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

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

LINGUISTICS

MAY 2015

By

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Keywords: Rapa Iti, Polynesia, language change
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.

So many people all over the world have made this undertaking possible. Among them are the following who I wish to acknowledge directly. This journey has been as much theirs as it has been mine:

Above anyone else, my grandfather, Ray, who motivated me to pursue graduate school and made it possible for me to do so, even if he left this world before I began my first course in linguistics. He is always with me.

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

My parents, who have always supported my choices and my dreams.

Annie, James, Dan, and Amy (and maybe soon Kelly?), my brothers and sisters, who are my greatest support network even from a very long-distance.

Matthew, for being a part of my Rapa experience, and for seeing Rapa with the same love and awe that I do.

Tiffany Laitame, for trusting me and being my friend from the day we met. Thank you for making me a part of your family. You are my soul sister.

Angel and Gerard Laitame - Thank you for inviting me in as a member of your own family and for giving me a true home in Tahiti. I cannot wait to be back there in Paea soon.

Puatea, Angelo, and Mataiva – Thank you for taking a chance on me so many years ago on my first visit to Tahiti. My life would be so different and so much less bright without you three. Thank you for always being there for me.
Ma chere copine Teuira Vahine - Thank you for taking me under your wing. For sharing your stories and your life with me. For your nutella crepes, ukulele lessons, and our countless walks to the far corners of the island.

“Mon prof” Te'a Tamata- Thank you for our Sunday morning lessons, for grasping the complexity of my work and always being patient with any question I had. For hours and hours of discussion at your kitchen table sharing your past and your stories, for always being available, and for being tōku karakua e tōku ‘orometua.

Dr. Jack Ward (Tihati) - Thank you for the semesters of pouring over the little bit of Rapa data I had, for your direction, for your support both in Hawaii and Tahiti, and above anything else, for your friendship. You are not only my mentor, but my dear friend.

Mireille and Teraura Oitokaia - Tongia for welcoming me into your home so many times and for introducing me to Rapa life. Thank you Melanie, Barbara and Pura, for treating me like a sister.

Hiroko Sato - Thank you for always being there to listen and offer advice about fieldwork, linguistics, and life.

James Grama – Thanks for being there through the whole process, from Unit Mastery to writing our dissertations. I appreciate our friendship so very much and am so proud of how far we have come. Thank you for building my confidence when I felt unintelligent, for encouraging me when I stressed, and for reminding me to relax.

Yuko, Dr. Otsuka, I cannot thank you enough for your guidance and support over the past years, and especially over the last few months. I really could not have done this without you. Thank you for pushing me and for being patient with me. Above all, thank you for encouraging me and for doing everything you could to help me succeed.

To my committee members who have taken so much of their time to educate me and to make me a better linguist and researcher: Dr. Blust, Dr. Rehg, Dr. Drager, and Dr. Hunt.

To Jen and Nora for always having the answers, and for always being willing to help. And for putting up with my never-ending mail!

And for the following people, who have helped and supported me in a variety of ways over the past few years:
Ma'urei Angia
Tākura Angia
Ta'i and Clara
M. le Maire, Tua Nāri'i
Mahao, Jeanne, Maiva, Mite
Jackie and Tihoni
Lionel Watanabe
Roti Make
Roti Oitokaia
Dr. Gaby Cablitz
Dr. Nick Thieberger
President Eric Conte (UPF)
Dr. Jacques Vernaudon
Dr. Bruno Saura
Dr. Elahe Mir-Djalali
Pam and Pierre Omidyar
Valerie and Herve
J. Tongariki
Marianne Flores
Laurie Durand

This project was funded by: the Bilinski Fellowship in Linguistics, the Chateaubriand Fellowship in the Humanities, the Jack Ward Graduate Scholarship, and the University of Hawai‘i Arts and Sciences Scholarship
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, syntactical, 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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<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1DuExcl</td>
<td>first person dual exclusive</td>
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<tr>
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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
SUB  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

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, syntactical, 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 syntactical 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
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:

- Mera Nari'i (MN) male 83*
- Lionel Watanabe (LW) male 80
- Teuira Vahine (TV) female 70
- Te'a Tamata (TT) male 68
- Terato'a Make (TM) female 60
- Mony Avauru (MAv) male 58*
- Jeanne Maihuri (JM) female 54
- Takura Angia (TA) female 50
- Ma'urei Angia (MA) male 47
- Maiva Makemo (MM) female 24

The elders of this group were critical in the data collection of Old Rapa. Takura and Ma'urei Angia are a brother and sister known for preserving Old Rapa, and they represent the very rare younger speakers of Old Rapa. Jeanne Maihuri and Terato'a Make were critical to my understanding of Reo Rapa, as they do not speak Old Rapa. Maiva Makemo represents the youngest generation of adult speakers and was consulted on New Rapa. Main consultants are identified in the dissertation by their initials.

The group of thirty-six individuals included six members of each generational 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 types and provided the bulk of my comparison data for

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2 Both Mera and Mony have died since I last was in Rapa in April 2014.
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.

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).\textsuperscript{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 relative to the rest of French Polynesia. Figure 2.2 then shows the island in isolation.

\textsuperscript{3} The 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. Based on my observations, there are not more than about three hundred people permanently living on 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. 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,” 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, 

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 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
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. 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 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 payed 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
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 complexioned 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

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. 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 types in Rapa Iti

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Speech Types</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Speaker Base(^{10})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Rapa</td>
<td>The indigenous language of Rapa Iti</td>
<td>Some elders and very few mid-generation speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reo Rapa</td>
<td>A mixed language(^{11}) based on Tahitian and Old Rapa. Tahitian is the dominant source language.</td>
<td>Almost everyone except for children and some younger generation adults (late teens, very early 20s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Rapa</td>
<td>A variation of Reo Rapa that “rapanizes” Tahitian components and includes newly coined terminology that attempts to sound “more Rapa”</td>
<td>Mid generations and younger generations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahitian</td>
<td>Tahitian language</td>
<td>Mid generations and elders in certain domains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>French language</td>
<td>Almost everyone except for the oldest generations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 generation. 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-dominant mixed language that is widely used today. More recently, a variant of Reo Rapa, New

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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.

11 I used the term “mixed language” somewhat loosely. Reo Rapa can be defined as a mixed language only in a very basic sense (it was born from bilingualism, it has two source languages, and it contains consistent use of features from both source languages). Beyond basic mixed language characteristics, Reo Rapa is difficult to more narrowly define in the mixed language framework. However, for lack of a better term to describe the fusion of Tahitian and Old Rapa features in Reo Rapa, I have chosen to default to “mixed language”. This is discussed further in Chapter 7.
Rapa, is being used by mid and younger generation speakers. This new style of speech seems to be part of these generations' 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 generation. The youngest generations (20 and younger) speak almost exclusively in French.

2.4.1 History of cultural and linguistic contact

The multiple speech types used in Rapa Iti are better 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 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 Tahitian 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 would have influenced Rapa Iti both culturally and linguistically, as the language of such cultural
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 of 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 generations 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\(^\text{12}\) 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.\(^\text{13}\) 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 never used as a medium of instruction and students are actually learning Tahitian rather than Old

\(^{12}\) 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).

\(^{13}\) Of the four teachers, two are not from Rapa, and the other two identify as “from Rapa” but did not grow up there.
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\(^\text{14}\) also uses Tahitian in their meetings, though French is also used due to the presence of members of the younger

---

\(^\text{14}\) 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)
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 generations (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: (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) 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

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

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.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Availability of Written Materials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>No orthography is available to the community.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Documentation</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Language Documentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>superlative</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts, and a constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fair</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fragmentary</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inadequate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>undocumented</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>No materials exist.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

16 I had hoped to work with Alfred Make; however, he passed away just before my first visit to Rapa Iti.
is nearly impossible to try to thoroughly describe the language. The description that follows in Part 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 its variant, 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 distinctive features 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. 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 7 consonant phonemes (based on personal 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***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PPN</th>
<th><em>p</em></th>
<th><em>t</em></th>
<th><em>k</em></th>
<th><em>m</em></th>
<th><em>n</em></th>
<th><em>ŋ</em></th>
<th><em>q</em></th>
<th><em>f</em></th>
<th><em>s</em></th>
<th><em>h</em></th>
<th><em>w</em></th>
<th><em>l</em></th>
<th><em>r</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PEP</td>
<td><em>p</em></td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td><em>ŋ</em></td>
<td><em>q</em></td>
<td><em>f</em></td>
<td><em>s</em></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td><em>w</em></td>
<td><em>r</em></td>
<td><em>r</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCE</td>
<td><em>p</em></td>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>k</em></td>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td><em>ŋ</em></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td><em>f</em></td>
<td><em>s</em></td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td><em>w</em></td>
<td><em>r</em></td>
<td><em>r</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.2. Old Rapa's consonant phoneme inventory**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Dento-Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricatives</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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/

/pō/  'night'  /tō/  'sugar cane'  /kō/  'spear'  /ˈo/  'give'
/pau/  'rotten'  /tau/  'argue, fight'  /kau/  'swim'  /au/  'peace'
/paki/  'hit against; slap'  /taki/  'guide'  /kaki/  'starving'  /aki/  'fern'
/para/  'finished; ripe'  /tara/  'peak; horn'  /kara/  'fish liver'  /ara/  'lie'

---

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

/m/ : /n/ : /ng/

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

/mana/ 'power' /nana/ 'extract meat from urchin' /ngana/ '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. /ɾ/ : /t/

/roto/ 'inside' /toto/ 'hand-line for fishing'

b. /ɾ/ : /n/

/rākau 'wood; medicine' /nākau/ 'intestines'

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

[^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.
frontness or backness of the following vowel segment. For example: in *kite* 'know', /k/ is pre-velar (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 [a] 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), *tākate* .

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

MW: Hmm, et (and) *tākate*?

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 [u] 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 [w]” (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 [β], 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 generations 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 generations 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.

\[ k \rightarrow x / \tilde{V} \]

Figure 3.1 shows a spectrogram of *rauka'a 'hair*', where /k/ occurs as [k], in a stressed syllable. Here we see a blank space followed by a burst of air, characteristic of the plosive stop and its subsequent release.
In contrast, figure 3.2 shows eipoko 'head'. In this spectrogram, /k/ is realized as [x], a voiceless fricative, rather than voiceless plosive stop, because it occurs in an unstressed syllable. Note in figure 3.2 the frication occurring around 3000 hz.

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: [ka.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 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 regularly on the leftmost trochee, unless a long vowel or diphthong is present, in which case stress is on the heaviest syllable.

(3.5)

a. /vaka/ 'tribe' > ['va.xa]
b. /puke/ 'group of children' > ['pu.xe]
c. /kaki/ 'neck' > ['ka.xi]
d. /naku/ 'go' > ['nɑ.xu]
e. /kavake/ 'young taro' > [ka.'va.xe]
f. /keka/ 'path; road' > ['ke.xa]
g. /mīkaka/ 'taro' > [mi:.xa.xa]
h. /ʔāikete/ 'learn' > [ʔa:i.xe.te]
i. /tā-koe/ 'your' > [ˈta:.xoe]

(3.6)

a. /kokura/ 'taro variety' > [ko.'ku.ɾa]
b. /kuri/ 'dog' > [ku.'ri:]
c. /kōkomo/ 'deep sleep' > [ˈko:.ko.mo]
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 in younger generations).

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.

\[
r \rightarrow r / \_\_V
\]

Some examples are provided in (3.7). Counter examples are provided in (3.8).

\[(3.7)\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Trilled sound</th>
<th>Stressed syllable</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/Rapa/</td>
<td>'name of island'</td>
<td>['ra.pɑ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/roki/</td>
<td>'taro-bed'</td>
<td>['ro.xi]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{21}\) Bauer (with co-authors 1993:633) reported intervocalic frication for /k/ in certain dialects of Māori.
The trilled [r] 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 3.3. /i/, /u/, /o/, and /e/ are regularly articulated as [i], [u], [o], and [e]; /a/ is realized as low, open, and unrounded [α]. /i/ and /e/ are also
unrounded; /u/ and /o/ are rounded.

Figure 3.3. Old Rapa's vowel phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Close-Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open-Mid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td>α</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following minimal pairs demonstrate the validity of the 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'

47
(3.13) /e/ : /a/

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

(3.14) /e/ : /o/

/toe/ 'miss; leave behind' /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' /kī/ 'full'

(3.20) e : ē

/e/ 'imperfective' /ē/ 'soaked'
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. 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; and (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)  
\( \text{ka} \  \text{ara} \  \text{koe} \)  >  \(['\text{ka}:\text{ra}.\text{xe}\text{?}']\)

PFV  wake  2S

'you have awoken'

(3.25)  
\( \text{a} \  \text{'aka-kai} \  \text{i} \  \text{a-na} \)  >  \([\text{a}.\text{ʔa}.\text{xa}.'\text{kai}.\text{ja}.\text{na}]\)

IMP  CAUS-eat  ACC  PER-3S

'feed her'

(3.26)  
\( \text{'aka-apu} \)  >  \([\text{ʔa}.\text{ka}:.\text{pu}]\)

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 provides good evidence that long vowels in monomorphemic forms are also the result of fusing geminate short vowels.

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 Old Rapa long vowels as compared with phonemic long vowels. Figure 3.4, modified from a figure by Rehg (2007:123), shows the underlying weight (temporal), segmental, and surface (feature) tiers of underlying short and long vowels. One mora (μ) corresponds to the weight of one vowel. In figure 3.4, we see that a short vowel is underlingly one mora, consists of one segment, and emerges at the surface as one feature. An underlying long vowel, however, contains two morae (μ), but consists of only one segment, and emerges at the surface as one feature.

Figure 3.4. Representations of underlying short and long vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Short Vowel</th>
<th>Long Vowel</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal tier</td>
<td>μ</td>
<td>μ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segmental tier</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature tier</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.5 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 underlingly two segments consisting of one mora each. Essentially, the two separate segments fuse into one feature because they are identical.

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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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Short Diphthongs</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ae</td>
<td>akeaka</td>
<td>'small sea cucumber'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao</td>
<td>ao</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ai</td>
<td>maitaki</td>
<td>'good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>au</td>
<td>mau</td>
<td>'take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ei</td>
<td>keiā</td>
<td>'steal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oi</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>'quick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oe</td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>'2S'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ou</td>
<td>mouna</td>
<td>'mountain'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Long Diphthongs</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>āo</td>
<td>pāoa</td>
<td>'unlucky'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āi</td>
<td>'āikete'</td>
<td>'learn'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>āu</td>
<td>māua</td>
<td>'1DuExcel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōu</td>
<td>kōura</td>
<td>'lobster'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Rehg proposes three possible underlying sources for Hawaiian's falling diphthongs (2007:120), and the same proposals may be applied to Old Rapa: (1) /V\, 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 sonorant 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 3.6 (modified from Rehg 2007:123).

Figure 3.6. Underlying representations of surface falling diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) Long Diphthong</th>
<th>(2) Vowel + Vowel</th>
<th>(3) Vowel + Glide</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal tier</td>
<td>μ μ</td>
<td>μ μ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Segmental tier</td>
<td>x x x x x</td>
<td>x x x x x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature tier</td>
<td>F F F F F F</td>
<td>F F F F F F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My analysis of diphthongs in Old Rapa parallels my analysis of long vowels in the language, which is that they are a sequence of two underlying vowels. Diphthongs in Old Rapa are surface-level, phonetic diphthongs, resulting from adjacent vowels (underlyingly represented as in (2) in figure 3.6) where Vi is more sonorant than Vii. They are not unit phonemes, and are instead a result of the fusion of two unlike adjacent vowels. This argument is supported by the following evidence: (1) native speaker intuition on syllable division; (2) surface diphthongization across morpheme boundaries; and (3) the simplicity of the phoneme inventory.

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 ['ko:u.ɾa] in normal speech, but as ['ko:.u.ɾa] 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 two separate vowel 
segments in separate syllables.

(3.27) *pūai* 'strong; loud'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FAST</th>
<th>SLOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>['pu:.ai']</td>
<td>['pu:.a.i']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.28) *kāuari* 'stroll'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FAST</th>
<th>SLOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>['kɑ:u.a.ɾi']</td>
<td>['kɑ:.u.a.ɾi']</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3.29) *'oe* 'paddle'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>FAST</th>
<th>SLOW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔoe]</td>
<td>[ʔo.e]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Vii must be less
sonorant than Vi. Examples (3.30) and (3.32) demonstrate diphthongization in affixation; example (3.31) shows diphthongization in compounding.

(3.30)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{FAST} & \text{SLOW} \\
'aka-inu & [ʔa.'kai.nu] & [ʔa.xa.'i.nu] \\
\text{CAUS-drink} & \text{'give a drink'}
\end{array}
\]

(3.31)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{FAST} & \text{SLOW} \\
pā + ika & [pa:i.xa] & [pa:.i.xa] \\
\text{boundary fish} & \text{'fish trap'}
\end{array}
\]

(3.32)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{FAST} & \text{SLOW} \\
'aka-ora & [ʔa.'kao.ra] & [ʔa.xa.'o.ra] \\
\text{CAUS-life} & \text{'save'}
\end{array}
\]

### 3.2.2.3 Simplicity of vowel phoneme inventory

The final piece of evidence in support of surface diphthongs rather than phonemic diphthongs in
Old Rapa is very basic: Old Rapa has a very simple vowel phoneme inventory. If diphthongs were phonemic, this would increase Old Rapa's five vowel system to seventeen.

### 3.2.3 Phonological Processes: Vowels

#### 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 sonorant vowel and a less sonorant 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 natural speech\(^{22}\) as transitions between less sonorant vowels and more sonorant vowels. The type of glide inserted is based on the roundedness of the less sonorant 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 sonorant vowel directly preceding a less sonorant vowel, glides are inserted between less sonorant vowels and more sonorant following vowels.

\(^{22}\) In very slow speech, no glides occur.
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*
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 morae.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Light Syllable:} & \quad \text{Heavy Syllable:} \\
\mu \quad & \quad \mu \\
\sigma_L \quad & \quad \sigma_H
\end{align*}
\]

In Old Rapa, there are two kinds of heavy syllables, those that contain surface long vowels and
those that contain surface diphthongs, resulting in a total of three types of syllables in the language.

Figure 3.7. Light and heavy syllables in Old Rapa

Light Syllable:        Heavy Syllable (Long):        Heavy Syllable (Diphthong):

\[
\begin{align*}
\sigma & \quad \sigma & \quad \sigma \\
\mu & \quad \mu & \quad \mu \\
(C) & \quad C & \quad C \\
V & \quad V: & \quad V_i \quad V_{ii}
\end{align*}
\]

While a syllable is permitted to be monomoraic, a content word must consist of at least one foot, and a foot must contain two morae. Therefore, a content word must consist of at least two morae. This minimally required word structure is schematized in figure 3.8.

Figure 3.8. Minimal word structure in Old Rapa

\[
\begin{align*}
W & \quad W \\
F & \quad F \\
LS & \quad LS \\
& \quad HS
\end{align*}
\]

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. The percentages of initial consonants are shown in table 3.4.

Table 3.4. Percentage of consonant initial words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>‘</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>v</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18.00%</td>
<td>23.00%</td>
<td>22.00%</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>10.00%</td>
<td>4.00%</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
<td>3.00%</td>
<td>7.00%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, leftward, and medial. Full reduplication and rightward reduplication occur with almost equal frequency; leftward and medial, however, are much less frequent than full or rightward. Furthermore, leftward and medial reduplication appear to occur only as CV reduplication.
Table 3.5. Examples of Reduplication Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplication</th>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>Reduplicated Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Full Reduplication</strong></td>
<td><em>kini</em> 'pinch'</td>
<td><em>kinikini</em> 'pinch skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kati</em> 'bite'</td>
<td><em>katikati</em> 'nibble'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rightward Reduplication</strong></td>
<td><em>māringi</em> 'pour'</td>
<td><em>māringiringi</em> 'pour continuously'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>taka'uri</em> 'go backward'</td>
<td><em>taka'uri'uri</em> 'roll back and forth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>pātī</em> 'bounce'</td>
<td><em>pātī</em> 'splash (of raindrops)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ngaru</em> 'wave'</td>
<td><em>ngaru</em> 'sea sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Leftward Reduplication</strong></td>
<td><em>komo</em> 'sleep'</td>
<td><em>koboko</em> 'deep sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>kume</em> 'drag'</td>
<td><em>kubume</em> 'large, flat leaf seaweed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medial Reduplication</strong></td>
<td><em>maitaki</em> 'good; well'</td>
<td><em>maitataki</em> 'excellent; very well'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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3.4 Prosody

Prosody plays an important role in Old Rapa in that functionality at the morphological and syntactical 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 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 is a moraic trochee, meaning that it consists of two morae and is built from the right edge of the word. Primary stress falls regularly on the leftmost mora in the trochee.
In some words, there is evidence of an extrametrical syllable; that is, a foot-less syllable.

(3.44) puaka

'pig'

[pu.'ɑ.xa]
In words with more than one foot, primary stress falls on the leftmost mora of the second (counting from the right) trochee.

(3.45) \( \text{tāpū} \)

'cut'

[\( \text{'taːpuː} \)]

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 trochee with a heavy syllable will take stress.

(3.46) \( \text{pō'otu} \)

['poː.o.tu]

'rock'

 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 trochee with a heavy syllable will take stress.
Here again, there can be the presence of an extrametrical syllable.

(3.47) \textit{mangavai}  
\begin{align*}  
\text{[ma.}\text{n}\text{a.'vai]}  
\end{align*}  
'river'  
\begin{center}  
\begin{tikzpicture}  
\node (W) at (0,0) {$W$};  
\node (F) at (-1,1) {$F$};  
\node (F1) at (0,1) {$F$};  
\node (mu) at (-1,2) {$\mu$};  
\node (mu2) at (0,2) {$\mu$};  
\node (mu3) at (1,2) {$\mu$};  
\node (mu4) at (2,2) {$\mu$};  
\node (sigma) at (-1,3) {$\sigma$};  
\node (sigma2) at (0,3) {$\sigma$};  
\node (sigma3) at (1,3) {$\sigma$};  
\node (ma) at (-2,4) {$ma$};  
\node (nga) at (-1,4) {$nga$};  
\node (vai) at (1,4) {$vai$};  
\draw (W) -- (F);  
\draw (W) -- (F1);  
\draw (F) -- (mu);  
\draw (F) -- (mu2);  
\draw (F1) -- (mu3);  
\draw (F1) -- (mu4);  
\draw (mu) -- (sigma);  
\draw (mu2) -- (sigma2);  
\draw (mu3) -- (sigma3);  
\end{tikzpicture}  
\end{center}  

(3.48) \textit{angai}  
\begin{align*}  
\text{[}\text{?}\text{a.}\text{n}\text{a.i]}  
\end{align*}  
'adopt'  
\begin{center}  
\begin{tikzpicture}  
\node (W) at (0,0) {$W$};  
\node (F) at (-1,1) {$F$};  
\node (mu) at (-1,2) {$\mu$};  
\node (mu2) at (0,2) {$\mu$};  
\node (mu3) at (1,2) {$\mu$};  
\node (sigma) at (-1,3) {$\sigma$};  
\node (sigma2) at (0,3) {$\sigma$};  
\node (a) at (-2,4) {$a$};  
\node (ngai) at (0,4) {$ngai$};  
\draw (W) -- (F);  
\draw (W) -- (F);  
\draw (F) -- (mu);  
\draw (F) -- (mu2);  
\draw (mu3) -- (mu);  
\draw (mu3) -- (mu2);  
\draw (mu) -- (sigma);  
\draw (mu2) -- (sigma2);  
\end{tikzpicture}  
\end{center}  

65
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 \textit{keiā} to fall on the leftmost trochee; on the syllable \textit{kei}. As is shown, this is not what occurs.

(3.49) \textit{keiā}  
\[ \text{[kei.'a:]} \]  
'steal'

This example implies a hierarchy among Old Rapa's three vowel types, where long vowel heavy syllables are higher than diphthong 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):

\[
(C)\text{Vi} \text{Vi} > (C) \text{Vi} \text{Vii} > (C)\text{V}
\]

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 trochee that contains the syllable highest on the hierarchy.

(b) When all trochees contain the same type (hierarchical status) of syllables, then stress falls on the leftmost mora of the second trochee.
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 leftmost mora of the second trochee. Secondary stress falls on the leftmost mora of the leftmost trochee, as shown in examples (3.50–3.53).

(3.50) 'akatika

[,ʔa.xa.'ti.xa]

'level the taro bed'

(3.51) pake'ia

[,]p.a.xe.'ʔi.a]

'risen sun'

(3.52) kite'anga

[,]ki.te.'ʔa.ʔa]

'knowledge'

(3.53) 'akaoti'anga

[,]ʔa.,kao.ti.'ʔa.ʔa]

'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.

(3.54) \textit{pona} \quad \textit{ponapona}

| ['po.na] | ['po.na'po.na] |
| 'grow lines of a bamboo stalk' | 'muscular (showing muscle form)' |

(3.55) \textit{kiri/ngutu} \quad \textit{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 syntactical 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 is 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. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the pronominal object noun phrase (3.56).

(3.56)

a. $i$ a-na $> \ [i.'jɑ.nɑ]$  
   ACC  PER-3S

b. $i$ a-ku $> \ [i.'jɑ.xu]$  
   ACC  PER-1S

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)  
\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{ka} & \text{ini-'ia} & e & \text{ou} & te & \text{kōta'e} \\
\text{PFV} & \text{drink-PASS} & \text{AGT} & 1\text{S} & \text{INDEF} & \text{water} \\
\end{array}
\]

'some water was drunk by me'
Here, we have three phrases. 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 > ['kai.nu.ʔi.ɑ]

(3.59) e ou > [e.'jou]

(3.60) te kōta'e > [te.'ko:.tɑ.ʔe]

Examples (3.62-3.63) further demonstrate stress rules. This is the same type of phrase syntactically – both are noun phrases that include a definite article and a corresponding deictic marker. Phrase-level stress falls on [ne] of /vahine/ in example (3.61). However, in example (3.62) stress falls on [nei] due to it being a heavier syllable.

(3.62) tō va'ine ra > [to:.va.?i.'ne.ɾa]
DEF woman DEIC
'the woman (previously seen or mentioned)'

(3.62) tō va'ine nei > [to:.va.?i.ne.'nei]
DEF woman DEIC
'the woman (just seen or mentioned)'

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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]  [kai]  [i]  [tɑːkoe]  [eixɑ]  >  [ɑ.'kai.'tɑ:.xoe.'ei.xa]

3.4.3 Intonation

As discussed in section 3.4.2, the phrase is a not only a fundamental syntactic 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 inaudible.

Figure 3.9. Intonation of declarative: *e naku na ou i Ta’iti*

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{intonation_plot}
\caption{Intonation of declarative: *e naku na ou i Ta’iti*}
\end{figure}

\begin{equation}
(3.64) \quad e \quad naku \quad na \quad ou \quad i \quad Ta’iti
\end{equation}

IPFV \hspace{1em} go \hspace{1em} DEIC \hspace{1em} 1S \hspace{1em} PREP \hspace{1em} Ta’iti

'I am going to Tahiti.'

\subsection*{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 3.11, 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.
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.
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 syntactic 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 3.13 is this pattern of an unmarked imperative utterance.

Figure 3.12. 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, is morphologically isolating. 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 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)  
\[maki\] '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

\[te \ eika\]
INDEFFfish

'a fish'
b. adjective

ve'inga eika
leaf.packet fish
'fish packet'

(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

\[ \text{te} \quad \text{pē'ā} \quad \text{rekareka} \]

\[ \text{the woman} \quad \text{happy} \]

'\text{the happy woman}'

(4.5) \text{ua} \quad '\text{rain}'

a. verb

\[ \text{e} \quad \text{ua} \]

\[ \text{IPFV rain} \]

'It's raining.'

b. noun

\[ \text{te} \quad \text{ua} \]

\[ \text{INDEF rain} \]

'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 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Marker</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>Common Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Marker</th>
<th>(Quantifier)</th>
<th>Article</th>
<th>(Possessive)</th>
<th>(Plural)</th>
<th>Common Noun</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>(Deictic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Marker</th>
<th>(Person Marker)</th>
<th>Proper Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

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

'your house'

(4.7) tā-na  tāne

INDEF.PossA-3S  man

'your husband'
Table 4.1. Pronouns in Old Rapa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Free</td>
<td>Bound</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive</td>
<td>ou</td>
<td>ku</td>
<td>māua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td></td>
<td>tāua</td>
<td>tātou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>koe</td>
<td>kōrua</td>
<td>koutou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person²⁴</td>
<td>'ōna, koia</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>rāua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.'
```

²⁴ The form koia was described to me as an older form of the third personal singular that is rarely used today.
4.1.1.3.2 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.25

Table 4.2. Possessive pronouns in Old Rapa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Person Inclusive</td>
<td>tōku</td>
<td>tāku</td>
<td>tō māua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Person Exclusive</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>tā</td>
<td>tō tāua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Person</td>
<td>tōkoe</td>
<td>tākoe</td>
<td>tō kōrua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Person</td>
<td>tōna</td>
<td>tāna</td>
<td>tō rāua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

25 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.
4.1.1.5 Adjectives

Most content words may be used to modify a noun as an adjective. Adjectives are post-posed 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).

(4.11) te 'are rākau

INDEF house wood

'a wooden house'

(4.12) te tamarua matamua

INDEF boy first

'the first boy'

(4.13) te kororio puaka

INDEF small 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).
\((4.14)\) \textit{tonga te tamariki} \\
all INDEF children \\
'all of the children' \\

\((4.15)\) \textit{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.\(^{26}\) 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.

\(^{26}\) 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.

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4.1.1.7.2 Articles

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

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

---

Table 4.3. Old Rapa case marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>AGT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common Noun</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proper Noun</td>
<td>'o</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.4. Pre-nominal articles in Old Rapa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General (Singular and Plural)</th>
<th>Definite</th>
<th>Indefinite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tō</em></td>
<td><em>te</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 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'
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 *tau 'retrospective definitive' (Greenhill and Clark 2011). In other EP languages, reflexes of *tau 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 specific and non-specific. (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*

   INDEF child

   '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'
(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'
   c.   te    nana manu
       INDEFPL bird
       'some birds'
   d.   tō   nana manu
       DEF   PL  bird
       'the birds'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nei</td>
<td>'near to speaker'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>'away from speaker but near to the addressee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td>'far from speaker and addressee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rara</td>
<td>'very far from speaker and addressee'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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*  

Teraura  

Teraura  

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

(4.25) common noun

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4.1.1.9 Possessive constructions

There are three types of possessive construction in Old Rapa: simple possession, article possession, and predicative possession. The syntactical 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
Non-pronominal possession is expressed in a different manner. Here, the possessum is pre-
posed to the common noun or proper noun possessor. Additionally, the possessive markers are bare
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.

(4.28) \( tō \) \( \text{koutou} \) \( \text{karakua} \)

'your (plural) parent(s)'

(4.29) \( \text{te pōpoi } a \) \( tō \) \( \text{tamariki} \)

27 The possessum is generally a common noun as an individual cannot possess a specific person.
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-koet a 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.

One example that demonstrates this distinction is the contrast between an idea and a plan. An idea is perceived as something more spontaneous, something not actively volitional. A plan, on the other hand, is perceived as something done with intention. A plan is run by an individual and is therefore initiated by the individual, whereas an idea occurs to an individual and is, in a sense, uncontrolled by the individual.

Finally, in order to fully understand this distinction, we must examine the historical value of certain nouns, not just the modern value. For example, a house today in Rapa Iti may be simply a structure where a few members of a family reside. However, historically, a house was more than just a structure in Rapa Iti. It was where multiple generations of a family resided. In this way, the house was the base for a given family and historically represents the entire family – a unit that individuals cannot remove themselves from.

Table 4.6. $o$-marked versus $a$-marked nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$o$-marked</th>
<th>$a$-marked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 a directional and deictic particles.

Figure 4.7. Verbal constructions in Old Rapa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAM</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>(Directional Particle)</th>
<th>(Deictic Particle)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>terrain</td>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>taro bed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)  
\[ e \ kai \ na \ ou \ i \ kota'i \ kororio \ eika \]

PFV eat DEIC 1S ACC one small fish

'I am eating a small fish.'

(4.40)  
\[ e \ tunu \ na \ ou \ i \ te \ mīkaka \]

PFV cook DEIC 1S ACC INDEFtaro

\[ tonga \ te \ pōpongi \]

all INDEF morning

'I cook taro every morning.'

(4.41)  
\[ e \ kaikai \ ra \ te \ kurī \ i \ te \ moa \]

PFV eat.continuously DEIC INDEFdog ACC INDEFchicken

'The dog is eating a chicken.'

(4.42)  
\[ e \ mate \ atu \ ra \ 'ōna \]

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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

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*

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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

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

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

(4.57) kia rekareka kōrua
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', *ake '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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marker</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*mai</td>
<td>action toward the speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*atu</td>
<td>action away from speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ake</td>
<td>action upward from speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*i’o</td>
<td>action downward from speaker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -*i'a 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 -*i'a is highly productive and may attach to most transitive verbs.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative Verb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāre</td>
<td>'non-past negative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki're</td>
<td>'past negative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eia'a</td>
<td>'prohibitive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'er</td>
<td>'nominal negation'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) 'aka-ea  ta'anga  ou  i  Rapa  nei
  CAUS-stop  always  1S  PREP  Rapa  DEIC

'I'm staying in Rapa indefinitely.'

(4.61) e  pē'a  anake  ra
  IPFV  woman  only  DEIC

'There are only women.'

(4.62) peneake  e  rave  tāua  te  pahī
  possibly  IPFV  take  2DuIncl  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

'The tribe 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.'

(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'
\[
a \quad \text{naku marū}
\]
IMP go slow
'Go slowly.'

(4.71) roa 'much'
\[
ka \quad \text{rekareka roa } 'ōna
\]
PFV happy much 3S
'He was very happy.'

(4.72) kino 'bad'
\[
eia'a \quad \text{koutou e 'akaero kino}
\]
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 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.'

(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.'
The woman died while in sleep.

from south comes the wind.

Where do you come from?

'for a thing' or 'because'

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locational Noun</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>runga</td>
<td>'above, on, aboard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roto</td>
<td>'inside, in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raro</td>
<td>'under, below'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muri</td>
<td>'behind, with, after’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mua</td>
<td>'ahead, in front, before'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapae(^{28})</td>
<td>'outside, out'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko</td>
<td>'generic place'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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

\(^{28}\) *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*. 

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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).

\[(4.82)\] \(ti\ \ roto\ \ i\ \ te\ \ roki\ \ tō\ \ pē'ā\ \ ra\)
\[\text{LOC in PREP INDEF taro bed DEF woman DEIC}\]

'That woman is in the taro bed.'

\[(4.83)\] \(ti\ \ te\ \ 'are\ \ o\ \ Mere\)
\[\text{LOC DEF house PossO Mary}\]

'[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.
4.3.2 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.

4.3.2 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.

(4.84) \(kino \quad 'bad' \quad > \quad 'akakino \quad 'make bad'\)

\[ka \quad 'aka-kino \quad ou \quad i \quad a \quad na\]

PFV CAUS-bad 1S PREP PER 3S

'I made problems for him.'

(4.85) \(kai \quad 'eat' \quad > \quad 'akakai \quad 'make eat'\)

\[a \quad 'aka-kai \quad tō \quad tati\]

IMP CAUS-eat DEF baby

'Feed the baby.'

(4.86) \(koikoi \quad 'fast' \quad > \quad 'akakoikoi \quad 'rush'\)

\[e \quad 'aka-koikoi \quad māua \quad i \quad te \quad anga \quad tamariki\]

PFV CAUS-fast 2DuExcl ACC INDEF PL child

'we two are hurrying the children'

\(\text{4.3.2 Nominalizer}\)

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) \('āikete \quad 'learn, teach' \quad > \quad 'āikete'anga \quad 'education'\)

(4.88) \(noko \quad 'look, see' \quad > \quad noko'anga \quad 'a look'\)

(4.89) \(rekareka \quad 'happy' \quad > \quad rekareka'anga \quad 'happiness'\)
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- narrows the semantic function of a base, and verbalizes it 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 ʰɪ- is less clear than that of ʰᵃ- or ʰᵃ-, 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) ʰiʻopoʻo 'head' > ʰiʻopoʻo 'dive, lower your head'
(4.102) ʰoʻo ʻhole' > ʰiʻoʻo ʻuse 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vai</th>
<th>a’a</th>
<th>‘ea</th>
<th>a’ea</th>
<th>‘ia</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>who</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.6 Anaphoric Reference

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

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:

\[ kini \quad \text{kinikini} \]

'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)'

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(4.109) nominalizing

a. \textit{para} \quad \textit{parapara}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item 'finished'
   \item 'leftovers'
   \end{itemize}

b. \textit{panga'a} \quad \textit{panaga'anga'a}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item 'divide'
   \item 'a break, a divide'
   \end{itemize}

(4.110) adjectival

a. \textit{repo} \quad \textit{reporepo}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item 'dirt, earth'
   \item 'dirty'
   \end{itemize}

b. \textit{pake} \quad \textit{pakepake}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item 'sun'
   \item 'shining, bright'
   \end{itemize}

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. \textit{'eke} \quad \textit{'eke'eke}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item 'tease'
   \item 'tease'
   \end{itemize}

(4.112) a. \textit{paru} \quad \textit{paruparuparupuru}
   \begin{itemize}
   \item x
   \item 'tired'
   \end{itemize}

b. \textit{pūangi} \quad \textit{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).
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.'
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) \( \text{ka komo } o \text{ Hinavai} \)

PFV sleep NOM Hinavai

'Hinavai fell asleep.'

(5.5) \( \text{ka reva } o \text{ Ta'i mā} \)

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) \( \text{ka komo tō tama'ine} \)

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 INDEFfish
    'I caught a fish.'

(5.11) e 'aka-ma'u na ou i te āno'i
    PFV CAUS-ferment DEIC 1S ACC INDEFfermented.pōpoi
    'I am adding some fermented pōpoi.'

(5.12) e rave 'o Teuria Vahine i a Mere
    IPFV take NOM Teuria Vahine ACC PER Mere
    'Teuria 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
    'They are crushing the taro with stones.'

29 '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.

30 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.
(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.'

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 of 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.'

31 Perau is the tallest mountain on Rapa Iti.
(5.18) *e kōta'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 possessum 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.'
5.2 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'\(^{32}\)), 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.

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\(^{32}\) 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.
(5.23) 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.'

5.2.2 Locative tī constructions

In locative tī constructions, the marker tī (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.
5.2.3 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. 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  INDEF.urchin
    'The urchins are very large.'

b.  *e mē ngarengare ra te vana
    IPFV  thing very.large   DEIC  INDEF.urchin
    (intended: The urchins are very large.)

33 In Tahitian, according to Vermaudon 2011, similar mē 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.
(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.')</n
Me constructions are also used to express a comparison when 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 her.'

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'
5.3 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Type</th>
<th>Representation</th>
<th>Argument Markings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intransitive</td>
<td>V AGT/PAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitive</td>
<td>V AGT i PAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>V-Cia e AGT PAT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 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 \textit{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 - \textit{ia}, the agent (underlying subject) is marked by \textit{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern 1</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 2a</td>
<td>V$^{'}$ia</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pattern 2b</td>
<td>V$^{'}$ia</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples (5.41–5.42) demonstrate Pattern 1.

(5.41) \textit{ka kati te mango i tō tamariki}

\begin{verbatim}
PFV bite DEF shark ACC DEF child
\end{verbatim}

'The shark bit the child.'

(5.42) \textit{ka tāpoki rāua i te ngara$^{'}$u}

\begin{verbatim}
PFV cover 3Du ACC INDEFFire
\end{verbatim}

'They covered the fire.'

(5.43) \textit{ka inu ou i te kōta'e}

\begin{verbatim}
PFV drink 1S ACC INDEFWater
\end{verbatim}
'I drank some water.'

(5.44) ka kai mātou i tā-koe pōpoi

PFV eat 1PIExcl ACC INDEF.Poss-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 INDEF fire AGT 3Du

'The fire was covered by those two.'

(5.47) ka inu-'ia te kōta'e e ou

PFV drink-PASS INDEF water AGT 1S

'Some water was drunk by me.'

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

'The children were taught.'

(5.50) ka paki-'ia tō-na tāringa

'His ear was slapped.'

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

'The cow's ears were pinched.'

(5.52) ka noko-'ia koe

'Your pōpoi was eaten by us.'
'You are being watched.' (lit. 'You are being 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):

\[(5.56)\text{ na vayi-nga } e \text{ te wawine } te \text{ yakari} \]

\[\text{ past split-Pass Agt the woman the coconut} \]

'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).

\[(5.57)\text{ ka komo-ia tō va’i nei} \]

\[\text{ PFV sleep-PASS DEF place DEIC} \]

'Someone has already slept here.' (lit. 'This place has already been slept [by someone].')
(5.58) *ka*  *kino-ia*  *tō-ko*  *eipoko*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PFV</th>
<th>bad-PASS</th>
<th>INDEF.PossO-2S</th>
<th>head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

'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 | INDEF | baby | male |

'She gave birth to a baby boy.'

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

| PFV | give.birth-PASS | INDEF | baby | 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)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>mi te mea</em></th>
<th><em>koe</em></th>
<th><em>e</em></th>
<th><em>naku</em></th>
<th><em>i</em></th>
<th><em>te</em></th>
<th><em>'oire</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td>2S</td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>go</td>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>naku-'ia</em></td>
<td><em>koe</em></td>
<td><em>i</em></td>
<td><em>te</em></td>
<td><em>pōpongi</em></td>
<td><em>roa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>go-PASS</td>
<td>2S</td>
<td>PREP</td>
<td>INDEFS</td>
<td>morning</td>
<td>very</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

(5.61)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>mi te mea</em></th>
<th><em>rāua</em></th>
<th><em>ka</em></th>
<th><em>kai</em></th>
<th><em>i</em></th>
<th><em>tonga</em></th>
<th><em>pōpoi</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td>3Du</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>all</td>
<td>INDEFpōpoi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>e</em></td>
<td><em>poria</em></td>
<td><em>rāua</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>fat</td>
<td>3Du</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

5.4.2 Proper noun subjects

Occasionally, when the subject is a proper noun, 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. \[ e \quad kake \quad na \quad 'o \quad Kiri \quad i \quad Pō'otu \ Takaviri \]
   
   IPFV climb DEIC NOM Kiri PREP Pō'otu Takaviri
   
   Kiri is climbing to Pō'otu Takaviri.'

b. \[ 'o \quad Kiri \quad e \quad kake \quad i \quad Pō'otu \ Takaviri \]
   
   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) \[ tō \quad kurī \quad noti \quad ra \quad e \quad tu \quad kino \quad 'ōna \]
   
   DEF dog same DEIC IPFV build bad 3S
   
   i \quad tō \quad 'are \quad rākau

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.
'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).

(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; *ʻo* 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-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:

\[ \text{nā + SBJ + TAM + V + i + OBJ} \]

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

\[ \text{nā + SBJ + TAM + V + OBJ} \]

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

\[ \text{nā + SBJ + OBJ + TAM + V} \]

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. \( ka \quad 'anga \quad ou \quad te \quad 'anga \quad nei \)
   
   PFV do 1S INDEFwork DEIC

   'I did some work.'

b. (AE1)

   \( nā-ku \quad i \quad 'anga \quad i \quad te \quad 'anga \)
   
   GEN-1S PFV do ACC INDEFwork

   'I did some work.'

c. (AE2)

   \( nā-ku \quad i \quad 'anga \quad te \quad 'anga \)
   
   GEN-1S PFV do INDEFwork

   'I did some work.'

d. (AE3)

   \( nā-ku \quad te \quad 'anga \quad i \quad 'anga \)
   
   GEN-1S INDEFwork PFV do

   'I did some work.'

(5.66)

a. \( ka \quad kati \quad tō \quad mango \quad i \quad tō \quad tamariki \)
   
   PFV bite DEF shark ACC DEF child

   'The shark bit the child.'

b. (AE1)

   \( nā \quad tō \quad mango \quad i \quad kati \quad i \quad tō \quad tamariki \)
According to Potsdam and Polinsky, the AE in other EP languages is “largely restricted to intransitive 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
   GEN 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
   GEN 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
   GEN DEF chief IPFV speak
   'The chief will speak.'
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).
(5.72)

a.  
e maui 'ōna
    IPFV pain 3S
    'He is pained.'

b.  *
    nā-na e maui
    GEN-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 genitive nō. The anaphoric particle appears following the verb.
a. *ka* *riri* *ōna* *nō-ku*

PFV angry 3S PREP-1S

'He was angry because of me.'

b. *nō-ku* *i* *riri* *ai* *ōna*

GEN-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*

GEN-3S IPFV 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*

GEN INDEF. sun 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:

c.  nō  te  pake  tā  ku  ka'u  i  maro  ai  
    GEN  INDEF sun  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?'
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'. 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 te 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?'

b. *ka mate vai
PFV die 3S
(intended: 'Who died?')

(5.89)

a. 'o vai i māngaro
NOM who PFV lost
'Who disappeared?'

b. *ka māngaro vai
PFV lost 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?')
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?
GEN who PFV eat DEF pōpoi

'Who ate the pōpoi?'

(5.93) nā vai rātou e 'aka-'oki
GEN 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. \textit{ka kai 'ōna i te pōpoi}

\textbf{PFV eat 3S ACC INDEFpōpoi}

'He ate some pōpoi.'

b. \textit{ka kai 'ōna i te a'a}

\textbf{PFV eat 3S ACC INDEFwhat}

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

(5.95)

a. \textit{e rave ou i te tipi}

\textbf{IPFV take 1S ACC INDEFknife}

'I took a knife.'

b. \textit{e rave ou i te a'a}

\textbf{IPFV take 1S ACC INDEFwhat}

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

(5.96)

a. \textit{ka ketekete 'ōna i a Kā'i ka}

\textbf{PFV tickle 3S ACC PER Kā'i ka}

'She tickled Kā'i ka.'
b.  

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{ka} & \text{ketekete} & \text{\'ōna} & i & a & \text{vai}
\end{array}
\]

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) 

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{ka} & \text{naku} & \text{\'ōna} & i & \text{\'ea}
\end{array}
\]

PFV  go  3S    PREP    where

'Where did he go?'

(5.98) 

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
\text{e} & \text{naku} & \text{na} & \text{koutou} & i & \text{\'ea}
\end{array}
\]

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

(5.101)\textit{a'ea} \quad \textit{ōna} \quad \textit{i} \quad \textit{naku} \quad \textit{i} \quad \textit{Anatakuri} \\
\quad \text{when} \quad 3\text{S} \quad \text{PFV} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{PREP} \quad \text{Anatakuri} \\
\quad 'When did he go to Anatakuri?''

(5.102)\textit{a'ea} \quad \textit{ra} \quad \textit{tō-na} \quad \textit{mahana} \quad \textit{'ānau-ānga} \\
\quad \text{when} \quad \text{DEIC} \quad \text{INDEF.PossO} \quad \text{3S} \quad \text{day} \quad \text{birth-NMLZ} \\
\quad 'When were you born?' (lit. 'When was your 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.

\[
(5.103) nā \ 'ea \ 'ōna \ i \ naku \\
\text{PREP where 3S PFV go}
\]

'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. \[ e \text{'inangaro ou i a koe } \]
   IPFV like 1S ACC PER 2S
   'I like you.'

b. \[ kāre ou e \text{'inangaro i a koe } \]
   NEG 1S IPFV like ACC PER 2S
   'I don't like you.'

(5.105)

a. \[ e \text{pākika tō keka } \]
   IPFV slippery DEF path
   'The path is slippery.'

b. \[ kāre tō keka e \text{pākika } \]
   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
   \( a \ tō-na \ karakua \ pe'ā \)
   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 kōpuaperua-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. \( \text{nā-na} \quad i \quad \text{keiā} \quad \text{tā-ku} \quad \text{kōpuā'anga} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{GEN-3S} & \quad \text{PFV} & \quad \text{steal} & \quad \text{INDEF.PossA-1S} & \quad \text{plan-NMLZ} \\
\end{align*}

'She stole my project.'

b. \( \text{E'ere} \quad \text{nā-na} \quad i \quad \text{keiā} \quad \text{tā} \quad \text{ku} \quad \text{kōpuā'anga} \)

\begin{align*}
\text{NEG} & \quad \text{GEN-3S} & \quad \text{PFV} & \quad \text{steal} & \quad \text{INDEF.PossA-1S} & \quad \text{plan-NMLZ} \\
\end{align*}

'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 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 and 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 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)

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”35 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
reference to Rapa Iti. The few that mention Rapa's language agree that it is an Eastern Polynesian

35 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.
language, though projections on its precise placement within EP are varied. Green (1966:27–28) 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.

---

36 Based on data from Stokes 1955.
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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PPN</th>
<th>*p</th>
<th>*t</th>
<th>*k</th>
<th>*m</th>
<th>*n</th>
<th>*ŋ</th>
<th>*q</th>
<th>*f</th>
<th>*s</th>
<th>*h</th>
<th>*w</th>
<th>*l</th>
<th>*r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PEP</td>
<td>*p</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*k</td>
<td>*m</td>
<td>*n</td>
<td>*ŋ</td>
<td>*q</td>
<td>*f</td>
<td>*s</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>*w</td>
<td>*r</td>
<td>*r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PCE</td>
<td>*p</td>
<td>*t</td>
<td>*k</td>
<td>*m</td>
<td>*n</td>
<td>*ŋ</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>*f</td>
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<td>*r</td>
<td>*r</td>
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<tr>
<td>OR</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>’</td>
<td>’</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\(^{37}\) 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEP</th>
<th>PCE</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*fafa</td>
<td>*waha</td>
<td>‘carry on back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fifie</td>
<td>*wahie</td>
<td>‘firewood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fafine</td>
<td>*wahine</td>
<td>‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*fafo</td>
<td>*waho</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marck (2000:132) identified an additional five sporadic sound changes in PCE. These appear in table 6.3.

\(^{37}\) 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEP</th>
<th>PCE</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*ŋu-feke</td>
<td>*mu-feke</td>
<td>‘squid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*ŋau</td>
<td>*ŋahu</td>
<td>‘chew, bite’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*faahua</td>
<td>*paahua</td>
<td>‘Tridacna (giant clam)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kai</td>
<td>*koi</td>
<td>‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*kau-natu</td>
<td>*kau-nati</td>
<td>‘fire-plow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:38 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

38 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. Old Rapa's retention of the PPN form may be indicative of a relationship with non CEP language, Rapa Nui.

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 diversion 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, 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 | *q | *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  |

39 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\(^{40}\) > Old Rapa mounga
(6.2) 'bathe' PCE *kaukau > Old Rapa koukou

These changes all occur with [au] > [ou]. 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 mooonga (Stimson and Marshall 1964); North Marquesan mouka (Dordillon 1904); South Marquesan mouna (Dordillon 1904); Tahitian mou'a\(^{41}\) (Lemaitre 1973). Mangaian (Mangaian Dictionary Project 2014\(^{42}\)) 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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40 Unless noted otherwise, all reconstructed forms are taken from POLLEX (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
41 Tahitian exhibits both mau'a and mou'a, according to Lemaitre 1973 and Tahitian consultants.
42 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAH</th>
<th>MAO</th>
<th>RAR</th>
<th>MSQ</th>
<th>HWN</th>
<th>TUA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'ua</td>
<td>kua</td>
<td>kua</td>
<td>'ua</td>
<td>'ua</td>
<td>kua</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, 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

43 *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)

\[
\text{ka } \textit{ītonga} \text{ te } \textit{kuru}
\]

TAM bruise DEF breadfruit

'The breadfruit is bruised.'

*(Mangaian Dictionary 2013)*

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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44 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)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hau \ \text{tuai} \ e \ tehina \ haau.} \\
\text{come \ PERF \ ABS \ brother \ your} \\
\text{'Your little brother has come.'}
\end{align*}
\]

(Seiter 1980:8)

According to Seiter (1980:8), the perfective in Niuean may be marked by a co-occurrence of a perfective aspect marker *kua* and *tuai*. This is, in fact, the most common indication of perfective in
Niuean (1980:8).

\[(6.5)\]

\[
\text{Kua ligi tuai e au e kapiniu ti ma-au.}
\]

PERF pour PERF ERG I ABS cup tea for-you

'I've poured a cup of tea for you.'

(Seiter 1980:8)

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'.\(^{45}\)

\(^{45}\) Personal communication with a Rapa Nui speaker, August 2013.
Rapa Nui's *tahanga also indicates semantic change from PPN, similar to the meaning found in Old 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAH</th>
<th>MAO</th>
<th>RAR</th>
<th>MSQ</th>
<th>HWN</th>
<th>TUA</th>
<th>MGV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tahaa</td>
<td>tahanga</td>
<td>taa'aka, taa'aakaa</td>
<td>tahaka</td>
<td>kohana</td>
<td>tahanga</td>
<td>ta'anga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'46. 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 *ŋere, 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, *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 *kiai. Based on

---

46 Clark (1976:95) reconstructed a non-specific negative *kai for PPN. POLLEX (Greenhill and Clark 2011) reconstructed *qikai for the same non-specific negative. Based on the various attestations of PPN *qikai in a number of PN languages, Clark's *kai reconstruction for PPN seems to be the most comprehensive: Tongan *i kai, Niuean nā kai, East Uvea *i kai, Emae *i kai, West Futunan *i kai, Samoan lē ai, Rapa Nui *ina kai. Based on a discussion with Prof. Yuko Otsuka (October 2014) as well as the evidence provided here for Māori, Ma'uke, and Old Rapa, I posit a PCE form *kiai from PPN *kai. This is a preliminary hypothesis, however, and requires deeper investigation.
evidence from Clark (1976:95) and Mauke linguist Sally Nichols (pers. comm. 2014), both Māori and Mauke demonstrate a reflex of *kiai (kihai and *ki'ai, respectively) to mark the negative past, thus sharing Old Rapa's semantic value of the *kiai 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', 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAO</td>
<td>(kiihai)</td>
<td>kaahore</td>
<td>e kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAR</td>
<td>kaare</td>
<td>kaare</td>
<td>kaare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEN</td>
<td>ei kore</td>
<td>ee kore</td>
<td>ee kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TAH</td>
<td>'aore</td>
<td>'aore</td>
<td>'e 'ore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MVA</td>
<td>e kore</td>
<td>e kore</td>
<td>e kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kakore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MQS</td>
<td>'a'o'e</td>
<td>'a'o'e</td>
<td>'a'o'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAW</td>
<td>'a'ole</td>
<td>'a'ole</td>
<td>'a'ole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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). 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.
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
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

48 Text from Reilly 2007; interlinear gloss added.
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 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Reflex</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hawaiian</td>
<td>ua</td>
<td>Refers to a previously mentioned noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moriori</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>taua;</td>
<td>'that, aforementioned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aua</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rarotongan</td>
<td>taua;</td>
<td>Demonstrative and relative pronoun; 'that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aua</td>
<td>aforementioned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tahitian</td>
<td>taua</td>
<td>'aforementioned' (pers. comm. Jack Ward); 'this/that', when used with DEIC ra (Lemaitre)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuamotuan</td>
<td>taua;</td>
<td>'that, the aforesaid'; 'those (several)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aua</td>
<td>aforementioned'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mangaian</td>
<td>taua</td>
<td>'that/those aforementioned' (as demonstrated in Reilly 1993)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

49 *tau’ ‘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 *tau’ reconstruction for PEP.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Rapa Innovation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>tautau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>kami’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eel</td>
<td>takaviri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>raro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair of head</td>
<td>rauka'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>kupanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>pitau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oven</td>
<td>kauatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parent</td>
<td>karakua</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pregnancy</td>
<td>kopitoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep/lie down</td>
<td>komo, kakomo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>kakaio, kirioi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>konii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun, day</td>
<td>pake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet-smelling</td>
<td>makona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro</td>
<td>ko'a, mikaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to proceed</td>
<td>naku or nako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>kare, kotae, koringiringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman and wife</td>
<td>pea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Rapa Innovation</th>
<th>Reconstructions in PPN (unless noted otherwise)</th>
<th>Related Forms (PPN, unless noted otherwise)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>armpit, tickle</td>
<td>ketekete</td>
<td>PCE *keke 'armpit'; PPN *ma-qene 'tickle'</td>
<td>*kete 'basket'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>teiti, taeti</td>
<td>PCE *taiti 'young male child'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>moko</td>
<td>*tuqa 'back'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>tautau</td>
<td>PEP *m(a,e)ika</td>
<td>*tau 'hang, be suspended'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td>kōmi</td>
<td>PCE *remu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calm sea</td>
<td>karamate</td>
<td></td>
<td>*mate 'die, dead'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>kāmī'a</td>
<td></td>
<td>*waka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>change direction</td>
<td>tikoni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant species: Cordyline terminalis</td>
<td>karokaro, kaukaro&lt;sup&gt;51&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>*ti</td>
<td>*kalokalo 'flower species'; *kau 'stalk, stem'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east wind</td>
<td>mara'amu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eel, to coil</td>
<td>takaviri</td>
<td>*pusi</td>
<td>PCE *takawiri 'turn, twist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyebrow</td>
<td>kene'u mata</td>
<td>*tuke-mata</td>
<td>*mata 'eye'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td>kōpū</td>
<td>*saqa 'clan'</td>
<td>*koopuu 'gullet, stomach, belly, guts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>ngara'u</td>
<td>*afi</td>
<td>*ŋarafu 'charcoal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire plow</td>
<td>'ikā</td>
<td></td>
<td>*sika 'make fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>rārā</td>
<td>*fafie</td>
<td>*rara 'heat over fire'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishing net</td>
<td>ngake</td>
<td>*kupeņa&lt;sup&gt;52&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>raro rākau</td>
<td></td>
<td>*lakau 'tree'; *lalo 'below, under'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh water</td>
<td>kōta'e</td>
<td>*wai</td>
<td>*tafe 'to flow, especially of a current'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh water source, waterfall</td>
<td>kōringiringi</td>
<td></td>
<td>*lini 'pour'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generation, divide</td>
<td>kopanga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>50</sup> Proto forms were taken from Greenhill and Clark 2011, unless otherwise noted.
<sup>51</sup> 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.
<sup>52</sup> Old Rapa also exhibits a reflex of POC *kupeņa (kupenga), but the meaning is slightly different, as kupenga is more general than ngake.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Rapa</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>group of children</td>
<td><em>puke</em></td>
<td><em>tamariki</em> (^{53})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair of head</td>
<td><em>rauka’a</em></td>
<td>*lau-qulu; *kafa 'braided fibers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy, joy</td>
<td><em>rekareka</em></td>
<td>*féiafa; *leka 'pleasant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high fort, fortified</td>
<td><em>pāre</em></td>
<td>*pale 'defense'; *pa 'enclosure, fence'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate family</td>
<td><em>puke’anga</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>indeed</td>
<td><em>noti</em></td>
<td>*foki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>large, numerous</td>
<td><em>ngare</em></td>
<td>*lasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lips</td>
<td><em>kiri ngutu</em></td>
<td>*lau-ŋutu; *ŋutu 'mouth'; PAN *kili 'skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make a path in the</td>
<td><em>tāmoka</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woods</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td><em>rua</em></td>
<td>*taqane; *rua 'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>northeast wind</td>
<td><em>maoake</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td><em>pita’u</em></td>
<td>*isu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old person</td>
<td><em>’ina’ina</em></td>
<td>*tupuna; *sina 'grey or white haired’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oven</td>
<td><em>ko’otu</em>(^{54})</td>
<td>*umu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>overflowing of river</td>
<td><em>karea</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parent</td>
<td><em>karakua</em></td>
<td>*matuqa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant species: <em>Corokia</em></td>
<td><em>raupata</em></td>
<td>*laupata 'tree species'; *lau 'leaf'; PCE *naupata 'scaevola plant'(^{55})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>collenetei</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty</td>
<td><em>mānea</em></td>
<td>*mana-qia 'handsome lathario'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ridge</td>
<td><em>taratika</em></td>
<td>*tuqa-siwi; *tala 'pointed object'; PEP *tika 'straight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td><em>mangavai</em></td>
<td>*wai-tahe; *maŋavai 'tributary'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salt water, sea</td>
<td><em>kara, kare</em></td>
<td>*tahi; *miti; *kale 'a wave that ripples or breaks, rather than a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{53}\) *Tamariki* is used to mean 'children' in Old Rapa.

\(^{54}\) Stokes lists this as *kauatu*.

\(^{55}\) 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, *Scaevola* is not found on Rapa Iti.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>skinny</th>
<th>mokōʻī</th>
<th>swell'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>kakaio</td>
<td>* riki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small animals</td>
<td>korororio</td>
<td>* riki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small sea cucumber</td>
<td>'akaekae</td>
<td>* loli&lt;sup&gt;56&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small taro bundles</td>
<td>ātromi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>south wind</td>
<td>mākiki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spider</td>
<td>kopitoru</td>
<td>* lewelewe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>split into equal parts</td>
<td>panga'a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoken word</td>
<td>koai</td>
<td>* kupu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone, rock</td>
<td>koni'i</td>
<td>PCE * po-fatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet (smell and taste)</td>
<td>kakona</td>
<td>* magalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* kona 'satiated, satisfied'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro</td>
<td>mīkaka</td>
<td>* talo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro leaf</td>
<td>raupaka</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro species</td>
<td>'ara'ara</td>
<td>* farafara 'plant species'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tear (n)</td>
<td>karavai</td>
<td>* loqi-mata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* wai 'fresh water'; * kala 'sting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tired</td>
<td>paruparu</td>
<td>PCE * rufī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* palu 'knead, mix'&lt;sup&gt;57&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to advance, charge</td>
<td>mātu</td>
<td>* qoso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to escape</td>
<td>moka</td>
<td>* sola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go</td>
<td>naku</td>
<td>* saqele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to learn</td>
<td>āikete</td>
<td>* ako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to peel</td>
<td>'oni</td>
<td>* fore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* soni 'cut into'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to see</td>
<td>noko</td>
<td>* kite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sleep</td>
<td>komo</td>
<td>* mohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to speak</td>
<td>'akaero&lt;sup&gt;58&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>PEP * kii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>* reo 'voice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribe, clan</td>
<td>vaka</td>
<td>* waka 'canoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two extensions of a fork/part/division</td>
<td>māve'e</td>
<td>* ma-wete 'untie, separated'; PCE * wehe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>56</sup> Old Rapa does have a reflex of PCP * loli, * rori, meaning 'larger sea cucumbers'.
<sup>57</sup> The semantic connection is that feeling tired may be related to feeling beaten or worked over.
<sup>58</sup> This looks like a metathesized form of * reo with a fossilized causative prefix * aka-. * Ero does not have any meaning alone.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Hawaiian</th>
<th>English Note(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>valley</td>
<td>tikoko</td>
<td>'divide, separate'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>mōkiki</td>
<td>*ŋawari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet taro-bed</td>
<td>roki</td>
<td>*loki 'enclosed area'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>uouo</td>
<td>*tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild sugar cane</td>
<td>tāmi'a</td>
<td>*too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild taro</td>
<td>matae</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>pē'ā</td>
<td>*fafine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>young taro</td>
<td>kāvake</td>
<td>*kawake 'moon, month'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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'i*, *kakaio*, *noko*, *komo*, *kororio*, *ko'otu*, *kāmi'a*, *karea*, *moka*, *tāmoka*, *tāmi'a*, *tiromi*, *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 “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

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59 Hawaiian shares a semantic cognate, *lo'i*, for wet taro-bed.
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. 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 Tahitian pi'i system. 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)

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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).

61 Stokes refers to the Tahitian system as pī, but the name is actually pi'i, meaning 'to call' in Tahitian.
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. Regardless, I am 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:

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).\(^2\) Rarotongan shows evidence of three innovated 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

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\(^2\) *Honi (RN)* and *'oni (OR)* look like a retention of PEO *soni 'to cut into' and a subsequent semantic narrowing to *'peel' from PEO 'cut into'. Retention of the PEO form is not evidenced in any other EP language.
in table 6.11.

Table 6.11. Mangaian shared innovations with Rapa Iti

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Mangaia&lt;sup&gt;63&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>moko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>kami'a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
<td>puke'anga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plant: <em>Cordyline terminalis</em></td>
<td>karokaro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crab found on cliffs</td>
<td>karami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family, clan</td>
<td>kōpū (Walter and Reilly 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire plow</td>
<td>'ikā'ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>raro rākau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh water</td>
<td>kota'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fresh water source</td>
<td>koringiringi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>generation, divide</td>
<td>kopanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>happy, joy</td>
<td>rekareka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>high fort, fortified village</td>
<td>pāre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immediate family; household</td>
<td>puke'anga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many</td>
<td>ngare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name of a wind</td>
<td>maraamu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name of a wind</td>
<td>makiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>north-east wind</td>
<td>maoake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>pīta'u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>old person</td>
<td>inaina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oven</td>
<td>kauatu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parent</td>
<td>karakua&lt;sup&gt;64&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretty</td>
<td>mānea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skinny</td>
<td>mokō'Tī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>kakaio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small (for animal)</td>
<td>kororio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>63</sup> All terms were taken from the Mangaian Dictionary Project's online database between Oct. 2013 and Feb. 2014, unless otherwise noted. The terms are also be found in Marshall 2009.

<sup>64</sup> Karakua appears only in the context of adoptive parents or in-laws.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tetun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>small fishing net</td>
<td>ngake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small taro bundles</td>
<td>tīromi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soft clay-like earth</td>
<td>keretu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone, rock</td>
<td>koni'i ('weapon of stone')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sweet-smelling</td>
<td>kakona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro</td>
<td>mikaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro leaf</td>
<td>paka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taro species</td>
<td>'ara'ara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the two extensions of a fork/part</td>
<td>māve'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tickle</td>
<td>ketekete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to come and go</td>
<td>naku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go</td>
<td>matu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to learn</td>
<td>aikete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to lie down</td>
<td>komo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to see</td>
<td>nokoia; nokoroa(^{65})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribe</td>
<td>vaka (Walter and Reilly 2010)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wet taro-bed</td>
<td>roki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wild taro</td>
<td>matae</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>pe'ā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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.

\(^{65}\) *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'.
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). These dates would mean that if there were direct settlement from Mangaia to Rapa Iti, there were only about 150 years between initial settlement of Mangaia and that of Rapa Iti. Thus, the development of shared linguistic features would have occurred in only a few generations. While it is unlikely that linguistic innovations such as those exhibited between Old Rapa and Mangaian would have developed in such a brief period, this 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. If Rapa Iti was settled from Mangaia in several waves of migration, which would have enabled regular contact between the two islands, linguistic features would have continued to be developed 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 after first settlement.

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 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 was settled by the same people who had previously settled on Mangaia. Through continued waves of migration from Mangaia to Rapa Iti, contact between the speech communities 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 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 3.3. Map of the Southern Cook Islands**

![Map of the Southern Cook Islands](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cook_Islands#mediaviewer/File:Cook_Islands_-_Location_Map_(2013)_-_COK_-_UNOCHA.svg)

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 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 *tau a do lend credence to the idea of a period of close shared development between these two languages as well. Perhaps these shared sound changes represent trace evidence of their former 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. 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 in Mangaian and Old Rapa. Thus, it is unlikely that Rapa Iti was settled in one pulse from Mangaia. It is more likely that immigrants from Mangaia settled Rapa Iti in multiple waves, 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 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: Reo Rapa

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 mixed languages and how it does not, highlighting it as a unique type of fused contact language.

Reo Rapa is a speech type that systematically 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 mixed language of Old Rapa and Tahitian. Some of their responses are reproduced here:

\textit{We mix, we don't know what is the [real] language of Rapa.}

—Female, 61; December 31, 2012

\textit{The modern language is only a little bit of Rapa.}

—Male, 81; January 8, 2013

\textit{The Rapa language is not the same as before; it's more mixed.}

—Female, 60; August 1, 2013

\textit{The Rapa I know is different than the one I grew up with.}

—Male, 83; December 4, 2013

\textit{What we speak – it's mixed.}

—Male 32; August 1, 2013

\textit{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 mixed variety of Tahitian and Old Rapa. However, it is necessary to investigate whether Reo Rapa is a mixed language according to the established framework on mixed 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) What is a mixed language? Can Reo Rapa be categorized as one?

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 focuses on current definitions of mixed languages and discusses how Reo Rapa does and does not fit into the mixed 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 generation, 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. 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 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 generation (25–45)
are increasingly moving away to Tahiti for work. Once settled in Tahiti, Rapa people infrequently
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 return to 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 mixed 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 (7.1–7.3) 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.
(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  INDEF house
tunu tā-ku ma'a e tāma'a cafe69 ka oti
cook  INDEF.PossA-1S  food  IPFV  dine  dinner  PFV  finish

'I'll go kiss70 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  INDEF.banana  CONJ  INDEF fish

'Eat the banana and fish with your hands.'

In order to more precisely measure the division of features from Tahitian and Old Rapa, I

69 French borrowing that is used in Rapa Iti to mean 'meal'.
70 The French style greeting of kissing both cheeks to say hello and goodbye is common in French Polynesia. 'āpā is used to mean this action in both Tahiti and Rapa Iti.
analyzed both casual speech data and the results of a cross-generational language test that included 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 natural context (rather than as words in isolation) in order to assess actual use of vocabulary and grammatical words, as well as to observe syntactical 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 )

\[
\text{haere} \ 'e \ \text{komo} \\
\text{go} \ \ \text{CONJ sleep} \\
'Go and sleep.'
\]

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. Participants were surveyed by themselves in a semi-private space\textsuperscript{71} 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:

\begin{verbatim}
MW: rouge [listing]
TR: 'ute'ute [pause]
non, non – kurakura
\end{verbatim}

The Tahitian form 'ute'ute, instead of the Rapa form kurakura, was recorded as his response in this case.

\textsuperscript{71} 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body Parts</th>
<th>Island Life</th>
<th>Kinship/People</th>
<th>Environment</th>
<th>Animals</th>
<th>Space/Time</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>woman</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td>small animal</td>
<td>day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>octopus</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>oven</td>
<td>parent</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chin</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>fresh water</td>
<td>goat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>sister</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>shark</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
<td>sea water</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>weed (the taro bed)</td>
<td>family</td>
<td>calm sea</td>
<td>eel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>peel taro with fingers</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>mountain</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>pound taro</td>
<td>group of people</td>
<td>hill</td>
<td>tentacles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fingers</td>
<td>taro bed</td>
<td>generation</td>
<td>island</td>
<td>lobster</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buttocks</td>
<td>paddle</td>
<td>person</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td>pig</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tear</td>
<td>name</td>
<td></td>
<td>stone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td></td>
<td>2Singular</td>
<td>wind</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cheeks</td>
<td></td>
<td>2Dual</td>
<td>wave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teeth</td>
<td></td>
<td>2Plural</td>
<td>rain</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intestines</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>fire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(Table 7.1 con't)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Flora</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Numbers</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Colors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>taro</td>
<td>look</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>words</td>
<td>yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cordyline</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>skinny</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>speech</td>
<td>red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terminalis</td>
<td>learn</td>
<td>hard/rough/spiny</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>food</td>
<td>black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>come/go</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>thought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>egg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>talk</td>
<td>hot</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>small bundle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>divide</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>firewood</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>run</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>path</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>climb</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>cave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cover (close)</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sleep</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>work</td>
<td></td>
<td>1000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>stroll</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>swallow</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>assemble</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gather (plants)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>smile</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fight</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sit</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 7.2. Elicited sentences for Reo Rapa test

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>I went to look for my brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The boy was sleeping at school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The teacher woke the boy up.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>What are you doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The woman is in the taro bed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>This fort is bigger than that one.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I am taller than she is.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>I wish you two happiness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>That man has three children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The shark bit the child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Here is my house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>She is angry because of me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I cook taro every morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>This fish is bigger than the other fish I had the other day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>There's a woman over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>All of the women are over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>A few women are over there.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>I did not go to the house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>He is jealous.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Your book is on the table.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>That's not my book.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>That's mine.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 generational 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: generation 1: 18–29; generation 2: 30–39; generation 3: 40–49; generation 4: 50–59; generation 5: 60–69; generation 6: 70+. Table 7.3
presents the age and sex of each participant, by generation 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 generation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Generation 1</th>
<th>Generation 2</th>
<th>Generation 3</th>
<th>Generation 4</th>
<th>Generation 5</th>
<th>Generation 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M, 29</td>
<td>M, 38</td>
<td>F, 49</td>
<td>M, 58</td>
<td>M, 68</td>
<td>M, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F, 29</td>
<td>F, 36</td>
<td>M, 47</td>
<td>F, 56</td>
<td>F, 65</td>
<td>F, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F, 24</td>
<td>F, 35</td>
<td>M, 44</td>
<td>F, 55</td>
<td>M, 64</td>
<td>F, 78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F, 24</td>
<td>M, 34</td>
<td>M, 44</td>
<td>F, 54</td>
<td>F, 62</td>
<td>F, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F, 23</td>
<td>F, 34</td>
<td>F, 42</td>
<td>F, 54</td>
<td>M, 60</td>
<td>M, 76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F, 21</td>
<td>M, 30</td>
<td>M, 42</td>
<td>F, 50</td>
<td>F, 60</td>
<td>F, 70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3.1 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 is a mixed language of Old Rapa and Tahitian, but what's more is that speakers demonstrate some awareness of what sounds are from Tahitian or Old Rapa. As shown in table 7.4, phonemes that are absent in Tahitian, though present in Old Rapa, are the velar nasal /ŋ/ 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

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72 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.

73 This is particularly notable in the emerging new variety of Reo Rapa, New Rapa, discussed in chapter 8.
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/ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PCE</th>
<th>*p</th>
<th>*t</th>
<th>*k</th>
<th>*m</th>
<th>*n</th>
<th>*ng</th>
<th>*f</th>
<th>*s</th>
<th>*w</th>
<th>*r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TAH</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OR</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RR</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k /'</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ng /'</td>
<td>f /'</td>
<td>h /'</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

7.3.2 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 or the CE.

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 aspect marker is e in both languages). 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old Rapa</th>
<th>Tahitian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lexicon</strong></td>
<td>culturally associated lexical items</td>
<td>most of the lexicon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Derivational Affixes</strong></td>
<td>passive</td>
<td>nominalizing causative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74 All Tahitian forms and their functions were observed with Tahitian speakers and confirmed in Fare Vāna'a 2009.
7.3.2.1 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. Word list elicitation percentages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English Gloss</th>
<th>Tahitian Form\textsuperscript{75}</th>
<th>Old Rapa Form</th>
<th>Reo Rapa Form</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 head</td>
<td>upo'o</td>
<td>eipoko</td>
<td>eipoko</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 hair</td>
<td>rouru</td>
<td>rauka'a</td>
<td>rauka'a</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 beard</td>
<td>huruhuru ta'a</td>
<td>kumikumi</td>
<td>kumikumi</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 chin</td>
<td>ta'a</td>
<td>tanga</td>
<td>ta'a</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 nose</td>
<td>ihu</td>
<td>pitā'u</td>
<td>pitā'u</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mouth</td>
<td>vaha</td>
<td>ngutu</td>
<td>ngutu</td>
<td>88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 ear</td>
<td>tari'a</td>
<td>taringa</td>
<td>taringa</td>
<td>96%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 neck</td>
<td>'a'i</td>
<td>kakī</td>
<td>kakī</td>
<td>96%\textsuperscript{76}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 stomach</td>
<td>'ōpū</td>
<td>kōpū</td>
<td>kōpū</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 fingers</td>
<td>manimani</td>
<td>maiki'o</td>
<td>manimani</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 buttocks</td>
<td>'ōhure</td>
<td>kōmī</td>
<td>kōmī</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 woman</td>
<td>vahine</td>
<td>pē'ā</td>
<td>vahine</td>
<td>77%*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{75} All Tahitian forms were taken from Fare Vāna'a's Dictionnaire Tahitien-Français (1999)
\textsuperscript{76} Many participants who did not use kakī instead used the word for throat in Tahitian, 'arapo'a.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tahitian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tahitian</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>man</td>
<td>tāne</td>
<td>rua</td>
<td>tāne</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>look</td>
<td>hi'o/ite</td>
<td>noko</td>
<td>noko</td>
<td>92%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>'ite</td>
<td>kite</td>
<td>'ite</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>learn</td>
<td>ha'api'i</td>
<td>'āikete</td>
<td>ha'api'i</td>
<td>70%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>come/go</td>
<td>haere</td>
<td>naku</td>
<td>haere</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>eat</td>
<td>'amu</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>kai</td>
<td>70%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>parent</td>
<td>metua</td>
<td>karakua</td>
<td>metua</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>brother</td>
<td>tu'āne</td>
<td>tungāne</td>
<td>tu'āne</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>sister</td>
<td>tuahine</td>
<td>tua'ine</td>
<td>tuhine</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>grandparent</td>
<td>rū'a'ū</td>
<td>'in'a'ina</td>
<td>'in'a'ina</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>sky</td>
<td>ra'i</td>
<td>rangi</td>
<td>ra'i</td>
<td>72%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>day</td>
<td>mahana</td>
<td>ao</td>
<td>mahana</td>
<td>75%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>sun</td>
<td>rā</td>
<td>pake</td>
<td>pake</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>moon</td>
<td>'ava'e</td>
<td>kavake</td>
<td>'ava'e</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>fresh water</td>
<td>vai</td>
<td>kōta'e</td>
<td>kōta'e</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>anavai</td>
<td>mangavai</td>
<td>mangavai</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>sea water</td>
<td>miti</td>
<td>kara</td>
<td>miti</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>taro</td>
<td>taro</td>
<td>mīkaka</td>
<td>mīkaka</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>good/well</td>
<td>maita'i</td>
<td>maitaki</td>
<td>maitaki</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
<td>ta'i</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>two</td>
<td>piti</td>
<td>rua</td>
<td>piti</td>
<td>70%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>three</td>
<td>toru</td>
<td>toru</td>
<td>toru</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>maha</td>
<td>ā</td>
<td>maha</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>five</td>
<td>pae</td>
<td>rima</td>
<td>pae</td>
<td>95%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>six</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>ono</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>seven</td>
<td>hitu</td>
<td>'itu</td>
<td>hitu</td>
<td>52%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>eight</td>
<td>va'u</td>
<td>varu</td>
<td>va'u</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>nine</td>
<td>iva</td>
<td>iva</td>
<td>iva</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>ten</td>
<td>'ahuru</td>
<td>rongouru</td>
<td>'ahuru</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>calm sea</td>
<td>mania</td>
<td>karamate</td>
<td>mania</td>
<td>89%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77 I have included the full list of numbers 1–10, although some of these terms are clearly identical in Tahitian and Old Rapa.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>korua</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>-------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
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<td>tāpuki</td>
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<td>kono</td>
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<td>to'eto'e</td>
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<td>100%</td>
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<td>mango</td>
<td>ma'o</td>
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<td>i'a</td>
<td>eika</td>
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<td>weed taro bed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>ūtaru</td>
<td>ūtaru</td>
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<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>paddle (n)</td>
<td>hoe</td>
<td>'oe</td>
<td>hoe</td>
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<tr>
<td>98</td>
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<td>pōpongi</td>
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<td>99</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>honu</td>
<td>'onu</td>
<td>honu</td>
<td>100%</td>
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</table>

78 No one uses kono'u in regular speech.
79 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', klore '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'.

230
<p>| | | | | | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
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<td>tumu rākau</td>
<td>tumu rākau</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<td>ori</td>
<td>kāuari</td>
<td>kāuari</td>
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<td>105</td>
<td>swallow</td>
<td>horomi'i</td>
<td>omiri</td>
<td>omiri</td>
<td>86%</td>
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<tr>
<td>106</td>
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<td>pū'ohu</td>
<td>tākaravai</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>107</td>
<td>firewood</td>
<td>vahie</td>
<td>rārā</td>
<td>vahie</td>
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<td>108</td>
<td>king</td>
<td>ari'i</td>
<td>ariki</td>
<td>ari'i</td>
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<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>chief</td>
<td>ra'atira</td>
<td>rangatira</td>
<td>ra'atira</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>'ē'ē</td>
<td>ketekete</td>
<td>ketekete</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>assemble</td>
<td>ha'a'putu</td>
<td>'akaumu</td>
<td>ha'a'putu</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>gather plants</td>
<td>'ohi</td>
<td>ko'i</td>
<td>ko'i</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>path</td>
<td>'e'a</td>
<td>keka</td>
<td>'e'a</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>dive</td>
<td>hopu</td>
<td>tipoko</td>
<td>hopu</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>school</td>
<td>fare ha'api'ira'a</td>
<td>'are</td>
<td>fare ha'api'ira'a</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>cry</td>
<td>ta'i</td>
<td>tangi</td>
<td>tangi</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>smile</td>
<td>'ata</td>
<td>kata</td>
<td>kata</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>tentacles</td>
<td>'ave</td>
<td>kakave</td>
<td>kakave</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>lobster</td>
<td>'ōura</td>
<td>kōura</td>
<td>kōura</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>taro bed</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>roki</td>
<td>roki</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>sit</td>
<td>pārahi</td>
<td>no'o</td>
<td>pārahi</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>peel taro with finger &amp; thumb</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'oni</td>
<td>'oni</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>pound taro</td>
<td>tu'i</td>
<td>tuki</td>
<td>tuki</td>
<td>95%</td>
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<tr>
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<td>pig</td>
<td>pua'a</td>
<td>puaka</td>
<td>puaka</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>fight</td>
<td>moto</td>
<td>tāmaki</td>
<td>moto</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>bite</td>
<td>hohoni</td>
<td>kati</td>
<td>kati</td>
<td>100%</td>
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<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>cave</td>
<td>po'o</td>
<td>ana</td>
<td>po'o</td>
<td>89%</td>
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</table>
7.3.2.2 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  INDEFcoffee
'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** na koutou i 'ea

{\text{go}}\DEIC\ {\text{2Pl}}\ \PREP\ \text{where}

'Where are you all going?'

(7.9) past negative

{\text{ki'ere}}\ vau i {\text{haere}} i {\text{te fare}}

{\text{NEG}}\ {\text{1S}}\ \PFV\ \text{go} \ \PREP\ \text{INDEFhouse}

'I did not go to the house.'

(7.10) non-past negative

{\text{kāre}}\ \text{tā-koe} \ {\text{puta}}

{\text{NEG}}\ \text{INDEF.PossA-2S} \ \text{book}

'You don't have your book.' (lit. 'your book doesn't exist')

(7.11) Adverbial **ake**

{\text{me}}\ \text{rahi} \ {\text{ake}} \ {\text{teie}} \ eika i

{\text{thing}}\ \text{big} \ \text{COMPDEM} \ \text{fish} \ \PREP

{\text{tā-ku}} \ eika tō {\text{mahana}} ra

{\text{INDEF.PossA-1S}}\ \text{fish} \ \text{DEF} \ \text{day} \ \DEIC

'This fish is bigger than my fish the other day.'

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(7.12) first-person bound pronoun

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
e & pohehae & 'ona & i \\
& IPFV & jealous & 3S \\
& & & PREP \\
& & & 1S \\
& & & PER \\
& & & 1S \\
\end{array}
\]

'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'; locative 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

SUB 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 evidences a merge of these particles, taken from Tahitian.
(7.14) haere tāua i Hiri 'e ko'i te tuvava

'Go (you two) to Hiri and gather guavas.'

(7.15) 'ea koe komo ai i roto i tō-koe fare

'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 the house.'

b. eiaha a haere mai i tō-ku fare
NEG IMP go DIR PREP INDEF.PossO-1S house

'Don't come to the house.'

Most prepositional locatives are shared by Tahitian and Old Rapa. Both languages exhibit cognate reflexes of PPN *loto 'inside'; *lalo 'below, below'; *muri 'behind, with, after' *muqa 'ahead, in front, before'. 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. Reo Rapa exhibits Tahitian *ni'a.

(7.17) tā-koe puta tei ni'a iho i te '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.

80 The PPN forms in this section are taken from Greenhill and Clark 2011.
81 Old Rapa *runga is a reflex of PPN *lunga 'above'. Tahitian has innovated the form *ni'a.
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 following a front vowel\(^{82}\). Reo Rapa does not exhibit this allomorph and *vau* is used in all environments.

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.

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\(^{82}\) 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*. 

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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).

(7.21) noa

\[
e \quad \text{fa'aea noa vau i} \quad \text{Rapa nei atu te 'ava'e tīrema}
\]

IPFV stay ADV 1S PREP Rapa DEM DIR INDEFmonth December

'I am staying in Rapa from now until December.'

(7.22) iho

\[
\text{Tevaitau terā ai pāre tei iho i te oire}
\]

Tevaitau DEM ANA fort LOC ADV PREP INDEFtown

'Tevaitau is the fort that is up from town.'

7.3.2.3 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) \textit{kāre e ua }\textit{fa'a-hou} \\
\text{NEG IPFV rain CAUS-again} \\
'It's not raining anymore.' (lit. 'there is no more rain')

(7.24) \textit{e }\textit{fa'a-'amu na Marie i te puaka ni'o} \\
\text{IPFV CAUS-eat DEIC ACC INDEF pig teeth} \\
'Mary is feeding the goat.'

(7.25) \textit{ha'a-vitiviti tā koe }\textit{'ohipa} \\
\text{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) \textit{ka oti te ko'i-ra'a} \\

239
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 i tupa'i-'ia te vana nā te rākau

PFV done PFV hit-PASS INDEFurchin PREP INDEFwood

'I'm done hitting the urchin with a stick.'

(7.28) ka rave-'ia tō-na poti nō te ra

PFV take-PASS INDEF.PossO-3S boat PREP INDEFDEIC

ka fati tō-ku poti

PFV break INDEF.PossO-1S boat

'We took his boat because mine is broken.'

7.3 Uniformity of speaker choice

This section considers the general consistency of Reo Rapa's composition through the lens of 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

83 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.
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% 100% 86% 95%

92%

\textit{ka fa'a-ara tō 'orometua ha'a-pi'i i tō tamariki ra}

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%

\textit{e toru tamariki a tō tangata ra}

IPFV 3 child POSS DEF person DEIC

'That man has three children'

(7.31)
'The shark bit the child.'

(7.32)

'me rahi ake vau i a-na
thing tall COMP1S PREP PER-3S
'She is taller than I am.'

(7.33)

'ia rekareka kōrua
'I wish you two happiness.'

(7.34)

'ki're vau i haere i te fare
NEG 1S PFV go PREP INDEFhouse
'I did not go to the house.'
While the high percentages indicate a high level of consistency, some generational variation is evident, with younger generations using more Tahitian components than older generations. The oldest generations (Generations 5 and 6) tend to use more Old Rapa vocabulary, while the younger generations use more Tahitian overall. In the sentence elicitation portion of the generational test, there were more fully Tahitian responses from the younger generations. For example, three of my six Generation 1 participants gave almost entirely Tahitian responses. This type of variation further demonstrates the unidirectional shift from Old Rapa to Tahitian.

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 generation 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]

'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 generations 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. However, it is necessary to explore what kind of language mixing is occurring in Reo Rapa. Is the mixing of Tahitian and Old Rapa just code-switching between two separate languages? Is Reo Rapa really just Old Rapa with heavy borrowing from Tahitian?

Perhaps the strongest arguments for Reo Rapa being an autonomous language, and not just code-switching or random borrowing, are (1) consistency in speaker choice from the source languages and (2) speaker perception. 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 systematically 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.
Borrowing, on the other hand, refers to incorporating lexical items of one language into another language's vocabulary. Speakers 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. Therefore, Reo Rapa does not fit the definition of code-switching or borrowing.

In a very basic sense, Reo Rapa shows characteristics similar to what is called a “mixed language”: (1) it is an autonomous language that (2) emerged as a result of contact and mixing of two languages. Here, I examine the various definitions of mixed languages and describe how Reo Rapa fits into a mixed language framework, and how it does not.

Matras and Bakker (2003:1) 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.” According to Golovko (2003:191):

a mixed language is a language that is formed as a result of a “non-genetic” (“abrupt”) development of two languages...Initially, all the members of the group are bilingual and can speak the two languages that give birth to a new mixed language after language intertwining. The newly born language becomes a native (first language) for the members of the group.

Based on these criteria, Reo Rapa can be described as a mixed language. 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 type as a result of bilingualism and dominance of one language over the other. It is most definitely a native language for most people in Rapa Iti as it is transmitted inter-generationally and is spoken by the majority of people on Rapa Iti.
The mixing in Reo Rapa represents a unidirectional, one-way shift from Old Rapa toward Tahitian. This occurred via steady borrowing from Tahitian over time, leading eventually to the more consistent language that is spoken today. As such, Reo Rapa may be viewed as a mixed language that was created through a “borrowing approach” (Meakins 2013:188) where shift occurred from bilingualism and overt social pressures to use Tahitian. In the model in figure 7.1, taken from Meakins (182), Reo Rapa falls 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 mixed 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. Tahitian is fully available to members of the Rapa Iti community, as discussed in section 7.1. 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 in the mixed language that has otherwise been lexically overrun by Tahitian. These tokens of Rapa identity have stopped the shift process from going to full completion. Matras and Bakker (2003) also indicated that certain mixed languages can involve selective retention of an ancestral language's vocabulary after language shift. They refer to this as an “inherited special lexicon” (7), which “diachronically represents the selective retention of vocabulary, following language shift.” In mixed languages that exhibit inherited special lexicons, retained features from the indigenous source language are primarily lexical items, although grammatical words can also be maintained. This is evident in Reo Rapa through the Old Rapa lexical tokens.

Both Matras and Bakker's (2003) and Golovko's (2003) definitions of mixed languages at the beginning of this section indicate that a fundamental element of a mixed language is that “linguistic parentage” can become ambiguous as a result of the mixing that has occurred between two distinct languages. This factor 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 leads to the second and most significant problem in trying to define Reo Rapa as a mixed language: there is no clear-cut division in source language contribution at a system level. While the contributions from each source language are clear and consistent in Reo Rapa, they can only be observed at a unit level. In a mixed language, we would expect that one source language only would contribute to the “grammar” while the other contributed to the “lexicon.” This is not what we see in Reo Rapa. For example, we can observe that the Reo Rapa lexicon is mostly Tahitian-sourced, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. However, because of the near-identical syntactic structure of Old Rapa and Tahitian, it is impossible to make judgements about which source language has contributed more to the grammatical structure of Reo Rapa. Even if we consider the fact that these are both isolating languages and thus express grammatical functions through grammatical words rather than derivational morphology, grammatical words are sourced somewhat equally from both Old Rapa and Tahitian. Therefore, the “grammar” of Reo Rapa still cannot be attributed to only one source language.

This is a problem because 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). In other mixed languages, however, both source languages contribute to the grammar to varying degrees. Mixed languages can be 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 other (173). Reo Rapa does not fit either of these categories. At an item level, the mixing is systematic, but at the system internal level (lexical vs. grammatical/syntactical), there is no stark differentiation of source languages. Thomason (1995) does provide examples of mixed languages that, similar to Reo Rapa, do not equally source their internal systems. These languages exhibit “linguistic effects of the social pressure from the dominant group…in all aspects of the language's structure, grammar [and] lexicon” (19–20). However, generally speaking, mixed languages exhibit a system-level division of source language contributions. Reo Rapa does not, as it demonstrates mixing at all levels.

So, can we define Reo Rapa as a mixed language? Unfortunately, there is not a clear answer. In the most basic ways, yes, Reo Rapa is a mixed language. It has emerged from the type of socio-linguistic situation from which mixed languages emerge (i.e., bilingualism); shift from a less prestigious indigenous language to a more prestigious dominant language is evident in the mixing; it is transmitted inter-generationally; and speaker choice is highly uniform. However, it cannot be further defined as a true mixed language because the mixing has occurred from two sister source languages, a phenomenon not elsewhere attested in the literature on mixed languages. Furthermore, mixing appears to occur throughout the entire language and we cannot observe clearly differentiated system-level contributions from each source language.

For these reasons, we can loosely define Reo Rapa as a mixed language. Admittedly, Reo Rapa represents a type of language mixing that falls outside of the current framework for mixed languages. But this does not necessarily exclude it as one. Its consistency in source language
contributions and its genesis from two very closely related languages may make it a unique candidate for mixed language status. Regardless of whether or not it fits neatly into a mixed language framework, it is important to acknowledge and discuss the mixing that has occurred in this contact language, as it represents a situation that is certainly occurring in other parts of east Polynesia, and possibly elsewhere in the world as well.

7.6 Summary

Reo Rapa is a language born out of contact with Tahitian, and developed out of language shift as a result of the prestige associated with speaking Tahitian. It represents a unique kind of mixed language in that its source languages, Tahitian and Old Rapa, are so closely related. It is the primary language of use on Rapa Iti, and is a first language for most people who live on Rapa Iti. Speakers of Reo Rapa appear to be consistent in their choices from the source languages; however, there is evidence of continued shift to Tahitian in the speech choices and articulations of the younger generations. This continued shift could suggest an eventual full shift to Tahitian and a complete loss of all Old Rapa features. However, as will be discussed in the following chapter, the process of complete shift may be stalled by the onset of New Rapa, a variety of Reo Rapa.

Chapter 8
New Rapa

8. Introduction

This chapter describes a variant of Reo Rapa, which I call New Rapa, and which is occasionally used by people under the age of 50. New Rapa represents an attempt by younger generations in Rapa Iti to reverse the shift to the Tahitian language. 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 Oparo84 practices in Tahiti (April 2013); Facebook posts; and popular songs.

84 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.
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.\(^{85}\)

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. New Rapa represents, then, a sort of linguistic “u-turn,” which Boretzky and Igla (1994:61) 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

\(^{85}\) The lyrics of a very popular song among Rapa people, “Pito,” which was written in New Rapa, can be found in Appendix D.
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’aapu like we do here._
—Female, 33; December 20, 2012

_They don't make pōpoi there [in Tahiti] anymore, but we do, and we don't do it like anywhere else._

86 This is a Tahitian word, used in Rapa Iti to mean 'family plantation'.
87 Pounded, fermented taro paste.
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. The following conversation between myself and a young woman, age 24, captures this:

MW: Who is that? I didn't see him last time I was here.

This 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.
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.”

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 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

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89 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.
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 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

90 This particular situation is likely also related to the general treatment of in-laws in Rapa (see chapter 2).
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.91 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.92

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 words, very different from those used today, he attracted the community attention needed to form a language committee.

91 Personal interview. April 2014.
92 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.
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. 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 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

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93 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.
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*. 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. The younger generations, 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.

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,” 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 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

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94 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 *maururu* were used for 'hello' and 'thank you', respectively.

95 Whenever I engaged with non-elders about language, they would routinely ask me, “Have you talked with Pierrot? He probably knows.”

96 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.”

97 This claim was made in December 2012 by an elder woman, who has requested that she not be identified by name or initials.
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. 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.

### 8.5 Beyond Pierrot: processes of New Rapa's creation

98 It should be noted that the Stokes manuscript is written in English, a language very few Rapa people can speak.

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New Rapa is growing beyond the isolated innovations of Pierrot and is evident in more formal language use of younger generations 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.99 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 Tahitian100 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, 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

99 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.

100 All Tahitian terms referenced in this chapter were taken from Fare Vāna'a 1999, unless otherwise indicated.
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 cognate 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Rapa</th>
<th>Tahitian</th>
<th>New Rapa</th>
<th>PPN</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Table 8.1. Rapanized forms in New Rapa with conflicting Old Rapa forms

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| 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 | *puisi | 'eel' |
| 5 | ao | mahana | ma'ana | *qaho | 'day' |
| 6 | kāvake | mahina | ma'ina | *masina | 'moon, month' |
| 7 | pe'eā | vahine | va'ine | *fafine | 'woman' |
| 8 | tīpoko | hopu | 'opu | *sopu | 'dive' |
| 9 | mānea | nehenehe | ne'ene'e | *mana-qia<sup>102</sup> | '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<sup>103</sup> | 'wide-eyed; fera'<sup>103</sup> |
| 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 refuted that these Rapanized forms existed in Old Rapa. We can therefore safely assume that the Rapanizations are not re-introductions of Old Rapa forms.

Table 8.2. Examples of Rapanized Tahitian lexemes refuted by elders

<sup>101</sup>Greenhill and Clark 2011.
<sup>102</sup>This is a possibly related proto-form, which meant 'handsome lothario' in PPN (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
<sup>103</sup>PPN *fera 'spread wide open' (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Rapa</th>
<th>Tahitian</th>
<th>New Rapa (Rapanized)</th>
<th>PPN</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>'ori</td>
<td>kori</td>
<td>*koli</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>here</td>
<td>'ere</td>
<td>*sele</td>
<td>'love; beloved'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>pu'e</td>
<td>puke</td>
<td>*puke</td>
<td>'pile'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>huero</td>
<td>'uero</td>
<td>*fua</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>fa'a'apu</td>
<td>'akakapu</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>'plantation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>fatu</td>
<td>'atu</td>
<td>PCE *fatu</td>
<td>'master; chief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>fati</td>
<td>'ati</td>
<td>*fati</td>
<td>'break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>hoa</td>
<td>'oa</td>
<td>*soa</td>
<td>'companion, friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ø</td>
<td>hepetoma</td>
<td>'epetoma</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>'week'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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104 Recall from chapter 6 that OR puke means 'group of children'.

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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
(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-\(^{105}\) (examples 8.2–8.4), and that the Tahitian nominalizing suffix -ra'a corresponds to Old Rapa -'anga\(^{106}\) (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

\(^{105}\)PPN *faka- (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
\(^{106}\)PPN *-Canga (Greenhill and Clark 2011).
segment. This occurs with both content words and grammatical words.

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). 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 *aroха '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, 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

107 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.

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Rapa *ou*. This is demonstrated below, in example (8.8), taken from a New Rapa translation of a 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 INDEF sea

'Then, I listened to the waves of the sea.’

### 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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109 *ake ra* functions in a narrative as a transition in time, 'then'.

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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*."\(^{110}\)

### 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 exhibit a term *kōpapa* to mean 'body', which appears to be an innovation. Most other EP languages have a reflex of PPN *tino* for 'body', including Tahitian. It\(^{110}\)

\(^{110}\)*Caca* is French slang for excrement.
is likely that 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 3PL 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 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 generation 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:  \( tō \ vahine \ ra \ i \ roto \ i \ te \ roki \)
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reo Rapa (Tahitian)</th>
<th>New Rapa</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'ori</td>
<td>kori</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ohipa</td>
<td>'o'ipa</td>
<td>'work'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pārahi</td>
<td>pāra'i</td>
<td>'sit down; stay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhi</td>
<td>pu'i</td>
<td>'eel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahana</td>
<td>ma'a'ana</td>
<td>'day'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahina</td>
<td>ma'ina</td>
<td>'moon, month'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vahine</td>
<td>va'ine</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hopu</td>
<td>'opu</td>
<td>'dive'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nehenehe</td>
<td>ne'e'ene'e</td>
<td>'pretty'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ru'i</td>
<td>ruki</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rahī</td>
<td>ra'i</td>
<td>'large'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maha</td>
<td>ma'a</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ē'ē</td>
<td>kēkē</td>
<td>'armpit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huero</td>
<td>'uero</td>
<td>'egg'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fa'a'apu</td>
<td>'akakapu</td>
<td>'plantation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ite</td>
<td>kite</td>
<td>'to know'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'eto'e</td>
<td>toketoke</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rohīrohi</td>
<td>ro'iro'i</td>
<td>'tired'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fera</td>
<td>'era</td>
<td>'wide-eyed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoa</td>
<td>'oa</td>
<td>'friend; companion'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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.¹¹¹

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¹¹¹All PPN forms in these examples are from Greenhill and Clark 2011.
(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'

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, the linguistic features that mark or identify a particular social group typically cannot be attributed to one source, one moment, or one event; their actuation is rarely known (Labov 1972:317). Implementation of a linguistic feature that later becomes associated with a particular group's identity, according to Labov (1972:319), may go completely unnoticed: “The change first appears as a characteristic feature of a specific subgroup, attracting no particular notice from anyone” (1972:319). 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 likely do not represent an unusual typological occurrence, but the visibility of actuation presents a rather unusual opportunity. 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.
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*, meaning that he is a member of the Council of Elders (*Tō Hitu*), 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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112 Tahitian word in Reo Rapa meaning 'guardian of the land'.
113 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'. ”114 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).

114Personal communication, April 2014.
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 generations 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
kurî

manu
moa
APPENDIX D

“Pito”

Written by Uria Angia, 2008

(Rapanizations are emboldened)

'o'ipa teie tupu ki runga ki
occurrence 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
INDEInlove 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 Erepaun
PREP Erepa'u
'at Erepa'u'

ki roto ki te moana
PREP in PREP INDEFocean
'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.