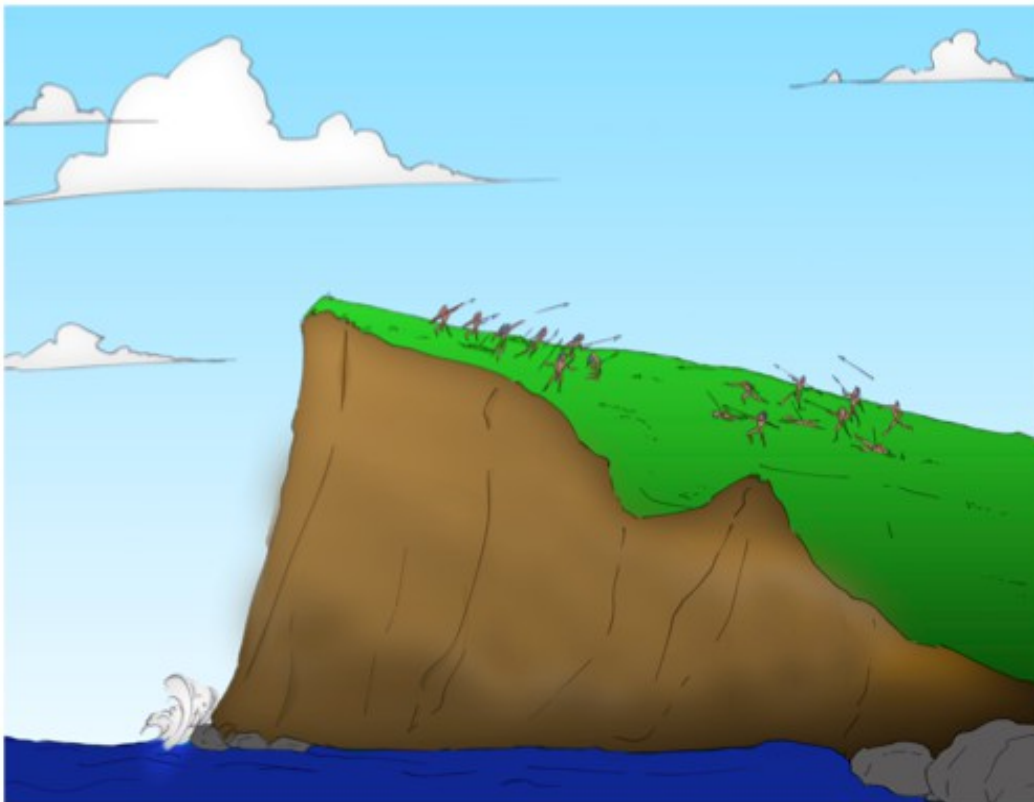*i Erepau*
PREP Erepa'u
'at Erepa'u'

ki *roto* **ki** *te* *moana*
PREP in PREP INDEF ocean
'in the ocean'

APPENDIX E
Legend Book: "Te Ngaitāpona o te 'enua Rapa"

Ngātemato

E tangata Ngātemato te nei ra.

E tāmaki na te nei te vaka ki runga i te mato.

Ngātepereteki

E tangata Ngātepereteki te nei ra.

Te vaka e tāmaki na mi te pereteki ra.

Ngāteokōpou
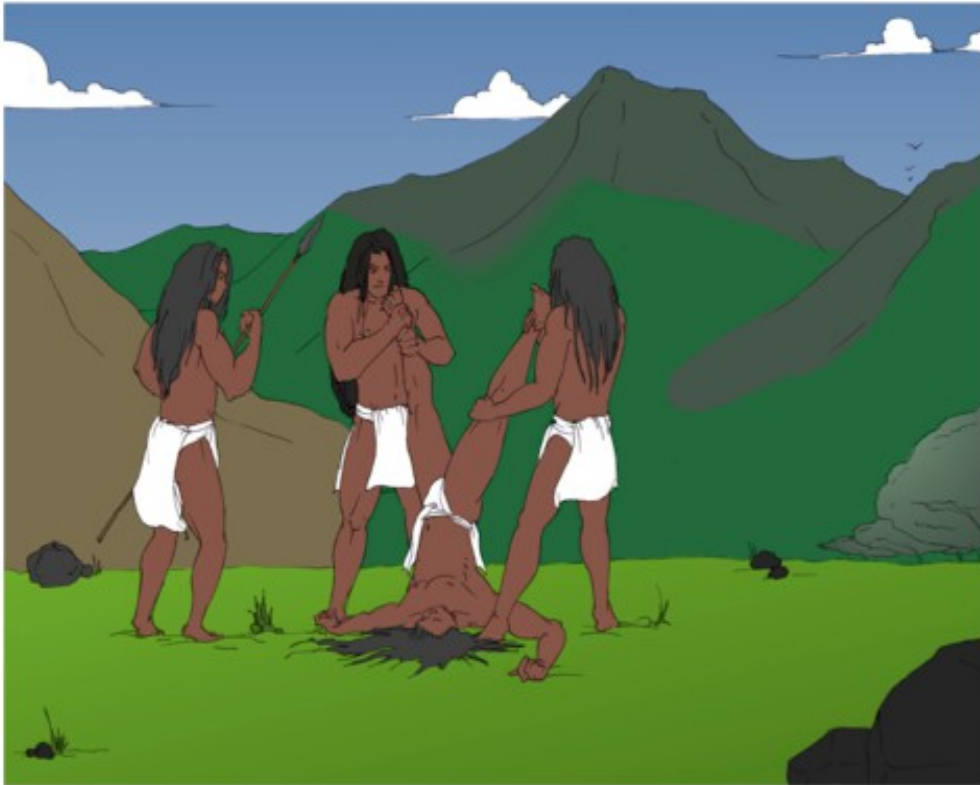
E tangata Ngāteokōpou te nei ra.

Te 'uru tāmaki'anga a te nei vaka
mē kō te tangata mi te pou ra.

Ngātekōpangaiki

E tangata Ngātekōpangaiki te nei ra.

Te 'uru tāmaki'anga a te nei vaka
mē kōpanga te tangata.

Ngātetipi

E tangata Ngātetipi te nei ra.

Te 'uru tāmaki'anga a te nei vaka
mē kō te tangata na te tipi.

Ngātekaianu

E tangata Ngātekaianu te nei ra.

Te 'uru tāmaki'anga a te nei vaka
mē kai anu te tāponapona ta'anga te kai.

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