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Inclusory constructions in the Māori languages of Aotearoa and the Southern Cook Islands

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Abstract

This paper discusses Lichtenberk's (2000) notion of inclusory constructions as manifested in two closely related East Polynesian languages of the realm of New Zealand: New Zealand Māori and Cook Islands Māori. Both languages have productive inclusory constructions typically used to denote sets of human referents as in the following New Zealand Māori example.

- (1) *Kua hoki atu a Mere rāua ko Reremoana*
 TAM return DIR3 PERS Mere 3D SPEC Reremoana

'Mere and Reremoana have gone back.'

Inclusory constructions in both languages are formally identical and fit Lichtenberk's typology well. The two languages differ in their preference for using this construction, which is strongly preferred in New Zealand Māori but merely possible in Cook Islands Māori.

Keywords

Māori, Cook Islands Māori, Inclusory constructions, Coordination, Oceanic Languages.

1 Introduction

Frantisek Lichtenberk coined the phrase *inclusory construction* to describe a pattern he observed in Toqabaqita, an Oceanic language of the Solomon Islands (2000 p. 1). It denotes a type of coordination-like construction, usually involving persons, where there is a pronominal element (designated the *inclusory pronoun*¹) that corresponds in number with the sum or 'superset' of all notional coordinands, and some further specified element (designated the *included noun phrase*) that refers to a subset of that inclusory pronoun. Various terminology based on the term *inclusory* has subsequently been taken up more widely (cf. Abdoulaye, 2004; Bril, 2004; 2011; Haspelmath, 2007; Reid, 2009; Singer, 2001).

To exemplify the inclusory construction, in the English sentence in (2a) involving the coordination of a pronoun and a name, the pronoun shows the appropriate number and person for the coordinand it refers to, while the verb shows plural agreement, agreeing with the sum of the coordinands. Contrast this with the Cook Islands Māori sentence in (2b), where the pronoun, *māua*, represents the dual superset, and the second element, the subset, *Mere*, is explicitly expressed in the included noun phrase.

(2) a. *Mere and I go to Samoa every year.*

b. *E 'aere ana māua_{IPron} ko Mere_{C2} ki 'Āmoa i te au mata'iti katoa.*
 TAM go HAB 1DEX SPEC Mere GOAL Samoa LOC DET PL year all

'*Mere* and I go to Samoa every year.'

This paper describes inclusory constructions and some related types of coordinated and comitative constructions in two East Polynesian languages, New Zealand Māori (mri) of Aotearoa (New Zealand proper), and Cook Islands Māori (rar) of the southern Cook Islands (a country in the Realm of New Zealand), with some reference to inclusory constructions cross linguistically. As both of these languages have the endonym "Māori" I will refer to them here as NZM and CIM respectively.

The inclusory construction is highly productive in NZM where it is the preferred strategy for coordinating names. In CIM it is a secondary strategy for coordinating names, but it is, never-the-less, productive.

2 NZM and CIM

The languages under discussion here are both members of the East Polynesian subgroup of the Polynesian language family. More precisely:

Austronesian > Nuclear Austronesian > Malayo-Polynesian > Central- Eastern Malayo-Polynesian
 > Eastern Malayo-Polynesian > Oceanic > Central Pacific > East Fijian-Polynesian > Polyne-
 sian > Nuclear Polynesian > East Polynesian > Central East Polynesian (Glottolog, 2016a;b).

Unsurprisingly, given their genetic and social proximity, the two languages have some degree of mutual intelligibility, but have sufficient differences (grammatical, phonological and lexical) to uncontroversially be considered separate languages. In the area of inclusory conjunction however, they are formally nearly identical, but vary in their preference for the inclusory construction.

Both languages share the following general features. They are predominantly of the isolating morphological type and to the extent that they are not, they tend to be agglutinative. They have the unmarked constituent order of predicate initial and have a wide range of non verbal sentence types. The unmarked pattern is head followed by modifier(s). They have small phoneme paradigms, typical of Polynesian languages, and share the same vowel paradigm of /i, e, a, o, u/ with a phonemic length distinction. NZM has ten consonants /p, t, k, f, h, m, n ŋ, w, r/ and CIM has nine with the NZM /h/ and /f/ both reflected as /ʔ/. Importantly for this topic neither language has any kind of verb agreement² or indexing. Case and/or semantic role is marked by prepositions. Number is marked on noun phrases by the determiner in NZM and by a number classifier in CIM.

Both languages have pronoun paradigms typical of Polynesian languages, with singular, dual and plural forms and an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural. Table 1 show the NZM and 2 the CIM.

Table 1. NZM Personal pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person inclusive	-	tāua	tātou
1st person exclusive	au~ahau	māua	mātou
2nd person	koe	kōrua	koutou
3rd person	ia	rāua	rātou

Table 2. CIM Personal pronouns:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1st person inclusive	-	tāua	tātou
1st person exclusive	au~āku ⁴	māua	mātou
2nd person	koe	kōrua	kōtou
3rd person	aia~ia ⁵	rāua	rātou

They are both endangered languages after approximately 200 years of ongoing imperilment from English as the dominant colonial language. NZM is an official language of New Zealand and enjoys limited legal support.⁶ However the Māori people of Aotearoa have been engaged in wide-ranging language revitalisation activities since the late 1970s and have contributed significantly to praxis of language revitalisation internationally. According to the 2013 New Zealand census which asks respondents to name languages in which they can “have a conversation about a lot of everyday things” 125,352 respondents chose NZM. Whether or not this number represents “speakers” of NZM is a methodologically and ethically complex question. CIM has approximately 15,000 to 20,000 speakers (Nicholas, 2018) including 7,725 in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2015).

CIM is more under threat than NZM as it has very few children learning it and a much smaller target population. CIM is an official language of the Cook Islands but does not yet enjoy any special protection in New Zealand, where most of its people reside. Despite New Zealand's obligation under the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) (United Nations, 2008), CIM has no official status or concrete government support at the time of writing. Refer to Nicholas (2018) for a more in-depth discussion of the CIM context.

3 Brief overview of some analyses of inclusory constructions

Lichtenberk's analysis differs from that of most scholars in that he does not consider the inclusory construction in Toqabaqita to be a form of coordination or a comitative construction, but rather to be its own unique construction. He contends that it is a type of complex noun phrase with the inclusory pronominal as the head and the *included noun phrase* as the dependant. However, most other scholars deal with inclusory construction in the context of coordinating and/or comitative constructions (e.g. Bril, 2011; Haspelmath, 2007; Nicholas, 2017; Bauer et al., 1997).

Under Haspelmath's definition, "The term coordination refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements" (2007 p. 1). This definition does not preclude the inclusory construction from being considered a type of asymmetrical coordination (cf. Bril, 2011 p. 235).

In all previous discussion of inclusory conjunction in either NZM or CIM it has been dealt with in the context of coordination (e.g. Bril, 2011; Nicholas, 2017; Bauer et al., 1997). In the discussion of these languages as well as more generally it has been observed that there can be some ambiguity between coordination of noun phrases and comitative adjuncts. Bril suggests that "Inclusory constructions with their set inclusion pattern stand in some medial position on the cline between prototypical NP coordination and prototypical comitative constructions" (2011 p. 280). For our purposes, we will not address this issue further here but for convenience, I will use Haspelmath's (2007) terminology relating to coordination to describe the elements of inclusory constructions.

4 Inclusory constructions in NZM

The inclusory construction in NZM has been described as such by Bril (2011), but most other scholars who have addressed it have described it as a type of coordination, as Bauer does with the following schema of coordination of "nouns referring to people" (1997 p. 548).

(name) + appropriate pronoun + [ko + name] ⁿ

In the simple constructed example of an inclusory construction in (3), the inclusory pronoun, the first person dual exclusive pronoun, *māua*, refers to the speaker and to one additional person who is specified by name in the included noun phrase, *ko Pita*. There are precisely two referents in total and the inclusory pronoun is dual to mark this.

- (3) *Kei te kāinga māua_{IPron} [ko Pita]_{C2}.*
 LOC DET home 1DEX SPEC Pita

‘Pita and I are at home.’

Compare this to the simple coordination of two common noun phrases using the conjunction *me* in (4).

- (4) *Ko te waka nā-na i hari mai [te taro]_{C1} me [te hue]_{C2} ko Haki-rere te ingoa o taua waka*
 SPEC DET boat AE-3SG TAM convey DIR1 DET taro CONJ DET gourd SPEC Haki-rere DET name of
 DET boat

‘As for the boat that brought the taro and the gourds, the name of that boat was Haki-rere.’ (White, 2018a p. 22)

The sentences in (5) show examples of inclusory construction with first and second person pronouns as the inclusory pronoun. The included noun phrase (or phrases) can be a name, as it is in (3), (5b), (5c), and (5e), but full noun phrases readily occur in this slot, as in (5a), (5d), and (5f).

- (5) a. *Kua tae mai nei māua_{IPron} [ko taku tuahine]_{C2} ko Kehukehu_{NP} in apposition*
 TAM arrive DIR1 POS1 1DEX SPEC my sister SPEC Kehukehu

‘My sister, Kehukehu, and I have arrived.’ (Best, 1928 p. 146)

- b. *Ko-ia tēnei, ko te kauae kotahi i a māua_{IPron} [ko Hori]_{C2}, kia rua ngā kake tupeka.*
 SPEC-3SG DEM1 SPEC DET jaw one LOC PERS 1DEX SPEC Hori OPT two DET
 tobacco plug

‘But there is this, as Hori and I are of one jaw [family? rank?], let there be two plugs of tobacco.’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018h)

- c. *Nā, kia rongō mai koe, kua kōrero mātou_{IPron} [ko Hare]_{C2}, [ko Kamu Kingi]_{C3} i taua whenua i Taurima, i te whenua o Hopere rāua ko Timoti, ko Hone Ropiha, kia [tukua?] mai taua whenua ki te Pākehā.*
 TAG OPT hear DIR1 2SG TAM talk 1PLEX SPEC Hare SPEC Kamu Kingi LOC DET
 land LOC Taurima LOC DET land of Hopere 3D SPEC Timoti SPEC Hone Ropiha OPT
 give-CIA DIR1 DET land GOAL DET Pākehā²

‘Now, listen, I and Halse and Captain King have said about that land at Taurima, the land of Hopere, Timoti and Hone Ropiha, that it be [given?] to the Pākehā.’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018b)

- d. *“E koro e, he atua ia te wahine e noho nei i a tātou, kua tae mai te purei kohu ki te tiki mai, ko ōna karakia ēnei i ako iho ai, hei patu kai mā tātou_{IPron} [ko tāna tamaiti]_{C2}. (White, 2018b p. 114)*
 VOC old man VOC CLS god 3SG DET woman TAM live POS1 LOC PERS 1PLINC TAM arrive DIR1
 DET cluster mist COMP fetch DIR1 SPEC her incantation PL.DEM1 TAM teach DIR4 ANA COMP
 procure food BENE 1PLINC SPEC her child

‘‘O man! the woman who lived with us was a goddess, and a cloud came for her. She taught me the ceremonies and incantations by which we can procure food for **ourselves and her child.**’’ (White, 2018b p. 128)

- e. *E hoa, e Te Makarini, kia rongo mai koe, ki te mea kua kōrero kōrua_{IPron} [ko Hone Ropiha]_{C2}, e mea te whakaaro o Hone Ropiha mā-na e pai ana, e kore au e tohe atu ki a koe.*
 VOC friend VOC McLean OPT hear DIR1 2SG LOC DET thing TAM talk 2D SPEC
 Hone Ropiha TAM speak DET thought of Hone Ropiha AE-3SG TAM good TAM TAM not
 1SG TAM argue DIR2 GOAL PERS 2SG

‘Friend, McLean, listen, since **you and Hone Ropiha** have spoken and he agrees, then I will not argue with you.’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018g)

- f. *Tēnā koutou_{IPron} [ko ō hoa]_{C2}, noho mai ana ki tā (sic) koutou kāinga ki Rangitoto.*
 DEM2 2PL SPEC DET.POSS.PL friend live DIR1 TAM LOC DET.POSS 2PL home LOC
 Rangitoto

‘Greetings to **you and your friends** living in your home in Rangitoto.’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018d)

When the pronoun is either first or second person as in (5), the first coordinand is not expressed since their identity is clear from the choice of pronoun. When the coordinands are third person referents, the first coordinand is often specified preceding the inclusory pronoun, as in (6). However, in the sentences in (7) the first referent of the inclusory construction is online in the discourse and is not expressed.

- (6) a. *He matua a Koroki nō [Hape]_{C1} rāua_{IPron} [ko Haua]_{C2}*
 CLS parent PERS Koroki belong Hape 3D SPEC Haua

‘Koroki is a parent of **Hape and Haua.**’ (White, 2018c p. 186)

- b. *Otirā, kua karanga-tia tērā he whawhai-tanga mō Ngāti Apa_{C1} rātou_{IPron} [ko Ngāti Rangatahi]_{C2}, [ko Ngāti Parewahawaha]_{C3}, [ko Ngāti Haua]_{C4}, [ko Ngāti Hakatere]_{C5}*
 CONJ TAM call-CIA DEM3 CLS fight-NR about Ngāti Apa 3PL SPEC
 Ngāti Rangatahi SPEC Ngāti Parewahawaha SPEC Ngāti Haua SPEC Ngāti Hakatere

‘However, then fighting was called for over **Ngāti Apa, Ngāti Rangatahi, Ngāti Parewahawaha, Ngāti Haua, and, Ngāti Hakatere.**’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018a)

- (7) a. *E haere tahi atu ana rāua_{IPron} [ko Tinirau]_{C2}*
 TAM go one DIR2 PROG 3D SPEC Tinirau

‘**She and Tinirau** went off together.’ (Grey, 1971 p. 24)

- b. *Ka haere rātou_{IPron} [ko ana hoa]_{Cn}*
 TAM go 3PL SPEC DET.POSS.PL friend

‘**He and his friends** went ’ (White, 2018c p. 92)

- c. *Ko rāua_{IPron} [ko Komako]_{C2}, ngā Rangatira i hoe atu anō i Hauraki.*
 SPEC 3D SPEC Komako DET.PL chief TAM paddle DIR2 again LOC Hauraki

‘**He and Komako** were the chiefs who paddled again at Hauraki.’ (White, 2018d p. 89)

The grammatical category of the noun phrase where the inclusory construction occurs has no effect on the form of the inclusory construction. Inclusory constructions can occur in nominal predicates as in 7c, in the nominative case as in 9 and are viable in all types of noun phrase. For example, the inclusory construction in 5d is in a benefactive prepositional phrase and in 5b it occurs in a locative phrase.

Not all instances with the form exemplified in Bauer’s schema are actual inclusory constructions involving coordination. Example (8) has the same form of the inclusory construction but here *mātou* and *ko ngā Māori* are two equative noun phrases in apposition, not a superset and subset.

- (8) *Ko mātou_j ko ngā Māori_j, mehemea e whiwhi ana mātou i ngā mātauranga nunui kātahi*
 SPEC 1PLEX SPEC DET Māori COND TAM obtain TAM 1PLEX ACC DET learning abundant CONJ
mātou ka kaha ki te whaka-haere ture mō tēnei Koroni
 1PLEX TAM be-strong COMP CAUSE-go law BENE DEM1 colony

‘**We_j the Māori people_j**, if we acquire much learning then we will be competent to administer laws for this colony.’

(New Zealand Parliament, Legislative Council, 2018)

Examples of the use of the standard strategy for coordinating noun phrases can be found as in (9). In this example there is a name coordinated with the third person dual pronoun *rāua* then the second coordinand which is followed by the comitative preposition *me*, and the notional third coordinand.

- (9) *Kua pai [a Te Ngaungau]_{C1} rāua [ko Ngāti Hine]_{C2} [me Ngāti Māhuta]_{C3} kia huihui tā*
 TAM good PERS Te Ngaungau 3D SPEC Ngāti Hine COM Ngāti Māhuta OPT gather DET.POSS
rātou noho ki runga ki taua whenua
 3PL live LOC on LOC DET land

‘Te Ngaungau_{C1} and Ngāti Hine_{C2} with Ngāti Māhuta_{C3} are pleased to gather and stay on that land.’
 (Hokioi o Nui-Tireni, e rere atuna and Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa National Library of New Zealand, 1863)

In NZM, as in many languages, it can be difficult to meaningfully distinguish between a comitative construction and simple additive coordination (cf. Haspelmath, 2007 §5.1). Example (9) potentially lends itself to a more comitative interpretation. However, Bauer found that speakers considered the two sentences in (10) to be synonymous. The first (10a) uses the inclusory strategy and the second (10b) uses the coordinator more commonly used with noun phrases not referring to persons, which is homophonous (at least) with the comitative preposition *me*. Bauer (1997 p. 552) contends that *me* “has both a coordinative and comitative function” in NZM.

- (10) a. *I haere atu [a Hone]_{C1} rāua_{?IPron} [ko Piri]_{C2} ki te tangihanga.*
 TAM go DIR2 PERS John 3D SPEC Bill GOAL DET funeral
 ‘John and Bill went to the tangi.’⁷
- b. *I haere atu [a Hone]_{C1} [me Piri]_{C2} ki te tangihanga.*
 TAM go DIR2 PERS John COM Bill GOAL DET funeral
 ‘John and Bill went to the tangi.’ (Bauer et al., 1997 p. 552)

In the NZM sociolinguistic context there is a pervasive prescriptivist view that the type of construction in (10b) is ‘ungrammatical’ and most learners, children and L2 adult learners alike, are explicitly taught not to use it. Alternatively, the construction in (10b) is analysed as comitative and considered to be explicitly semantically distinct from (10a). I suspect that the inclusory construction is the conservative form for coordinating persons and the *me* strategy was an alternative available particularly when referring to groups as in (9) or to general categories of persons as in (11). CIM by contrast uses both strategies without any stigmatisation (cf. § 5).

- (11) *Haere ake hoki [ko te tāne]_{C1} [me te wahine]_{C2}.*
 go DIR3 also SPEC DET men COM DET women
 ‘Both men and women left.’ (Bauer et al., 1997 p. 550)

NZM also uses the inclusory construction with possessive pronoun forms doing the work of the inclusory pronoun as in (12) (cf. Bhat, 2004).

- (12) a. *He pātai atu tēnei ki a koe, ki tā māua_{IPron} tikanga tāhae [ko tāku tamaiti]_{C2}*
 CLS question DIR2 DEM1 GOAL PERS 2SG ACC DET.POSS.-1D idea steal SPEC my son
i ngā utu o te kāinga o Te Wiremu Potangaroa
 ACC DET.PL payment of DET home of Te Wiremu Potangaroa

‘It is a question to you about **my and my son’s plan to steal** the payments for the land of Te Wiremu Potangaroa.’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018f)

- b. *Otiia kua whakahaē (sic) katoa te tokomaha ki tā Karira, te iti te rahi, ngā*
 CONJ TAM agree all DET many ACC PRON.POSS-Karira DET small DET large DET.PL
tāngata katoa, kia whakaū-ria tā Karira ki tā kōrua_{IPron} [ko Kawana]_{C2}.
 people all OPT establish-CIA PRON.POSS-Karira ACC PRON.POSS-2D SPEC Governor

‘But the majority, the great and the small, all the people have agreed to stay together with that of Karira’s and **yours and the Governor’s**.’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018c)

Although pronouns in NZM are mostly likely to be coordinated with the inclusory strategy, there are examples of comitative phrases with pronouns as in (13).

- (13) a. *Tēnei taku kupu ki a koe, kua whakaaē ngā tāngata_{C1} mō te whenua [a*
 DEM1 my word GOAL PERS 2SG TAM agree DET.PL people about DET land PERS
Ngature]_{C1} [me rātou]_{C2} katoa.
 Ngature COM 3PL all

‘This is my message to you, that the people have agreed about the land of Ngature, along with all of them.’ (Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library: Manuscripts and Pictorial, 2018e)

- b. *Kaua hoki [au]_{C1} e moe tahi [me kōrua]_{C2} i konei; erangi me haere au ki roto*
 NEG.IMP EMP 1SG TAM sleep one COM 2PL LOC here CONTR TAM go 1SG GOAL inside
ki te rua noho ai kia rongō i a rātou i ngā rā katoa
 LOC DET pit stay ANA OPT hear ACC PERS 3PL LOC DET.PL day all

‘I should not sleep together with you (two) but (rather) I should go into the pit and stay there so that I can hear them every day.’ (Grey, 1971 p. 83)

In summary, the inclusory construction is highly productive in NZM and is the preferred strategy for coordinating names or pronouns.

5 CIM

In contrast to NZM, CIM prefers to coordinate persons using the conjunction *ē* which serves as the main additive conjunction in CIM. The examples in (14) are from traditional narratives and those in (15) are from modern texts indicating that this is not a recent innovation in CIM.

- (14) a. *Nā Ngāuta_{C1} ē Vaeruārau_{C2} i arataki i tēia urupū tangata.*
 AE Ngāuta CONJ Vaeruārau TAM lead ACC DEM1 group person
 ‘Ngāuta and Vaeruārau lead this group of people’ (Simiona, 1979 p. 35)
- b. *Tei roto a Tāraro_{C1} ē Kairae_{C2} i te reira ana.*
 LOC inside PERS Tāraro CONJ Kairae LOC DET LOC.ANA cave
 ‘Tāraro and Kairae are inside that cave.’ (Simiona, 1979 p. 23)
- (15) a. *Kua tāmā a Tere_{C1} ē Tā_{C2} i te vari i runga i a rāua ma te kata*
 TAM clean PERS Tere CONJ Tā ACC DET mud LOC on LOC PERS 3D COM DET laugh
 ‘Tere and Tā cleaned the mud off them with laughter.’ (Heather et al., nd p. 7)
- b. *Ko Tua_{C1} ē Mere_{C2}, 'aere mai!*
 SPEC Tua CONJ Mere come DIR1
 ‘Tua and Mere come here!’ (Buse et al., 1995 p. 93)

In fact, I was not able to find good examples of the inclusory construction for every viable pronoun form in the CIM corpus, the Vairanga Tuatua (Nicholas, 2012), the searchable component of which stands at 1.7 million words. In contrast, the NZM corpus of 19 century written NZM, is slightly smaller at 1.3 million words, but contains multiple examples of every pronoun in an inclusory construction.⁸ A rigorous analysis of the difference between the two languages, as well as study of any pattern as to when the inclusory construction is used in CIM, would be an interesting future project. Although the inclusory construction is much less frequent in CIM for coordinating names than the standard additive coordinator *ē*, most speakers recognise the inclusory construction and will produce it when primed.

The examples in (16) show inclusory constructions with dual and plural pronouns as the inclusory pronoun, with the included noun phrases explicitly expressed. As in NZM, the inclusory construction can occur in any type of noun phrase. In (16a), (16b), and (16c), it is in the subject phrase. In (16d), it is in a nominal predicate. Example (16c) has two inclusory constructions, the first is in the subject noun phrase, and the second in the direct object phrase. The included noun phrases can be names (e.g., 16a) or full noun phrases (e.g., 16e).

- (16) a. *Kua karanga mai aia kia a'ao viviki māua_{IPron} [ko Mere]_{C2} i tō-māua kāka'u.*
 TAM say DIR1 3SG OPT clothe fast 1DEX SPEC Mere ACC our clothes.
 ‘She told Mere and me to put our clothes on quickly.’ (Aiono-Iosefa et al., 1999 p. 10)
- b. *'Aere mai mātou_{IPron} [ko tōku māmā]_{C2} [ko tōku tungāne]_{C3}.*
 go DIR1 1PLEX SPEC my mother SPEC my brother
 ‘My mother, my brother and I came.’ (Nicholas, S. (collector) et al., 2012 p. 00:48:40-00:48:43)
<https://goo.gl/35PtWj>

- c. *Tē manako nei au ē 'ano atu kōrua*_{IPron} [*ko Teariki Teau*]_{C2} *e tā i [a*
TAM think POS1 1SG SUBR go DIR2 2D SPEC Teariki Teau TAM kill ACC PERS
Koitai]_{C1} *rāua*_{IPron} [*ko Maitu*]_{C2}.
Koitai 3D SPEC Maitu

‘I think that you and Teariki Teau should go and kill Koitai and Maitu.’ (Purea, 2013 p. 54)

- d. *E 'aere'aere koe ko koe anake 'ua, mē-kore ra, ko kōtou*_{IPron} [*ko tēta'i pupu*
TAM walk 2SG SPEC 2SG only merely or POS3 SPEC 2PL SPEC DET group
tangata]_{C2}.
person

‘Walk by yourself or with (you and) a group of people.’ (Spark, 2011 p. 1)

- e. *Kua 'aere rāua*_{IPron} [*ko tāna tamaiti*]_{C2} *nā te pae tai ē kua kite atu rāua i taua*
TAM go 3D SPEC his son by the side sea CONJ TAM see DIR2 3D ACC that
va'ine i te no'o tū 'ua-'anga i te tapatapa o te tai.
woman LOC DET sit stand merely-NR LOC DET beach of the seas

‘He and his son went beside the sea and they saw that woman sitting at the beach.’ (Simiona, 1979 p. 39)

- f. *Kua tapa rātou i te ava i uru mai ei rātou*_{IPron} [*ko Ara-paea*]_{C2}; *ko*
TAM name 3PL ACC DET harbour TAM come ashore DIR1 ANA 3PL SPEC Ara-paea SPEC
te oire tēia i no'o ei rātou i Tahiti.
DET village DEM1 TAM live ANA 3PL LOC Tahiti

‘They named the harbour where they and Ara-paea had come ashore, this is the village where they live in Tahiti.’ (Moetaua, 2013 p. 42)

- g. *Kua 'akakite a Papehia i roto i te tuatua tāna i tātā ē kua 'oki*
TAM explain PERS Papehia LOC inside LOC DET words REL.POSS TAM write COMP TAM return
*mai rātou*_{IPron} [*ko Makea mā*]_{C2} *ki uta i te 'enua*
DIR1 3PL SPEC Makea AP GOAL inland LOC DET island

‘Papehia explained in what she wrote that they had gone back inland with Makea and them (associated others).’ (Rere, 1983 p. 40)

The examples in (17) have third person referents, the first of whom is specified.

- (17) a. *I te 'ārāvei-'anga [a Tangi'ia]*_{C1} *rāua*_{IPron} [*ko Karika*]_{C2} *i te moana, kua 'u'una a*
LOC DET meet-NR of Tangi'ia 3D SPEC Karika LOC DET sea TAM hide PL
Tangi'ia i tōna au tāne ki raro.
Tangi'ia ACC his PERS man LOC under

‘When Tangi'ia and Karika met at sea, Tangi'ia hid his men below.’ (Tuatua Mai, 2014)

- b. *Kua tā-tuātau-'ia [e Chris]_{CI} rātou_{?IPron} [ko tōna au 'oa rave 'anga'anga]_{C2} te au*
 TAM CAUSE-time-CIA AGNT Chris 3PL SPEC her PL friend do work DET PL
toetoenga o Mana.
 remains of Mana

'Mana's remains were dated by Chris and her colleagues.' (Salesa and Nikora, 2004 p. 7)

In CIM, as in NZM, not all instances of this sequence of words are examples of the inclusory construction as it may also serve to present equative noun phrases in apposition, as in 18a.

- (18) a. *Tērā te ingoa o ngā toa o Vakapora i tā-ia ai mai rātou_j [ko Ariki-po,*
 DEM3 the name of DET.PAUCAL warrior o Vakapora PST kill-CIA ANA DIR1 3PL SPEC N
ko Aitu-pao, ko Rangi-onu]_j ē tō-rātou pāpāki tangata.
 SPEC N SPEC N CONJ their follow person.

'The names of Vakapora's warriors who killed them were Ariki-po, Aitu-pao and Rangi-onu, ' (Gill, 1911 p. 215)

- b. *Kua toe 'ua mai mātou_j ko te tamarikij.*
 TAM remain MERELY DIR1 1PLEX SPEC DET children

'It was just us, the children, left.' (Nicholas, S. (collector) and Kairae, P. (speaker), 2013).

CIM has a comitative preposition *ma* which is distinct from the conjunction *ē*, so the ambiguity between coordinating and comitative constructions found in NZM does not happen in CIM. Pronouns can occur in comitative adjuncts as in (19a) and (19b) and take comitative adjuncts as in (19c).

- (19) a. *I taua 'ati'anga nei pāpū meitaki i te vaka-tangata ē kua āvare a 'Aka'ina*
 LOC DET.ANA time POS1 sure well LOC DET canoe-people COMP TAM lie PERS 'Aka'ina
i tana va'ine ma rātou katoa.
 ACC his woman COM 3PL also

'At that time the people were absolutely certain that 'Aka'ina had lied to his wife as well as them.' (Tanga et al., 1984 p. 36)

- b. *Kua tomo atu tō rāua vaka ma rāua katoa ki te takere pōiri tangotango o te*
 TAM enter DIR2 DET.POSS 3D boat COM 3D also GOAL DET bottom dark ignorance of DET
moana
 ocean

'Their outrigger, with them also, entered the pitch-dark floor of the ocean.' (Simiona, 1979 p. 13)

- c. *Kua karanga atu ra a Tangi'ia ki a Karika; "Nā uta koe ma tō'ou pae tangata."*
 TAM call DIR2 POS3 PERS Tangi'ia GOAL PERS Karika LOC inland 2SG COM your side
 person

'Tangi'ia called out to Karika "You and your section of people go ashore." ' (Journal of the Polynesian Society, 1892 p. 23)

In summary, inclusory constructions have the same formal structure in CIM as in NZM, but are not as high frequency.

6 A brief reference to the typology of inclusory constructions

Lichtenberk's (2000 p. 3) typology of inclusory constructions asks two classifying questions:

- i Do the inclusory pronominal and the included NP together form a syntactic construction?
- ii Is there an overt marker of the relation between the inclusory pronominal and the included NP?

In both languages under discussion here the answer to **i** is yes and **ii** is no. These languages do not have split inclusory constructions as described by Lichtenberk (2000 p. 4) as they have no bound pronoun forms or verb agreement. As for **ii**, there is no overt coordinator employed in inclusory constructions in these languages, that is, the coordination is asyndetic.

The fact that full noun phrases can occur in these constructions is cross-linguistically quite unusual, as it is more often restricted to names and pronouns, but the NZM/CIM pattern is common in Polynesian languages (Haspelmath, 2007 p. 33). It is also less common for the construction to be permitted in all types of noun phrase and for all persons (Bril, 2004).

7 Conclusion

Inclusory constructions whereby plural participants are expressed by means of an inclusory pronoun which refers to the superset, and one or more included noun phrases which identify one or more of the subset of that superset, are highly productive in NZM and productive but slightly disfavoured in CIM. In both languages inclusory constructions occur with all dual and plural pronouns and in all types of noun phrase.

In CIM the construction is less frequently used because it is freely permissible to coordinate names using the standard syndetic coordinating strategy. However, NZM strongly prefers, nearly to the point of obligatoriness, the inclusory construction for coordinating names.

A deeper investigation into the syntax, semantics and pragmatics of inclusory constructions in these languages, and indeed in Polynesian languages more broadly, is desirable.

As a teacher of both of these languages I have observed that learners often find this construction difficult, especially the first and second person variants. Since discovering Lichtenberk's analysis I have employed the notions of superset and subset when teaching this construction with some success. This is but one of many notions that I am grateful to have learnt from Frank. *Moe mai rā e te rangatira.*

8 Abbreviations

All examples use are glossed using the Leipzig conventions. Examples taken from sources that are interlinearised have been conformed to the conventions used in this article. The following non-standard abbreviations are used:

AE	agent of an actor emphatic
C ⁿ	the nth coordinand
CIA	passive suffix
DEX	dual exclusive
DINC	dual inclusive
DIR	directional
IPron	inclusory pronoun
PLEX	plural exclusive
PLINC	plural inclusive
POS	positional
REL-POSS	relativisor introducing a patient headed relative clause

Notes

¹Toqabaqita has both free and bound pronominal forms, hence Lichtenberk's use of the term pronominal rather than pronoun. However, neither language under discussion here has bound pronouns so I will use the term inclusory pronoun.

²Both languages have marginal constructions where the reduplication of a certain class of verb indicates a plural subject but this is non-productive and not always analysed in this way by speakers in CIM (Nicholas, 2017), and is essentially obsolete in NZM (Harlow, 2007).

⁴*āku* following the prepositions *i* and *ki* and *au* elsewhere.

⁵*ia* following the prepositions *ko* and *e* and *aia* elsewhere.

⁶People have an enforceable right to use the Māori language in legal proceedings but not elsewhere (§ 7 Government of New Zealand, 2016).

⁶A NZM loan word in New Zealand English meaning, in this context, British settlers. It now means something like, white settler folk in New Zealand, prototypically of British descent but more broadly any white person.

⁷A NZM loan word in New Zealand English meaning a funeral, particularly a Māori funeral process.

⁸In this paper, the original source for each example is cited, and these corpora contain those sources in a searchable format.

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