ACTOR-EMPHATIC SENTENCES IN MĀORI

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to provide enough coverage of the basics of Māori syntax to enable the reader to understand why the actor-emphatic construction of Māori is so problematic, and to provide enough data about the construction to enable the reader to participate in the arguments about the possible derivation of the construction. It is not written within the LFG framework; the author was given the brief of providing basic data, rather than an LFG paper.

1 Basic Syntax

1.1 Phrases

The basic unit for the description of Māori syntax is the phrase. Phrases in general conform to the schema in (1):

(1)　　Phrase-type marker + lexical nucleus + (modifier(s))

Three types of phrases are important for our purposes.

1.1.1 Verb Constituents

I have deliberately not called these verb phrases, because I am not describing here the VP (or predicate) of standard linguistic theory, but just that part of the predicate which contains the lexical verb. In the verb constituent, the Phrase-type marker is a Tense-Aspect-Mood marker (TAM), and the modifiers include a large array of aspectual-type particles as well as lexical modifiers. Examples of verb constituents are given in (2), with the TAM underlined. Note the complex TAM in (2)(b), and the discontinuous TAM in (2)(c):

(2) (a)　<u>kua</u>　mate
　　　　　PERF　dead
　　　　　'has died', 'is dead'

　　(b)　<u>kei te</u>　haere　tonu
　　　　　PROG　go　　still
　　　　　'am/is/are still going'

　　(c)　<u>e</u>　　waiata　<u>ana</u>
　　　　　PROG-　sing　　-PROG
　　　　　'am/is/are/was/were singing'

1.1.2 Noun/Determiner Phrases

The Phrase-type marker for a noun phrase is a determiner which is the locus for number marking in Māori, as in (3):

(3) (a)　<u>te</u>　　tangata
　　　　　DEF SG　man
　　　　　'the man'

　　(b)　<u>ngā</u>　pukapuka　nei
　　　　　DEF PL　book　　　PROX
　　　　　'these books'

　　(c)　<u>t-a-ku</u>　waiata　hou
　　　　　SG-A-1SG　song　　new
　　　　　'my new song'

   (d) <u>-a-ku</u> waiata hou
      PL-A-1SG song new
      'my new songs'

The morph glossed A in the determiners in (c) and (d) will be explained shortly.

 Māori has a special determiner for use with personal names in certain grammatical contexts, usually called the 'personal article', with the form *a*. It appears in (19) below, for example.

1.1.3 Prepositional phrases

 The Phrase-type marker in a prepositional phrase is a preposition, and the nucleus is a noun phrase. Prepositions in Māori may be marked for tense, as in the first two examples in (4):

   (4) (a) <u>i</u>   te   Mane
       at.PAST DEF SG Monday
       'on Monday (past)'
     (b) <u>a</u>   te   Mane
       at.FUT DEF SG Monday
       'on Monday (next)'
     (c) <u>ki</u> taku whare
       to my house
       'to my house'

1.2 Basic Sentence Types

 Māori has sentences with verbs, but also sentences with non-verbal predicates, as it has no copula verb.

1.2.1 Verbal sentences

 These have the surface order VSO. The Subject of any Māori sentence is an NP with no preposition, which distinguishes it from all other nominal sentence constituents. Other NP functions are marked by prepositions, so the usual DO preposition is *i*, and the passive agent marker is *e*, as in (5):

   (5) (a) Kei te haere te   tangata ki te   one
       PROG go   DEF SG man to DEF SG beach
       'The man is going to the beach.'
     (b) Kei te whāngai te   tangata i   ngā ngeru
       PROG feed DEF SG man   ACC DEF PL cat
       'The man is feeding the cats.'
     (c) I   whāngai-a ngā ngeru e te   tangata
       PAST feed-PASS. DEF PL cat AG DEF SG man
       'The cats were fed by the man.'

It is not just by chance that the passive example (5c) is in the past tense, while the active example (5b) is in the present tense: one of the interesting facts about Māori is that completed events with directly affected patients are usually expressed using the passive (or the actor-emphatic) in Māori, so that native-speaking consultants judge it unacceptable to use the active to translate 'the man fed the cats'.

Adverbials of time, reason and sometimes place may go first, before the verb, or at the end (or both), as in (6). The unmarked position for adverbials is sentence final.

(6) (a) I   te   Mane   ka   haere ahau ki Taupō
        at.PAST DEF SG Monday REL TAM go   1SG   to Taupo
        'I went to Taupo on Monday.'

    (b) Nā te   ngāwhā ka   waikura ngā   whare
        by DEF SG sulphur REL TAM rust   DEF PL house
        'Because of the sulphur, the buildings rusted.'

    (c) Nā te   mahi rātou i   hoki   ai   ki Pōneke
        by DEF SG work 3PL   PAST return PART. to Wellington
        'They returned to Wellington because of the work.'

(6c) calls for some further comment. Notice that the Subject, *rātou*, appears between the fronted adverbial and the verb constituent. This is a very common word order in such sentences. Second, notice the particle *ai* which follows the verb *hoki*: this is introduced when an adverbial is moved in front of a verb with certain TAMs. *Ka* in (6b) does not require *ai*, but *i* in (6c) does. Lastly, by using the gloss 'by' for the preposition *nā*, I have glossed over a whole chapter in the syntax of Māori, though some of the issues will be addressed below.

1.2.2 Non-verbal Sentences

There are several sub-types of these, and some of them are more important for the concerns of this paper than others. However, all share the basic word order of Predicate – Subject.

(a) Equational sentences

These have their predicate introduced by the preposition *ko*, and equate the Subject and the predicate, as in (7):

(7) Ko te   pahi o te   kura   tēnei
    PREP DEF SG bus of DEF SG   school this
    'This is the school bus.'

(b) Classifying (or attributive) sentences

These have predicates introduced by *he* (or in future contexts, *hei*), as in (8):

(8) He tino   kino tēnei pahi
    CL very bad this   bus
    'This bus is really terrible.'

The predicate particle *he* is identical to one of the indefinite determiners of Māori, but there is room for argument about whether the particle *he* in classifying sentences is a determiner, a preposition, a TAM marker, or something else!

(c) Locational sentences

Sentences specifying the temporal or spatial location of an object are introduced by one of the tense-marked locative prepositions of Māori, as in (9).

(9) Kei   roto   ngā   tamariki i   te   whare kura
    at.PRES inside DEF PL children at.NEUT DEF SG house school
    'The children are in the school building.'

Notice the position of the Subject in (9), which has a complex predicate: it is placed after the first phrase of the predicate, in the same way that the Subject of a

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verbal sentence appears after the first phrase of the verbal predicate. The predicate illustrated in (9) is a very common type of locational phrase in Māori. *Roto* is one of a class of relational (usually called 'local') nouns which are very widely followed by prepositional phrases as here. These 'prep + local noun + prep' (e.g. 'at the inside of') combinations serve the purpose of many of the more specific locational prepositions of English, like *over, under, above,* etc. Māori makes do with a very economical array of prepositions.

(d) Specific Ownership sentences

These are very important for the exposition of the syntactic problem addressed in this paper, and they are accordingly treated in a little more detail.

Māori differentiates between ownership and temporary possession (which is expressed as location), and within the field of ownership, between the ownership of a specific object (e.g. *This book is John's, John owns this book*) and ownership of a non-specific object (e.g. *John has a book*).

Specific ownership sentences are introduced by one of the four prepositions *mā, nā, mō, nō*. These are all morphologically complex. The *n-* morph encodes actual ownership, while the *m-* encodes future/intended/irrealis ownership.

The *–ā* and *–ō* morphs encode a distinction between two different modes of ownership, somewhat akin to the alienable/inalienable distinction found elsewhere in the Pacific. *A*-possessives are used for the relationship where the possessor is dominant in relation to the possessum, and *O*-possessives are the 'elsewhere' form. Thus there are *A*-relationships with portable property and with actions over which one has control. There is much more to be said about this distinction, but that will suffice for now.

Specific ownership sentences are illustrated in (10):

(10)(a) N-ā te kaiako tēnei pukapuka
ACTUAL-A.POSS DEF SG teacher this book
'This book belongs to the teacher.'

(b) M-ā Pani ēnei pukapuka
IRR-A.POSS Pani these book
'These books are for Pani.'

(c) Mō Pani tēnei hōiho
IRR-O.POSS Pani this horse
'This horse is for Pani.'

While it is possible to interpret the *n-* vs. *m-* distinction as one of tense, my glosses deliberately imply something different. The reason for this will become clear later.

2 Actor-Emphatic Sentences

2.1 Basic Characteristics of Actor-Emphatic Sentences

Māori has another sentence type, usually called the actor-emphatic or the agent-emphatic. The basic construction of these sentences is illustrated in (11):

(11)(a) N-ā te kaiako ia i whaka-oho
ACTUAL-A.POSS DEF SG teacher 3 SG PAST CAUSE-wake
'**The teacher** woke him/her up.'

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(b) M-ā　　　Rewi　e　　　　tuhituhi he　　reta　ki
IRR-A.POSS Rewi NONPAST write INDEF letter to

te　　　Pirimia
DEF SG Prime Minister

'**Rewi** will write a letter to the Prime Minister.'

First, I will draw attention to the surface characteristics of this construction:

♦　　The actor/agent is marked by a possessive preposition. *Nā* is used in past-time contexts (as in (11a)) and *mā* in future-time contexts (as in (11b)). There is no present-tense actor-emphatic.

♦　　The actor/agent phrase is in initial position.

♦　　The TAM is always *i* 'past' after *nā* and always *e* 'non-past' after *mā.*

♦　　The verb is almost exclusively transitive, although there are a few intransitive or semi-transitive examples. The intransitive examples are probably only apparent exceptions, accounted for by the treatment of certain locatives with certain verbs as DOs. The semi-transitive examples usually involve cognate object verbs, and again are only apparent exceptions.

♦　　The verb is active in form, never passive.

♦　　The patient is expressed as a simple NP.

♦　　The patient may follow the verb as in (11b), or occur after the possessive phrase and before the verb, as in (11a). The latter order is obligatory if the patient is a personal pronoun, and normal for a short NP.

This construction emphasises the actor/agent, which I have shown by the boldface in the translations – hence the name of the construction. It is often most appropriately translated by English cleft constructions: "It was the teacher who woke her" for (11a).

2.2 The Use of the Actor-Emphatic

In the text that follows, the actor-emphatic sentences/clauses are in bold. (The entire text is not glossed, out of consideration for space, but the translation will serve to give a good idea of the sort of context which calls for the actor-emphatic.)

Ko Māui tētahi o ngā tīpuna Māori rongonui. He maha ngā mahi whakamīharo i mahia e ia. **Nāna i here te rā kia āta haere ai. Nāna anō hoki i hī te ika e kīa nei ko Te Ika a Māui.** Ko te ahi i riro mai i a ia i tōna tipuna i a Mahuika.
Nā, ko te Māui nei te tamaiti whakamutunga a Makea-tūtara rāua ko tōna hoa wahine ko Taranga. Tokorima ōna tuākana, ā, kotahi o rātou he wahine. Ka puta a Māui ki waho, kāore tōna whaea i pīrangi ki a ia. Kātahi ka whiua e ia tāna mōkai ki te moana. Kāti, **nā ngā ngaru o te moana ia i whakahoki mai ki uta.** I a ia e takoto ana, ka kitea ia e tōna tipuna, e Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi, ka haria e ia ki tōna whare. **Nāna i whakatipu te tamaiti nei, ā, nāna hoki i ako ki te waiata, ki te haka, ki te whakapapa.**
(Source: Waititi, 1969, 188)

Translation:

Maui is one of the famous Maori ancestors. He did many wonderful things. (More lit.: Very many are the wonderful deeds which were done by him.) *He* **tied up the sun so that it would go slowly. It was also** *him* **who fished up the fish which is now called Maui's fish.** Fire was fetched by him from his ancestor, Mahuika.

Now, this Maui was the youngest child of Makea-tutara and his wife Taranga. They had five children, and one of them was a female. When Maui arrived in this world, his mother didn't want him. Then her youngest was thrown by her into the sea. **However,** *the waves of the sea* **returned him to shore.** While he was lying there, he was found by his grandfather, Tama-nui-ki-te-rangi, and was carried by him to his house. **It was** *he* **who brought up this child, and** *he* **who taught him to sing, do the haka, and recite genealogies.**

Whenever the actor-emphatic is used, the emphasis is clearly on the actor, and the construction implies intentional involvement on the part of the actor. This is the significance of using the actor-emphatic for 'The waves of the sea returned him to shore' – this did not happen just by accident, but was a deliberate intervention by the sea. The last sentence of paragraph 1 is also instructive: the verb *riro* is not a transitive verb, but a neuter verb (a type of intransitive), and so the actor-emphatic construction was not an option for that sentence.

The actor-emphatic is the normal construction for questioning the Subject of transitive verbs, which reflects this emphasis on the actor, as in (12):

(12) N-ā   wai   tērā i   kī?
      ACTUAL-A.POSS who   that past say
      'Who said that?'

The future A-E can also be used with the force of a command, because it focuses on the actor, e.g. (13):

(13) M-ā-u   e   horoi ngā   rīhi!
      IRR-A.POSS-2SG NONPAST   wash   DEF PL dishes
      '**You** are to wash the dishes.'

These uses are clearly related to the semantic characteristics of the construction.

However, it is also used to enable the patient NP to occur in certain constructions it would otherwise be excluded from, and in these contexts the actor is often not in focus. This is particularly true in relative clauses like that in (14). (The relative clause is underlined.)

(14) Ko ēnei ngā   pukapuka <u>n-ā-ku   i   tuhituhi</u>
      EQ these DEF PL book   ACTUAL-A.POSS-1SG   PAST write
      'These are the books I wrote.'

The matrix sentence here is an equative sentence, *Ko ēnei ngā pukapuka* 'These are the books'. The relative clause is related to the actor-emphatic sentence in (14a):

(14a) N-ā-ku   i   tuhituhi ngā   pukapuka
       ACTUAL-A.POSS-1SG PAST   write   DEF PL   book
       'I wrote the books.'

The process of relative-clause formation illustrated here is the one which is normal for Subject relativisation in Māori, and involves simply the deletion of the Subject, with no marking of the consequent gap.

Here, the attention is on the books, rather than on the writer of them, and it is the grammatical relations in the actor-emphatic construction which are responsible for its use here, rather than its semantics.

In order to consider what those grammatical relations are, there are a number of other facts about the actor-emphatic that must be considered.

2.3 Grammatical Relations in the Actor-Emphatic

Three different analyses have been suggested for the actor-emphatic, each specifying different grammatical relations between the constituents. One analysis holds that the grammatical relations are essentially the same as in a standard transitive sentence: actor-emphatic sentences are simple sentences (i.e. they consist of just one clause), the actor is the Subject, and the patient is the DO; the Subject-actor is fronted for emphasis. Both the alternative analyses hold that actor-emphatic sentences are bi-clausal. The second analysis holds that the patient is the Subject of the actor-emphatic, and that the actor is part of a complex predicate which includes the verb constituent. The third analysis holds that the actor is the predicate in a specific ownership sentence, and the Subject of that sentence is a subordinate clause, with the patient NP as the Subject of that subordinate clause.

We will now consider some of the evidence which might support these positions.

2.3.1 Evidence that the patient NP is a Subject in the Actor-Emphatic

(a) The form of the patient NP

The patient NP has the form of a Subject: it is an NP with no preposition. The only other NPs in Māori which are not introduced by prepositions are sentential constructions or de-sentential constructions (e.g. indirect speech functioning as a DO).

(b) The distribution of the determiner *he*

The patient NP may be a *he*-phrase as in (15a):

   (15a)   N-ā   Rewi **he**   pukapuka i   hari
          ACTUAL-A.POSS Rewi INDEF book   PAST carry
          'Rewi carried a book.'

He-phrases are very strongly restricted in their distribution in Māori, a topic which has been well explored in Chung et al, 1995. *He*-phrases cannot occur in the DOs of canonical transitive verbs as in (15b), because *he* cannot follow a preposition in Māori. They do not normally occur in the Subjects of transitive verbs, either, so (15c) is also ungrammatical, though they are common in the Subjects of most intransitives, including passives e.g. (15d) and state intransitive verbs e.g. (15e), and they also occur in the Subjects of some non-verbal sentences e.g. (15f). (15f) is locational, and has the *he*-phrase topicalised, a process which consists of putting it first, before the predicate. (Definite NPs when topicalised are preceded by the preposition *ko*.) Topicalisation in Māori is normal to mark a change of topic, and because indefinites often introduce new topics, they are frequently topicalised:

(15)(b) *Kei te tuhituhi te   tangata i   **he**   pukapuka
        PROG write   DEF SG man   ACC INDEF book
        ('The man is writing a book.')

    (c) *I te   horoi **he**   tangata i   te   whare
        PASTPROG clean INDEF man   ACC DEF SG house
        ('A man was cleaning the house.')

    (d) Ka   kite-a   e   ia   **he**   pounamu i Arahura
        REL TAM see-PASS. AG 3 SG INDEF greenstone at Arahura
        'Greenstone was found by him at Arahura.'

    (e) E   tangi **he**   pū   i   ngā   pō   katoa
        HABIT sound INDEF flute at DEF PL night all
        'A flute played every night.'

    (f) **He**   rua   i   raro
        INDEF hole at. PAST below
        'Below [it] was a cavern.'

(c) Topicalisation

The patient NP may be topicalised by being fronted with *ko*, e.g. (16c), though this is rather rare, as it is marked to topicalise the patient and emphasize the actor at the same time. The most basic version is given first as (16a), with the alternative, and more natural word-order in (16b):

    (16)(a) N-ā   Koro i   tarai   te   waka
            ACTUAL-A.POSS Koro PAST shape   DEF SG canoe
            '**Koro** shaped the canoe.'

        (b) N-ā   Koro te   waka i   tarai
            ACTUAL-A.POSS Koro DEF SG canoe PAST shape
            '**Koro** shaped the canoe.'

        (c) Ko   te   waka n-ā   Koro i   tarai
            TOP DEF SG canoe ACTUAL-A.POSS Koro PAST shape
            'The canoe, **Koro** shaped.'

This topicalisation process applies almost exclusively to Subjects in Māori. It applies to all Subjects of both verbal and non-verbal sentences (as in (16d), which is transitive), but not to DOs, so (16e) is ungrammatical. The untopicalised version of (16d) and (16e) is given as (16f) for comparison.

    (16)(d) Ko   Rewi kei te waha   i   te   pēke kina
            TOP Rewi PROG carry on back ACCDEF SG bag   sea-egg
            'Rewi is carrying the bag of sea-eggs on his back.'

    (16)(e) *Ko   te   pēke kina   kei te waha   a   Rewi
            TOP DEF SG bag sea-egg PROG carry on back PERS ART Rewi
            ('The bag of sea-eggs, Rewi is carrying on his back.')

    (16)(f) Kei te waha   a   Rewi i   te   pēke kina
            PROG carry on back PERS ART Rewi ACC DEF SG bag   sea-egg
            'Rewi is carrying the bag of sea-eggs on his back.'

The Subjects of subordinate clauses cannot in general be made the topics of the matrix sentence, though they are occasionally topicalised within the subordinate clause. This is an argument against the position that the patient NP is the Subject of a subordinate clause in the actor-emphatic, although the

objection may be countered by arguing that the most natural word-order (as in (16b)) involves raising the patient NP out of the subordinate clause into Subject position in the matrix clause, when it would then be eligible for topicalisation in the matrix sentence.

(d) Relativisation strategy

The strategy used to relativise on the patient NP of the actor-emphatic is the strategy used for Subjects, i.e. simple deletion. The construction has already been illustrated in (14). This strategy is ungrammatical for relativising on the DOs of canonical transitive verbs.

(e) Use of the actor-emphatic for relativisation of DOs

The DO of canonical transitive verbs in older Māori could not be relativised on directly (though many younger speakers today extend the strategy for oblique NPs to DOs). The two most common ways to relativise on the patient NP (i.e. the NP which occurs in the DO of an active transitive sentence) are through promotion of the patient to be the Subject of a passive verb, and by use of the actor-emphatic. The most obvious explanation of why the actor-emphatic construction can be used to relativise on patients is that in this construction, the patient is a Subject.

2.3.2 Evidence that the agent phrase is a predicate in the Actor-Emphatic

(a) Negation

Hohepa has argued convincingly that negatives in Māori are constructed with a higher negative verb (Hohepa, 1969). There are three main negative verbs, *kore*, *hore* and *hara*. The first gives emphatic negatives, and we will ignore it here. The other two are each associated with one TAM only, and the TAM + negative verb is normally written as one word, giving the more familiar forms *kāhore* (or *kāore*) and *ēhara*. The positive proposition to be negated is the Subject of these negative verbs. As in other subordinate clauses in Māori, only a sub-set of the TAMs can appear in these Subject clauses: *i, e, e…ana, i te* and *kia*. The Subject of the subordinate clause usually appears immediately following the negative verb. The usual explanation is that it is raised out of the subordinate clause, and is the surface Subject of the negative verb. (While there are occasional textual examples without Subject raising, it is clearly the norm.) To illustrate, consider (17), which is the negative of (5a), repeated here for convenience:

(17) Kāhore   te   tangata i te   haere   ki te   one
     NEG   DEF SG man   PROG go   to DEF SG beach
     'The man is not going to the beach.'

(5) (a) Kei te   haere   te   tangata ki te   one
        PROG   go   DEF SG man   to DEF SG   beach
        'The man is going to the beach.'

(Note the change of TAM in the subordinate clause from *kei te* to *i te*, and the raising of *te tangata* (which can now be topicalised with *ko*)).

The negator *kāhore* is used for all verbal sentences, and for non-verbal locational sentences. It will be recalled that the latter have tense-marked prepositions, and it seems likely that the proper generalization is that *kāhore* negates all tense-marked sentences.

The negator *ēhara* is used for most non-verbal sentences, notably equational and classifying ones. However, *ēhara* negatives involve further changes to the positive sentence. Consider (18), which is the negative of the equational (7):

(18) Ēhara tēnei i te pahi o te kura
     NEG this PREP DEF SG bus of DEF SG school
     'This is not the school bus.'

(7) Ko te pahi o te kura tēnei
    PREP DEF SG bus of DEF SG school this
    'This is the school bus.'

The equational predicate preposition *ko* is replaced by the particle *i*. Just which of the several homophonous *i*'s of Māori this *i* is, is open to question, but my best guess is that it is the neutral locative preposition. (18) also has the Subject in second position (i.e. raised to be the Subject of the negative verb), which is normal for Subjects in these negatives.

It is *ēhara* which negates the actor-emphatic, as in the following, where (19a) is the positive (without Subject raising), and (19b) the negative (with an abbreviated positive tacked on):

(19)(a) N-ā Mere i whaka-pai te tēpu
        ACTUAL-A.POSS Mere PAST CAUSE-good DEF SG table
        'It was Mere who set the table.'

(b) Ēhara n-ā Mere i whaka-pai
    NEG ACTUAL-A.POSS Mere PAST CAUSE-good
    te tēpu, n-ā Marama kē
    DEF SG table ACTUAL-A.POSS Marama CONTR
    'It wasn't Mere who set the table, it was Marama.'

Notice that this simply embeds the positive actor-emphatic under the negative. This is always the way these negatives are constructed in the future A-E, but some older speakers prefer to use a construction like (18) for the past A-E, as in (19c):

(19)(c) Ēhara i a Mere i whaka-pai te tēpu
        NEG PREP PERS ART Mere PAST CAUSE-good DEF SG table
        'It wasn't Mere who set the table.'

There are some alternative word-orders for (19)(b): the patient NP (*te tēpu*) can appear between the possessive phrase and the verb: *Ēhara nā Mere te tēpu i whakapai*, or it can appear immediately following the negative: *Ēhara te tēpu nā Mere i whakapai*. Alternative word-orders for (19)(c) are much less well liked, though I suspect that the parallel possibilities would be accepted in appropriate contexts.

If the principle given above governing the choice of negator is correct, this suggests that the predicate in the actor-emphatic is non-verbal. However, it depends on the analysis of the distinction between the *n-* and *m-* morphs of the possessive prepositions (*nā, mā*) as not being a tense distinction. It is difficult to find good evidence for or against this. It is also possible that the generalization about the distribution of the two negators is not correct. (Waite (1990, 404) takes this view, but does not provide any alternative generalization.)

(b) Relativisation of the actor NP

The actor NP can be relativised on. However, this requires the use of a pronoun in the relative clause in place of the relativised NP. To understand the significance of this, it is necessary to know a little more about relativisation strategies in Māori. Māori uses the pronoun strategy for relativisation in the following cases:

    (1) It **must** be used for relativising on the predicate of locational sentences (the only other type of predicate NP that can be relativised on)

    (2) It **can** be used for (animate) non-predicate oblique NPs, but is not the only possibility (nor even the most common possibility) for those.

Sometimes a deictic particle *(nei, nā, rā)* is used as well as the pronoun in the actor-emphatic. If so, the deictic follows the pronominalised agent NP; in the locational constructions where the predicate is not in doubt, it follows the predicate. If the actor NP is the predicate of the actor-emphatic, one rule will account for the relativisation of both types of sentence.

The normal oblique strategy involves the use of a post-**verbal** particle, which may be *ai* or a deictic. This strategy is not available for non-verbal predicates. While it is clear that *ai*, which can only occur in verb constituents, could not be used to relativise on a non-verbal sentence, that alone cannot account for the ungrammaticality of this strategy for non-verbal predicates, since the deictic particles which are an alternative to *ai* can appear in nominal constituents.

These points are illustrated by the following examples. In all examples, the matrix sentence is an equational sentence.

(20a) shows a relative clause (underlined) on an actor-emphatic actor NP. The unembedded sentence corresponding to the relative clause is given in (20b). The actor (*te tangata*) is replaced by the clitic personal pronoun *–na*, and the deictic particle *nei* is optionally added. (There is no significance to the fact that a special clitic pronoun form is used here – the independent singular personal pronouns cannot be used after possessive prepositions.)

    (20)(a) Ko tēnei te   tangata <u>n-ā-**na**</u>   (**nei**)
            EQ this   DEF SG man   ACTUAL-A.POSS-3SG PROX
            <u>i</u>   <u>tuhituhi</u> <u>te</u>   <u>pukapuka</u> <u>rā</u>
            PAST write   DEF SG book   DIST
            'This is the man who wrote that book.'

        (b) N-ā   te   tangata i   tuhituhi te
            ACTUAL-A.POSS DEF SG man   PAST write   DEF SG
            pukapuka rā
            book   DIST
            'The man wrote that book.'

(21a) is a relative clause on a locational predicate, and (21b) the corresponding unembedded sentence.

    (21)(a) Ko   tēnei te   whare <u>kei</u>   **<u>reira</u>** <u>taku</u> <u>whaea</u>
            EQ   this   DEF SG house at.PRES there my   mother
            'This is the house where my mother is.'

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(b) Kei   te   whare taku whaea
    at.PRES DEF SG house my   mother
    'My mother is at the house.'

The locative pronoun *reira* replaces the locational NP *te whare*. I have no examples of deictic particles following the locational pronoun.

(22a) shows the *ai* strategy for an oblique locative phrase, with the corresponding unembedded sentence in (22b).

(22)(a) Ko tēnei te   whare <u>i   moe **ai**   taku whaea</u>
        EQ this   DEF SG house PAST sleep PART. my   mother
        'This is the house where my mother slept,'

(b) I   moe   taku whaea i   roto   i   te   whare
    PAST sleep   my   mother at   inside at   DEF SG house
    'My mother slept in this house.'

In (22a) the entire locational prepositional phrase *i roto i te whare* is deleted (notice that the preposition is not deleted in (20) and (21)), and *ai* is placed following the verb, i.e. not in the position occupied by the oblique phrase.

While it is possible to use the pronoun strategy for an oblique phrase if its head is a human N, it is by no means the normal strategy in such cases.

The fact that the actor phrase of the actor-emphatic uses the pronoun strategy exclusively argues that it is not oblique, and not a Subject, and is compatible with it being a predicate.

(c) Emphatic stress

The actor NP in the actor-emphatic normally has emphatic stress. I have argued elsewhere that this is usually restricted to predicates in Māori (Bauer, 1991). (Other emphatic constructions in Māori encode the emphasized constituent as the predicate.) If my observation about emphatic stress is correct, this is a strong argument for the actor NP being the predicate in the actor-emphatic.

(d) Fronted adverbials

When certain types of adverbials are fronted in Māori, the particle *ai* is usually required after the verb. However, *ai* occurs only with verbs (i.e. not with nominal predicates), and so is not used if the main predicate is non-verbal. When such an adverbial occurs before an actor-emphatic sentence, no *ai* appears. That is an argument that the actor-emphatic involves a non-verbal predicate. (23a) shows an *ai*-introducing adverbial before an actor-emphatic sentence. (23b) shows it before a standard verbal sentence, and the expected *ai* appears after the verb. (23c) shows it before a locational predicate (a non-verbal sentence type) – with no *ai*.

(23)(a) Kia   tae   mai   ia,   m-ā-ku   e
        SUBJ   arrive   hither 3SG   IRR-A.POSS-1SG NONPAST
        whaka-atu (***ai)** te   reta   ki a   ia
        CAUSE-away PART. DEF SG letter to   PERS ART 3SG
        'When she arrives, **I** will show her the letter.'

(b) Kia   tae   mai   ia   ka   whaka-atu
    SUBJ   arrive   hither   3SG   NONPAST   CAUSE-away
    ai   ahau   i   te   reta   ki   a   ia
    PART.   ISG   ACC   DEF SG   letter   to   PERS ART   3SG
    'When she arrives, I will show her the letter.'

(c) Kia   tae   mai   ia   hei   te   marae
    SUBJ   arrive   hither   3SG   at.FUT   DEF SG   marae
    (*ai)   ahau
    PART.   DEF SG
    'When she arrives, I will be at the marae.'

Thus the actor-emphatic behaves like sentences with non-verbal predicates rather than sentences with verbal predicates.

2.3.3 Evidence that the actor-emphatic involves a subordinate clause

The evidence for this is not very strong, and this is part of the problem.

(a) TAMs

The TAMs of Māori fall into two groups – those that can be used readily in subordinate clauses (those are the ones that appear in negative sentences), and those that are extremely restricted in subordinate clauses: *ka, kua, kei te*. In Modern Māori, *e* is used primarily (but not exclusively) in subordinate clauses. *I* is common in both matrix and subordinate clauses. The TAMs in the actor-emphatic are are thus compatible with the subordinate clause analysis, but do not exclude the single-clause analysis.

(b) Parallels with the negative

The parallels between the negative construction and the actor-emphatic construction suggest that a parallel analysis would be nice. In particular, the normality of Subject raising makes a subordinate clause analysis plausible. However, this word-order might also be accounted for by the normal rule which places the Subject in second position in Māori.

3 Recapitulation

Here are the three analyses that have been proposed.
1. The agent NP is a non-verbal predicate, the rest a (mutilated) Subject clause, as in Fig 1. This type of analysis is espoused by Chung (1978, 175ff), and Bauer (1997, 501ff).
2. The TAM+V is the predicate; the sentence is verbal; the agent is oblique; see Fig 2. This analysis is espoused by Waite (1990).
3. The actor-NP + TAM + V is predicate, the patient is Subject, as in Fig 3. This analysis is espoused by Clark (1976, 111ff) and Harlow (1986).

Figure 1: The possessive predicate with subordinate clause as Subject analysis

```
                          S
                   ┌──────┴──────┐
                 Pred          Subj
                   │             │
              Nā te kaiako       S
                           ┌─────┴─────┐
                         Pred        Subj
                           │           │
                      i whakaoho       ia
```
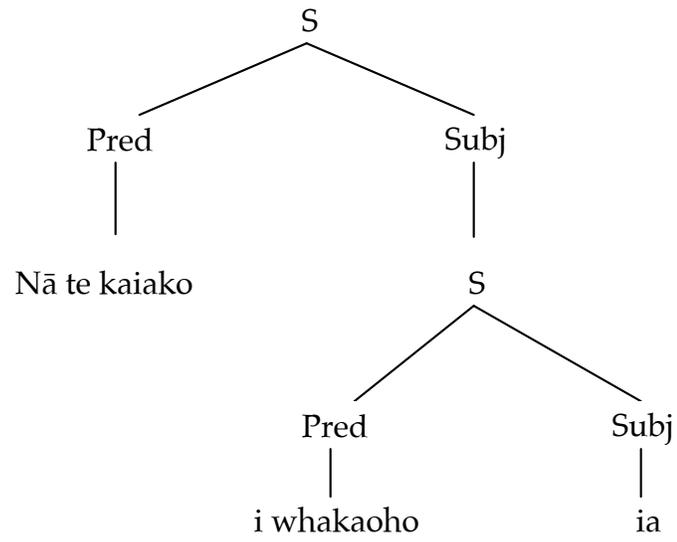
Figure 2: The single-clause analysis

```
                    S
            ┌───────┼───────┐
          Ag Phr    V      Subj
            │       │       │
       Nā te kaiako i whakaoho  ia
```
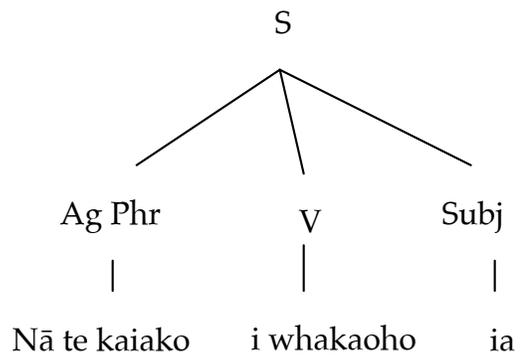
Figure 3: The complex predicate analysis

```
                          S
              ┌───────────┴───────────┐
            Pred                      Subj
              │                        │
             Gen                       │
         ┌────┴────┐                   │
       Pred      Rel cl?               │
         │         │                   │
    Nā te kaiako  i whakaoho          ia
```
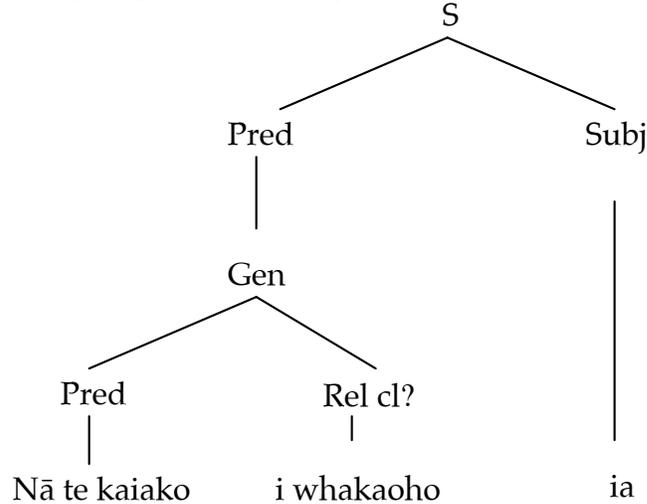
3.1 The problems with these analyses

If the actor (possessive) NP is the predicate, and the tensed verb + patient NP is an embedded sentence (analysis 1), then there is no particularly well-motivated explanation for the fact that the patient NP is not an accusative-marked phrase (marked with the preposition *i*). (Alternatively, there is no motivation for the fact that the verb is not passive, which would take a patient as Subject.) One possible explanation might lie in the ergative structures of Proto Polynesian: perhaps this is some remnant of the former ergative syntax still found in Western Polynesian languages like Samoan. Alternatively, perhaps the rule for assigning case in Māori simply says 'If the clause has just one NP, make it a plain NP'. The fact that the patient NP in the actor-emphatic can have the indefinite determiner *he* argues that the verb is intransitive. Unfortunately, there is nothing to suggest that this rule operates elsewhere in Māori. This analysis has to involve Subject raising (of the patient NP) to account for topicalisation with *ko*, which could not otherwise be topicalised from within a subordinate clause.

The problem about the form of the patient NP is best explained by the third analysis in which the complex of agent-NP + TAM + V is the predicate, because in that analysis, the patient NP is the Subject, and thus its form is the regular and expected one. However, neither proponent of this analysis has put forward a plausible analysis of their proposed predicate.

The simple-sentence analysis also faces the problem of the form of the verb/ patient NP: if the actor-phrase is an oblique phrase, then it might be expected that the changed status of the NPs would be marked by some change in the verb, as it is in the Māori passive. The evidence adduced that the possessive NP is a predicate is counter-evidence to this analysis.

Thus none of these analyses offers an entirely satisfactory analysis of this construction.

4 Postscript

In addition to the clear-cut actor-emphatic sentences illustrated above, there is a large range of sentences which seem to form a continuum between the actor-emphatic and sentences like (6b) and (6c). This data is illustrated at length in Bauer (1997, 507ff). Here I will merely raise the possibility that (6b) might simply involve the fronting of an adverbial, while (6c) might involve the embedding of a clause as the Subject of a possessive predicate, in a manner akin to the first analysis of the actor-emphatic. Tantalised? That was the purpose of my paper.

Abbreviations

A	A-category possessive
ACC	accusative preposition (DO preposition)
A-E	actor-emphatic
AG	agent preposition (in passive)
CL	classifying predicate marker; clause
CONTR	particle marking information contrary to expectations
DEF	definite
DIST	distant
DO	direct object
EQ	equational predicate preposition
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
HABIT	habitual
INDEF	indefinite
IRR	irrealis
NEG	negative verb
NEUT	neutral
NP	noun phrase
O	O-category possessive
PART.	particle
PASS.	passive suffix
PERF	perfect
PERS ART	personal article
PHR	phrase
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRED	predicate
PREP	preposition
PRES	present
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximate
REL	relative (clause, tense marker)
S	sentence
SG	singular

SUBJ	subjunctive; subject (in tree diagrams)
TAM	tense, aspect, mood marker
TOP	topicalising preposition
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
VSO	verb-subject-object constituent order
X- … -X	discontinuous X
1,2,3	first, second, third person

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