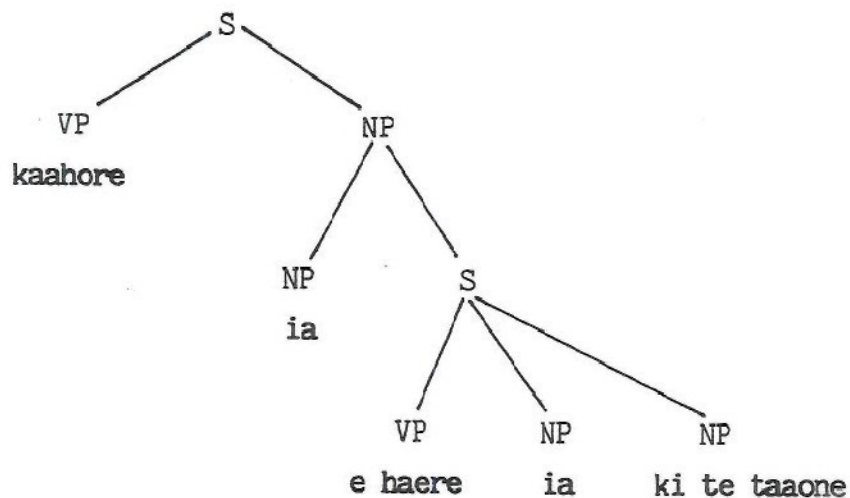Øivin Andersen

The Conjoined and Embedded Structure Distinction in Maori.
The case for Negatives as Higher Verbs.

A negative sentence in New Zealand Maori will always have two important characteristics: It will be a <u>verbal</u> sentence because negatives are analyzed as verbs (Biggs 1973:76). Moreover, all negative sentences are <u>complex</u> because negatives are analyzed as higher verbs and take the rest of the sentence as embedded structure (Chung 1976:22ff).

(1) **Kaahore ia e haere ki te taaone.**
"He is not going to town."

<u>E haere</u> (ia) ki te taaone is an embedded clause because there are certain restrictions in the selection of verbal particles both in matrix and in embedded verb phrases: The verbal particles <u>e</u> and <u>ka</u> are syntactically in complementary distribution; <u>ka</u> is only used in matrix sentences and <u>e</u> only in embedded sentences.

Consider the following sentences:

(2) **Kaahore e moe raatou.**   "They do not sleep."

(3) **Kaahore ka moe raatou.**   "They do/did not sleep."

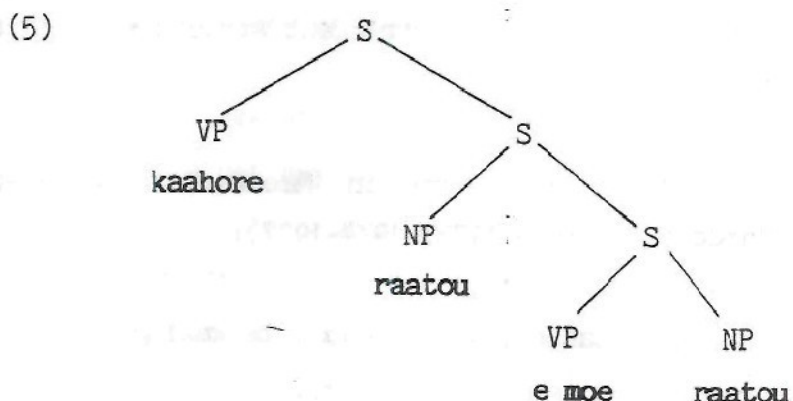(4) **Kaatahi ka moe raatou.**   "Then they went to sleep."

Sentence (2) has the same syntactic structure as (1), minus <u>subject raising</u> (Chung 1970:52ff), which is an optional transformation in Maori. Sentence (3) is generally considered to be ungrammatical (see below), but my informants were inclined to regard (2) and (3) as being equally acceptable. My suggestion is that this is an analogical formation with sentence (4) as a model. I will in the following try to give arguments in favour of such an assumption.

(4) is a grammatical and very common sentence structure in Maori, consisting of an initial NP (adverbial phrase) plus a VP and an NP. The morphological analyses of the adverbial <u>kaatahi</u> and the negative <u>kaahore</u> run parallel: Both structures consist of the verbal particle <u>ka</u> and a stative; <u>tahi</u> is the numeral "one" and is analyzed as a subclass of statives in Maori (Biggs 1973:111) and <u>hore</u> exists as a separate word. According to Chung (1970:69f) <u>hore</u> appears as a free alternant to <u>kore</u> in the eastern dialects of Maori. The stative character of <u>kore</u> has been clearly demonstrated by Hohepa (1969).

Moreover, both (2) and (4) have inversion of subject and predicate; thus (5) and (6) have the same grammatical status as (2) and (4):

(5) **Kaahore raatou e moe.**

(6) **Kaatahi raatou ka moe.**

Sentence (5), however, has a different deep structure from sentence (6):

(5)

(5) is (2) plus subject raising and <u>equi noun phrase deletion</u> (Chung 1970:57f); (6) is (4) plus <u>adverb attraction</u> (for the difference between subject raising and adverb attraction see Chung 1970:52ff).

As we can see, (5) is, in contrast to (6), a complex sentence, where <u>e moe</u> is a subordinate, embedded verb phrase. But subject raising and adverb attraction both have the same inversion effect on the surface structure of (2) and (4), which is the most important factor in this context.

Moreover, both <u>kaaore</u> (which is an allomorph of <u>kaahore</u>) and <u>kaatahi</u> are used in exclamatory sentences:

(7) **Kaaore te pai o te tangata e haere mai nei!**
"How great that man is who is coming here!"

(Williams 1971:95)

(8) **Kaatahi te tamaiti kuuware!**
"What an ignorant child!"

(Waititi 1969:5)

Although <u>kaaore</u> is not a negative element in these contexts, the parallel usage serves to strengthen the associative link between the two structures. /ka:hore/ (with stress on the second syllable) is often given as the principal allomorph of <u>kaahore</u> because it is the one that most clearly demonstrates the bimorphemic verbal character of this negative (Biggs 1973:76). But the allomorph /ka:ore/ (with stress on the first syllable) is the dominant allomorph used by my informants in the Bay of Plenty dialects. In Karetu (1964), which is written in the Tuhoe dialect (inland Bay of Plenty) /ka:hore/ occurs only twice, whereas /ka:ore/ occurs 100 times. /ka:ore/ is stressed like /ka:tahi/.

<u>Kaatahi</u> paired with the verbal particle <u>ka</u> is a very common structure in Maori; it has approximately the same frequency as <u>kaahore</u> in Biggs/Hohepa/Mead (1967). A highly frequent structure often serves as a model in analogical change.

Another common sentence structure in Maori is the so-called <u>ka-conjunction</u> (Handout to Biggs 1973; 19/4-1977):

(9) **Ka haere au ki te taaone, ka noho ia i te kaainga.**
"I went to town and he stayed at home."

In English the conjoining process is regularly signalled by the conjunction and; in Maori the same process is indicated by lack of final juncture between taaone and ka. Two consecutive occurrences of ka in the same sentence indicates conjunction. If the morphological analysis of kaatahi is correct, (4) may be considered as a variety of ka-conjunction:

(4) **Kaatahi ka moe raatou.**

The emergence of such analogical constructions as (3) will have important consequences for the analysis of the negatives in Maori. According to Chung (1970) the differences in restrictions on the selection of verbal particles in embedded verb phrases and in matrix verb phrases is an important distinction in Maori and crucial to the analysis of the negatives as higher verbs.

If subject raising (sentence (5)) has a tendency to be associated with adverb attraction (sentence (6)), the distinction between conjoined and embedded structures will be nullified in these contexts. In other words, the deep structure differences between (5) and (6) will disappear.

At this stage sentences like (3) and (2) exist side by side, leaving the speaker the possibilities of choice.

Having the above structures in mind, we now turn to Norwegian, a totally unrelated language, to seek a parallel.

There is a general rule in Norwegian that the negative ikke follows the finite verb in matrix sentences, whereas it precedes the finite verb in embedded sentences. Consider the following set of examples:

(10) **Han sa at han ville komme.**
    "He said that he would come."

(11) **Han sa ikke at han ville komme.**
    "He did not say that he would come."

(12) **Han sa at han ikke ville komme.**
    "He said that he would not come."

According to the above rule, (13) and (14) are ungrammatical:

    (13) *Han ikke sa at han ville komme.
    (14) ?Han sa at han ville ikke komme.

To all Norwegians (13) is definitely ungrammatical. (14), however, is acceptable to a large number of speakers, although the negative, contrary to the rule, follows the finite verb in an embedded sentence. (14) is probably an analogical construction, with (15) as a model:

    (15) Han sa: Han ville ikke komme.[1]

(15) consists of two loosely conjoined matrix sentences (indicated by a semicolon) and may be thought of as the Norwegian equivalent of Maori ka-conjunction as illustrated in (4) and (9) above. As in Maori, where the matrix verbal marker ka is spreading to embedded structures, the matrix word order in Norwegian: finite verb plus negative, is spreading to certain types of embedded clauses by analogical change. The parallel breaks down only at one point: The conjoined and embedded structure distinction is not lost in Norwegian because subordination is unambiguously marked by the conjunction at, which does not occur in matrix sentences.

But in Norwegian (as in German and English) the conjunction may be left out:

    (16) Han sa han ikke ville komme.
    (17) Han sa han ville ikke komme.

The only difference between (17) and (15) is the lack of final juncture between sa and han in (17) (cf. sentence (9)).

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[1] Sentence (15) is in turn an analogical formation with the following as a model: Han sa: "Han ville ikke komme." 'He said: "He would not come."' or Han sa: "Jeg vil ikke komme." 'He said: "I will not come."' (The ambiguity consists in that, as in English, the two occurrences of han can be coreferential or not.)

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