

NOT IN ENGLISH AND KORE AND EEHARA IN MAORI¹

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Introduction

0.1. In this paper I will try to show that certain facts concerning the negatives *eehara* (which I will argue is comprised of two morphemes, a particle *ee* and a head *hara*) and *kore* can be accounted for only if the notions of higher and performative verbs are included in their deep structures.²

0.2. In a manner to be explained below, this paper extends some of the claims made in my previous discussion on negatives.³ This paper took up a subset of phrase structure and transformational rules from an earlier monograph⁴ and showed how these rules were supposedly related to some facts of simple sentence negation in Maori. Both sources shared the following series of overt and implicit claims :

- (1) a. Negative sentences are transformations of affirmative sentences;
- b. A sentence negative is itself a constituent on a par, say, with an NP consisting of art + N;
- c. Negative constituents are incidentally initiated by verbal particles but the heads of all negatives are members of a closed syntactic set;
- d. Each negative head is a lexical item comprised of a set of syntactic features, and agreement rules specify which negative heads are appropriate for each affirmative sentence to be negated;
- e. Language data and the claims made about that data can be formally expressed by means of an ordered set of rules within the transformational-generative (TG) approach to linguistic analysis.⁵

These earlier papers gave in essence a number of intuitive claims about negation in Maori. Many of these claims will be shown to be inadequate in the light of new data, and many will also be inadequate not only because the relevance of higher and performative verb analysis was not recognised, but furthermore because the fact was not recognised that *kore* and *hara* are higher verbs. As a consequence the formal TG rules did no more than satisfy the most vacuous requirement — a small subset of affirmative sentences could be generated and a mechanical method was devised to also get the appropriate negation on each affirmative sentence subjected to a negation transformation.

While the direct purpose of this paper has been described in the above paragraphs, this may be

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The ideas and data for the analysis of *kore* and *hara* were discussed intensively with Kenneth Hale to whom I express my gratitude; they had been presented to and discussed in the MIT linguistics class Topics in the Structure of Non-Indo-European Languages, and they have been debated on with various other faculty and students of MIT. From all I have received help for which I am grateful. The final decisions on accepting, or misinterpreting or rejecting their combined valuable help, and hence the inevitable wrong or tangential choices, are of course solely mine.

2. For a discussion of the notion 'performative', see Austin, 1965. For the significance of and treatment of performatives in a generative grammar, see Ross 1969b.

3. Hohepa 1966.

4. Hohepa 1967.

5. The few readers unfamiliar with the framework of the model I am referring to should refer first to Chomsky 1965, and to its bibliography. Other works relevant to this paper are listed in the bibliography at the conclusion of this paper.

clarified or obscured by the following consequent purposes. The first is the need to give an epilogue concerning claims (1a-d). The second is the requirement to give other facts concerning negation and embedded sentences, and to show these facts support the direct purpose. It is relevant to note here that that claim (1e) is not challenged in any way because it is felt to be a self-evident and true presupposition. While the 1967 TG rules are now regarded as inadequate the inadequacy is in the rules, and not in the model. This point leads to the final introductory remark: the complexities in negation are such that the following account is a prologue to further investigation of other negation problems, and to a deeper review of the facts of Maori. Until such has been done any attempt to revise the 1967 rules would be a fairly vacuous exercise.

0.3. In Section 1, I will present a slanted synopsis on one aspect of Negation in English. I intend firstly to show that notions of higher verb analysis are necessary to resolve a specific negation problem, and secondly, to give a salutary example of the importance of having a large number of minds focussed on a finite problem area. Section 2 discusses the 'stative' class in Maori. In Section 3 I will argue for *kore* being a higher stative verb, and in Section 4 that *eehara* is like *kore*. In this paper the rough semantic test for sentence negation proposed by Jackendoff is used to define what I mean by negation: A sentence $_s[X - \text{neg} - Y]$ is an instance of sentence negation if there exists a paraphrase "It is not so that $_s[X - Y]$."⁶

1.

1.1. Linguists concerned with the task of analysing languages other than English, more especially those who are in the sub-field called anthropological linguistics, look with envy at, and regard with awe the nature, volume, depth, significance, and variety of research into English phonology, syntax and semantics. There are two discernable extreme reactions. The first is to regard such research into English as being totally irrelevant to the task of analysing the (usually non-Indo-European) language. The second is to regard the English-based analyses as truisms, and hence the task is to seek in other languages that which is found in English. The third, and probably the pervading reaction among anthropological linguists, is to search through the array of papers on English for the interesting problems which may well occur in other languages, or to read papers about English with the future aim of providing support for or proof against stated universals or universal constraints based on English and a loose assortment of other languages. Generative linguists who work in English, on the other hand, in the main regard languages traditionally handled by anthropological linguists as a source for interesting and perhaps relevant supportive footnotes. The intention here is to eschew the extreme alternatives and merely to describe a problematic area in English negation whose handling suggests an impasse has been reached. The third alternative is irrelevant here, firstly because the impasse in the specific problem does not occur in Maori, and secondly since no work, as far as I know, has appeared giving or suggesting explicit universals of, and universal constraints in, negation.

1.2. There is currently a controversy in English over the analysis of paired sentences resembling the following:

- (2) a. I don't think Margie is sick today.
- b. I think Margie isn't sick today.
- (3) a. It isn't likely (that) Holyoake will retire this year.
- b. It is likely (that) Holyoake won't retire this year.

To get to the core of the controversy I will adopt the strategy of giving what I think are the relevant diachronic descriptions of the treatment of the negative pre-verbal particle, *not*. Others may argue that to see the full implications of the controversy, a synopsis of the whole English negation system is necessary.

6. Jackendoff 1969:218-241

The retort here is that this would open up a Pandora's box which will cloud an interesting controversy with a clutter of negation affixes whose distribution can be explained only in terms of the Green assertion that English has a "thoroughly bastardized irregular and unsystematic derivational morphology."⁷ There would also be the further problems concerned with such negative indefinites as *no one, nothing, nowhere, never*, and with the problematic covert negatives *deny, doubt, wrong*, and what seems to be negative paraphrases *few* and *scarcely*. Let it be assumed here that one can focus deliberately on *not*, and that the controversy concerning the correct analysis of sentences (2) and (3) do not involve other negatives.

1.3. The logical starting point for the analysis of *not*, as isolated here, is Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (henceforth referred to as SS).⁸ In SS the notion is introduced that *not* (or *n't*) is best treated transformationally rather than by phrase structure or 'kernel' expansions. Two main arguments are used to support this. Firstly there are close relationships between *not* (or *n't*) and *do*. To put the SS arguments loosely, *not* occurs after the second morpheme of the auxiliary (Aux) if there are at least two morphemes dominated by Aux. (e.g. *I was not drinking* is assumed to have in Aux two morphemes, *past + be*, hence *not* follows *be*). If there is only one morpheme dominated by Aux, *not* follows that morpheme. However, if the sole member of Aux is an unattached affixial morpheme, *do* is introduced as a recipient or 'bearer'. (Hence we get *I do not drink* as the negation of *I drink*.) These two rules (putting *negative* in its proper place and filling an empty space with *do*) are aptly referred to in more recent TG literature as *NEG-Placement* and *Do-Support* transformations. Part of the second argument used in SS is that the relation between *Do-Support* and *Subject-Verb Inversion* (e.g. to get *yes-or-no* type questions, subject and auxiliary are permuted. Thus, *Were you drinking?* has a relationship with *You were drinking* in the same manner *You drink* is related to *Do you drink?*). The other half of the second argument concerns relationships between *Do-Support*, *NEG-Placement* and *Emphatic Affirmation* (thus, *I don't drink* is similarly felt to be related to *I do drink*, with extra heavy stress on *do*). All these relationships – to continue the arguments in SS – can best and most simply be handled by means of transformations. To do otherwise would result in the cardinal sin of duplication since *Do-Support* would have to be repeated for each of *NEG-Placement*, *Subject-Verb Inversion* and *Emphatic Affirmation*. Furthermore, to handle them all transformationally would satisfy the intuitive feeling that same kinds of structures are recurring in negatives, interrogatives and emphatic affirmatives.

1.4. This loose and inadequate resumé of the handling of one aspect of syntax in SS does no more than give a baseline for the cascade of papers which followed dealing with many issues related to negation and other aspects of syntax. There is widespread agreement among TG linguists who believe in the efficacy of transformations that negation should be transformationally introduced. Yet the question which naturally arises concerning how this should be done has brought forward a variety of ways and claims all pointing to the need for deep structures of greater complexity and abstractness.⁹

1.5. It seems to me, as far as the analysis of *not* is concerned, the logical and successive sequel to SS is the superb Klima paper, *Negation in English*.¹⁰ In *Negation in English*, Klima gives an intensive description of, and a system of rules for, negation in English. While he ranges over a diversity of data and interesting topics relevant to negation, I will continue with the strategy of giving a broad resumé and then concentrating on one aspect of sentence negation which concerns sentences (2) and (3).

7. Green 1969.

8. Chomsky 1957.

9. No criticism is of course implied or intended here. From the moment that generative linguists accepted the powerful notion of deep structure, so that the traditional notion of e.g. 'understood elements such as deleted second person subjects' are in the deep structure of imperative sentences without subjects, a more abstract deep structure became a natural consequence.

10. Klima 1964.

Klima, recasting SS, generates sentence negation in the phrase structure rules from an optional constituent *NEG* which daughter-adjoins initial S. Several transformations may operate on deep structures containing *NEG* to produce a whole range of surface structure configurations, each containing an appropriate phonological shape of *NEG*. The relevant transformations specifically mentioned by Klima are:

- (4) a. Passive
 b. Indefinite-Incorporation
 c. Adverb preposing
 d. *NEG*-Placement
 e. Affix Hopping
 f. Do-Support
 g. *NEG*-Absorption

Transformations (4a-f) are adequately described in *Negation in English* and elsewhere in the TG literature¹¹ and hence I will not paraphrase these here. I will, however, give some details concerning (4g), *NEG*-Absorption, since this is the transformation which has received pointed comments. To the paired sentences of (2) and (3) I will add the following:

- (5) a. I don't expect Muldoon will ever become Prime Minister of New Zealand.
 (5) b. I expect Muldoon will never become Prime Minister of New Zealand.

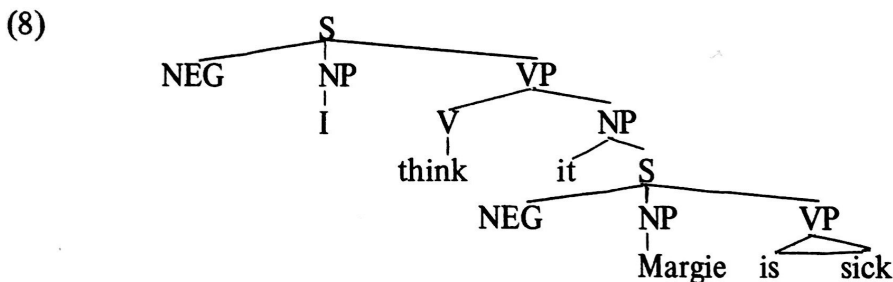
Klima noted that complements of certain sentences are not acceptable but their negative forms are. While this is not true for the complements of (2) and (3), the observation holds for (5) where we note the non-negated form is ungrammatical (and hence is "starred" or "asterisked"):

- (6) *Muldoon will ever become Prime Minister of New Zealand.

while the negated string is a sentence of English:

- (7) Muldoon will never become Prime Minister of New Zealand.

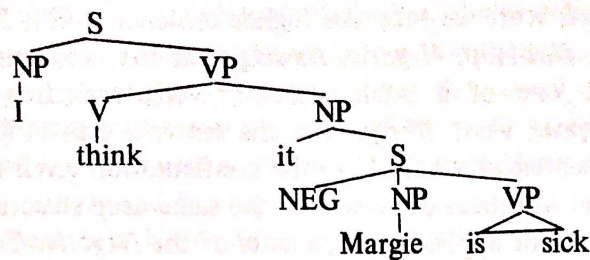
To account for this anomaly, Klima posits that *NEG* appears in both the higher (or the matrix or main) sentence and the lower (or complement) sentence, and there is an obligatory zapping out rule called *NEG*-Absorption which removes *NEG* from the verb of the complement and absorbs it into that of the main sentence. Sentences such as (5a) and (6) are therefore crucial to the argument that (2a), for example, would have the following deep structure configuration:



where *NEG* must appear in both higher S and lower S of the configuration. *NEG*-Absorption would then remove the lower *NEG*. Sentence (2b), on the other hand, would be interpreted by Klima as a natural consequence of S-recursion where the lower or embedded S, but not the higher one, picks up *NEG*:

11. See also Jackendoff 1969, and Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1964.

(9)



The same arguments can be extended to handle other paired sentences such as those in (3) and (5) in a seemingly perfectly natural and straightforward way.

1.6. There are, however, two possible semantic readings for each of the (a) sentences of (2), (3) and (5). For example, sentence (2a) I don't think Margie is sick today has as one reading something like: 'I have no thought either way concerning Margie's present state of health.' Let me refer to this as the α reading. The sentence could alternatively mean: 'There is the thought in my mind that Margie is not sick this day.' Let me refer to this as the β reading. In the α reading, *not* is associated with *think* and in the β reading *not* is associated with *sick*. This β reading, however, is also one possible semantic reading of sentence (2b), repeated here:

(2) b. I think Margie isn't sick today.

For the β reading, in other words, (2a) and (2b) may alternatively be described as semantic equivalents, or paraphrases, or cognitively synonymous. This is not a strange accident confined to (2) since the paraphrastic pattern holds true for the paired sentences of (3) and (5). The relationships between the paired sentences referred to here go a little deeper: there would not be an occasion where the (a) sentence would be true and the (b) sentence false, and vice versa.

Here then is an immediate dilemma which has direct implications for two key concepts of the 'basic theory' of transformational analysis.¹² There is the one concept that transformations, while positing relationships between sentence structures, have also a meaning-preserving constraint.¹³ The other concept handles ambiguous sentences (i.e. sentences where the one phonological string has two or more semantic readings) by positing different derivational histories for each reading. The paired sentences in (2), (3) and (5) share the same β -type meaning and a possible transformational development of the pairs from the same deep structure is the usually accepted solution: simultaneously, the (a) sentences of (2), (3) and (5) are the same ways ambiguous (i.e. have both α and β type readings) and such parallel ambiguity could lead to the possible positing of approximate parallel derivational histories for each parallel ambiguity.

To reiterate the arguments given above, Klima's *NEG-Absorption* in a non-trivial way does account for the fact that the *NEG*, which must appear in certain deep structures of complements to account for the non-acceptability of (6), does not appear in surface strings. *NEG-Absorption*, however, does not account for the sharing of β -type semantic readings by the paired sentences of (2), (3) and (5).

1.7. To account for the shared semantic readings of these sentences, Fillmore outlined a rule he called *Negative-Transportation*.¹⁴ This rule proposed that *NEG* occurs only in the embedded S, and is

12. This 'basic theory' is that given in Chomsky 1965. An extension of the meaning of 'basic theory' is given in G. Lakoff 1969, but this extension is not the one that is pertinent here.

13. This constraint is discussed in Katz and Postal 1964.

14. Fillmore 1963.

optionally moved from the embedded sentence into the higher sentence. This *Negative-Transportation* rule (also called *Not-Transportation*, *Not-Hop*, *Negative-Raising*) has the constraint that the verb of the higher or matrix sentence must be one of a small subset of verbs including *believe*, *seems*, *think*, *anticipate*, *expect*, *suppose*, *guess*, *appear*, *want*, *likely*. For the sentence pair in (2) sharing the β reading the deep structure underlying both sentences would have the configuration given in (9). Since *Negative-Transportation* is an optional rule, the sentences derived from the same deep structure would be (2b) if the rule is applied, and (2a) if the rule is not applied. Proponents of the *Negative-Transportation* rule have argued that such a rule satisfies the meaning-preserving constraint and is also supported by precisely the same argument concerning the ungrammaticality of non-negated complements discussed already for Klima's rule [see argument preceding (6)],¹⁵ and is supported furthermore – if Robin Lakoff's complex arguments are sound – by *tag-formation*.¹⁶ Additional support for *Negative-Transportation* has either relied more on showing that *NEG-Absorption* cannot handle indefinite negation while *Negative-Transportation* can,¹⁷ or on ignoring the existence of *NEG-Absorption*.¹⁸

1.8. Critics of the rule of *Negative-Transportation*, on the other hand, have tended to concentrate their arguments on showing that the arguments supporting *Negative-Transformation* have some serious flaws. Robin Lakoff (1969) mentions that Dwight Bolinger questions the semantic basis for the rule since, in his view, sentence pairs such as those in (2), (3) and (5) are not strictly synonymous. As Robin Lakoff correctly points out, however, the pairs are synonymous to some people and hence the Bolinger view does not invalidate the rule completely but merely weakens it.¹⁹ Jackendoff (1968) gives persuasive syntactic arguments against *Negative-Transportation*.²⁰ The crucial one is built around sentences like

(10) I don't think Margie isn't sick today.

where Jackendoff claims there are two ambiguous readings paralleling also those seen for the (a) sentences of (2), (3) and (5). One reading would be the α reading referred to for the above sentences: 'I don't think Margie is not sick today and I don't think Margie is sick either (i.e. I have no thoughts concerning whether she is or is not sick)'. For the β reading we get: 'I think Margie is sick today.' To get this β reading using *Negative-Transportation* (and *Negative-Transportation* has been postulated for explaining the synonymy of the pairs in (2), (3) and (5)), the source must be the ungrammatical sentence

(11) *I think Margie isn't not sick today.

However, since it has been claimed that the rule of *Negative-Transportation* is an optional one, (11) should be grammatical; this ungrammaticality of (11) casts doubt on the validity of the rule.

Further arguments on the problem of *not* continue. At this stage they depend more and more on the devious currents of the contemporary arguments on how to handle semantics in transformational analysis and the current solutions being postulated depend on one's allegiance to a specific theory. To leave with this unsatisfactory non-dénouement is deliberate: the object was to give an example of the advantage of having many linguists working not merely in one language but in a specific area of that language, an

15. G. Lakoff, 1966. See also Carden 1967, and G. Lakoff 1968.

16. R. Lakoff 1969.

17. Carden 1967.

18. Of course as everyone is aware, it is difficult to conclusively show when an aspect is being deliberately ignored. All I can do here is quote from Lindholm 1969, p.148.

Neg-Absorption ... seems to be ignored by the more recent treatments probably because this analysis would violate the hypothesis that semantic interpretation is uniquely determined by the deep structure...

19. R. Lakoff 1969.

20. Jackendoff 1968.

advantage the effect of which is cumulative. However, the search for analyses of deep significance and broad generality is never-ending; what is shown here is that the analysis of English negation has reached an interesting impasse which is being resolved by further theoretical efflorescence. All of this is of great theoretical interest to the study of Maori negation. If the study of English negation can be characterized as having already excavated several layers of 'turtles',²¹ that of Maori negation is still at the stage – to really extend the metaphor – where red herrings are so numerous that many will continue to be mistaken for turtles. It is to the Maori data I now turn, again with the warning that the only tenuous relationship between that which follows and the preceding is the sharing of the common definition for what is meant by negation given in the introduction.

2.

2.1. I will argue here that *kore*, when negating a sentence,²² is simultaneously a negative base, a stative verb, and a higher verb. While simultaneity is necessary to the total argument, each of the above claims is sufficiently independent of the other two that even if one claim is subsequently disproved such will not automatically disqualify the remaining two claims. This notion of independence of the three claims from each other is stressed because these claims do posit a fairly revolutionary analysis of negatives which not only contrasts directly with the handling of *not* in English, but also contrasts with the previous treatment of *kore* either as an adverb²³ or as an appropriate negative alternant following certain negative transformations.²⁴

The first claim, that *kore* is a negative base rather than an affix, or a particle resembling *not* in English, was discussed in my earlier papers and the arguments will not be repeated here.²⁵ In any case, further supportive arguments will be implicit when the other two claims are discussed. These forthcoming arguments will incidentally deny that this new approach to *kore* is a notational variant of the earlier adverbial interpretation of traditional grammars. To foreshadow the arguments of Sections 2 and 3, my claims are that in sentences that contain *kore* as a sentence negator, such as

- (12) E kore te tangata e whawhai
 (irrealis not the:sg man irrealis fight)
 'The man won't fight'²⁶

21. See Ross 1967, for the introduction and etymology of the term 'turtle' to signify a significant, interesting, exciting linguistic problem and/or solution.

22. As has been attempted in the preceding discussion of English, I am excluding from this treatment the use of *kore* as a non-sentential negator, e.g. where it negates:

- (a) a noun, as in: Ka oke noa iho a Taane i te kore (inceptive writhe random down:to:speaker person Taane accusative the:sg not) 'Taane writhed in the void'
 (b) a noun or verb as in: Ka mate au i te kore kai (inceptive die I agentive the:sg not food) 'I died from lack of food'
 (c) possibly an adjective, in: Kua kore take tee-nei haere (perfective not reason the:sg-position:near: speaker go) 'This journey has become useless (or unreasonable)'

23. W.L. and H.W. Williams 1965: 126, and also H.W. Williams 1957:140-41.

24. The informal precedent to the handling of *kore* as a transformational alternant is implicit in Williams 1965 mentioned immediately above in fn. 23. See however 3.2. for a discussion of the Williams approach. The first explicit formal use of the negative transformations appears in Hohepa 1966, while the use of negative transformations in a pedagogical Maori grammar is in Biggs 1969.

25. See Hohepa 1966, 1967.

26. For this and subsequent Maori sentences the normalized Maori orthography is used, supplemented by hyphens to represent affix boundaries. A morpheme gloss appears in parentheses following the Maori string and an idiomatic English translation is then given in single quote marks. In the morpheme gloss the spacing, including hyphens, exactly matches that of Maori. A colon in the gloss separates the multiple gloss for the conjoined total meaning of the one Maori item.

- (13) kua kore e kite-a oo maatua
 (perfective not irrealis see-passive pl:poss:2nd:pers parent:pl)
 'Your parents haven't been seen'

kore is a stative verb, and a verb which must follow *kore* is the head of the verbal constituent of an embedded clause (or sentence).

The first notion is to clarify what is meant by 'stative verb'. The remainder of Section 2 is devoted to the following: a listing of statives divided into two subcategories (2.2), six arguments for the existence of a stative word class (2.3), and five arguments justifying the two subcategories of the stative word class, stative verbs and stative adjectives (2.4). Following this deviation attention will return to *kore* (in Section 3), and *hara* (in Section 4).

2.2. While I have great admiration for the range of structural facts about Maori collated by the successive traditional grammarians, W.L. and H.W. Williams, more is the pity that these facts are given in such an abbreviated laconic style without reasoned justification and with truncated Maori examples that any detailed extension of their interpretations of these facts is curtailed. The immediate dilemma here is whether or not these early grammarians recognised the class I referred to as stative. They do describe a word class (some of the members of (14a) appearing below are used to exemplify it) in these terms: "...for convenience [they] may be called *participles* or *verbal adjectives*... These Participles are treated as *neuter verbs*, as also are adjectives..."²⁷ If by this they mean that *participles* and (a subgroup of) *adjectives* are subcategories of a class called *neuter verbs* then the version given here, with the following terminological changes: *participles* or *verbal adjectives* = *stative verbs*, *adjectives* = *stative adjectives*, *neuter verbs* = *stative class*, is a notational variant of their account.²⁸

An almost complete listing of the members of the two subcategories of the stative class follows.

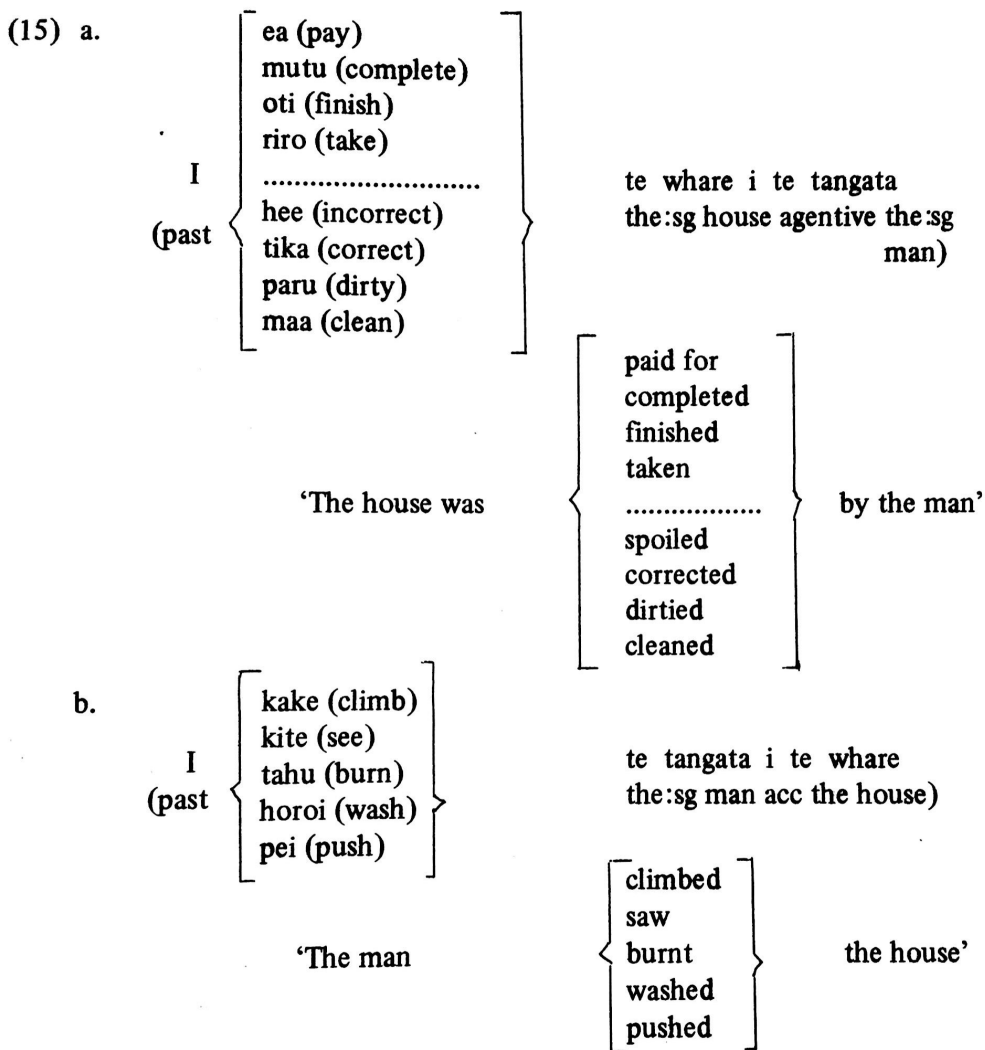
- (14) a. *Stative Verbs*: ea (suffice, avenge, pay off), hemo (pass away, expire), maahiti (exhaust, spent), mahue (leave behind), makere (free), marara (scatter, spread), matara (untangle, unravel), mau (catch, hold firm), mutu (complete, end, cut short), oti (finish, complete), riro (take, seize, happen, obtain), ruupeke (assemble, complete), tanoi (sprain), tuu (wound), uu (fix, steady, land, establish), whara (hurt) ...
- b. *Stative Adjectives*: haere (progressive change), hari (happy, glad), hauwarea (lazy), hee (wrong, incorrect), hoohonu (deep), horo (fast, quick), ikeike (high), iti (few), kawa (sour), kino (bad, evil), koi (sharp), maa (clean, white), maakuu (wet), maarama (clear), maene (smooth), mahana (warm), makariri (cold), mangu (black), marangai (storm), marino (calm), maroke (dry), mate (unwell, sickly, dead), mokemoke (lonely), motu (sever, break or snap a cord), nohinohi (small), nui (big), ora (well, healthy, alive), paapaku (shallow), pai (good), paru (dirty), pouuri (dark, sad, unhappy), potopoto (short), puuhuki (blunt), rahi (large, big), reka (sweet), rewa (melt), roa (long), takaware (slow, tardy), tere_i (fast, quick), tere_{ii} (float), tika (correct, right), totohu (sink), whati (snap, break a stick)...

27. W.L. and H.W. Williams 1965:48-9.

28. The term 'stative' rather than 'neuter' is used here because of its frequency of use for the above subclass of verbs in post-1960 Polynesian grammars and comparative papers.

2.3. I will present here six arguments supporting the claim that the list of lexical items in (14) are members of the one class:

I. When a member of either subcategory is used as a verb constituent head²⁹ its deep subject (or surface agent) is an NP marked by *i* case while its deep object (or surface subject) is an unmarked NP. A transitive general verb will have the opposite surface case marking: its deep subject (also its surface subject) is unmarked while its deep object (also its surface object) is marked by *i*. Such is seen in (15) following:



The (15a) and (15b) examples here show that the case-marking schema has somehow flipped. (15a) contains ‘statives’ within braces (those preceding the dotted line are stative verbs, those following are stative adjectives) and the logical subject of all these sentences is marked by the *i* case marker glossed agentive, while logical object is unmarked. (15b) contains transitive verbs (a subcategory of general verbs) within braces, *i* marks logical object while logical subject is unmarked.

II. For all sentences in (15), the noun phrases may freely permute in post-verb position. However, while either NP, but not both, may be pulled across the verb constituent for (15b) sentences, for (15a) sentences either or both may precede the verb constituent. Observe first the effect this has on the surface constituents of (15b), where (16a) following shows subject preceding, and (16b) shows object

29. See Hohepa 1967, for a detailed discussion of verbal constituents or phrases.

preceding. Apart from the initial *ko*, the glosses are identical and are therefore omitted.

- (16) a. Ko te tangata i (specifier) } kake
kite
tahu
horoi
pei i te whare
- b. Ko te whare i (specifier) } kake
kite
tahu
horoi
pei ai te tangata

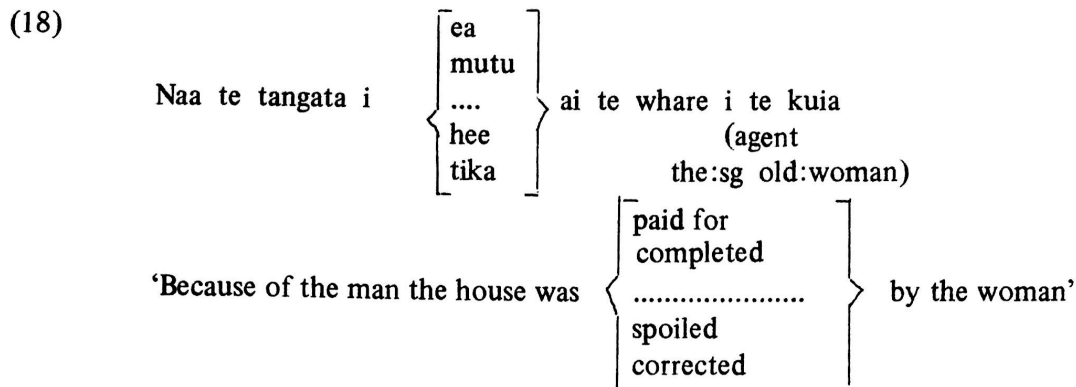
These sentences share the meanings given for their (15b) partners. The fronted subject or object obligatorily takes *ko* (noun specifier) as its initiator; hence this transformation can be mnemonically called *Ko Fronting*. When object is fronted, however, that is – when it is pulled across its sister verb constituent – a copy of it, the particle *ai*, is left as the last item of the verbal constituent, and the accusative marker of object (the particle *i*) is deleted. Now note the effect of seemingly the same sort of transformation on (15a), containing stative class members. (17a) shows surface subject preceding the verb constituent, and (17b), that NP is initiated by *Naa* case marker which I had glossed agentive. Again, only the initial item needs glossing:

- (17) a. Ko te whare i (specifier) } ea
mutu
oti
riro
....
hee
tika
paru
maa i te tangata
- b. Naa te tangata i (agentive?) } ea
mutu
oti
riro
....
hee
tika
paru
maa ai te whare

It seems here that *Ko Fronting* has occurred with surface subject, while fronting of surface agent has seemingly resulted in the obligatory addition of *naa*, tentatively glossed agentive, the loss of the case marker (or perhaps its absorption into or replacement by *naa*) and a copy *ai* left, following the verb. This surface behaviour of surface agent is repeated also by the agent of passivized transitive verbs, both being initiated by *e*-case. The similar behaviour to that of overtly passive verbs, coupled with the general passive meaning of all 'statives', indicates that the statives are one category; they are, loosely speaking, inherently passive.

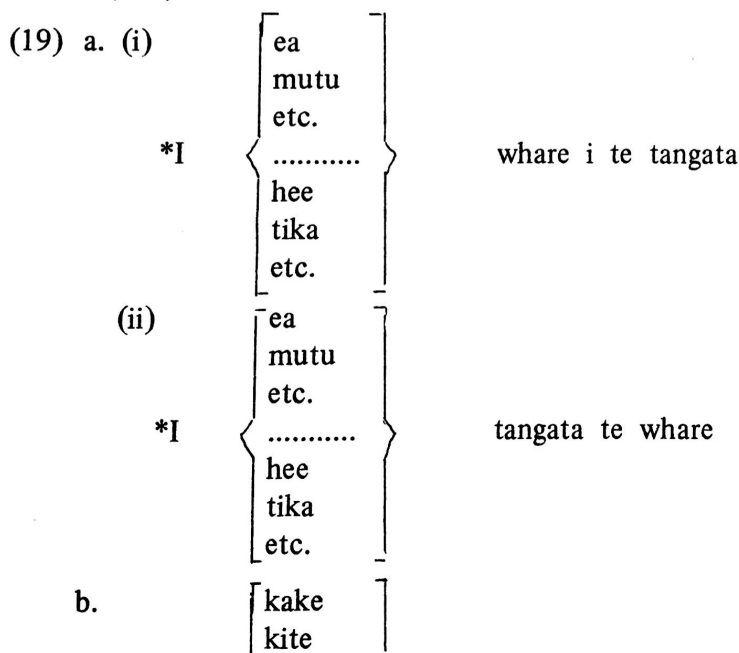
The repeated use of 'seemingly' to equate *Naa Fronting* with *Ko Fronting* is a deliberate cop-out.

While *Ko Fronting* does produce exact paraphrases, *Naa Fronting* does not since the constituent *Naa te tangata* in (17b) can be either a Direct Agent or an Indirect Agent of the sentence. It is possible to have the sentences of (17b) extended to include two agents, and *Naa* (or *maa* if the time of the action is future) always marks Indirect:



If the basic theory of transformations having a meaning-preserving constraint is maintained, these facts cast doubt upon *Naa Fronting* being an aspect of, or being isomorphic with, *Ko Fronting*. This is not the place to expand on these side issues, since these facts, more importantly, do support the claim that statives are a single set.

III. Stative verbs also share a unifying feature of intolerance to *Object Incorporation* (19a) and overt *passivization* (20a), while ‘general’ verbs do incorporate objects (19b) and can tolerate overt passivization (20b)³⁰:



30. It is assumed that there is a rule in Maori which takes the structure underlying a presentence, say, **kua patu i he kurii te tangata* and generates the structure underlying *kua patu kurii te tangata*. Such a rule Chomsky-adjoins a non-specific indefinite object to its commanding verb and is roughly of this form:

SD	X	-	V	-	i	he	-	NP	-	Y	
	1		2		3			4		5	⇒ (obl)
SC	1		2+4		0			0		5	

Overt passivization takes the structure underlying an active sentence containing a general verb, adds a passive suffix to the verb and the appropriate case markers to the noun constituents.

- (20) a. I { tahu
horoi
pei } whare te tangata
- 'The man { climbed
saw
burnt
washed
pushed } (a/some) house/s'
- *I { ea
mutu
etc.
.....
hee
tika
etc. } -tia te whare $\left. \begin{matrix} i \\ e \end{matrix} \right\}$ te tangata
(passive)
- b. I { kake-tia OR kake-a
kite-tia OR kite-a
tahu-tia OR tahu-na
horoi-tia OR horoi-a } te whare e te tangata
pei-tia OR pei-a (agentive)
(passive) (passive)
- 'The house was { climbed
seen
burnt
washed
pushed } by the man'

IV. All statives when preceded by the causative prefix, *whaka*, syntactically become derived transitive verbs; all other classes of verbs preceded by a causative prefix retain their verb class. The following NP's of these derived transitive verbs now take on the surface case-marking of general transitive verbs like those of (19b) above. E.g.

- (21) I whaka { mutu (finish)
.....
tika (correct) } te tangata i te mahi
(past causative the:sg man acc the:sg work)
- 'The man { finished
corrected } the work'

Following causative affixation, statives can incorporate objects and take overt passive termination. For the latter, the surface case markers of following NP's are those of (20b).

V. Some stative verbs and adjectives but no other word class members take *kia* as the verbal constituent marker in imperative constructions as in

- (22) Kia
(subjunctive) { mau (firm)
uu (steady)
.....
pai (good)
tika (correct)
horo (quick) }

'[You] Be { firm
steadfast
good
accurate
quick }

VI. While V. above gives a restricted use of this subjunctive marker, *kia* is normally the obligatory marker if either a stative is the verb in the subordinate or lower sentence of a subjunctive construction (as in (23a)), or if one or both of the higher or lower verbs is overtly passivized (as in 23b)):

(23) a.

Ka tatari ngaa taangata
(inceptive wait the:pl men
for

{ *kia*
subjunctive }

{ ea ngaa nama
(pay:off the:pl debt)
oti te mahi
(complete the:sg work)
.....
whati au
(break I)
maa ia
(clean he) }

{ 'The men waited for
the debts to be paid'
the work to be completed
me to break
him to be clean }

b.

Ka tatari ngaa taangata *kia*

{ wero-hia te poaka
(stab-passive the:sg pig)
tono-a a Kupe
(send-passive person Kupe)
the pig to be stabbed
Kupe to be sent }

{ 'The men waited for
the pig to be stabbed
Kupe to be sent }

The examples here suggest that the subject of the higher sentence is not identical with that of the lower. These sentences, furthermore, contrast with those containing a subjunctive clause, where general non-passivized verbs occur in both the higher and lower sentences. Here, if the further restriction is satisfied that there is no object in the higher sentence, *ki te* is the appropriate subjunctive marking particle:³¹

(24)

Kua oma a Hoone *ki te*
(perfective run person
John subjunctive)

{ *mate (die)
*oti (complete)
titiro (look)
mahi (work)
patu i te kurii
(hit acc the:sg dog) }

31. In the examples following I show that the subjunctive marker has the surface form *ki te*. It is a minor point, but I assume the logic of writing these two particles as one lexical item *kite* in the same manner as *in* and *to* in English are treated as two particles in certain circumstances and as *into* before NP. The convention would be paralleled by the retaining of *kia* as the other subjunctive marker, and then the use of the forms *keite*, *ite* and *heite* for the pseudo-verbal particles.

'John ran to { look'
work'
hit the dog' }

Kia, in other words does, but *ki te* cannot, precede a number of the stative class when it is the verb of a subjunctive clause.

2.4. I turn now to consider five arguments for dividing the stative class into two subcategories. It is necessary to note in passing that no member of the one class also belongs to the other. Because the total set of arguments will be resurrected later specifically for *kore*, I will continue with the numbering system of the preceding set of arguments.

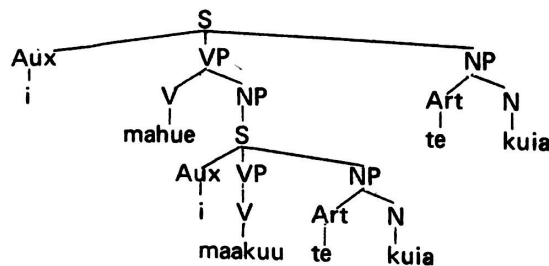
VII. Like all other verbs, stative verbs that are heads of verbal constituents can tolerate stative adjectives as direct modifiers (25),³² but stative adjectives functioning in a similar way cannot take a stative (or any member of a verb class for that matter) as a modifier; but they can tolerate another stative adjective (26) :

(25) I mahue (past leave) { maakuu (wet)
hari (happy)
tika (correct)
mokemoke (lonely) } te kuia (the:sg old:woman)

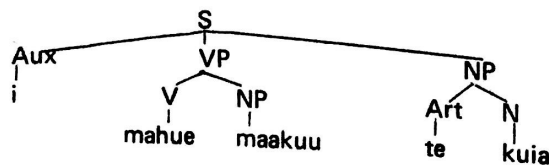
'The old woman was left { wet
happy
in the correct manner
lonely }

(26) I maakuu (past wet) { tika (correct)
tere (quick)
maene (smooth)
.....
*makere (free)
*ruupeke (complete)
*ea (suffice) } te maara (the:sg garden)

32. What is being described here is surface or superficial behaviour. The deep structure underlying the first sentence of (21) 'I mahue maakuu te kuia' I would assume has the embedded complexity of something like:



Equi-NP-Deletion removes *te kuia* from lower S, and after tree pruning, obligatory particle deletion leaves an underlying structure:



‘The garden was wetted	}	properly	}	,
		quickly		
		smoothly		
			
		freely		
		completely		
sufficiently				

While the sentence glosses for all are acceptable in English, the last three Maori strings in (26) are not grammatical, and their verb nuclei are stative verbs.

VIII. The occurrence of partial or complete reduplication is discussed fairly extensively in all grammars of Maori. The observation, however, has not been made hitherto that only stative adjectives and a few general verbs do both kinds of reduplication: stative verbs do not unless they are transformed to derived general verbs by suffixing the causative prefix *whaka*. Stative verbs *qua* stative verbs only tolerate complete reduplication. When stative adjectives are reduplicated the semantic effect is either to increase or diminish the root meaning, or to indicate plurality, or both. All verbs (including derived general verbs) restrict their semantic range to plurality when reduplication takes place. This plurality expresses either continuous or repetitive action.

IX. There are constraints against the use of stative adjectives as verb constituent heads when surface subject is initiated by the non-specific indefinite article *he*. These constraints, whatever they are, are absent in the case of stative verbs. Sentences like

(27)	He kurii i (nonspecific dog past)	}	riro (take) mahue (leave:behind) whara (hurt) tuu (wound)	}	,
	‘A dog was	}	taken left behind hurt wounded	}	,

are quite ordinary, normal and acceptable, and the two constituents may reorder without constraints. Yet, strings such as

(28)	He kurii i	}	*hee (wrong) *kino (bad) *makariri (cold) !!wera (hot) !!ora (alive) mate (die)	}
------	------------	---	--	---

with the only overt difference from (27) being the replacement of stative verbs by stative adjectives, bring on these reactions: the first three are completely unacceptable (hence ‘starred’), the next two leave a combination of a sick feeling in the pit of one’s stomach and probably teeth grinding (hence they are “shreik” strings symbolised by ‘double exclamation points’), and the last is acceptable with the meaning : A *DOG* died. Structural reasons for these reactions are not known. The pattern of completely acceptable, shreik, and unacceptable, is retained if the constituents are reordered and if a surface agent is added to both (27) and (28). Note too that the supposed counterpart to A *DOG* died, which would supposedly have the

reading: 'A DOG lived', is a shriek string. Note too that the preceding two strings, also counterparts, lack agreement since one is unacceptable and the other shrieked at.

X. If the previous argument is based on my reactions to the data, the following is based on data which can be readily attested. Stative adjectives share a paired semantic property in their glosses not seen among stative verbs – the feature of polar oppositions in meaning. These are seen in such contrasts as

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| (29) | kino (bad)
rahi (big)
nui (large, many)
roa (long, tall)
ikeike (high (of objects))
hoohonu (deep)
tika (correct, right, proper)
ora (well, healthy, alive) | pai (good)
nohinohi (small)
iti (small, few)
poto (brief, short)
paapaku (low (of objects))
" (shallow)
hee (incorrect, wrong, improper)
mate (unwell, sickly, dead) |
|------|--|---|

This, of course, is not to infer that the converse is true; that whenever a pair of lexical items occurs that does signify polar oppositions they are stative adjectives.

XI. There is the interesting syntactic feature that the proform which replaces a stative adjective cannot be so used to replace a stative verb.³³ Sentences like those in (30a) may be converted into those of (30b) :

- (30) a. Ina (If) [kino (evil)
poouri (dark)
tika (correct)
mate (die)] te whaaea ka (the:sg mother inceptive) [kino (evil)
poouri (dark)
tika (correct)
mate (die)]
hoki te whaamere also (the:sg family)
- 'If the mother is [evil
sombre
right
dead] the family is also [evil
sombre
right
dead]'
- b. Ina [kino
poouri
tika
mate] te whaaea ka peeraa hoki te whaamere (so)
'If the mother is [evil
sombre
right
dead] the children are likewise

While stative verbs can occur in both verbal positions of the Maori equivalent of an If...then sentence,

33. For interesting parallels drawn from English, French and German, see Ross 1969b, the source for my uncovering this turtle in Maori.

as in (31) below (which repeats the environments of (30)) :

- (31) Ina $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{riro (take)} \\ \text{mahue (leave:behind)} \\ \text{tuu (wound)} \end{array} \right]$ te whaaea ka $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{riro (take)} \\ \text{mahue (leave:behind)} \\ \text{tuu (wound)} \end{array} \right]$
 hoki te whaamere
 'If the mother is $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{taken} \\ \text{left} \\ \text{wounded} \end{array} \right]$ the family is $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{taken} \\ \text{left} \\ \text{wounded} \end{array} \right]$ also'

all identical occurrences in the lower S cannot be optionally replaced by *peeraa*, otherwise ungrammatical strings occur.

More than likely there are other more salient reasons supporting the asserted subcategories of the stative class. Those I have discussed are drawn from a range of resources and these resources are: word class exclusiveness (VII), morphological choice (VIII), personal intuitions as a native speaker (IX), semantic structure (X), and syntax (XI). Some of the evidence presented is undoubtedly weak but the totality of arguments does show that there is a convincing case for the subdivision of the stative class.

3.
 3.1. I return now to *kore* which was abandoned in 2.1. The first concern is the consideration of the negative status of *kore*. Given a sentence like

- (32) Ka whawhai te tangata
 (inceptive fight the:sg man)
 'The man will fight'

one sentence which directly rejects the assertion of (32) is that already given in (12) and repeated here without glosses as (33a)

- (33) a. E kore te tangata e whawhai
 'The man won't fight'

which may also non-contrastively appear as

- (33) b. E kore e whawhai te tangata³⁴

34. Accounts of the general syntactic conditions under which certain negatives are appropriate have been given in Hohepa 1966, and 1967, but these by no means give all the reasons for the appropriateness. There are further problems as to when one may choose, for example, one of the following:

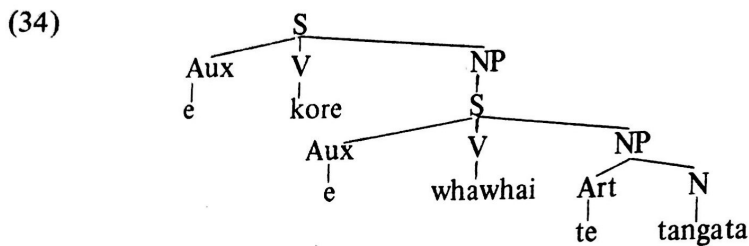
- i. E kore au e haere ki te whawhai
 (irrealis not I irrealis go subjunctive fight)
 'I won't go to fight'
- ii. Kaaore au e haere ana ki te whawhai
 (not I imper- go -fective subjunctive fight)
 'I am not going to fight'
- iii. Eehara i te mea ka haere au ki te whawhai
 (not acc the:sg case inceptive go I subjunctive fight)
 'It is not the case I will go to fight'

in answer to a question such as

- Ka haere raanei koe ki te whawhai ?
 (inceptive go Q you subjunctive fight)
 'Will you go to fight?'

Both sentences show that *ka* has been obligatorily replaced by the irrealis marker, *e*, and the added constituent is comprised of the same irrealis particle and *kore*. However, since there is also a paraphrase for the Maori sentence which has the reading: 'It is not the case that the man will fight', the semantic test for sentence negation proposed by Jackendoff and mentioned in 0.3. above is sufficient for our purposes to show that *kore* is a negative.

Given this and repeating assertions foreshadowed at the end of 2.1., that in sentence (12) (repeated as (33a)), *kore* is a stative verb and a higher verb, what is the structure of the sentence? If it is assumed that Maori is a verb-initial (and predicate-initial) language – an assumption which I think is correct – the underlying structure of (33) must at least have the configuration (34):



Kore is shown in this configuration to be the main verb of the higher sentence and this is essentially what is meant by the claim that *kore* is a higher verb. The lower sentence has the relationship in the same configuration of subject of *kore*. In the lower S *te tangata* is subject NP of *e whawhai*.

3.2. The object here is to give arguments in support of the claim that *kore* is a stative verb and to do so I will use the strategy of checking off *kore* against the arguments used already to demarcate and then subcategorize the stative class.

Argument I investigated case marking of deep subject (*i* case) and deep object (unmarked) of statives used as verb constituent heads. Because *kore* as a sentence negator negates a sentence containing another verb, any occurrence of deep subject and object (or respectively surface agent and subject) would more than likely be that of the other verb. The other verb must likewise be a stative verb, otherwise a surface agent cannot appear in the surface. The fact that the sentence

- (35) E kore te ika e ngau i a Hoone
 (irrealis not the:sg fish irrealis bite acc person John
 'The fish won't bite John')

cannot ever have the meaning: 'the fish won't be bitten by John' (and this would be the reading if *te ika* was surface subject and *i a Hoone* was surface agent of *kore*) supports the arguments for *kore* being not only a stative verb, but also a higher verb. The two noun phrases in (35) directly relate to *ngau*, which is a transitive general verb. If, however, there does occur a sentence where *kore* is the only verb the surface facts may indicate support for *kore* being a stative verb. At the same time it may well be evidence against *kore* being solely a higher verb. Such a sentence is

- (36) Kua kore ngaa ika i a Mere
 (perfective not the:pl fish agt person Mary)
 'The fish are absent because of Mary'

There is some difficulty in giving an adequate reading for (36). Other paraphrases are: 'The fish were effaced by Mary'; 'Through Mary's agency there are no fish'. The paraphrase problem does not affect the

arguments following.

It is relevant to shift attention to Argument II where *Naa-Fronting* is discussed. If the above sentence seems a little strange to other Maori speakers the following should be above reproach :

- (37) Naa Mere i kore ai nga ika
(agt Mary past not proform the:pl fish)

Whatever meaning is finally attributed to (36), (37) will have identical meaning. We note also that the same kind of process tentatively given for the stative sentences of (17) is repeated here in deriving (37) from (36); a surface agent has been pulled across the verb and initiated with *Naa*, a copy of it, *ai*, is left following the verb constituent, and the *i*-case marker is absorbed or deleted. There is, however, a significant difference between the sentences of (17) and the pair (36) and (37). Sentences (36) and (37) are exact paraphrases but (17a) and (17b) are not. The agentive constituents of the former sentences share an identity absent from the latter pair. My feeling is that (17a) has a direct agent, (17b) can have the ambiguous reading of either having an indirect or a direct agent, while (36) and (37) can be interpreted only as having a direct agent. Sentence (18) demonstrated that other stative verbs can tolerate both direct and indirect agents; *kore* – if it is a stative verb – it is the sole one that takes only direct agent. This in no way spoils the claim that *kore* up to this point is acting like a stative verb.

Argument III was concerned with *Object Incorporation* and *Overt Passive* transformations. For statives it was explained that the latter transformation must follow the obligatory addition of causative prefix. Before pursuing this it is necessary here to get rid of one red herring. Footnote 22 mentions the use of *kore* as a noun or verb negator and the sentences following, now numbered (38a) and (38b), were used as part of the argument :

- (38) a. Ka mate au i te kore kai
(inceptive die I agt the:sg not food)
'I died from lack of food'
- b. Kua kore take tee-nei haere
(perfective not reason the:sg-position:near:speaker move)
'This journey has become useless (OR unreasonable)'

That these two sentences are not examples of *Object Incorporation* but are examples of constituent negation can be shown by permutation behaviour: the negator and negated word can permute and retain meaning identity. An incorporated object cannot permute with its verb. Like other statives in example (19), *kore* cannot incorporate objects

- (39) *I kore whare i te tangata

and like other statives in (20) *kore* cannot tolerate a passive-making suffix :

- (40) *I kore-tia te whare $\begin{matrix} [i \\ e] \end{matrix}$ te tangata

Argument IV was concerned with showing that after causative affixation the members of the stative class syntactically became derived transitive verbs, the evidence being (a) their NPs are case-marked like NPs dependent on passivized transitive verbs, (b) their objects can incorporate, (c) they can be overtly passivized. That *kore* does reproduce these three processes is given consecutively in the following examples :

- (41) Kua whaka-kore ngaa maatua i te hui
(perfective causative-not the:pl parents acc the:sg meeting)

- (42) E whaka-kore maakutu ana te tohunga
 (imper- causative-not hex -fective the:sg priest)
 'The parents cancelled the meeting'
 'The priest was obliterating hexes'
- (43) I whaka-kore-tia ngaa ture raupatu e
 (past causative-not-passive the:pl law confiscate agt
 te kaawana-tanga
 the:sg govern-gerund)
 'The confiscatory laws were revoked by the government'

Argument V is not relevant to *kore* since *kore* (like stative verbs) cannot be used imperatively. VI discusses subjunctive marking of statives and passivized verbs in lower S by a *kia* initiator, and this contrasts with *ki te* initiated subjunctive clauses. *Kore* belongs with the stative class since it as a lower verb of a subjunctive cannot take a *ki te* subjunctive but does take *kia* :

- (44) Ka tatari ngaa taangata kia kore
 (inceptive wait the:pl men subjunctive not
 ngaa pirihihana ka moe ai
 the:pl police inceptive sleep proform)
 'The men waited for the police to be absent before sleeping'

These facts about the surface behaviour of *kore* do demonstrate that the accord between *kore* and members of the stative class is not coincidental, that it is sufficiently structured to make the conclusion a self-evident one that *kore* is a stative.

3.3. Some of the structural characteristics of stative verbs were shown above to be demonstrably difficult to apply to *kore* because of the condition that if *kore* is a sentence negator the lower S has a verb marked by a verbal particle. Since *kore* is being tested as a stative verb the same difficulty will arise. Argument VII above was concerned with discussing surface cooccurrence restrictions of stative verbs, specifically that stative adjectives cannot be modified directly by other than their own class members. We have already seen that *kore* can act as a noun or verb modifier [see footnote 22, and also the arguments surrounding (38a) and (38b)], and that *kore* in the referred to sections had been analysed as a constituent negator.³⁵ If this is the case it is natural to assume that VII is irrelevant to the discussion of *kore* as a sentence negator. Constituent negation, however, is relevant to the arguments for placing *kore* in its appropriate subgroup of the stative class hence I return to the constituent arguments. We saw that *kore* as a noun or verb negator can permute with the negated lexical item without affecting meaning. When *kore* is negating a stative verb, however, it must always precede. The example following shows *kore* preceding the stative adjective *horo* (fast, speedy, quick),

- (45) Kua kore horo te hooiho
 (perfective not fast the:sg horse)
 'The horse isn't fast'

35. Again I am describing superficial behaviour of *kore*. The use of *kore* here may well indicate that there is evidence for *kore* behaving also like *non-*, *un-*, etc., of English, as well as like *-less* (e.g., *non-sense* versus *sense-less*, *un-countable* versus *count-less*). While *kore* is described here as a higher sentence verb it is obvious that it is also feasible to handle it as a presentence derivation, otherwise there has to be some kind of complex swooping rule which allows *neg* to shift down from higher S to a lower followed by deletion of the higher S — a proposal which is extremely hairy.

and to put *kore* after a stative adjective results in ungrammatical sentences, as in

(46) *Kua horo kore to hooiho

Because *kore* cannot follow a stative verb, and alternatively because it cannot follow a stative adjective, it is natural to assume that *kore* is acting like a stative verb.

Further support for this is seen when reduplication, outlined in VIII, is considered. The assertion was made then that only stative adjectives and a restricted number of general verbs tolerate both partial and complete reduplication while stative verbs only have complete reduplication, and this is for plural agreement. *Kore*, as in

(47) I kore-kore aa-na kuumara i te rua
 (past not-not poss-3rd:pers:sg sweet:potato loc the:sg storehouse)
 'He had no sweet potatoes in his storehouse'

can completely reduplicate but partial reduplication is intolerable.

The arguments of IX concentrated on showing that there are cooccurrence restrictions preventing a constituent with a stative adjective as head from having a non-specific indefinite article, *he*, initiating surface subject. Surface subject of stative verbs is not similarly restricted. The following sentence is from a Maori folk song :

(48) Kua kore he tangata hei mihi atu ki
 (perfective not non:specific man purposive orate from:speaker acc
 a kou-tou
 person 2nd:pers-pl)
 'There is no man to bid you (pl) farewell'

The arguments of X discussed the shared semantic property of stative adjectives, the property of polar oppositions absent among stative verbs. Not only is there no polar opposition to *kore*, but furthermore, all attempts to find or generate Maori equivalents to existentials in other languages have proved futile.

The crucial syntactic argument for the stative verb-stative adjective dichotomy was given in XI. This concerned the replacement under identity of a stative adjective in a lower sentence, but not a stative verb, by the proform *peeraa*. While *kore* may also occur in place of the other statives in sentences (30a) and (31), as shown in the following,

(49) Ina kore te whaaea ka kore hoki te whaamere
 (if not the:sg mother inceptive not also the:sg family)
 'If the mother doesn't, the family won't either'

the substitution of the second occurrence of *kore* by *peeraa* produces a sentence which is not a paraphrase of (49) : 'If the mother doesn't the family will.'

The conclusions drawn from arguments I-XI are cogent to the subclassification of *kore*; arguments I-VI were concerned with showing that *kore* is a stative class member, and arguments VII-XI that *kore* is in the stative verb subcategory.

3.4. These remarks on *kore* aim at giving language data and arguments sufficiently persuasive to

support a higher verb analysis of *kore*. Two main arguments are given first, then a subsidiary argument whose correctness is dependent on that of the preceding two.

Firstly, there is surface evidence that each *kore*-negated sentence must contain another verb constituent. This verb constituent has no restrictions on the class of verb which may become its head but its initiator must always be *e*, glossed irrealis, and the constituent must follow that of *kore*. There is, however, no agreement specification between this verbal particle and those that may precede the negative constituent. That the verb following *kore* is marked invariantly by *e*, and that this verbal marker and those of *kore* are not interdependent, and furthermore that the use of *kore* itself does not preclude and is not precluded by the verb class of the head of the obligatory following verbal constituent, is exemplified by the following. To sentence (35) can be added

- (50) Kua kore te ika e ngau i a Hoone
 (perfective not the:sg fish irrealis bite acc person John)
 'The fish doesn't bite John'

Here the perfective marker precedes *kore* and the verb following the irrealis marker is a general transitive verb. For the following,

- (51) Ka piri te auaa kia kore ai e ngau-a
 (inceptive hide the:sg herring subjunctive not proform irrealis bite-passive
 e te mangoo
 agt the:sg shark)
 'The herring hid so that (it) would not be bitten by the shark'

where *kore* is now in an embedded clause with its marker being a subjunctive marking particle, the following obligatory verb constituent is still initiated by the irrealis marker and has as its nucleus a passivized transitive verb. For (52) following

- (52) Ko tee-naa te take i kore ai te auaa
 (specifier the:sg-near:hearer the:sg reason past not proform the:sg herring
 e mate
 irrealis die)
 'That was the reason the herring did not die'

two noun phrases precede the negative constituent which now has a past marker as the initiator. The verb phrase following has a stative adjective as its head but it is still initiated by the irrealis marker. I assume here that 'i kore ai te auaa e mate' is a subordinate clause.

While an irrealis marker must precede the verb following *kore* in all the preceding examples, that marker cannot initiate a main verb of a sentence. The function of that marker is taken over by the all-purpose *ka*, the inceptive particle. The following examples, derived from (5), (51), and (52) respectively, show this. *E*, to repeat, is irrealis, *ka* is inceptive.

- (53) a. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *E \\ Ka \end{array} \right\}$ ngau te ika i a Hoone
 (bite the:sg fish acc person John)
 'The fish bites John'
- b. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *E \\ Ka \end{array} \right\}$ ngau-a te auaa e te mangoo
 bite-passive the:sg herring agt the:sg shark)
 'The herring will be bitten by the shark'

- c. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *E \\ Ka \end{array} \right\}$ mate te auaa i te mangoo
 (die the:sg herring agt the:sg shark)
 'The herring died by direct agency of the shark'

Here then is evidence that there is some alternant relationship between *ka* and *e*.

Secondly, I assume that the same irrealis marker recurs obligatorily in *Maa-Fronted* sentences where the nuclei of following verb constituents are general verbs, including those derived (by the causative prefix) from statives. In such sentences *e* is obligatory and *ka* is ungrammatical:

- (54) Maa te kurii $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \\ *ka \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{aru (chase)} \\ \text{tiki (fetch)} \\ \text{tiaki (look:after)} \\ \text{whaka-horo (causative:fast)} \end{array} \right\}$ ngaa poaka
 (agt the:sg dog irrealis) (the:pl pig)
 'The pigs can be $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{chased} \\ \text{fetched} \\ \text{looked after} \\ \text{speeded up} \end{array} \right\}$ by the dog'

When the nucleus of the verb constituent is a member of the stative class, however, or if it is a passivized verb, both *ka* and *e* are alternants:

- (55) Maa te wahine $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \text{ (irrealis)} \\ ka \text{ (inceptive)} \end{array} \right\}$ riro ai te nane i te taahae
 (agt the:sg woman) (take proform the:sg goat agt the:sg thief)
 'Because of the woman the goat will be taken by the thief'

contains a member of the stative class as a nucleus of the verb constituent while

- (56) Maa te wahine $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \\ ka \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{taahae-tia (steal-passive)} \\ \text{wero-hia (stab-passive)} \\ \text{whiu-a (chase-passive)} \\ \text{whaka-mate-a (causative-die-passive)} \end{array} \right\}$ ai te nane e te taahae
 (agt)
 'Because of the woman the goat $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{will be stolen} \\ \text{stabbed} \\ \text{chased} \\ \text{killed} \end{array} \right\}$ by the thief'

contains passivized general verbs, and a stative verb which has become a derived general verb and then passivized.

The minor argument is concerned with suggesting the possible explanation for the lack of a lower irrealis marker verb constituent in sentences such as (36), (37), (44), (48), and (49). I assume that each of these sentences showed *kore* negating a sentence. While these sentences seem to be counter-examples to the higher verb analysis for *kore* there are reasons for assuming that they are the outputs of deletion of an irrealis-initiated verb constituent. Probably the most cogent reason for this assumption is the ready tolerance of these and similar sentences to the insertion of a string such as *e mea* (irrealis + unspecified lexical item). When this occurs there is no change in the semantic meaning. If to sentence (44), for example, such a constituent is added, the string

(57) Ka tatari ngaa taangata kia kore e mea ngaa pirihiimana ka moe ai

is a natural Maori sentence and can have the same meaning as sentence (44), i.e., 'The men waited for the police to be absent (= not present) before sleeping'. While this argument is presented in order to explain an anomaly I do not intend to substantiate this with deep syntactic arguments; such would lead me beyond the scope of this paper.

To restate the arguments the major concern is to show that there are reasons for claiming that *kore* is a higher verb. I asserted that there must be a following verb in a *kore*-negated sentence and such must be initiated by *e*, an irrealis marker. Evidence was given to show that *ka* and *e* are alternants; *e*, however, can only follow instantiation of either *kore* or a *Maa-Fronted* constituent. The surface examples (e.g. (51)) indicate that there are no surface agreement specifications for the two verb phrases, and that the evidence shows that *e* must be a lower verb initiator. The complementary conclusion is inevitable: *kore* is a higher verb. An allied conclusion will also follow from the same set of facts: *m*- and *n*- of *Maa*- and *Naa-Fronted* constituents must also either be higher auxiliaries, or higher verbs. The conclusion given here would indicate that a deep structure configuration of *kore*-negated sentences must be one where the node dominating *kore* must also command that of the lower sentence and also of the lower verb.³⁶ Such a configuration is that given in (34).

3.5. The discussions in the preceding subsections support the earlier claim that *kore* is both a higher and a stative verb, and most of the arguments revolved around the status and restrictions on the use of the irrealis marker, *e*. Examples (33) and (35) do show that *e* does precede *kore* (and I will argue that this is the same marker attached to *hara* below), but *kore* and *hara* are the nuclei of sentence initial constituents. On the basis of other languages it could be argued that negatives do behave uniquely in any case, and let this notion of uniqueness suffice as the reason for the supposed anomaly. In this subsection, however, I will present an alternative solution in the briefest outline. The solution is given tentatively at this stage because its implications are as yet unclear.

I am going to argue that the negatives are not exceptions to the cooccurrence rules given already for other verbs, that the supposed uniqueness is easily explained because the negatives are not merely higher verbs, but that e.g. the presence of *e* before *kore* and *hara* is explained by postulating a deletion of a higher sentence i.e. (higher than that containing *kore*). While this may well look like the preliminary remarks introducing either the proverbial straw man, or else the well-concealed red herring, the notion is introduced nevertheless in all seriousness. The idea that *kore* can be a complement of a higher verb should not be a startling one; we have seen already (in the arguments pertaining to (51)) that *kore* can be the main verb of a subjunctive complement of a higher verb,³⁷ while the following indicates that *kore* can also be a complement verb of a higher sentence initiated by *Maa*

(58) Maa te tangata e riri $\left. \begin{matrix} \{e\} \\ \{ka\} \end{matrix} \right\}$ kore ai a Pipo
 (agt the:sg man irrealis scold $\left. \begin{matrix} \{irrealis\} \\ \{inceptive\} \end{matrix} \right\}$ not proform person Pipo
 e poka i te poaka
 irrealis operate acc the:sg pig)

36. Command here is used in the manner specified in Langacker, 1969.

37. Lest one think that this spelling out of "subjunctive complements of a higher verb" is redundant or tautologous, since subjunctives should be embedded, recall again that there are some Maori imperative sentences introduced by the subjunctive marker (see (22) above) for which no one has seriously entertained the notion that these are effected by higher verb or higher sentence deletion.

'(Only) by the man's scolding will Pipo not castrate the pig'

Note here that *kore* is acting as a typical member of the stative class by being able to tolerate both *e* and *ka* after *Maa-Fronting* (see description surrounding (54) and (55)). Williams to the contrary, I regard as starred (ungrammatical) any sentence where *ka* and *kore* are the sole components of a sentence-initial verb constituent,³⁸ the fact that *kore* can be preposed by *ka* or *e* here, and the presence of the proform *ai*, is evidence that deletion of *Maa-Fronted* sentences cannot be the underlying source for sentences with *e kore* as the initial constituent (e.g. (33) and (35)). I turn now to consider the feasibility of a deep structure for these sentences using the notion of performative higher sentences.³⁹

Performative strings in English have been characterized by Ross as being affirmative and non-negative sentences in the present tense, containing first person subjects, second person subjects, and a verb drawn from a closed set of performative verbs.⁴⁰ Since Maori does not have a present tense-aspect verbal marker, the above characterization of what are performative strings in the language would require two slight modifications. Firstly, instead of present tense, any of the following tense-aspect markers can initiate performative verb constituents :

- ka (inceptive, non-time)
 kua (perfective, non-time)
 e...ana (imperfective, non-time)

and the *kei te* (present location + the:sg) pseudo-verbal introducer. Secondly, first person must be the singular form *au* only, and second person is any one of the three forms: *koe* (*you:sg*), *kou-rua* (*you-dual*), *kou-tou* (*you-pl*).

A list of performative verbs in Maori would include

- (59) inoi (ask, beg), kii (speak, ask), koorero (speak, say), paatai (question, ask), tono (send, instruct), tohe (urge, argue, plead), tohu (direct, point out, instruct, order), whaaki (tell, confess), whakaatu (demonstrate, show, point out), whakahau (urge), whakahua (recite, tell), ui (question, ask) . . .

There are two other constraints on the performative use of the lexical items listed here. One is that *ki* is the only appropriate accusative or object case marker, and the other is that each instantiation of a performative must be followed by a subsidiary complement. If such a complement is taken to be

- (60) *kia pai ia
 (subjunctive good he)
 *'He be good'

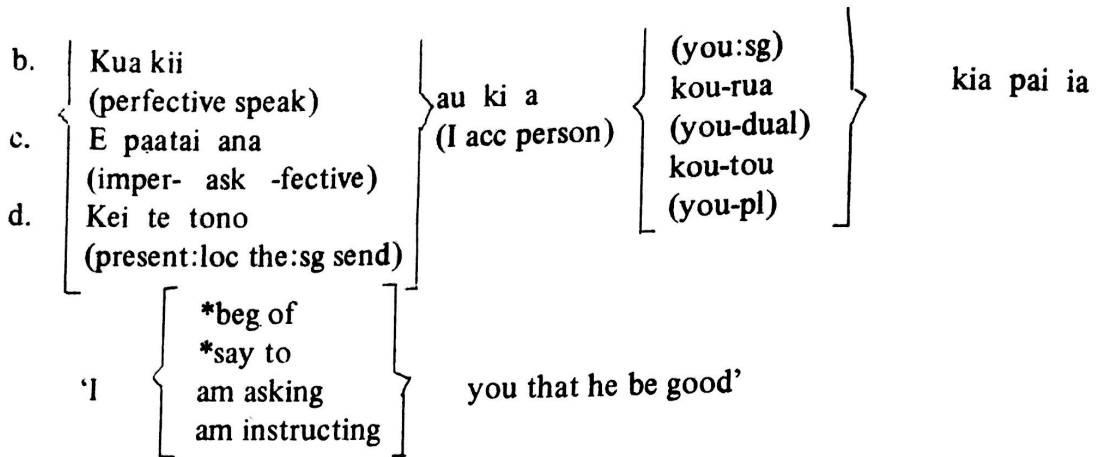
the following show that strings consisting of a performative instantiation followed by (60) are acceptable :

- (61) a. [Ka inoi
 (inceptive beg)] [koe]

38. Williams 1965, gives 'ka kore ahau e ora', with the meaning *I am not well*, as the negative of 'ka ora ahau' *I am well*. I regard the negative form as starred, but 'ka kore ai ahau e ora' as acceptable as a complement of a *Maa-Fronted* sentence.

39. The ideas given here have been derived largely from Ross 1969b, and Ross 1969a.

40. Ross 1969b.



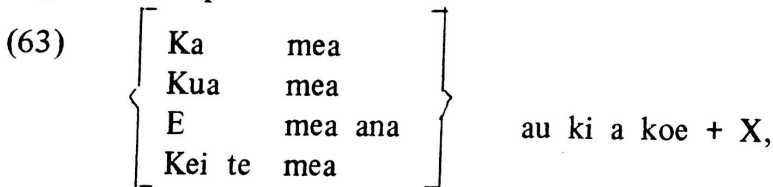
Because these facts are crucial to the argument, I stress the subjunctive string in (60), and all performative strings, are ungrammatical when used in isolation. The ungrammaticality of

- (62) a. *ka inoi au ki a koe [OR kou-rua OR koutou]
 b. *ka kii au ki a koe [OR kou-rua OR koutou]

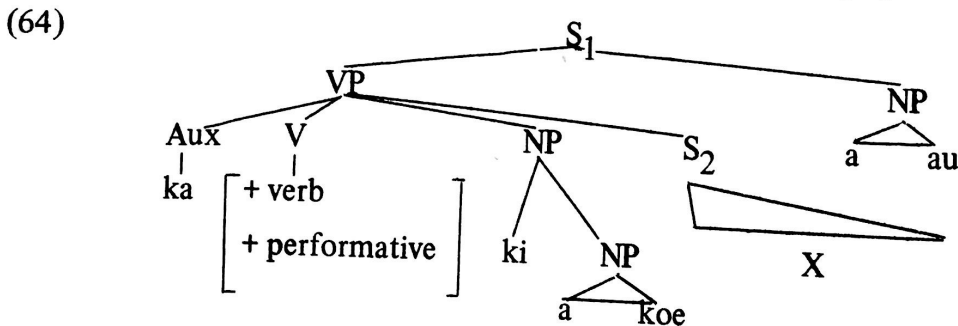
and other performative strings can be directly attributed to an unacceptable sense of incompleteness.

When an instantiation of a performative is followed by an appropriate complement I will henceforth refer to the whole sentence as a performative sentence. Such a use should not cause undue difficulties.

An essential fact in the analysis of performatives is the use of *mea* (a semantically empty lexical base) as the nucleus of a verbal constituent.⁴¹ In all sentences whose surface string is an instantiation of the following abstract representation



(with X being a cover symbol for any dependent complement or sentence) *mea* has the general reading 'say, speak, ask, instruct, beg, tell, urge, direct', depending on the appropriateness of the reading with the rest of the sentence. If the abstract representation of the structure of performative sentences in Maori can be represented instead by a configuration, it would be roughly of the form :



41. *Mea* is a lexical item with the widest range of behaviour. It may represent any lexical item except a negative, and this may then range from being a proform for any idea, action, object or person on the tip of a person's tongue, so to speak, to being the overt lexical representation of the semantic features for performative verb.

where the performative verb has been represented instead by an abstract set of features, and where X represents any appropriate complement, the only lexical item which will be appropriate for the higher V of all sentences derived from this structure is *mea*.⁴² My aim is to show that this is in fact a persuasively appropriate abstract structure underlying all imperative sentences, all instantiations of *e* + *kore*-negated sentences, and by implication, all *ee* + *hara*-negated sentences. I claim that these sentence types not only agree with, but require, a higher sentence analysis and to date the performative analysis seems the most persuasive.

a. This first argument unravels the relationships between subjunctive complementation and imperative sentence formation. I will give facts for the latter first. All recent Maori grammars mention surface facts concerning different imperative markedness; the use of *kia* before certain adjectives or verbs [these have been discussed already – see (22)], the use of *e* before general verbs with not more than two vowels, the use of ϕ as an alternant of *e* before general or derived verbs with more than two vowels, and the use of *me* before declarative imperatives.⁴³

Given that the declarative imperative is not a true imperative because it does not obligatorily take only second person subjects, I will ignore its treatment entirely and instead give examples only for, and a discussion of, the other two :

(65) a. (imperative) E { tuu (stand)
noho (sit)
moe (sleep)
tangi (cry)
oma (run) }

‘(You) { stand up!
sit down!
sleep!
cry!
run! }

b. (imperative) ϕ { whaka-rongo (causative-sense)
titiro (look)
turituri (noise)
hoohaa (nuisance)
whaka-haere-tia (causative-move-passive) }

{ listen!
look! }

42. The arguments concerned with showing that only the following

{ Ka
Kua
Kei te
E...ana } mea au ki a { koe
kou-rua
kou-tou }

must be the general performative string will not be given here. Space and time force me to give only the assertive statement that the detailed arguments given in Ross 1969b, substantiating the parallel string for English and other languages do have their Maori analogs.

43. W.L. and H.W. Williams 1965:36 give essentially the same external facts.

(You) { (are) noisy!
(are a) nuisance!
make (it) go! }

You in these Maori sentences can occur optionally as either *koe* (you singular), *kou-rua* (you-dual), and *kou-tou* (you-plural), following the verbal constituent. Since the negative transformation of these same sentences preposes *Kaua* (Do not) before each sentence, and substitutes *e* for both *Kia* and ϕ , there is already the suspicion that we are abstractly dealing with essentially the same structures and processes which have different surface manifestations. Suspicions increase when we look at the further facts concerning subjunctives.

Any subjunctive clause can occur as a dependent or subsidiary complement of a performative string. The range and variety can be gauged by example (61) preceding, and the sentence in (66), following :

- (66) Ka mea au ki a koe kia
(inceptive [+verb] I acc person you) (subjunctive
[+performative])
- a. haere Heemi ki te mahi
move Jim subjunctive work)
- b. pau te pia ka hoki ai a Pita
consume the:sg beer inceptive return proform person Peter)
- c. tiro-hia te paaroo tuna e Pari
look-passive the:sg trap eel agt Pat)
- d. uu ngaa taangata ki te mangoo
(firm the:pl man:pl loc the:sg shark)
- e. pai, kia maarie
(good subjunctive peaceful)
- 'I tell you that Jim is to go to work'
'I say to you that Peter can go when the beer is cut'
'I inform you that Pat is to inspect the eel trap'
?* 'I urge you that the men must hold the shark firmly'
'I beg you to be calm and peaceful'

That their behaviour does isolate the sub-class syntactically, is seen when we replace the performative verbs of (61) and (66) by non-performatives. I have chosen *titiro* (to look at), *huri* (turn), and *paa* (touch) in this example following :

- (67) ka { titiro
huri
paa } au ki a koe
- a. *kia pai ia
b. *kia haere a Heemi ki te mahi
c. *kia kore he pia ka hoki ai a Pita
d. *kia tiro-hia te paaroo tuna e Pari
e. *kia uu ngaa taangata ki te mangoo
f. *kia pai, kia maarie

and we note that all the subjunctive complements that had been acceptable complements of performative verbs are ungrammatical with non-performatives. However, while the performative string was seen (in a comment following (61)) to be ungrammatical, the three strings preceding the complements in (67) are

acceptable and natural Maori sentences. They, with their readings, are :

(68) Ka $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{titiro} \\ \text{huri} \\ \text{paa} \end{array} \right\}$ au ki a koe 'I $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{look (am looking) at} \\ \text{turn (am turning) towards} \\ \text{touch (am touching)} \end{array} \right\}$ you'

For the sentences in (67) to be grammatically acceptable the proform *ai* must obligatorily follow the main verb of the complement. To give one example I repeat (67a) but this time with *ai* introduced:

Ka $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{titiro} \\ \text{huri} \\ \text{paa} \end{array} \right\}$ au ki a koe kia pai ai ia
 'I $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{looked at} \\ \text{turned to} \\ \text{touched} \end{array} \right\}$ you (in order) for him to be good'

This contrasts significantly with performative sentences since performatives cannot tolerate *ai* after the main verb of a complement.

For non-performative sentences, the ungrammaticality of *kia* complements on their own supports the interpretation of sentences such as (69) as being embedded and not conjoined sentences. In a parallel way, the absence of *ai* in performative sentences and the ungrammaticality of the performative strings on their own is also support for interpreting performative sentences as being embedded sentences. It seems, therefore, that we are dealing with syntactic structures that are in complementarity.

The argument turns to the question of pronominalization and deletion under identity. If the object of the non-performative higher sentence and the object of the complement is other than a pronoun there is either obligatory pronominalization under identity, or optional deletion of the lower subject. Thus the structure underlying presentence

(70) *Ka titiro au ki te tangata_i kia matakū
 (inceptive look I acc the:sg man subjunctive fear
 ai te tangata_i
 proform the:sg man
 ?? 'I look at the man to scare the man'

is felt to be the source for :

(71) Ka titiro au ki te tangata_i kia matakū ai (ia_i)
 'I look at the man to scare him'

but with optionality for *ia*, third person sg. For both performative and non-performative sentences with co-referent personal pronouns as object and subject of the higher and complement sentences, respectively, the subject of the lower sentence optionally deletes under identity. If for the non-performative sentence (70), both the higher and lower sentences have, coreferentially, *ia*, third person singular, in the referred to noun phrases, *ia* in the complement deletes optionally.

(72) Ka titiro au ki a ia kia matakū ai (ia).
 'I looked at him to frighten him'

For performative sentences, it has been stated that the object of the performative string is always second person (singular, or dual, or plural). Deletion of the subject of the *kia*-complement is also optional under identity :

(73) Ka mea au ki a $\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{koe}_i \\ \text{kou-rua}_i \\ \text{kou-tou}_i \end{array} \right]$ kia $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{haere} \\ \text{pai} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{koe}_i \\ \text{kou-rua}_i \\ \text{kou-tou}_i \end{array} \right)$

'I say to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{you(sg)} \\ \text{you(dual)} \\ \text{you(plural)} \end{array} \right\}$ to $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{go} \\ \text{be good} \end{array} \right\}$ '

There is the requirement that each *kia*-complement, except for a few members of the stative class (see (22)), requires a higher sentence. Repeating essentially the exceptions of (22), we find that these sentences

(74) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ora} \\ \text{horo} \\ \text{tika} \\ \text{pai} \end{array} \right\}$
Kia

are acceptable imperatives, and second person forms are the only accepted subjects, and they are optional. Contrasting with the grammaticality of (74) there is the ungrammaticality of

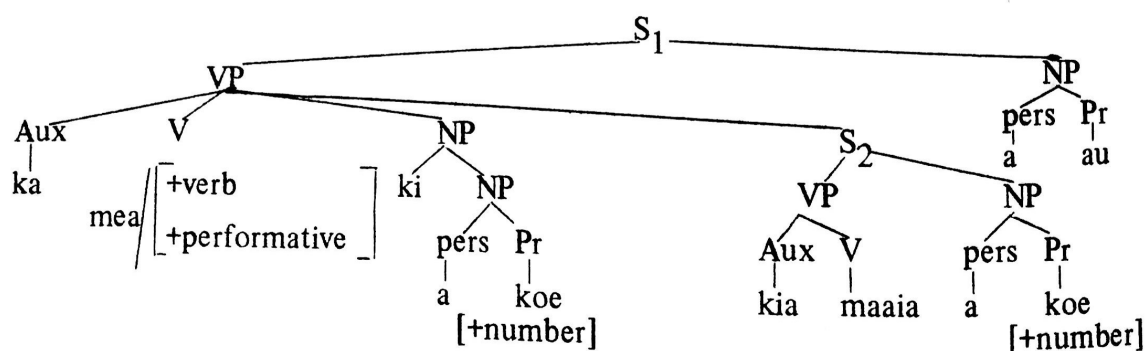
(75) $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{ora} \\ \text{horo} \\ \text{tika} \\ \text{pai} \end{array} \right\}$ $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{*ia (he)} \\ \text{*te tangata (the man)} \\ \text{*raa-tou (they-pl)} \\ \text{*maa-ua (we:excluding you - dual)} \end{array} \right\}$

These facts are persuasive ones for arguing that sentences like those of (74) are outputs of abstract performative sentences following deletion of lower surface subject and the deletion of a higher performative sentence. In essence, a sentence like

(76) Kia maaia
(subjunctive brave)
'(You) be brave!'

if the above arguments are valid, has at least this underlying configuration :

(77)



Such a deep structure correctly represents surface facts for a large body of *kia*-complements. The rules for getting surface forms are left as vaguely as possible; one, for example, is needed for *Performative Deletion* if the main verb of the lower sentence is a member of a small subset of statives, and the subject subjects under identity.

The case for a performative analysis of imperatives is a persuasive one, and parallel arguments

follow for *kore* and *hara*.

β. The argument relating to a performative analysis of the irrealis particle *e* of *e + kore* and (*ee*)*hara* sentence negatives is directly dependent on the correctness of the performative case for imperatives. We have seen that when the first negative follows *Maa-Fronting*, the particles *e* and *ka* alternate before *kore*, and the proform *ai* is obligatory :

- (78) Maa te koroua $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} ka \\ e \end{array} \right\}$ kore ai e ngaro tonu
 (agt the:sg old:man inceptive irrealis not proform irrealis lose continuative
 te tauranga
 the:sg fishing ground)

‘With the agency of the elder the fishing ground will not remain lost’

It was argued following sentence (58) that *Maa-Fronted* higher sentences cannot be the underlying source for *e kore*; the presence of *ka*, and of *ai*, would be embarrassing problems. The string which is in (78) and requires analysis is the sentence :

- (79) E kore e ngaro (tonu) te tauranga
 ‘The fishing ground will not remain lost’

Using a performative analysis here is intuitively satisfying to me. The following strings, with the first being the performative :

- (80) Ka mea au ki a koe
 $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } * \left\{ \begin{array}{l} e \\ ka \end{array} \right\} \text{ kore ai e ngaro te tauranga} \\ \text{b. } *ka \text{ kore e ngaro te tauranga} \\ \text{c. } e \text{ kore e ngaro te tauranga} \end{array} \right\}$

repeats in essence at least the facts seen for imperative and subjunctive complements. (80a) is ungrammatical because of the presence of *ai* (see comments following (69)). (80b) is ungrammatical because of the incompatibility of **ka + kore* outside of *Maa-Fronted* sentences. (80c) is the performative sentence one expects if the parallel with subjunctives is to be maintained.

These parallels go beyond the bounds of incredible coincidences. While further arguments are required to establish support for a performative analysis a lot more clearly, the facts I have outlined do demonstrate that it is the most feasible one to date for raising salient arguments on the abstract structures underlying Maori negatives.

4.

4.1. The preceding detailed account concentrated largely on *kore* and the aim here is to extend some of the coverage of *kore* slightly to show that the total schema is also feasible for other Maori sentence negators. I will present very sketchy evidence to show that *eehara* is a negative base and a higher verb, will negate any sentence, and can feasibly come under the putative performative analysis.

Other Maori grammars have analysed *eehara* as one lexical item. The reasons are morphologically (but neither phonologically nor syntactically) sound. While *kore*, in contrast, can be preceded by a variety of verbal particles (*kua, kia, i, e, etc.*) *eehara* is invariant. However, stress placement argues against *eehara* as being one lexical item. Word stress in Maori is cyclically ordered. Affixes have to

be separated out and then, while stress rules are applied cyclically, the results of stress rules are: Main stress falls on the first syllable containing a geminate vowel cluster; if none, then on the first diphthong cluster; and if none, then on the first syllable. Secondary and remaining stress are also according to this order of precedence. If *eehara* is a stem, then main stress should fall on the syllable *ee*, (viz. [**eehara*]). Since main stress does not, but occurs instead on the first syllable of *hara* (viz. [*eehára*]), the initial *ee* must be an affix or particle, phonologically identical to the [*e*] of [*ee + kóre*], [*ee + nóho*], which is written *e kore* (irrealis not), *e noho* (irrealis sit). I nevertheless will retain *eehara*, rather than *e hara*, as the orthographic representation, in spite of phonological counterevidence.

Unlike *kore*, evidence shows *eehara* negates only sentences. Previous analyses have argued that the use of *eehara* is dictated by surface constraints, specifically, that no initial verbal constituents in the sentence can be negated by it. Therefore there is the correlate that *eehara* negates *Ko-*, *He-*, *Naa-*, and *Maa-Fronted* sentences.⁴⁴ Williams 1965 gives the interesting fact that *eehara i te mea* is the appropriate negative when *maa* or *moo*, signifying *for*, is the first item in the sentence.⁴⁵ There are various surface complications of particle deletion and *i* insertion for all *eehara*-negated sentences, and these are explained understandably as surface structure replacement problems. While not giving details here, this treatment of *eehara* has proved very *ad hoc*. The difficulties, the embarrassing inexplicable gaps, and the semantic twists in the total schema could have been resolved by extending the Williams suggestion of *eehara i te mea* from being agreement specifiers to restricted surface markers, to cover all the other sentences that appear as *eehara*-negated forms. Given such a specification two salient facts follow. Firstly, all Maori sentences may be negated by *eehara i te mea*. Such a string directly negates what is asserted in the lower sentence. Secondly, this same string is the Maori archetype of the logician's negative: 'It is not the case, X-Y' where X-Y represents any sentence. The (a) sentences in the following sentences have been *eehara*-negated in the (b) sentences :

- (81) a. He tamaiti tee-naa
(non:specific child the:sg-near:hearer)
'That's a child'
- b. Eehara i te mea he tamaiti tee-naa
'It is not the case that that is a child'
- (82) a. I koorero au ki a ia
(past speak I acc person he)
'I spoke to him'
- b. Eehara i te mea i koorero au ki a ia
'It is not the case that I spoke to him'
- (83) a. Kua hoojaa au ki tee-nei korokee
(perfective annoy I acc the:sg-near:speaker rascal)
'I am annoyed at this rascal'
- b. Eehara i te mea kua hoojaa au ki tee-nei korokee
'It is not the case that I am annoyed at this rascal'
- (84) a. Naa te ture i kore ai te iwi Maori e whawhai
(agt the:sg law past not proform the:sg people Maori irrealis fight)

44. See Williams 1965:30-33; Hohepa 1967:35.

45. Williams 1965:31.

tonu
continuative)

- b. Eehara i te mea naa .te ture i kore ai te iwi Maaori e whawhai tonu
'Because of the law the Maori people did not continue fighting'
'It is not the case that, because of the law, the Maori people did not continue fighting'

The behaviour of *eehara* does infer an irrealis interpretation of the affix *ee*. With *ee* irrealis, its function is identical to that preceding *kore*. Given this, a higher and a performative analysis of *hara* is also feasible.

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