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CHARACTER AND STRUCTURE OF THE ACTION IN MAORI

BY

J. PRYTZ JOHANSEN



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Dedicated to the Memory of

VILHELM GRONBECH

Survey of Contents.

The present investigations are intended to explain various facts which may throw light on the structure and character of the action in Maori. This study particularly concerns verbal sentences and a type which I have termed *Concretive Sentences* and which does not seem previously to have been recognized as sentences. In connexion with the verbal sentences particularly the prepositions will be studied. As, however, it proves necessary to have a clear understanding of the nature of the articles, we shall first inquire into these, at the same time touching on some problems concerning the syntactic parts of speech.

Introduction.

With a few exceptions the examples on which the investigations are based originate from genuine prose texts recorded in the 19th century. Among these texts particularly such have been used as are characteristic by simple narration, and historical traditions have been preferred to myths. Poetic diction has been completely disregarded. Dialectal differences have been discussed only in the cases when it was considered necessary for the questions treated, otherwise the Maori language has been considered a unity.

Cases of deviation from these general lines have been pointed out in the place in question, e. g. the use of Maori translations of the Bible to elucidate a particular question. Still, as will appear from the references, a very few examples have been adduced from dictionaries and grammars without further explanation.

This especially applies to quotations from texts which have not been accessible to me.

The question of terminology is a difficult one, particularly as we have to do with a language outside the Indo-European family of languages. Considering that no attempt at a reform has met with general approval, I have as far as possible made use of time-honoured grammatical terms and have tried everywhere to state the sense in which they are used. Sometimes they must be considered a kind of small change, which at the end of the investigations are exchanged for the grammatical concept which in my opinion expresses the character of the Maori language.

The Articles and some Remarks on the Parts of Speech.

It has been generally acknowledged that the Polynesian languages have comparatively few parts of speech. Churchill, and after him HANS JENSEN¹ establish three, which the latter has termed *Begriffswörter*, *deiktische Wörter*, and *Beziehungswörter*. The "conceptual words" or "full words" form the numerically superior group of words without any special grammatical function which according to circumstances may function as substantives, adjectives, verbs, and adverbs. It is true that the meaning of a word rarely permits it to appear in all these functions, but in principle there is nothing to prevent them from doing so.

A word like *kai* means both 'food' and 'to eat'; *uku* 'to wash' and 'that with which one washes', i. e. 'clay'; *rangatira* 'nobleman' and 'noble'. As a substantive *ora* means 'life', as a verb 'survive, recover', as an adjective 'alive, in health, safe, satiated'. A thing and its use, or a quality and the possessor or possession of it thus may form one concept.

However, the words appear in contexts, and the question naturally arises to what extent we may, from a purely syntactical point of view, speak about verbs, substantives, adverbs, and adjectives.

It may be laid down at once that there is an unambiguous verbal function when a full word is determined by certain

¹ JENSEN, HANS, Sprachw. Abh. 1923. p. 3.

particles, the verbal particles. Using the word *haere* 'go' as a paradigm, we may set up the following somewhat summary survey:

Inceptive: ka haere
 Imperfect tense: e haere ana
 Perfect: kua haere
 Future: e haere
 Preterite: i haere

The term *Verb* in what follows denotes something syntactical, first of all words determined by these verbal particles.

An investigation of the question whether there are criteria of a substantival function must particularly deal with the use of the definitives, among them above all the articles, the main subject of this introduction.

H. W. WILLIAMS sets up the following list of definitives¹:

- (a) the articles: *te*, pl. *nga* ('the'); *he* (sing. 'a, some'; pl. 'some' or untranslated); *taua*, pl. *aua* ('the aforesaid').
- (b) the indefinite pronouns: *tetahi* ('a certain, some'), pl. *etahi* ('some, certain').
- (c) the demonstrative pronouns: *tenei* ('this'); *tena* ('that'); *tera* ('that yonder'); with their plurals: *enei*, *ena*, *era*; *ia* ('that'); and the interrogative pronoun *tehea*, pl. *ehea* ('which').
- (d) the possessive pronouns: *taku*, *toku* ('my'); *tau*, *tou* ('thy'); *tana*, *tona* ('his, her'); and their plurals: *aku*, *oku*, *au*, *ou*, *ana*, *ona*.
- (e) the possessives formed by using the particles *ta*, *to*, *a*, *o*, with a dual or plural personal pronoun, the name of a person or place, a local noun, or a common noun which follows any of the definitives in the preceding classes except *he* in class (a).

A look at this list reveals that all the singular forms except *he* and *ia* contain *te* (*t-*), which is further evident from the fact that some of the definitives may be divided, so that e. g. 'this man' may be translated by both *tenei tangata* and *te tangata nei*.

¹ JPS. 38, 63. The application of the term 'definitive' in Maori grammar is probably due to W. L. WILLIAMS, who uses it in his "First Lessons in the Maori Language". 1862.

The majority of the definitives thus are of a secondary character in relation to the articles. This remark also applies to *taua*, which Williams includes among the articles, although it has hardly any other right to be so than the fact that it is generally translated by 'the'; hence it will not here be included among the articles. On the other hand I think that *hei*, which Williams does not at all include among the definitives, should be admitted among the articles for reasons which will be stated below. The articles then are: *te*, *nga*, *he*, and *hei*. By this rearrangement certain facts appear simpler.

In our investigation of the use of the articles we shall particularly try to find out their actual function in Maori, whereas details of a special character, e. g. the fact that *te* in a few cases is left out before words with an initial *t*, etc., will be passed over, in so far as they are of no interest in this connexion, as an excellent account of them is found in Williams' work quoted above.

Nga presents no special problems and therefore may be treated very briefly. *Nga* denotes the occurrence of a plural of human beings, things, or actions. Hence it may presumably be stated that a full word determined by means of *nga* always functions as subjective.

The picture is more complicated in the case of *te*.

Let us first look at some sentences such as:

Na ko Kaihamu *te* tama a Mango. 'Look! Kaihamu was the son
Look! son
of Mango.' (AHM. IV, 78).

He kai rangatira *te* kai a to tatou kuia. 'A noble food is our
food noble food we mother
mother's food' (Best, Maori Agriculture. 1925. p. 155).

Ka maoa *te* kai (AHM. II, 13) 'The food was boiled.'

In AHM. IV, 139 it says:

E rua nga kai o te ao nei 'The foods of this world are two.'
two food world

It is explained that they are those of war and peace, then it says:
ka kai a ia i *te* kai a Tu 'He (i. e. man) eats the food of the god
eat he food
of war.'

In examples such as these it seems natural to apprehend *te tama* and *te kai*, respectively, as substantives. We find *te kai* as subject first in a nominal sentence, then as subject and object in a verbal sentence.

However, *te* is also used before words with a distinctly verbal sense and assigns to them a verbal function. We shall first consider some constructions in which *te* makes the word function, if anything, as a participle.

No to raua taenga atu ki te puni, ka rongo te wahine ra ki nga
 they the act away camp hear woman
 two to come

tangata e karanga ana: Tenei a Turereao me tana wahine te
 man shout This and his woman

haere mai nei (JPS. 5, 165) 'When they came to the camp, the
 go hither

woman heard people shouting, "Turereao and his wife are on their way here."

Tenei a Turereao me tana wahine te haere mai nei is constructed as a nominal sentence in which *tenei* is the subject and *a Turereao me tana wahine* is the predicate, while *te haere mai nei* is in apposition, if anything with the predicate.

Tena or *tera* is used in the same way as *tenei*, as appears from the following example. We have to do with a description of a canoe trip. After an intercalation in which the village they are making for is described, the thread is resumed as follows:

Tena a Ponga ma te hoe mai ra, a ka kitea ...
 That with paddle hither yonder and see (p)¹
 companions

(AHM. IV, 116) 'Meanwhile Ponga and his companions paddled towards the village and when they were seen ...'

A member of the sentence with *te* may be placed after a statement to indicate how it is to be understood:

Turaki. Ko te tangata i rite ki a Tu raua ko Rongo te kaha.
 man like they two strong

(AHM. I, 153) 'Turaki. The man who was like Tu and Rongo in strength (as being strong).'

¹ A (p) in the interlinear translation indicates that the word is in the passive.

kihai i ata oti te mara i a ia te ngaki. (AHM. II, 79)
 not quite finished plot he cultivate

'The cultivation of the plot was never quite finished by him.'

In a sentence like the one just quoted one may be doubtful whether *te ngaki* is in apposition with *ia*, thus meaning 'cultivating' or with *mara*, in which case it must mean 'being cultivated'. The latter interpretation involves that *ngaki*, which is active in form, should be passive in meaning. The correctness of the latter interpretation, however, appears from the following example:

he nui noa atu te kupenga i oti te ta e taua iwi. (AHM. IV, 35)
 great very away net finished net by this tribe

'it was an extraordinarily large net that was finished by this tribe.'

The use of the preposition *e* before an agent noun otherwise actually only takes place after verbs with a passive meaning (and generally also a passive form). Hence *ngaki* in the preceding example belongs to *te mara*, and hence it follows that a *te*-member with a verbal sense which is not itself determined by a preposition must be in apposition with another member without a preposition.

The *te*-member may further, when determined by a preposition, correspond to an infinitive.

ka haere a Marutuahu ki te uku i tana mahunga ki te wai;
 go wash his head water

(T. 115) 'Marutuahu went to wash his head near the water.'

As a rule *te*-members are in the active form. When they are found in the passive form this is probably to be considered an irregularity; but it is of interest by showing how verbally a *te*-member may be conceived.

ki te ki atu ia, kei te tuku i nga pa-tuna, ko te tiakina i te
 say away she catch in eel-weir wait for (p)
 a net

tauranga e te taua tona tane, (JPS. 5, 168) 'if she said that
 anchorage army her husband

he was fishing at the eel-weirs, then the army would lie in wait for her husband at the anchorage.'

Tiaki 'watch for, wait for' is here in the passive form as

indicated by the ending *-na*; the agent noun correspondingly is marked by *e*.

Te-members may also express an action in general, thus function as action nouns.

kaore e rawe *te noho* a te whanau ra i reira (L. I, 59) 'the sitting
not becoming sit of family there
there of the family was not pleasant.'

As appears from what precedes, the *te*-members cover the field from a decided substantival function to a verbal function very close to that of the imperfect tense, otherwise indicated by the particles *e - ana*.

The difference may be preliminarily expressed by stating that a *te*-member may correspond to a present participle; more exactly the difference is that the verbal *te*-member requires a second member with which it may be in apposition (or of which it may be the predicate). The imperfect tense, on the other hand, is an independent form, which appears from the fact that all the full words to which it is in relation may be determined by prepositions, e. g.

i rongo ake hoki ki nga kupenga i raro i a ia *e kumekumea ana e*
hear up too net under he drag(p) by
nga tangata (AHM. IV, 40) 'he also heard that the nets under him
man
were dragged by the men.'

The subject of the passive *e kumekumea* 'is dragged' (from *kumekume* 'drag') is *nga kupenga*, which, as is seen, is determined by a preposition *ki*, by means of which it is characterized as object of *rongo* 'hear'. *E - ana* also permits sentences without subjects (impersonal constructions):

e kiia ana . . . (AHM. IV, 37) 'it is said . . .'
say(p)

The general character of *te*, as shown above, is confirmed if we examine in detail its meaning in the substantival parts of the sentence. It is true that *te* often denotes something mentioned previously, but this is not necessary. Thus we find:

Ka haere tonu te tangata ra, puta rawa mai i Wharekawa,
go still man appear quite hither

ka kite i *te* kukupa, i *te* tui e mui ana i *te* kohe, ka
 see pigeon parson-bird swarm round kohe-tree
 piki te tangata ra ki te wero manu ma raua. (AHM. IV, 31)
 climb man spear bird they two

'He continued his way and arrived at Wharekawa; when he there caught sight of pigeons and parson-birds swarming round in a kohe-tree, he climbed up to catch birds for himself and his companion.'

Neither pigeons, parson-birds, nor kohe-trees have been mentioned before, *te* thus refers to something which is only introduced here. If the speaker wants particularly to point out something as having been mentioned before, the definitive *taua*, pl. *aua*, is used instead of *te*. But if something indefinite is to be pointed, *he* is used, or *tetahi*, pl. *etahi*.

We also note that *te* may refer to a plurality. This appears still more clearly from the following example:

ka heke iho *te* tangata o te pa, te tane me te wahine (AHM.
 descend down man fortress male woman
 IV. 156) 'people came down from the fortress, both men and women.'

Here, of course, it is not the question of a collective, *te tangata* may just as well refer to a single person (see e. g. p. 7: AHM. I, 153). *Te* thus has nothing to do with the singular or the plural, just as the plural must expressly be indicated by *nga*.

Te is here compared with some definitives with which it might be supposed to be contrasted or have its meaning in common. A close comparison with the other definitives, such as *tenei* 'hoc', *tēna* 'ille', *terā* 'iste', *taku* 'my', etc. is superfluous as it is evident that we shall arrive at the same result as above: that *te* as compared with other definitives is characteristic by being neutral.

After we have compared *te* with the other definitives, it is still left for us to investigate what is the difference between a full word preceded by *te* or with no mark at all.

If a full word with the zero morpheme introduces a sentence, it functions as a verb.

It may be the imperative:

Haere e tiro kia ata kite koe. (JPS. 5, 163) 'Go and look in
 go look thoroughly see you
 order that you may see thoroughly.'

The verb may have a sense as if it were determined by *e - ana*, and then is generally followed by *tonu* 'still'.

haere rawa te tangata ki te tutu taua mana; kaore hoki i noho
 go much man summon army for him not also sit
kia kai, haere tonu atu. (JPS. 5, 168) 'He went continuously
 eat go still away
 in order to raise an army, he did not even sit down to eat, he still
 went.'

It may also have a sense as if it were determined by *ka*:

ka hoki mai nga waka ki te kainga. Tae rawa mai, kua
 return hither canoe village arrive quite hither
ahiahipouri. (JPS. 5, 164). 'Then the canoes returned to the
 be twilight
 village. When they had arrived home, it had become twilight.'

A full word introducing a sentence thus functions as a verb in a very unspecific way, which is then more especially characterized by the context in general and in particular by such particles as *tonu*, *rawa*, *noa*, etc., if such particles follow. As to the relation to *te*, we can only refer to the previous comparison of *te* with the verbal particles.

The use of the term zero-morpheme should only be considered as indicating the contrast to definitives and verbal particles; of course it will appear from the pronunciation that e. g. *tae* in the last example is not attached to *kainga*. As far as I know, there is, however, no information about that question in the literature.

Apart from this use of a full word with zero-morpheme, a full word with genuine zero-morpheme is always subordinate to an immediately preceding word as a qualifier, is thus used adjectivally or adverbially, e. g.

Te tangata *kaha* 'the strong man.'
 man strong

If the speaker wants to add two adjectives to the same word, this must consequently be repeated. 'The big, strong man' thus

is *te tangata nui*, *te tangata kaha*; for if several full words are placed immediately after each other, each of them only qualifies the one immediately preceding, e. g.

he *wahine rongō nui ia* (T. 154) 'she was a woman of great fame.'
 woman fame great she

After verbs another full word may denote manner:

e *whai haere tonu nei i ta ratou tangata i a Te Rauparaha*
 follow go continually they man
 (AHM. VI, 21) 'they followed, continually walking after their leader, Te Rauparaha.'

Ko Whakarongoiata i heke *atua iho tenei ki tenei ao nei* (L. I, 50) 'Whakarongoiata, he descended as god to this world.'
 descend god down this this world here

The following word may also qualify a verb by indicating its object when this is quite indefinite:

nga tangata e tarai waka ana (T. 42, cf. Williams, JPS. 38, 66) 'the men who were shaping a canoe.'
 man shape canoe

The same feature is also observed where there are no verbal particles:

te ngarara kai tangata (T. 134) 'the man-eating reptile.'
 reptile eat man

If we compare the use of *te* with this use of the genuine zero-morpheme, it is evident that *te* makes the following word independent in relation to the preceding word. This may be illustrated by a small experiment with a concrete example:

ka noho taurereka te heke o Hotu ki taua wahi (AHM. IV, 30)
 live slave migration this place
 (vassal)

'those who has emigrated under Hotu lived as slaves (vassals) in this place.'

If *te* is placed before *taurereka* the meaning becomes quite different:

ka noho te taurereka heke o Hotu ki taua wahi 'Hotu's emigrated slave lived in this place.'

Te thus has the negative effect of preventing the succeeding word from being attributed to the preceding one. At the same time it has a positive effect, viz. that of putting the word in some relation to the other parts of the sentence. The question which relations has in part been discussed above. The survey naturally falls into two parts according as the *te*-member is determined by a preposition or not.

A. The *te*-member not determined by a preposition.

In this case it may be the subject of a verbal sentence, in which it is generally placed after the verb. It may, however, be placed before the verb, in which case it is characterized as the subject by means of the emphasizing particle *ko*. Both types are represented in the following example:

ka piki *te* tangata ra ki te wero manu ma raua. Ko *te* hoa
 climb man spear bird they two companion
 i noho i raro. (AHM. IV, 31) 'He climbed up to catch birds for
 sit below

himself and his companion; but the companion was sitting below.'

In negative sentences the subject is placed before the main verb, which seems to be a violation of the rule just referred to. It is, however, questionable whether this violation is not apparent, only, as the negative in Maori in this case may be apprehended as a verb (the same applies to the word-order after *katahi* = *ka tahi*).

Te-members may be subjects of nominal sentences:

he tane *te* tamaiti 'the child is a boy.'

A *te*-member may be the predicative of a nominal sentence with *ko* preceding it:

Ko *te tama* tera a Turi 'It is Turi's son' (Williams, First Lessons
 son that
 § 39).

A *te*-member may be in apposition. Some examples have been adduced above. We shall add one, only:

ka huna ia i a ia *te wahine*. (AHM. IV, 216) 'she concealed
 conceal she she woman
 herself, the woman.'

B. Finally, a *te*-member may be determined by a preposition, in which case the number of relations to the other parts of the sentence is the same as the number of prepositions. It should be noted that a preposition can never be added immediately to a full word, but always requires a definitive between it and the full word. A few local nouns entering in the compound prepositions, however, are an exception. It is also generally stated that this rule does not apply to the prepositions *a* and *hei* in the meanings 'after the manner of' and 'for, to serve as, to be', respectively. In my opinion, however, these words are not prepositions, but belong to the definitives. As regards *hei*, the reasons for this view will be stated below.

We may now at length characterize *te* as a neutral definitive which denotes an unspecific relation to other parts of the sentence different from the attributive relation, more independent than the genuine zero-morpheme, but more dependent than the relation indicated by the verbal particles.

It is no doubt this indefiniteness of *te* in a syntactical respect that makes the Maori so disinclined to begin a sentence with a *te*-member without a qualifying word. As we shall see below, this does not, however, apply to the concreative, which in itself has so much independence that this is not lost by *te* preceding.

Besides *te*, *he* is of particular interest among the definitives. *He*, which may be termed the indefinite article, denotes the species.¹ It particularly indicates that something or somebody belongs to the species. In this way *he* is used before the predicative of a nominal sentence:

he tane taku tamaiti (JPS. 5, 167) 'My child is a boy.'
 male sex my child

He imparts such an independence that the subject need not be stated. *He wahine!* (JPS. 5, 167) means 'it is a woman!' It may also be used impersonally; some women hearing a noise from a tree said: *He tangata* 'There is somebody (there)' (AHM. IV, 32). *He* is used like this not only in exclamations but in ordinary narrative style. A woman was waiting for her husband, and on hearing footsteps she thought that he was coming, but the sound increased in strength:

¹ JPS. 38, 63.

katahi ia ka mohio *he* tangata ke (JPS. 5, 167) 'Now for the
 then she understand man other
 first time she understood that it was strangers (coming).'

Besides this characteristic application *he* is used to denote any specimen(s) of the species:

kahore *he* kohatu o reira ko taua kohatu anake (AHM. IV, 47)
 not stone there this stone only
 'not any stone in this place, but this stone only.'

In this application *he* competes with *te* and *tetahi*. If the part of the sentence is further determined by a preposition, *he* cannot be used at all, *te* or *tetahi* thus becoming compulsory. This latter feature shows an independence in *he* corresponding to the former application being the commonest by far, for which reason it seems justifiable to consider it the main feature.

To my knowledge the function of *hei* has not yet been clearly recognized. This is undoubtedly due to *hei* being used in two ways. It is partly used as a regular preposition, and as such never immediately before the full word, but always followed by a definitive; it then denotes a future time or place, e. g. *hei te po* 'in a future night.' Partly it is used immediately before the full word. If only for formal reasons it seems risky to consider *hei* a preposition in this case. From a historical point of view it is not improbable that *hei* in these two applications originates from one and the same word; but in the Maori language known to us the two applications are clearly distinct both formally and functionally. Hence H. W. WILLIAMS¹ entertains the same idea when stating that in the latter case *hei* may be a conjunction or a particle. However, it seems to me that *hei* used immediately before a full word shows so striking a resemblance to *he* in the chief application of this word that I do not hesitate to distinguish between the preposition *hei* and the definitive *hei*. By doing so we shall best understand their different relations to *te*.

In what follows I shall give my reasons for this view of *hei*.

Whereas *he* denotes something or somebody as *being* of some species, *hei* denotes something or somebody as *becoming* of some species. A typical example is:

¹ JPS. 38, 65.

noho rawa mai i Whakatiwai a Hotunui *hei* rangatira no taua
 live quite hither chief this
 iwi. (T. 114) 'Hotunui settled for good in Whakatiwai as chief
 tribe
 of this tribe.'

Hei expresses that settling down he becomes chief of the tribe, which he was not before.

ka wekua tona pake e te rakau, ka motu nga hukahuka, a
 tear(p) his cape by tree severed shred
 tupu tonu ake *hei* rakau nui. (T. 68) 'his pake (a sort
 grow immediately up tree large

of cape) was torn by a tree, some shreds were left and grew up as a large tree.'

Hei expresses the change from shreds to tree. It is interesting to compare this normal construction with a more unusual one:

A whakarerea ana tona pare i reira, tupu tonu
 cast away(p) his ornament for the head there grow immediately
 ake *he* pohutukawa. (T. 86) 'and there his ornament for the head
 up

was thrown away and immediately grew up into a pohutukawa-tree.'

The construction here is irregular, we should expect *hei* for *he*. The author perhaps has been thinking of that tree as still standing there. What is of interest in this connexion is, however, that *he* is so close to *hei* that it may supplant the latter even if perhaps it is not normal Maori.

Two other examples show the same substitution of *he* for *hei*; here, too, the use of *hei* would be the normal.

ka waiho tenei *hei* take pakanga ma Tangaroa-mihi ratou ko
 let be this cause war they
 taua hunga. (T. 136) 'This to Tangaroamihhi and the people
 this people

became a reason for war.'

No reira, ki te waiho e te tangata *he* putake mo tana whakapapa
 let be man root his pedigree

aua Po, e he ana (L. I, 56) 'Therefore, if anybody lets these
 these Night fail

Nights be the beginning of his pedigree, he is mistaken.'

These examples show the close similarity in function of *he* and *hei*.

The *hei*-member is mostly in apposition with the subject of a verbal sentence. As such it may be more or less firmly attached to the sentence. If the connexion is rather firm, it will by its sense indicate the purpose of the action of the verbal sentence:

maka iho te kotuku te huia hei
 place down feathers of the heron feathers of the huja
 whakapaipai mona. (T. 116) 'he placed feathers of heron and
 ornament
 huja as an ornament for him.'

The *hei*-member may also more independently add a piece of information:

Na, katahi ia ka haere mai me tona ora ano hei hoa
 Look! then he go hither with his slave own companion
 haere mona. (AHM. IV, 215) 'Now, then he went there with his
 go
 own slave as his companion.'

Sometimes a *hei*-member is used quite independently as the predicate of a nominal sentence:

ka mea: "Hei rangatira mo ratou taua wahine." (AHM. IV, 230)
 say chief they this woman
 'He said, "This woman ought to become their chief."'

In these examples we have considered cases in which the *hei*-member according to sense might be termed a noun; but *hei*-members may also in sense correspond to participles, corresponding to what was found in the case of *te*, only in a "future" sense.

Koia te taua a Whiro i tuku ai hei whai i a Tane. (L. I, 27)
 That army send pursue
 'That is the army which Whiro sent to pursue Tane (viz. as having to pursue Tane).'

When *hei*-members have a participial sense they only seem to be able to occur in apposition, not as predicatives, which involves such constructions as the following one:

The Prepositions.

The words determining the function of the full words in the sentence are first of all the verbal particles and the definitives. Among these we have but cursorily mentioned the verbal particles, and in more detail the definitives of particular fundamental interest. Whereas the verbal articles impart so great an independence to the full word, or, in other words, conveys a so clearly defined syntactical function to it that further qualified words are not needed, something corresponding only applies to the definitives *he* and *hei*. The other definitives, which we shall characterize together as open, have a syntactically more indefinite character, which partly permits, partly often requires a qualifying word, a preposition, as inversely a preposition cannot be used immediately before a full word but requires an open definitive.

Considering how few syntactical relations are determined by the definitives only, the great importance of the prepositions becomes evident. Hence the study of the prepositions in itself is of great importance for the understanding of Maori, also apart from the wider perspective revealed by this study.

The prepositions fall into two classes: simple and complex prepositions. The latter are formed by the former in connexion with a small class of words (local nouns) which denote simple local (and temporal) relations. Thus from the simple preposition *kei* 'on' and the local noun *runga* 'the top, the upper part' a complex preposition is formed: *kei runga kei* 'upon, on the top of'. As these complex prepositions do not offer particular problems connected with our main purpose, we shall not dwell on them here, but only state that their existence and meaning indicate that the primary prepositions do not principally denote spatial relations.

The number of primary prepositions is rather small. Disregarding a few rare ones, they are: *a* (1), *a* (2), *o*, *na*, *no*, *ma*, *mo*, *hei*, *kei*, *me*, *e*, *i*, *ki*.

A (1) is used before expressions denoting future time. *a hea?* 'When?'

A (2) and *o* denote the possessor of something. *Te wahine a Paoa* 'Paoa's wife.' *Nga matua o te wahine* 'the woman's parents.' In relation to a verbal substantive *a* and *o* denote agent noun or

object. *Te mahi a Kahungunu* 'Kahungunu's work (i. e. the work he performs)'; *te kai o te ika* 'the eating of the fish' (i. e. 'the fact that the fish is eaten'). About the relation between *a* and *o* there are in the textbooks a number of rules by which a common practice has been established. The texts show a more flexible use of *a* and *o*, the main points of which may be summed up to the effect that *a* denotes what is active and determinative, whereas *o* is neutral and thus may denote both what is active and what is passive. As to details in the use of *a* and *o*, distinctness and civility are the most important factors. In all statements concerning food *a* and *o* are used very carefully, thus it says: *te kai a Hotu* 'Hotu's food', but never *te kai o Hotu*, unless one wants to offend Hotu mortally, as the phrase involves the possibility of being interpreted as the food Hotu constitutes himself to a cannibal with an appetite. *A* and *o* enter in the possessive pronouns, e. g. *tāku*, *tōku* 'my', etc., where the same distinction between *a* and *o* is observed. A circumstance mentioned by Maunsell¹, viz. that *toku* has the secondary form *tāku*, makes the study of *a* and *o* difficult in the texts, where quantity generally is not indicated, and where thus a *taku* may be either *tāku* or *tōku* = *toku*.

A and *o* can be used only when what is "possessed"—thing or action—is determined by an open definitive, which is connected with the fact that *a*- and *o*-phrases cannot be used independently, e. g. as predicative, subject, etc., but are to be connected immediately with another part of the sentence. As *a* or *o* in this way require two full words with which it is equally closely connected, it gets a double-sided character and may be conceived at the same time as a pre- and a postposition. This double-sidedness is emphasized by the fact that the word-order may be changed so that *a* or *o* precedes both words. Thus 'the man's house' may be expressed by both *te whare o te tangata* and *to te tangata whare*, where *to* = *te o*.

If a dependency is to be expressed and *a* and *o* for these reasons cannot be used, we find instead *na* and *no* used about a former or existing dependency, *ma* and *mo* about a following or arising dependency.

Na and *no*. First two examples where they express a simple relation of possession:

¹ MAUNSELL, Grammar p. 120.

Na taku tupatu ka ora (JPS. 5, 168) 'Because of my caution he is
 my caution live
 alive.'

We have seen *a* and *o* used to denote a dependency consisting in something originating from something else (e. g. children from parents). As *na* and *no* particularly denote a previous dependency and also hold a freer syntactical position, we frequently see *na* and *no* used to denote the place from where something originates:

No Kawhia te wahine a te tangata ra. (AHM. IV, 187) 'This
 woman man
 man's wife hailed from Kawhia.'

An action may be represented as starting-point of another by means of *no*:

Ka tatari a Maru kia totoro te ringa a Hotu, ... *no* te toronga o te
 wait stretch forth hand stretching
 forth

ringa a Hotu, katahi ka toro atu te ringa o Maru. (AHM. IV,
 hand then stretch forth away hand

33) 'Maru hesitated in order that Hotu might stretch forth his hand, only when Hotu had stretched forth his hand, Maru stretched forth his.'

The fact that *no* actually denotes a temporal, not a causal relation, appears from such a passage as the following:

No te moenga o Whakaue' i tana wahine, ka kukune te hapu
 sleeping his woman swell womb

o tana wahine, (T. 106) 'After Whakaue' had slept by his wife,
 his woman

she became pregnant.'

The context shows that she had not become pregnant by her husband; hence it would seem impossible to use *no* if this in itself expressed causation.

The use of *na* to denote spatial relations, particularly with the meaning of "by way of", is without connexion with the above applications:

Ka haere nei a Paoa, ka tika te haere *na* Mangawara (AHM. IV,
 go here straight go

219) 'Paoa went straight by way of the Mangawara Creek.'

To this deviating meaning corresponds a formal difference, as *na* in this signification may also be used as a verb, e. g. with *ka*:
ka na te akau mai te huarahi (AHM. V, 46) 'the road went
 coast hither road
 along the coast.'

With *i*:

i na uta mai he huarahi (AHM. IV, 197) 'he went by a road
 inland hither road
 which passed by the inland.'

In the passive:

Ka riri a Hotu mo te kai ka na rungatia i tana ringa (AHM.
 (be) angry food over his hand
 IV, 33) 'Hotu got angry at the food being moved over his hand.'

The passive is somewhat irregular as it is formed as if *na runga* were one word.

For that matter, it is doubtful whether this use of *na* and the corresponding use of *ma* is found anywhere but among the tribes in and round Waikato.

Ma and *mo*, as compared with *na* and *no*, denote a future or commencing dependency.

Ma and *mo* before a word denoting a person whom something is to belong to:

ka mea te tuakana mana ano tera tane. (AHM. IV, 32)
 say elder sister self that husband
 of a female

'The elder sister said that this man was to become her own husband.'

Homai he wai *moku*. (T. 154) 'Give me water.'

ka tukua atu e ia tana tangata ki te tiki atu i tetahi ika mana
 send(p) away by he his man fetch away some fish
 (AHM. IV, 202) 'His man was sent away by him to fetch some fish for him.'

The last two examples show how *ma* and *mo* may denote the indirect object of the sentence, when this indicates one for whom something is intended. As *mo* and *ma* denote something prospective or commencing, they are used regularly after *hei* as appears from an example already adduced (p. 18).

Mo precedes a word denoting the future time which an action is to belong to:

Waiho i konei ta taua tamahine noho ai *mo* enei ra. (Makereti,
remain here we two daughter stay these day

The Old-Time Maori. London 1938. p. 66) 'Let your daughter and mine stay in order to live here for some days.'

If a part of the sentence determined by *ma* occurs before the verb in a verbal sentence it is generally an agent noun referring to the future:

Ma korua tokorua ko to teina ahau e waha
you two two (persons) your younger brother I raise up

(AHM. I, 40) 'You two, you and your younger brother, are to lift me up.'

Altogether *ma* may denote something future as cause or condition of something else.

It is told about a young girl who has fled with a young man to the tribe of the latter that the chief of the tribe receives them, and as they are entering the village, a troop of warriors follows them as their rear-guard. It is explained that this happens in case a troop of warriors from the girl's tribe should arrive, and it is added:

ma te mate ra ano o taua rangatira me tana iwi ano, o Ngatika-
death just this chief and his tribe own

hukoka, ka riro ai ano te kotiro ra i ana matua. (AHM. IV,
taken just girl her parents

141) 'only by this chief and his tribe, Ngatikahukoka, being killed, the girl could be taken by her parents.'

"Ka mate tatou i te kai, e kore te korero e pai; *ma* roto
need we food not conversation pleasant (the)
good inside

hoki kia ora, ka pai te korero." (AHM. IV. 219) "We are
also satiated good conversation

hungry, our conversation will not be good; but by also the inside being satiated, the conversation will be good."

Mo not only, as in these examples, denotes what follows, but also relations which in connexion with an action, only set in with this. Thus *mo* comes to mean 'concerning, with regard to,' etc.:

He korero *mo* te haerenga mai o nga tupuna o te Maori i
 story coming hither ancestor
 Hawaiki. (AHM. IV, 21) 'A story telling how the ancestors of the
 Maori came here from Hawaiki.'

Tena tatou ka rapu tikanga *mo* Rangi raua ko Papa (T. 1)
 This we seek plan Heaven they two Earth
 'We must seek a plan as regards Father Heaven and Mother
 Earth.'

Mo finally denotes the cause of an action, which in so far is
 inconsistent with the general character of *mo* as the cause
 generally precedes the action. However, if we compare *mo* with
no, we shall see a certain continuity in the meanings of *mo*.
 Whereas *no* only indicates that the action precedes another
 action, *mo* expresses the constantly active cause, which thus
 asserts itself during the whole action as a driving force:

Otira i koa ratou *mo* te purutanga atu i taua wahine, kia whai
 but rejoice they detaining away this woman possess
 take ai ratou ki te riri ki tena taha o Hauraki. (AHM. IV, 39)
 reason they fight that part
 'But they rejoiced that the woman had been detained so that
 they had a reason to fight that part of Hauraki.'

Ka riri a Hotu *mo* te kai ka na rungatia i tana ringa, he tapu
 be angry food over(p) his hand sacred
 hoki no tana ringa. (AHM. IV, 33) 'Hotu got angry because
 because his hand
 of the food being moved over his hand, as his hand was sacred.'

Ka mea te tangate kia patupatua taua iwi *mo* te kohuru i tona
 say man kill(p) this tribe murder his
 wahine. (JPS 3, 100) 'The man said that this tribe should be
 woman
 killed because of the murder of his wife.'

These examples show that there is no well-defined transition
 from the meaning of 'concerning' to 'because of.'

Finally we find in *ma* the same isolated meaning and use
 as with *na*, e. g. *ma* as a preposition:

haere *ma* te moana (JPS. 14, 200) 'go by sea.'
 go sea

Ma as a verb:

Ko te waka a Turi, . . . i hoe atu i reira ka *ma* te tai tuauru
 canoe paddle away there sea western
 (AHM. V, 5) 'Turi's canoe . . . paddled away from there by the western sea.'

Apart from this special meaning of *ma* and *na* it may be said that the difference between *ma*, *na* and *mo*, *no* is the same as that between *a* and *o* (see p. 20.), and that the difference between *na*, *no* and *ma*, *mo* is a difference in tense; this last distinction is also found between two other prepositions, viz. *kei* and *hei*, which are both different from the others by the fact that they are not used after verbs.

Kei denotes the place where something is or the person with whom something is now, the state in which something is, or the action somebody is executing now.

A man's brothers-in-law are paying a visit, but as the man is not at home they ask: "Kei hea to tane?" (JPS. 5, 168)
 where your husband

"Where is your husband (now)?"

Such a question may be answered as follows:

"Kei Piako ano e noho ana" (AHM. IV, 220) "He is still living
 yet stay
 at Piako."

Another answer may be:

"Kei te tuku i nga pa-tuna" (JPS. 5, 168) "He is fishing at the
 catch eel-weir
 in a net
 eel-weirs."

Hei is a kind of future tense of *kei*. In the case of a designation of place *hei* then easily comes to mean 'to'. In the following example the reference is to a troop of warriors coming to perform a ceremonial plundering, because a custom has been violated.

Ka mea atu a Taharua: "*Hei* au anake te taua, kua e haere ki
 say away I only army not go
 te manuhiri. (AHM. IV, 229) 'Taharua said, "Let the troop of
 guest
 warriors come to me only and not to the guest.'"

Referring to future time:

“Taihoa hoki tatou e haere ki reira, *hei* te ngahuru, kia
 by and by too we go there the tenth
 [month]

rupeke te kai ki te hapoko.” (AHM. IV, 221) “Later we will
 be all come food (covered) pit
 together

then go there in the tenth month, that there may be food collected
 in the store-pit.”

On the other hand the preposition *hei* is not used corresponding to *kei* in the meaning ‘in the act of’. Here the definitive *hei* is used. Thus it is not without reason that the latter is generally considered a preposition even though, according to what has been set forth above, it seems most natural to distinguish between the definitive *hei* and the preposition *hei*.

The preposition *me* ‘together with, and’.

Kua tae mai te tangata *me* tana wahine ‘The man has come with
 come hither man his woman
 his wife.’¹

None of the prepositions here mentioned are preferably connected with verbs. *A*, *o*, and *me* cannot put a word in relation to a verb (a word determined by a verbal particle) at all, the others, it is true, may be used with verbs, but are not according to their meanings particularly connected with these and as a matter of fact are chiefly used in nominal sentences.

In contrast to these *e* is used almost only after verbs and at any rate presupposes a verbal function, *e* denoting an agent noun. *E*-members are always placed after the verbally functioning word (in contrast to parts of the sentence with *ma* and *mo*). *E* is particularly used after verbs in the passive:

nehua ana a Kowhitinui *e* Rata (AHM. V, 8) ‘Kowhitinui was
 bury(p)
 buried by Rata.’

E is also used after verbs with the active form but used in a passive meaning.

¹ SMYTH, *Te reo* p. 117.

I and ki.

The functions and meanings of all the above-mentioned prepositions considered individually are rather easy to survey. There is so much unity in them that it may be said that each of them has only one meaning, although the contexts may vary much in the case of some of them. (The special simiverbal use of *ma* and *na* is left out of consideration). Passing on to consider the two prepositions *i* and *ki* we find that they are not only those most frequently used but also that the meanings they may have, or rather the translations to be used in the various cases, form a very confused picture.

PATRICK SMYTH¹ renders *i* as follows:

Connects a transitive verb with its object, from, by, in comparison with, beside, by reason of, on account of, for want of, at, on, upon, by way of, along, in the act of, in the state of, in the condition of, with (i. e. having), in company with, in the opinion of.

The picture of *ki* is still more complicated:

Connects a transitive verb with its object, to, into, upon, on, at, towards, against, for, in quest of, concerning, in consequence of, by means of or with, in, with, according to, in the opinion of, if.

In what follows we shall try to find our way to a view of the nature of the two prepositions. It has formerly been suggested that *i* and *ki* particularly express relations to parts of the sentence with a verbal function, thus like *e* being different from the other prepositions, and, as we shall see, this fact is the reason why at a first glance they form such a confused picture. This fact makes it natural to begin the investigation within a sphere where *i* and *ki* are used without competition from the other prepositions, viz. to denote the object. There is the more reason to do so as at the same time it allows us to compare *i* and *ki* with each other, both being able to denote the object. The term object is here used in the sense of 'part of the sentence which may become the subject if the verb is put into the passive.'

The great majority of verbs require *i* to denote the object, a minor group uses *ki*, and finally there are a few verbs that may

¹ SMYTH, *Te reo* p. 106—108.

have either *i* or *ki*. For the comparison between *i* and *ki* it is desirable to adduce the last-mentioned group in order to investigate the possible difference between *i* and *ki* to denote the object. This investigation, however, is hampered by the fact that the changing use of *i* and *ki* after the same verb is found only in certain tribes, and is not even carried through particularly consistently. Hence the problem becomes that of finding a connected text in which the difference is observed and which is sufficiently long to furnish so many examples that an opinion may be built on them.

The Maori translation of the New Testament appears to be very suitable for these studies. The special character of this text, however, makes it necessary to consider whether the syntactical peculiarities in connexion with *i* and *ki* in these cases may have been forced upon the Maori language.

The translation of the Bible into Maori was started about 1826 in the mission stations in northernmost New Zealand, in the area of the Nga-Puhi tribe. About this work William Williams¹ tells that the first attempts were made in collaboration with some natives, with whom the translators assembled every day. These natives, however, were partly slaves, i. e. they belonged to other tribes, partly some Maoris who hailed from Tauranga and therefore probably belonged to the Ngai-Terangi tribe. In 1827 and 1830 these first attempts were printed in New South Wales under the direction of R. Davis and W. Yate, respectively. As to the years subsequent to 1830 I have found no information about direct collaboration with the Maoris; but there are records of "the Translating Committee."² The Translating Committee seems to have had a somewhat changing staff during the years, but W. Williams was at the head of the translation of the New Testament, while R. Maunsell was the chief translator of the Old Testament.

Accordingly there is no reason to suppose that the language of the Bible is a distinct Maori dialect even though a definite feature as the one under consideration may very well have been

¹ WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, *Christianity among the New Zealanders*. London 1867, p. 67 f.

² SMYTH, PATRICK, *Maori Pronunciation and the Evolution of Written Maori*. 1946, p. 36 ff.

adopted from the dialect of one tribe. On the other hand the genesis of the translation explains the difference between the translations of the New and the Old Testament with regard to the syntactical question at issue.

The translations were published in new revised editions. Four of these have been accessible to me, viz. "Ko te Kawenata Hou" (The New Testament) 1841, 1862, 1897, and "Ko te Paipera Tapu" (The Bible) 1868. A comparison between these shows that in the edition of 1862 and the following there are no appreciable changes as regards the use of *i* and *ki*.

The possibility that a syntactical characteristic of a translation may be transferred from a foreign language should of course be considered. Of special interest is the New Testament, where a comparison with the Greek original—from which the translation was made—and for safety's sake also with the English version, however, has shown that the use of *i* and *ki* has no parallel in these texts, neither in prepositions, case, nor word-order. In the Old Testament the use of *i* and *ki* considered here mostly seems to be rather arbitrary, but here, too, there is no parallel in the English and the Hebrew texts.

In one case I have been able to check this usage in the translation of the Bible, as the verb *noho* 'stay' is so frequent that the difference between *i* and *ki* may be studied in a genuine text originating from Ngati-Maru. A comparison shows that there is accordance with the language of the Maori Bible, only that this is more consistent than that of the genuine text. In itself there is nothing curious in this; when a text is gone over and over again and revised so frequently as the Maori Bible, it will more easily get the character of the written language, that of following established rules. The genuine texts on the other hand do not represent such a literary tradition and therefore will be less pedantic.

As a result of these considerations we dare in this question use the New Testament on a par with the genuine texts. This view will establish itself as the investigation proceeds, by the correspondence between observations made in the New Testament in this special field and other less special observations made in genuine texts.

As a verb the word *rongo* means 'hear, perceive' and is used in the New Testament with *i* or *ki* to denote the object. In Acts

9, 4 it is told about Paul that "he fell to the earth and heard a voice." In the Maori NT it says:

ka rongo *i* tetahi reo
 hear a voice

About his companions it says that they heard a voice but saw no man:

rongo kau ana *ki* te reo.

The difference between *i* and *ki* corresponds to the difference between the ways in which Paul and his companions perceived the voice: to him it was the all-determining event of his life, to his friends it was only a strange occurrence.

As a matter of fact *i* is used only in the cases when the words heard are actually perceived; *ki* on the other hand implies nothing to that effect.

Acts 10, 46 "For they heard them speak with tongues" is in Maori:

I rongo hoki ratou *ki* nga reo i korero ai.
 hear because they tongue speak

By using *ki* the question is left open whether they perceived anything of this speaking with tongues.

It is also instructive to compare John 5, 24 and 25. In verse 24 it says: "He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life," which is rendered:

te tangata e rongo ana *ki* taku korero, a e whakapono ana ki taku
 man hear my address believe my
 kai tonu mai, he oranga tonutanga tona;
 who sends hither life everlasting his

John 5, 25: "the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God: and they that hear shall live." In the Maori NT:

e rongo ai nga tupapaku *i* te reo o ta te Atua Tama, a te hunga
 hear corpse voice God Son people
 e rongo ana ka ora.
 hear live

In the first place the condition of everlasting life is that they believe, hence the way of hearing is not pointed out particularly;

in the second place everlasting life is said to be due to their hearing and hence it is emphasized by means of *i* that this hearing is not superficial.

In the interpretation of the parable of the sower we learn (Matt. 13, 19, 20, 22) about those who hear the word, but will not allow it to strike root in them; here naturally *rongo ki* is used. In Matt. 13, 23 we next learn about "he that heareth the word, and understandeth it." The editions from 1862 and 1868 here read:

Na, te mea i ruia ki te oneone pai ko te tangata e rongo ana
 Look! thing sow(p) soil good man hear
i te kupu, a e matau ana 'But that which was sown in good soil
 word understand
 is he who hears the word an understands it.'

It would seem natural to use *i*, but probably because the text expressly says "and understands it" *i* in the ed. of 1897 has been changed into *ki*.

We have actually to do with a very nice distinction. The use of *ki* is only indicated where the understanding of what is heard is missing; only where the understanding is to be particularly emphasized *i* is necessary. In all intermediate cases there is room for a certain arbitrariness. In Matt. 19, 22 we read about the young man who was told that he must give all his possessions to the poor. When he heard these words he went away sorrowful. It says:

Na, ka rongo taua taitamariki *i* taua kupu.
 hear this young person this word

But in the parallel passage in Luke 18, 23 it says:

Na, ka rongo ia *ki* enei mea.
 hear he these thing

It is difficult to see any reason why *i* is used in Matthew and *ki* in Luke.

Alongside of *rongo* we have *whakarongo* 'listen', which always has *ki* to denote that to which somebody listens. Thus we have in the New Testament the following shades:

rongi i	rongi ki	whakarongo ki
hear with under- standing	hear neutrally	hear without understanding
		listen (with or without hearing)

In other texts we only have:

rongi i
hear

whakarongo ki
listen

Referring to sight we have a corresponding pair of words:

kite i
see

titiro ki
look at

Here *i* and *ki* thus are used in a corresponding way to that after *rongo* and *whakarongo*. This usage is normal in probably all dialects. Sometimes, however, we see *ki* before the object of *kite*, a usage that indicates that the eyes do see, but what is seen is not perceived completely, e. g. when a person sees another person whom he does not know:

ka kite nga tangata o reira *ki* a Paoa ka mea: “Ko wai ra tenei
 see man there say who this
 tangata?” (AHM. IV, 216) ‘The people there saw Paoa and said,
 man
 “Who is he?”

On the other hand we now and then see *i* being used after *titiro* when the reference is to a close examination, e. g.

Katahi ia ka ata titiro *i* te takahanga . . . (T. 150) ‘Only
 Then he carefully look at footprints
 then did he look closely at the footprint.’

As I have few examples of this subtlety, I do not attach much importance to them in themselves. As, however, they are on a par with the other difference between *i* and *ki*, I have adduced these two examples. How arbitrary usage in the case of *i* and *ki* may be under certain circumstances appears from the following passage:

ka rere atu nga tungane o te wahine ra ki te titiro *i* te
 run away brother (of female) woman look
 tamaiti ra, ara *ki* te uri o to raua tuahine (AHM. V, 19) *
 child namely offspring they two sister
 (of male)

'The woman's brothers ran away to see the child, namely their sister's child.'

Here the object of *titiro* is denoted first by *i*, then by *ki*. The reason why *i* is used here in the first case is probably the consideration of euphony, viz. in order not to use *ki* three times running, which is an example of a general tendency in Maori.¹ However, the normal use of *i* and *ki* corresponding to the difference in sense between *kite* and *titiro* remains, to which we may add that *matakitaki* 'look at, inspect', which thus is not very different from *titiro*, also has *ki* to denote the object.

After these verbs of sense we shall study the verbs denoting occurrences in the mind.

The Maori uses *aroha* when his love wells out, e. g. if he leaves his home or is thinking of his beloved one far away. When Paoa left his home because he had suffered the disgrace of being unable to treat his guests, he stopped on a range of hills looking back at his home district:

ka *aroha ki* ana tamariki (AHM. IV, 219) 'The love for his children
children
welled out in him.' But still he went away.

As a contrast we may mention *manaaki* 'honour, help, bless', thus 'show one's love'. When Makareti was little, she was admonished like this:

Kia *manaaki i* to tungane *i* a Te Waka (Makareti,
brother (of female)
The Old-Time Maori. London 1938, p. 63) 'Honour and help
your brother, Te Waka.'

Here we find *i* being used where there is influence on the object, whereas *ki* is used where the object is in a more distant relation to the subject.

It is remarkable that not only *aroha* but all words denoting occurrences in the mind have *ki* before the object,² so that the above comparison between *i* and *ki* comes to rest on a broader

¹ F. inst. people will avoid saying *ki te kite*, see p. 50.

² This observation concerning the denotation of the object is found in WILLIAMS, JPS. 37, 311 f. In the same paper there is also a survey of parallels in the other Polynesian languages. In the dialect of the Tonga Islands a similar trait has been stated by BURGMANN, Z. f. Eingeb.-Spr. 32, 183.

basis. *Ki* is used e. g. after *whakaaro* 'think, plan', *mahara* 'think, remember', *matau* 'understand, know', *mohio* 'know, recognize', *miharo* 'admire', *piri* 'love', *hiahia* 'wish, desire', *hae* 'hate'. Verbs meaning 'fear' (*wehi*) occasionally besides *ki* taking *i* is no doubt due to the fact that *i* does not denote the object but the reason, which appears from the possibility that *i* may be replaced by *mo* (e. g. AHM. IV, 42).

We shall now consider some verbs that may denote influence or production. The object of result probably always takes *i*, e. g. e whatu ana *i* te kakahu (AHM. IV, 218) 'she wove a garment.'

weave garment

If the verb denotes influence the main rule also is that the object takes *i*, but there are certain deviations. *Kai* 'eat' as a rule takes *i*:

e kai ana *i* nga kai o te ao maori nei. (AHM. V, 106) 'they eat
eat food world
the food of the Maori world.'

But when a fish bites a bait or a hook *ki* is used:¹

Kihai i hohoro te kai mai a te ika *ki* taua matika (AHM. IV,
not be quick eat hither fish this fish-hook
176) 'the fish were long in biting the fish-hook.'

As compared with 'eating something' the 'biting a fish-hook' denotes a looser relation to the object, which thus explains the use of *ki*.

In a few cases we may find instructive word-pairs, thus *tiki* and *hemo* meaning 'to fetch something'. *Tiki* has always *i* (if the object has not an adverbial function):²

ka karanga atu ki tana wahine, kia haere ki te tiki *i* nga ika
call away his woman go fetch fish
(T. 100) 'he called his wife in order that she should go to fetch the fish.'

Hemo takes *ki*:

ka hemo a Rangī *ki* te huata (AHM. I, 20) 'Rangī fetched a
"fetch" spear
spear.'

¹ This semantic difference has been recorded in WILLIAMS, Dict. s. v. *kai*.

² Cf. p. 12.

On closer examination it appears that *tiki* means 'go for a purpose', particularly 'fetch', whereas *hemo* simply means 'have gone away', either literally or in the meaning 'be dead, be weakened'; it is especially used about a spear which misses its aim.¹

Hence it is natural to conclude that *hemo* does not take an object in the same sense as *tiki*, but means 'have gone away' and *ki te huata* 'for the sake of the spear'. As *hemo* probably is never used in the passive, it is in itself inconsistent to adduce the word here, as our definition of 'object' fails, but for our main purpose, that of comparing *i* and *ki*, it is instructive.

If we do not succeed in finding synonyms taking *i* with words requiring *ki* it is difficult to keep on firm ground, for it is not in itself decisive whether a word may be used intransitively, as this may very well be consistent with its taking an object with *i* when used transitively.

The greeting of the Maoris consists in one person putting his nose to that of the other's. This is called *hongī* and the person who is greeted is denoted by *ki*. As *hongī* also means 'smell' it is not difficult to attribute an intransitive character to this word: 'use the nose'; but we have no basis for a comparison. After absence for a prolonged time a ceremonial lament is required at a meeting, and the words to denote this lament, *mihi* and *tangi* thus also mean 'greet'. They, too, take *ki*.

There are also verbs followed now by *i*, now by *ki*, without it seeming possible to find any reason why. Even in the New Testament, which is otherwise rather consistent in its use with regard to *i* and *ki*, we find *rapu* 'seek', now with *i*, now with *ki*, without it being possible for me to see any line of direction for this use.

However, if we keep to the previously quoted cases in which conditions are elucidated, we may sum up by stating that *i* is used before an object which is closely connected with the acting subject from the point of view of the latter, otherwise *ki* is used.

We shall consider some more transitive verbs forming a group of their own.

The two most important words for 'ask', *patai* and *ui* take *ki* to denote the person asked. Here I have also not succeeded—

¹ WILLIAMS, Dict. s. vv. *tiki* and *hemo*.

in finding any basis of comparison. This use, however, may be understood from other points of view, as the goal of an action can be denoted by *ki*, but never by *i*. Provisionally we shall restrict ourselves to looking at a few examples of this, which are of particular importance for the comparison of *i* and *ki*.

Tango 'take' is mostly used with *i* before the object:

te iwi i tango nei i te wahine a Tauru (AHM. IV, 40) 'the people
tribe take woman
who had taken the wife of Tauru.'

Now it appears that *ki* may be used, too, but only when there is a clear movement towards the object:¹

ka tango a Mataora ki tona maipi (L. I, 68) 'Mataora seized his
take his sword
sword.'

It is more curious that *ki* is used after *mau* 'catch'. Even if this may perhaps be understood in the same way as with *tango*, there is reason to point out a special fact in connexion with this verb; for *mau* may mean both the active 'lay hold of, take up' and the perfective-passive 'seized, caught'. In the latter sense it belongs to a class of intransitive perfective verbs requiring a special construction; for sentences with these verbs are characteristic by always having *i* to denote agent nouns, e. g.

ano he kiore e mau ana i te tawhiti whakaruatapu (T. 135)
as rat caught trap having several snares
'like a rat caught by a trap having several snares.'

When *mau* is used in the active meaning 'lay hold of, take up' it takes *ki* before the object, as mentioned above:

ka mau a Tutanekai ki ona kahu ki tana patu (T. 111)
take up his garment his weapon
'Tutanekai seized his clothes and his weapon.'

It is now easily realized that it would cause confusion if the object was denoted by *i*, for then only the context would be able to decide whether *mau* meant 'lay hold of' or 'seized'. In a sentence like *ka mau a Kōkako i a Tamainupo* (AHM. IV, 167) it would

¹ This also seems to appear from WILLIAMS, Dict. s. v. *tango*, though without it being expressly stated.

be impossible to see whether Tamainupo seized Kokako or inversely. As *ki* is actually used to denote the object and *i* to denote agent noun, it is seen that the sentence is to be translated: 'Kokako was seized by Tamainupo.'

When we still sometimes see *mau* with *i* before the object, particularly in the sense of 'keep, carry', it is evidence that this use of *ki* at the same time is against the Maori's linguistic instinct. We find e. g.

i te wa i mau ai a ia i a Matuakore (AHM. V, 42) 'the time when
time carry he
he bore Matuakore (a sacred weapon).'

There is still one verb, *noho* 'live, inhabit, sit (upon), settle (upon)' belonging to this group of words, but which I shall discuss last because it forms a transition to *i* and *ki* as denoting a place. *Noho* may be used intransitively, but may also take the word denoting the place where somebody sits or lives as its object, this becoming the subject in the passive:

He maha ano nga whenua kiano i nohoia e te pakeha (Davis:
many still district not yet live(p) European
Maori Mementoes. 1855 p. 123¹) 'There are many districts which have not yet been inhabited by Europeans.'

While most dialects only use *i* after *noho* there are in AHM. IV, 23—45 and 187—210, two texts from the Ngati-Maru tribe, in part variants of the same historical tradition, where both *i* and *ki* are used after *noho*.

Examining these texts we find that the choice of preposition depends on the aspect: after the imperfect *i* is always used:

e noho ana te ropa a Maru i raro i te rakau (AHM. IV, 198)
sit slave below tree
'Maru's slave was sitting under the tree.'

In connexion with the verbal particle *ka* either *ki* or *i* is used. *Ka* either denotes the inceptive, or that the action has commenced. In the latter case *i* is used:

Muri iho o tena ka mate a Marutuahu, ka noho tonu iho
afterwards down this die live still down

¹ Quot. from TREGGAR, Dict. s. v. *noho*.

ana tamariki *i* te wahi *i* waihotia iho ai ratou e tona matua hoki
 his children place leave(p) down they by his father
 e Hotunui. (AHM. IV, 37) 'After this Marutuahu died, his children
 by
 continued living in the place left them already by his (i. e.
 Marutuahu's) father, by Hotunui.'

But with the inceptive we most frequently find *ki*:

puta atu ko Wharekawa...*ka* noho te heke o Hotu *ki* tetahi
 pass in away live migration one
 o nga pa o taua whenua nei o Wharekawa. (AHM. IV, 30)
 fort this district

'They passed into a district named Wharekawa, and those who
 emigrated with Hotu settled in one of the fortified villages of
 this district, of Wharekawa.'

The inceptive, however, is also occasionally followed by *i*:

ka tae ki Te Awaiti ka noho *i* tetahi pa o reira (AHM. IV,
 arrive live one fort there
 38) 'they arrived at Te Awaiti and settled down in one of the
 fortified villages of this place.'

After the other particles of tense *i* and *ki* change, apparently
 without any rule, but *i* is the preposition preferred.

In the New Testament this is carried through most rigidly.
 After *e noho ana* we always find *i*, after *ka noho* and *e noho*
 (future) always *ki*.

In the main *i* thus is preferably used where the action is
 closely connected with the object, the place, whereas *ki* is used
 where the connexion is looser, perhaps so that the object is not
 included in the action, but appears as the goal of the action.

Thus we are led to consider the general use of *i* and *ki* before
 indications of place. The main rule here agrees with what was
 said above, viz. that *i* is used about the firm, *ki* about the loose
 connexion.

We shall consider this in more detail.

I not only denotes the place of an action, but is used in all
 indications of place where the reference is to a stay in the place:

I Whakatiwai ano te wahi *i* haaia ai aua kupenga
 itself place catch in a net(p) where these net

e Maru ma (AHM. IV, 35) 'The place where fishing
by and his people
with these nets was made by Maru and his people was in
Whakatiwai itself.'

ka u ki Warahoe i Hauraki. (AHM. IV, 38) 'and
reach (the land)
landed at Warahoe in Hauraki.'

Maori further has two prepositions at its disposal for the indication of place, viz. *kei* and *hei*, and as these are used with reference to the present and the future, respectively, it particularly devolves on *i* to denote past events, although this preposition does not in itself, as the two words mentioned, indicate any temporal relation.

If an action does not involve any change of place *i* may denote the place where it occurs:

E tupu mai nei ano i reira tera tarutaru (AHM. IV, 22) 'These
grow hither still there that herbage
plants still grow there.'

ka totohe ratou ara nga tangata o nga waka katoa nei i reira.
contend they namely man 'canoe all there
(one with another)
(AHM. IV, 25) 'they, namely the people from all these canoes,
fought (each other) there.'

With verbs of movement *i* denotes the places which always (wholly or in part) belong to the action from whatever aspect it may be stated, viz. the starting-point and the way, but not the goal:

I haere mai a ia i whea? (AHM. IV, 216) 'From where did he
go hither he where
go hither?'

Ka hoe atu i reira ka ma te moana taiauru (AHM. IV, 23)
paddle away there by way of sea western
'they rowed away from there by way of the western sea.'

Here *ma* is used to refer to the way, which is the more natural as *i* has already been used about the starting-point, but the commonest usage by far is that the way is denoted by *i*:

ka haere mai i te tai hauauru (AHM. IV, 216) 'he went here
 go hither sea western
 by way of the western sea.'

In contrast to the starting-point and the way, the extreme point or goal of the movement is always denoted by *ki*. This also in so far agrees with the general character of *ki*, as the goal generally stands in a looser relation to the acting subject, since it is not necessarily always reached. *Ki*, however, is used independently of this being the case or not in the individual case:

I haere mai tenci tangata a Peha i te rawhiti a i haere mai
 go hither this man east go hither
ki Kawhia (AHM. V, 14) 'This man, Peha, went from the eastern regions and went to(wards) Kawhia (which he reaches, as appears from the context).

Ka haere te tangata nei, ka ahu *ki* Piako (AHM. IV, 219)
 go man have a certain
 direction

'This man went in the direction of Piako.'

Whereas such verbs as 'go' and 'have a certain direction' do not imply that the goal is reached, this is of course implied in such verbs as *tae* 'arrive at, reach' and *u* 'land', which, however, as said above, take *ki*:

a ka tae raua *ki* te ngahere: (AHM. V, 101) 'and the two
 and reach they two forest
 arrived at a forest.'

hoe tonu te waka ra ka u *ki* Oruarangi. (AHM. IV, 39)
 paddle still canoe reach the
 land

'the canoe paddled farther and landed at Oruarangi.'

This use of *ki*, however, is not strange, *i* and *ki* actually having a sphere in common here, as *ki* may simply denote the place where something is happening. It is probably used regularly with approximate statements:

No te tau i tahuri ai te waka a Ngatimaru *ki* Tamaki nei i horo
 year upset canoe reach the cave in
 ai taua ana kohatu. (AHM. IV, 26) 'In the year when the Ngati-
 this cave stone
 maru canoe was upset near Tamaki this rock cave collapsed.'

(I here rely on John White's translation, as it is impossible to check this without a local knowledge).

kua tata te waka nei *ki* Tipitai. (AHM. IV, 134) 'the canoe had
 be near canoe
 got close to Tipitai.'

Further *ki*, like *i*, denotes the place of an action which does not involve a change of place:

E ko taku tamaiti i whanau nei *ki* Kawhia! (AHM. V, 16) 'My
 my child be born
 child born at Kawhia!'

This is the conclusion of our comparison of *i* and *ki* in two spheres where, as it were, their meanings meet. We have thus on the one hand been able to form an idea of the difference between them, but on the other it has also forced us to a rather thorough occupation with these two spheres of usage. Passing on to considering all uses of *i* and *ki* individually, we find that the difference between *i* and *ki* in the special cases may be generalized into a full characterization of *i* and *ki*; for we shall see that *i* denotes close and essential relations and *ki* more distant and secondary ones.¹

These meanings are particularly realized in verbal sentences in which *i* thus denotes a number of circumstances closely connected with or of essential importance to the subject, whereas *ki* denotes nearly all other circumstances connected with the action.

Before we look at a number of context-types, first of the use of *i*, then of the use of *ki*, it should be noted that apart from the cases already adduced and a few others, we shall not at present state any special reasons for the justification of characterizing all the relations denoted by *i* as close, but we shall return to this question below.

¹ I have not found any previous attempt at viewing the meanings of *ki* as a unity. As to *i* HANS JENSEN, Sprachw. Abh. I, p. 26 remarks that *i* "gewisse Beziehungen zwischen der Handlung und ihren näheren Umstände ausdrückt." Hans Jensen limits himself to offering this remark, which refers to the Polynesian languages in general, and gives no further reasons.

i.

I denotes the time of an action, particularly the time as taken up by the action, but also as a point, where, however, *no* competes with *i*:

ka whakapaea taua pa nei e te taua *i* te po, *i* te ao (T. 154)
besiege(p.) this fort by army night day
'this fort was besieged by the army for nights and days.'

ka hoki taua karere *i* te ahiahi (AHM. IV, 224) 'the messenger
return this messenger evening
returned in the evening.'

This usage is rather similar to the use of *i* before a word denoting an action of which that described by the verb is a part:

ka turia te iwi ra a hinga iho *i* te parekura i te kotahi
fight with(p) tribe be killed down battle one
rau ma whitu nei (AHM. V, 16) 'there was fighting against
hundred and seven
the tribe and it was killed during the battle by the three hundred
and forty (viz. 170 counted by pairs).

I may express that an action is simultaneous with another. If the action is described in a verbal sentence *i* is placed before the subject which, again, is placed before the verb:

I a ia ano e noho ana i tona matua ka whakatatau raua ko tona
he yet live his parents quarrel they two his
hoa wahine. (AHM. IV, 215) 'while he was still living with
companion female
his parents he and his wife had a quarrel.'

The fact that *i* denotes the place when this is closely connected with the action has been mentioned before. We shall therefore only add the meaning 'with, at the house of' as seen in the last example quoted (*i tona matua*).

Nor is there any reason to repeat what has been set forth above about *i* to denote the close object.

On the other hand there is reason to go into the use of *i* to denote the starting-point, as this use is found not only after verbs of movement, but also in the case of a figurative starting-point:

ka ora mai na koe *i* te mate. (AHM. IV, 139) 'You have now
 escape hither you death
 escaped death.'

Thus *i*, like the ablative of Latin is especially used in connexion with comparatives.

nui atu te hiahia o Takarangi ki a Raumahora *i* te hiahia ki
 great away desire desire
 te riri. (T. 155) 'Takarangi's desire of Raumahora is greater than
 strife
 his desire of strife.'

A word denoting the cause of an action may be preceded by *i*:

kaore ia i ata kite atu i Mokoia *i* te pouri o te po (T.
 not she clearly see away darkness night (T.
 110) 'she did not see Mokoia clearly because of the darkness of
 night.'

I is here used alongside of *mo*, but there is the difference that *i* can be used only to denote a cause having a direct effect on the subject; otherwise *mo* is used, e. g.

ka mea te tangata kia patupatua taua iwi *mo* te kohuru i tona
 say man kill(p) this tribe murder his
 wahine (JPS. 3, 100) 'he said that this tribe should be cut down
 woman
 because of the murder of his wife.'

When a predication expresses a subjective estimate, *i* denotes that from which the estimate originates, and which thus somehow is the cause of the predication:

He wahine ahua pai *i* tona kanohi (T. 157) 'She was a
 woman appearance beautiful his eye
 beautiful woman in his eyes.'

Ko te korero nei, ko te pa me tuku ki a ia, makatikati ana
 utterance fort give up he galling
i a au (Will. Dict. s. v. *makatikati*, cf. s. v. *i*) 'This utterance
 I
 that the fort is to be given up to him is galling in my opinion.'

PATRICK SMYTH as an example of this meaning of *i* adduced the following sentence: *He hipi tera i ko, i au* 'That is a sheep

yonder, in my opinion.¹ This example is presumably a construction, and I consider it doubtful that it should be good Maori to use *i* here, where there is a reference to an objective relation, in such cases *ki* is used in the texts.²

The use of *i* to denote 'reason' is related to the use of *i* before agent nouns after verbs with a perfecto-passive sense.

This has been mentioned on p. 37; to the example adduced there the following may be added:

ka whakaaro a Tutamure kua mate taua hunga *i* te hemo kai
 think suffering this people want food
 (JPS. 1, 149) 'Tutamure thought that these people were weakened for want of food.'

As a rule this is expressed without the use of *hemo*:

ka mate raua *i* te kai (JPS. 3, 99) 'They (two) were hungry.'
 need they two food

Here *mate* is no doubt to be interpreted as transitive so that *i* indicates an object as *mate* in this sense has a passive form, *matea* 'be needed'. *Mate*, however, has mostly been interpreted as intransitive and therefore the meaning 'for want of' has been attributed to *i* from this special idiom, which thus must be considered a misunderstanding.

A kind of agent noun also occurs in the following example:

Ko te kete kai ma 'Te Ao' *i* a Kuharoa (JPS. 15, 131) 'Kuharoa
 basket food
 prepares the food-basket for 'Te Ao'.'

I finally is used to connect things, etc., belonging together:

I a Haua te whenua ki te taha ki te moana (AHM. V, 33) 'The
 tract side sea
 tract on the side towards the sea belongs to Haua.'

Te tangata *i* te puahi³ 'The man with the cloak of dogskin.'
 man cloak of dogskin

I te tiki wahie a ia⁴ 'He was getting wood.'
 fetch wood

¹ SMYTH, *Te reo* p. 107.

² See pp. 50f.

³ WILLIAMS, *Dict.* s. v. *i*.

⁴ SMYTH, *Te reo* p. 107.

Ka hoki a Hine i a Tini ratou ko Kae ki te kainga o Tinirau.
 return they home

(AHM. II, 123) 'Hine returned to Tinirau's home together with Tini and Kae.'

In this connexion it may also be pointed out that in a complex preposition, e. g. *kei runga i*, it is possible to replace *i* by *o*, thus using *kei runga o*.

In some of these applications *i* is used in the same meaning as certain other prepositions, particularly *kei* and *hei*, and as these refer to the present and the future, respectively, *i* generally comes to refer to the past. This does not, however, apply to cases in which the others cannot be used—thus *kei* cannot be negatived—which shows that a reference to the past is not inherent in *i*.

As for the position of the *i*-members in verbal sentences the main rule is that they follow the verb. *I*-members denoting time and place, however, may also be placed before without this making any difference in sense, a point on which the *i*-members differ from certain *ki*-members.

It has been tried here to present a grouping of the various contexts in which *i* may appear, and the senses belonging here. As will be seen there is also contact on other points than those suggested by the grouping. Thus the last group is related to the meaning 'with, at the house of', which is here placed under the local terms. From the point of view of the old Maoris time in a certain sense is something produced by the action, so that time and object are closer to each other than might be supposed at a first glance. In the case of *noho* we saw the object and the place being merged. Such an example as "*Ko te kete kai ma Te Ao' i a Kuharoa*" has been placed under the group of agent nouns, but might be interpreted as a kind of "genitive of accordance". However, I consider this grouping as something secondary and therefore have only chosen to present it as clear as possible while at the same time endeavouring not to allow the presentment to be too much coloured by the West European prepositions, which is a sure way to make it all extremely confused.

ki.

Whereas the relations denoted by *i* constitute a rather compact body, it is in the nature of things that the more distant relations, which are denoted by *ki*, form a more variegated and unconnected picture. If thus we must make certain reservations as regards the grouping of the individual uses of *i*, this applies to *ki* to a much higher degree.

By means of *ki* some parts of the sentence are denoted which so to say 'fill in' the picture of the action. We have already mentioned how *ki* denotes the place, particularly if this is in a rather loose connexion with the action. Thus the goal of a movement was denoted by *ki*, which may be considered a special case of the goal of an action or that towards which the action is directed taking *kī*:

Ka mea a Manaia kia haere ia ki te moana *ki* tetahi ika ma tana
 say go sea some fish his
 ohu (T. 99) 'Manaia said that he would go out on to the sea
 company
 (of workers)
 for some fish for his men.'

ka mea atu a Paoa *ki* ona teina: Haere koutou . . .
 say away his younger brother go you two
 (AHM. IV, 216) 'Paoa said to his two younger brothers: Go . . .'

Thus we understand the conditions mentioned on p. 36 according to which *ui* and *patai*, which both mean 'ask', take *ki* before the object, the person asked, e. g.

ka ui atu a Maui *ki* ona tuakana (T. 6) 'Maui asked his
 ask away his elder brother
 elder brothers.'

The intention of an action also belongs to the goal of it, but the discussion in detail of this will be postponed.

The above examples show that the goal cannot be kept apart from the indirect object of a sentence. Hence we regularly find this denoted by *ki*. To the above examples the following may be added:

Ka mea atu te tangata nei ki tana hoa, kia hoatu a raua
 say away man his companion give they two

kai *ki* nga wahine nei. (AHM. IV, 199) 'He told his companion to
 food woman
 give their food to the women.'

He rarururu *ki* a Te Ao' ratou ko ana wahine. (JPS. 15, 131)
 trouble they his woman
 'Trouble for Te Ao' and his wives.'

Mate iho i reira o tenei *ki* a Tara ara o te iwi o Tara kotahi
 dead down there this namely tribe one
 topu (AHM. V, 32) 'Of those who were for Tara, namely of
 Tara' scribe, two [hundred] died.'

This is an extraordinary use of *ki*. The phrase, however, is not very common, and the fact that the narrator repeats it with an *ara* 'namely' also seems to indicate that the Maori himself feels it as being on the extreme boundaries of the possibilities of *ki*.

For that matter *mo* and *ma* compete with *ki* as 'dative prepositions'. Apart from the fact that *mo* and *ma* are particularly used in nominal sentences, they also encroach upon the special sphere of *ki*, the verbal sentence, when the reference is to food, as *ma* here is the occasion of a little courtesy, as mentioned on p. 20. The example from AHM. IV, 199 quoted above thus is not typical.

Also the instrument belongs to the supplementary indications concerning the action denoted by *ki*:

ka kitea te rakau e rite ana ka tapahia, ka whakairotia.
 see(p) be suitable cut(p) ornament(p)

Ka oti ka pani *ki* te kokowai (JPS. 15, 133) 'When a suitable
 finished paint red ochre
 tree has been found it is felled and carved. When this is done it is painted with red ochre.'

Ekore ranei au e whiti *ki* te kauhoe? (T. 110) 'I wonder if
 not query I cross over swim
 I cannot cross over by swimming?'

Ki also denotes other parts of the sentence which supply further information, e. g. 'to tell something' is: korero *i* tetahi mea, but in telling *about* something *ki* is used:

ka korero *ki* te rangatiratanga o Tukutuku (AHM. IV, 220)
 tell evidence of nobleness

'they told about Tukutuku's noble behaviour.'

Similarly 'to hear about something' is generally: rongo *ki* tetahi mea.

To the parts of the sentence with *ki* belongs an attending circumstance:

ka whiti *ki* te aio *ki* te whakarua (AHM. III, 122)
 cross over calm north-east breeze

'they crossed over in calm weather at a north-east breeze.'

Further *ki* may express similarity:

kia werohia koe *ki* te manu kai miro (JPS. 18, 121) 'so that
 spear(p) you bird eat

you were pierced like a bird eating berries.'

Related to the use of *ki* to denote the goal is the use of *ki* to denote the purpose of an action, or in general another action connected with the previous one. As, however, *ki* may also denote the condition of an action, I shall treat these two groups together, as in other words *ki* is used to denote actions connected with the main action but either preceding or following this. If preceding, thus stating a condition, the corresponding part of the sentence with *ki* is placed before the main sentence.¹ If the *ki*-member is a verbal sentence this may be represented by the pronoun *mea*:

ki te mea ka hua te rakau ka rere atu te manu ka tau *ki*
 bear fruit tree fly away bird stay

reira kai ai (AHM. I, 121) 'When the trees bear fruit, the birds
 there eat

fly there, sit down and eat some of them.'

We cannot from the sense of *ki* expect any distinction between what is certain and what is possible, and such a distinction is not made, either. *Ki* thus may correspond to both 'when' and 'if':

Ki te puritia ahau e korua, ka haere mai ta korua
 detain(p) I by you two go hither you two

mokai *ki* te tiki mai i a au. (AHM. IV, 233) 'If I am
 youngest brother fetch hither I

detained by you two, your youngest brothers will come to fetch me.'

¹ This is a general, not an absolute rule.

Ki nga tangata maori, na Rangi raua ko Papa nga take o mua
 man Heaven they two Earth origin past
 (T. 1) 'According to the Maori people the origin (of the world)
 is due to Rangi and Papa.'

Somewhere somebody tells of a strange large stone placed
 on top of another:

ki ta etahi tangata ki, he tangata tena mea no runga i a
 some man saying man that thing top
 Tainui. *Ki* ta etahi ki he takarotanga na nga tangata o runga i
 some saying result of man top
 trial of strength

a Tainui (AHM. IV, 26) 'According to what some people tell, this
 is one of those who were onboard the Tainui, according to what
 others say, it is the result of a trial of strength held by the people
 from the Tainui canoe.'

As appears, *ki* does not imply that those who hold an opinion
 of a fact should have any influence on this fact; in this *ki* differs
 from *i* in accordance with its basic meaning.

A last use of *ki* is to be mentioned, viz. before a further
 explanation of part of a sentence:

Tikina atu tetahi kete, *ki* te kete nui, *ki* te kete hou¹.
 fetch(p) away a basket basket large basket new
 'fetch a basket, a large, new basket.'

Ano ka rongo te iwi a Ngati-te-taranga, ara a Ngatiraukawa
 hear tribe namely

i nga mahi a Pahau ma, *ki* te pahia i nga kuku o aua toka
 doings slap(p) mussell rock
 ra, . . . (AHM. IV, 84) 'When this tribe, Ngatiteranga, otherwise
 Ngatiraukawa, heard what Pahau and his people had done,
 namely that they had crushed the mussels on these rocks, . . .'

Concretive.

In what precedes we have studied one of the two types of
 sentences that may be expected to supply information of the
 structure of the action, and shall now pass on to the other, which
 I have termed Concretive Sentences.

¹ WILLIAMS, Dict. s. v. *ki*.

The form which I call Concretive has not previously been given any special name, which is connected with the fact that no exhaustive description of its use seems to exist.

The concretive is formed by addition of one of the following suffixes: *-nga*, *-anga*, *-hanga*, *-kanga*, *-manga*, *-ranga*, *-tanga*, *-inga*.

Common to these is the final syllable *-nga*. In certain cases it has been proved that the first syllable has belonged to the root of the word from which the form is derived, and has been protected against loss by the ending; but in the Maori known, both syllables together form a suffix. Any simple rule for the choice of one of these suffixes does not exist, apart from the fact that there is often a correspondence between the passive and the concretive suffix, thus the concretive with *-kanga* corresponds to the passive with *-kia*, etc.¹

We shall take a survey of the use of the concretive, starting with its widest sense.

The concretive denotes an action which is viewed concretely, thus taking place in a definite way:

He korero mo te *haerenga* mai o nga tupuna o te Maori i
 narrative go(c)² hither ancestor
 Hawaiki (AHM. IV, 21) 'This is a tale about how the ancestors of the Maoris went here from Hawaiki.'

The character of the concretive, according to which it mostly expresses past actions, is also preserved in adjectival positions. MAUNSELL³ compares the following two instructive examples:

he toki *tua* 'an axe to fell with.'
 he toki *tuakanga* 'an axe which has been used in felling.'

It is not possible at the same time to express the ingressive and the preterite by means of the verbal particles, as *i* certainly indicates the past, but no aspect, whereas *ka* indicates aspect, but neither past, present, nor future. By means of the concretive a peculiar construction is formed in which the same word appears first in the concretive and then as a verb:

¹ HALE, Horatio, p. 273. WILLIAMS: First Lessons. p. 41.

² (c) in the interlinear translation indicates that the form is a concretive.

³ MAUNSELL, p. 122.

a ka ki te whare, he mano tini ki roto, ko te *moenga*
 and full house large number very inside sleep(c)
 i *moe* ai. (T. 39) 'and when the house was full, and there were
 sleep

a large number inside, they lay down to sleep.'

Te *ohonga* i *oho* ai te pa ra, ka whaia mai matou (AHM.
 wake up(c) wake up fort pursue(p) hither us
 IV, 135) 'As soon as the fort woke up, we were pursued.'

By this construction a means of combining the meaning of *ka* with the preterite has been created.

The conreitive, either alone or, most frequently, with the article *te*, may in itself be a sentence, i. e. be coordinate with verbal sentences without having the character of an interjection. We shall first look at the case where the conreitive constitutes a main sentence, i. e. does not either as the subject or determined by prepositions enter as part of another sentence:

katahi ka werohia te tui ra, ka tu, *te ngoengoetanga*, katahi
 then spear(p) parson bird hit screech(c) then
 ka rangona e nga wahine nei . . . (T. 115) 'then a parson bird
 hear(p) by woman

was hit and wounded, it screeched, and only then did the women hear anything.'

ka tangohia e te patupaiarehe te ahua o nga whakakai, e mau
 take(p) by fairy form ornament taken
 for the ear

ana i nga ringaringa o tenei, o tenei, o tenei, te *haerenga* hoki, te
 hand this this this go(c)

whakarerenga iho, ngaro noa (T. 152) 'When the fairies had
 leave(c) disappeared

taken the forms of the ornaments for the ear and let them pass from hand to hand, they went, they left, they were gone.'

Ko te *haerenga*, ka tae ki te kainga ka kiia atu . . . (T. 44)
 go(c) reach home say(p) away

'They went [fast] and when they had returned home they said . . .'

These examples show that no indication of agent noun or object is required; but often they do occur and mostly connected with the conreitive by means of the preposition *o*:

Te *hokinga* mai o te tane kua mate ke tana wahine (JPS. 3, 100)
 return(c) hither man dead his woman
 'When the man returned his wife had died.'

In this sentence the agent noun was included, in the following one the object is stated:

Te *ringihanga* mai o te tao (T. 88) 'They let the spears shower
 shower(c) hither spear
 down.'

The concreative is neither active nor passive, hence concreative sentences cannot contain any subject. Generally no distinction is made between agent noun and object; but the actual existence of a difference is seen when both are given, for then *a* (or *e*) is used to denote the agent noun, and *o* (or *i* or *ki*) to denote the object:

Tana whakaputanga o nga rangatira o te taua ki te pukana
 his cause to come forth(c) noble army dance
 (with distortions)

(JPS. 5, 166) 'He made all the noblemen of the army come out and dance.'

Other parts of concreative sentences are added by means of the same prepositions as in verbal sentences.

The concreative further is frequently used in clauses so that it is either the subject of the main sentence or is determined in its relation to the latter by prepositions. As a rule the contents of these clauses in accordance with the meaning of the concreative are an action simultaneous with or preceding that of the main sentence, i. e. concreative sentences express either cause (after *i* and *mo*), or are temporal clauses (after *i* and *no*), or are other clauses which may fall within the possibilities of the concreative.

Details as regards the use of the concreative in clauses for that matter is a question of the use of the prepositions, hence we shall here restrict ourselves to adducing a few examples of typical concreative sentences:

I te kitenga ano e Mahanga i nga waewae o Hotunui . . . ka mea a
 see(c) by foot-mark say
 ia na Hotunui i tahae tana hapoki kumara. (AHM. IV, 30)
 he steal his pit batata

'When Mahanga had seen Hotunui's foot-marks . . . he said that it was Hotunui who had stolen from his batata-pit.'

No te taenga mai ki konei ki Aotearoa nei ka titoa atu
 arrive(c) hither here compose(p) away
 he waiata mo taua parekura (AHM. IV, 21) 'When they had
 song this battle
 arrived here at Aotearoa, a song was composed about this battle.'

The concreative in itself has no non-futuristic sense. When this occurs, it is a secondary feature. There are examples of the concreative referring to future events if these are viewed concretely. In one of the legends a man conceives a detailed plan to help his brother who is in trouble. Having set forth a large number of details of the plan he continues:

A ko ahau ko to tuakana, hei te roro o te whare noho
 and I your (elder) brother front end house sit
 mai ai, a hei tou *putanga* mai ki waho, maku e karatiti
 hither and thy come out(c) hither outside fasten
 (with a peg)

mai te whare (T. 56) 'And I, your brother, will sit in front of
 house
 the house, and when you come out, I shall close the house
 with pegs.'

The concreative not only denotes an action in its entirety, but also its various aspects or parts, viz. time, place, object, subject, cause and manner. These terms are to be understood in relation to the word from which the concreative is formed, its verbal sense being considered in its active form.

We shall now quote some examples of each of these functions:

Time:

kihahi roa iho te *nohoanga*, e whiu ana te wahie, te kowhatu,
 not long down sit(c) put wood stone
 te marohi. (AHM. IV, 221) 'They did not sit long (actually: the
 fern-root
 time of sitting was not long), while wood, stone, and fern-roots
 were arranged.'

ko te ra tera i korero mai ai te wahine ra ki ona tungane
 day this tell hither which woman her brother

hei *taenga* mai mo tona tane ki reira. (JPS. 5, 168) 'It was
 arrive(c) hither her husband there
 the day on which the woman had told her brothers that her husband would arrive there.'

Place:

E rua nga *tunga* o te tuahu. (L. I, 3) 'The sacred place
 two stand(c) sacred place
 may be in two places.'

ka tapahia haeretia nga rakau o te taha o te huanui hei *haerenga*
 cut(p) going(p) tree side road go(c)
 mo Ngarara-huarau (JPS. 14, 201) 'A cut was made in the
 trees along the road which Ngarara-huarau was to take.'

To the place belongs a goal which eo ipso is reached:

ko te whare hoki tera hei *taenga* mai mo te manuhiri nei
 house for this reach(c) hither visitor
 (AHM. IV, 224) 'for this was the house which the visitors were to
 enter.'

Object and result:

He manu te *rapunga* utu tuatahi, ara ka haere te taua ki
 bird seek(c) revenge first namely go army
 te patu i te manu nei i te Matata. (AHM. I, 35) 'A bird was the
 kill bird
 first object of their revenge, the army setting out and killing a
 Matata-bird.'

kua kitea hoki tenei taniwha, i peratia hoki te *kitenga* me tera
 see(p) also this monster be like(p) also see(c) as that
 i te mania i Kaingaroa. (T. 129) 'Also this monster had been
 plain
 seen, the appearance (viz. what was seen) was like that of the
 one on the Kaingaroa plain.'

About a peculiar stone resting on top of another it says:

ki ta etahi ki he *takarotanga* na nga tangata o runga i a
 some saying sport(c) man
 Tainui (AHM. IV, 26) 'according to the statement of others it is
 the result of a trial of strength held by the people from the
 Tainui-canoe.'

Instrument:

ka hoatu he waka hei *hokinga* mona (T. 29) 'He gave him a
 give canoe return(c)
 canoe with which to return.'

Tokotoru, e toru tonu nga taiaha ki te *matenga* o Hatupatu.
 three (men) three too sword dead(c)
 (T. 86) 'There were three men and also three swords with which
 to kill Hatupatu.'

Cause:

he wiri hoki nona i te maeke, i te kauanga mai i te po
 shiver because cold swim(c) hither night
 i te moana o Rotorua, i te whakama hoki pea ki a Tutanekai,
 lake shame too perhaps

ko te rua tera o ona *wiringa*. (T. 111) 'for she was shivering
 two this her shiver(c)

with cold because she had swum there by night through the
 Rotorua lake, and perhaps also out of bashfulness before
 Tutanekai, this was the second of her reasons to shiver.'

The manner in which an action happens, its plan:

Ko te *rangatiratanga* o te wahine nei he atawhai ki nga tangata
 be noble(c) woman liberality man
 o tona iwi (AHM. IV, 220) 'The nobility of this woman appeared
 her tribe
 in her liberality to the people of her tribe.'

ka rapua e ratou he tikanga hei *mamingatanga* ma ratou i a Kae
 seek(p) they plan beguile(c) they
 (T. 30) 'They sought a manner in which to beguile Kae.'

The subject of an action which is presented as concluded:

ka patua, kaore tetahi *pahuretanga* o taua iwi i a Turangapito,
 kill(p) not one escape(c) this tribe
 mate katoa (JPS. 5, 169) 'They were killed, not one of this
 die all
 tribe escaped Turangapito, all died.'

ka korerotia atu e nga *oranga* o te parekura i Waiorua . . .
 tell(p) away by survive(c) battle
 (AHM. VI, 29) 'It was told by the survivors of the battle of
 Waiorua (that . . .).'

But the conretive cannot denote the purpose of the action. Indeed, this is maintained in WILLIAMS, First Lessons in Maori p. 41, where the following example is adduced:

Tena etahi purapura hei *whakatokanga* mau 'there is some seed
 this some seed plant(c)
 for you to plant.'

But it is easily seen that the sentence expresses that *purapura* 'seed' is to be the object of *whakato*, hence the conretive denotes the object. The purpose involved in the sentence is expressed by *hei*.

If we want to compare the basic form of a word with the conretive, this is most easily done by looking at a definite case. *Hoki* in connexion with *he*, *hei*, or *te* may mean 'return', thus the mere action without reference to whom or how; it may e. g. be used to make a general statement: He mea pai *te hoki* 'it is nice to return.' *Te* (or *hei*) *hoki*, however, may also denote somebody as returning (or going to return), thus implying a subject; but the reference cannot be any more concrete. *Te hokinga* on the other hand presupposes that the action takes place under definite conditions, as set forth above.

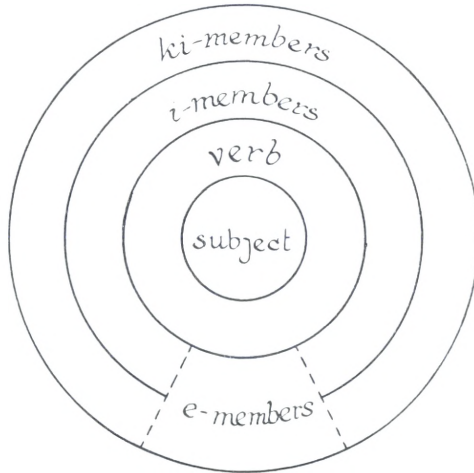
As a consequence of this difference the conretive (*hokinga*) and not the basic form (*hoki*) is used in causal clauses when the reference is to a concluded event in the past. On the other hand final clauses take the basic form if having the same subject as the main sentence, and only take the conretive if the subject of the main sentence is not an agent noun in the clause.

The Character and Extent of the Action.

For the understanding of the extent and character of the action in Maori it is of particular interest that the conretive denotes both the whole action viewed concretely and a number of its individual parts or circumstances, viz. time, place, object, subject, means, cause, and manner. This fact points to an experience of the action in which the latter in its entirety is present in its individual parts or circumstances in the definite situation. When thus *hokinga* may mean that a man returns in (or at) a

definite time, in a definite canoe, etc., this means that both the time and the canoe, etc., are wholly pervaded by this 'return'.

When comparing the parts or circumstances pervaded by the action with those expressed by the *i*-phrases in the verbal sentence, viz. time, place, object, and cause, we see at once that the latter are included in the former, and thus we obtain a confirmation of the justification of denoting the *i*-members as the close and



essential circumstances, even if this confirmation applies only to *i*-members connected with verbs.

At the same time we see that the concreteive denotes more circumstances than the *i*-members, but this fact is understood in its broad outlines when we consider the difference between the character of the concreteive sentence and that of the verbal sentence. The most fundamental difference is that the verbal sentence has a subject on which both the verb and the prepositions *i* and *ki* are dependent, the verb by being in the active or passive form, *i* and *ki* by the categories they denote.¹ But this means that the most important parts of the verbal sentence are determined by the subject, that this constitutes a centre of the action as represented in the verbal sentence, a relation which may be illustrated as in the figure above. This illustration refers

¹ Cf. the fact that the subject may, as it were, represent the whole action in temporal clauses with *i* (p. 43).

to the sentence in the active form. In the passive the picture is changed somewhat, the object becoming the subject while the former subject is denoted by *e*. As the relation between *e*-member and subject in the passive is the same as between subject and certain *i*- and *ki*-members (the object) in the active, we may imagine the *e*-member as inserted in the figure as a sector indicated by the dotted line.

Such a notion as 'instrument' in fact depends on the existence of a subject; for if we look at the concreative we find no distinction between subject and object. The action is represented quite impartially, all that enters in the action is on line. There is not a man or a thing on which the action turns or about which it is a statement; but the action is a joint undertaking to men and things taking part in it. This also excludes that something can sink down to being an instrument or means, for this would presuppose that a subject occupies itself with an object (or inversely), thus availing itself of something as a means. The word instrument in connexion with concreative sentences therefore is a provisional word. From the point of view of the concreative it might as well be termed *object* or *subject*. Hence it is just as natural that the concreative comprises 'instrument' in inverted commas, as that this should be outside the sphere of the *i*-members, which, as we have seen, are determined by the point of view of the subject.

We found that the place was denoted by *i* or *ki*. Here the concreative passes a little beyond the sphere of the *i*-members by also including a goal which according to the meaning of the verb is reached. The concreative thus may be said to denote the place of the action in a more consistent manner.

As to the object the concreative seems to have the same extent as the *i*-members. 'To teach somebody something' is in Maori: *ako i te tangata ki te mea*. The concreative *akonga* 'pupil' agrees with the *i*-member. This agreement was to be expected, as it depends on the verb whether the object is an *i*- or a *ki*-member. However, as a complete elucidation of this question requires a materially greater collection of examples than being at my disposal, I shall leave the question open whether this agreement always holds good.

The way in which an action is carried out may be expressed by the concreative, but neither by an *i*- nor a *ki*-member. Now

the manner is expressed syntactically in a verbal sentence by placing the qualifying word in the closest possible connexion with the verb, viz. immediately after the verb, and its close connexion with the verb appears from the fact that it is put in the passive together with it: 'to follow in walking', *whai haere*, is in the passive *whaia haerea*. The conreitive thus on this point does not form a contrast to the verbal sentences.

Time of the Action and the System of Tenses.

The time of the action is very closely connected with the action itself whether we consider this from the point of view of the conreitive or that of the verbal sentence. Therefore it might be of interest to investigate whether this circumstance is perceptible in the way in which Maori expresses time relations at all. We shall not here try to discuss this question in full, but shall confine ourselves to considering the properly grammatical indication of time, viz. the one appearing in the tense system of the verbs. The special interest of this system in this connexion is due to its being the expression of a conception of time which to a certain degree is compulsory in verbal sentences, and which temporal adverbs and conjunctions can modify only in the individual cases.

On the basis of a European idea of what belongs to a 'complete' system of tenses, OTTO JESPERSEN¹ sets up a schematic picture of this:

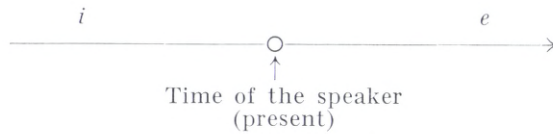


It is characteristic of this system, which is realized more or less completely in the Western European languages, that the starting-point for the determination of the time is the time of the

¹ JESPERSEN, OTTO: *Philosophy of Grammar*. London 1924, p. 257.

speaker, thus something which in a way is irrelevant as regards the action, further that it is possible to carry through a narrative in such a way that it is all the time maintained e. g. that the action is in the past and still to no small degree express the same shades of meaning as in the present. Or, in others words, that a narrative may be transposed from the present to the past or the future.

Comparing the time relations expressed by the verbal particles of the Maoris with this ideal picture of the European conception of time, we find two particles which conform to this point of view, viz. *i* and *e*. *I* simply denotes the past and *e* the future, so that we obtain the following schematic picture:

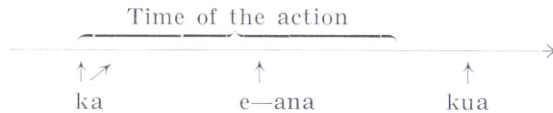


The present has no sign at all among the verbal particles proper, but is expressed by the preposition *kei* (p. 26).

The fact is that *i* and *e* are used only in single sentences here and there, whereas the broad stream of the statement is carried by the three other verbal particles: *ka*, *kua*, and *e-ana* in so far as sentences are concerned.

Ka denotes that an action is beginning or has begun in relation to the following action, and *ka* thus always refers to the beginning of the action. *E-ana* expresses the action as being in progress, whereas, finally, *kua* expresses that it is concluded.

If for comparison we depict these time relations on a line, we get the following picture:



This picture clearly shows the core of the matter, viz. that the time relations expressed by *ka*, *e-ana*, and *kua* do not refer to the time of the speaker, but to that of the action in question. Indeed, after all we find the known categories of time only as viewed from the time of the action, as *ka* may be said to express a kind of 'past', *e-ana* the present, and *kua* the future *in relation to the action*.

This summary statement is of course to be understood as a brief account of the fact that we often in Maori may find long strings of sentences without the least indication whether the reference is to the present, the past, or the future in our sense of the terms, an account which at the same time shows that also the most important means of expressing time relations, the verbal system, is in a decisive way characterized by the view that time is rather something belonging to the action than something absolute.

Conclusion. General View.

Although the pictures of the action given by the verbal sentence and the concrete are different, there is, however, such a consistency in this difference that it may be interpreted as the difference between a "subjective" and an "objective" statement, "subjective" in a grammatical sense and "objective" in a philosophical sense. The question then arises whether the same experience of the action is not concealed behind these two pictures of it. This question can hardly be answered linguistically, but there is another possibility. What we have studied in the preceding chapters, the action chiefly as a grammatical notion, is not, it is true, identical with what is generally understood by an action; but the two things are so closely related that it is worth comparing the action of grammar with the action as appearing from a study of culture and religion.

As the features contributing to the solution of the problem ought not to be detached, an actual elucidation can only be undertaken together with a general description of culture and religion. On the other hand such an elucidation to a great extent is based on features common to many of the so-called primitive peoples, hence it is possible very briefly to sketch out some principal lines.

The extent of the action may be observed in the religious rites as this is expressed by the range of sacredness. What is sacred in the case of more important religious acts comprises: the time, the place, the persons and things taking part (the last-mentioned two factors taken in one corresponding to agent noun, object, and instrument), finally cause and manner as expressed

in sacred myths and traditions of the manner in which the ritual should be observed.

The character of the action is based on the experience of human beings and things which by Lévy-Bruhl has been termed participations¹. By virtue of this solidarity with things an act comes to express a governing and a common will simultaneously.² Again this appears particularly clearly in the religious act, as we here witness how human beings and things are consecrated to a purpose, thus the army, the arms, and the enemy are consecrated to the fight, so that this in the victory appears as a realization of a common 'will' in the acting persons and things.

These brief suggestions point to the occurrence of a definite experience of the action, of which the concrete and the verbal sentence express two variants.

¹ L. LÉVY-BRUHL, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*. Paris 1910.—A clearer and much more thorough account of this experience in a certain people is found in VILH. GRØNBECHE, *The Culture of the Teutons*. 1—3. London and Copenhagen 1931.

² Cf. VILH. GRØNBECHE, *Vor Folkeæt*. København 1912. Bd. 2, p. 35.

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