Modern Rapanui Adaptation of Spanish Elements[1]

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Rapanui is a Polynesian language spoken on Easter Island, Chile. In this paper, I focus on the linguistic adaptations that Rapanui speakers make when transferring Spanish elements into their Modern Rapanui speech. I analyze Spanish transfers and the mechanisms of adaptation at the levels of phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and discourse. The discussion includes phonological adaptation; application of Rapanui bound morphemes; possessive class assignment; kin and emotion semantic fields; syntactic category crossing; the introduction of a modal construction of obligation, coordinating conjunctions, and an adverb of negation; and the use of Spanish elements as discourse markers and the indexicality they make possible. The analysis of Modern Rapanui speech presented in this paper demonstrates that mixing Spanish elements in Rapanui discourse requires that speakers hold significant tacit knowledge of the Rapanui linguistic system. Instead of looking at these Spanish transfers as evidence of Rapanui becoming contaminated by Spanish, they can be analyzed as evidence of the bilingual speakers' creative performance in Modern Rapanui speech and what extends the remarkable survival and adaptability of the Rapanui language. By considering the diachronic and synchronic variation found in Spanish transfers, the analysis also contributes toward the understanding of the process of language change, speakers' roles in it, and the ways in which linguistic variation is related to the phenomenon of language change. Most of the data I employ are taken from transcripts made from naturalistic verbal interactions among the island residents recorded during my ethnographic research in this Rapanui–Spanish bilingual island community (1993–1996).

1. INTRODUCTION. Rapanui, the Polynesian language spoken on Easter Island, Chile, presents a case of remarkable language maintenance. The island's

population, estimated to have been 4,000 in the 1860s, was reduced to 110 in the period of a little over a decade shortly thereafter by labor raids and the spread of disease.[2] In spite of profound social disruption and numerous contacts with outsiders since then, the Rapanui people have continued to speak Rapanui. Although Rapanui was considerably influenced through contact with other languages such as Tahitian and Spanish, it remained the dominant language for everyday means of social interaction on the island until relatively recently. During the 1960s, a community-wide language shift to Spanish began as the island was integrated into the Chilean national economy and migration from the Chilean mainland increased. Now, virtually all speakers of Rapanui are bilingual in Spanish, the national language, and many Rapanui children are growing up predominantly Spanish-speaking, with only passive knowledge of Rapanui.[3] During the last few decades, the speakers have developed bilingual and syncretic styles of speaking Modern Rapanui. Today informal conversations among the Rapanui are carried out primarily in a mixture of Rapanui and Spanish varieties, and the exclusive use of Rapanui, void of Spanish mixing, is relatively rare and marked.[4] Recently, however, with the increased awareness of their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness from the Chileans in the climate of an indigenous movement, the Rapanui are developing a purist linguistic ideology. They are remaking Rapanui as a public language, functionally recompartmentalizing Spanish and Rapanui, and developing a purist Rapanui register.[5]

Modern Rapanui is based on Old Rapanui.[6] Other languages such as Spanish and Tahitian have influenced it since the late nineteenth century, but it is not a "mixed language" in the sense that the grammatical systems of two or more separate languages have interpenetrated each other. For example, Ma'a, spoken in northeastern Tanzania, is considered a mixed language. It is a Cushitic language that retains about half the vocabulary of Cushitic but has borrowed almost its entire grammar from Bantu (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).[7] In contrast, grammatical or structural borrowing from Spanish into Modern Rapanui has not been extensive. Spanish borrowing is primarily at the level of vocabulary. Spanish mixing and, in particular, code-

2. (McCall 1976; Pinart 1878; Roussel 1869). Spanish and other recruiters raided Polynesian and Micronesian islands for agricultural labor in Peru. The largest number, about 1,500, were abducted from Rapanui (Maude 1981:188; Routledge 1919:205).

3. The Rapanui language is spoken by approximately 1,100 people on the island, out of some 1,800 Rapanui in a total resident population of about 2,800.

4. Terms such as mixing, borrowing, and switching are used in varying ways in the literature on bilingualism. For example, Treffers-Daller (1994) uses "language mixture" as a cover term for inter- and intrasentential code switching and borrowing, "codeswitching" for intersentential code switching, and "codemixing" for intrasentential code switching. Auer (1995) uses "code alteration" as a cover term. I will adopt the term "mixing" to include both borrowing and code switching in the following discussion.

5. See Makihara (1999) for an analysis of the changing language use and ideology and ethnic relations in the contemporary Rapanui speech community. Makihara (2001) reviews the history of language contact and the present-day linguistic variation on Rapanui.

6. Old Rapanui is a construct that covers a combination of speech varieties of differing historical, regional, and social dialects and context-of-use-based styles that are likely to have existed prior to the 1860s. Old Rapanui is largely unknown today. Its existence, however, is important in the minds of speakers, and some aspects of this variety are still maintained through traditional stories, poems, and songs.

switching—juxtaposition of Spanish and Rapanui varieties—are primarily at the level of verbal interaction. When I refer to Modern Rapanui as a language variety, I have in mind what the Swiss linguist Fernand de Saussure would call *langue* 'language'. On the other hand, by bilingual and syncretic ways of speaking Rapanui, I refer to the interactional mixing of different language varieties such as Modern Rapanui, Rapanui Spanish, and Chilean Spanish,[8] thus mixing at the level of performance, or what Saussure would call *parole* 'speech'.

Numerous commentators have characterized Rapanui as a dying language that has become contaminated by intrusions from foreign languages.[9] As early as 1935, the Swiss anthropologist Alfred Métraux predicted, rather pessimistically, that the Rapanui language would disappear in the future. "The modern language of Easter Island is changing; many ancient words have been forgotten, and new words of foreign origin are continually being added. Terms for social activities no

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7. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) also discuss various other mixed languages. Anglo-Romani has borrowed its entire grammar from English. Michif, a Cree language spoken on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation in North Dakota, has borrowed its entire nominal system from French. Mednyj Aleut, an Aleut language spoken on Mednyj Island off the eastern coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula, has borrowed the Russian finite verb morphology. Gumperz and Wilson (1971) report another case of heavy structural borrowings from Kupwar, India, where Urdu (an Indo-European language), Marathi (an Indo-European language), and Kannada (a Dravidian language) are associated with different social groups and have been in contact over centuries of bilingualism and multilingualism. The grammatical systems of the three languages are converging and becoming structurally similar, while vocabularies have been kept distinct.

8. Varieties of Spanish used on the island include Chilean Spanish and Rapanui Spanish. Chilean Spanish is a set of varieties of Spanish as spoken on continental Chile, particularly in the Santiago-Valparaíso-Viña del Mar area. Representative speakers of Chilean Spanish on the island are continental visitors to the island or continental residents, who at present make up over a third of the island's population of about 2,800. Standard as well as colloquial styles of Chilean Spanish are also propagated in classrooms and by radio and television programs. Many Rapanui have been well exposed to Chilean Spanish both on and off the island, and many of them speak it fluently. One also encounters a set of varieties of Spanish spoken by the Rapanui who learned Spanish on the island, often as a second language. This variety of Spanish, which I call Rapanui Spanish, is characterized by pronunciations, vocabulary, and grammatical constructions transferred from Rapanui. For instance, sounds that are unique to Spanish are replaced by Rapanui sounds to various degrees. In addition, interference is observed in the use of nominal and adjectival gender, verbal conjugations, and articles, and verbal morphology tends to be simplified or reduced. Rapanui Spanish is spoken by many older Rapanui, but age is only one among several social and psychological variables that may explain the use of this set of speech varieties. Rapanui Spanish, for example, reflects a Rapanui interactional ethos that can be characterized as straightforward, egalitarian, and showing little linguistic accommodation toward the addressee. This casualness, however, should not be mistaken for mere reflection of incomplete acquisition of the second language: it is often used in contexts where speakers wish to highlight their Rapanuiness or authenticity in interactions with outsiders, or to underline solidarity with fellow Rapanui. Thus, Rapanui Spanish has an important symbolic function in the formation of Rapanui identity, and this explains its persistence in the face of community-wide language shift from Rapanui to Spanish.

9. Du Feu and Fischer (1993:165) characterize Modern Rapanui by stating "today's language suffers severely under massive multilingual intrusion with concomitant loss of native competence approaching extinction." Du Feu (1993:173) further predicts that Rapanui will survive beyond the next two generations only in the island's place names. In their recent work on language extinction and preservation, Nettle and Romaine represent Easter Island as a case of dramatic ecological and cultural destruction and imply that the language is beyond rescue (Nettle and Romaine 2000:197–198).

longer practiced and names for the plants and animals of the island, in which the present-day natives take no interest, are not remembered. ... Now Spanish is becoming more common, and, since the founding of a school at Hangaroa by the Chilean government, its use will undoubtedly increase. Most natives are receptive to foreign languages. It is almost inevitable that the Easter Island language will disappear entirely" (Métraux 1940:32–33).[10]

The Rapanui language and its use have indeed changed as its speakers' social environment has, but now 65 years after Métraux's prediction, Modern Rapanui continues to be spoken. Signs of resistance against the language shift toward Standard Spanish and of the maintenance of Rapanui are also seen. At closer inspection, moreover, the structure of Modern Rapanui is quite intact. Doubtless it has been changing more rapidly than if its speakers had remained socially isolated, and there are indeed many Spanish elements that have been nativized into the Rapanui lexicon. However, the mixture of Spanish and Rapanui is largely at the level of conversational interaction.

While Modern Rapanui is an example of rapid linguistic change caused by language contact, it is also a remarkable case of survival and adaptability of language and culture. To attest to the viability of the Rapanui language, I present in this paper how Rapanui speakers adapt Spanish elements in their informal Modern Rapanui speech, and I discuss their mechanisms of adaptation at the levels of phonology, morphology, lexicon, syntax, and discourse. Most of the data I employ in illustrating the points being made are taken from transcripts made from naturalistic verbal interactions recorded during my ethnographic research in this Rapanui-Spanish bilingual island community (1993–1996).

2. PHONOLOGICAL LEVEL.   When transferred to Rapanui, Spanish elements are phonologically adapted. Spanish has a larger set of consonants. Thus sounds that are unique to Spanish can be replaced to various degrees by Rapanui

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10. Announcing the extinction of languages and cultures was a common rhetorical construct characterizing Western ethnography (Clifford 1986). The frustration Métraux experienced researching the details of precontact life on the island probably also influenced his view of language. However, foreign borrowings or changes in vocabulary motivated by the changes in social relations and practices do not necessarily lead to "decadence" (Métraux 1940:32) in a language. It was, rather, the maintenance of Rapanui that was remarkable despite the demographic and social changes caused by the labor raids and the activities of the foreign planters and missionaries since the 1860s. In addition, Métraux guided himself with the Rapanui wordlist compiled by the missionary Roussel, who had resided intermittently on the island between 1864 and 1871, which was posthumously published in 1908. Métraux checked Roussel's vocabulary with several Rapanui, and he concludes that it "in general is accurate and complete," although he criticizes it for including "words and expressions entirely foreign to the native mentality. The original meanings of the words have been distorted and new combinations coined" (Métraux 1940:31). He seems not to have asked himself whether or to what extent Roussel's wordlist contained Mangarevan and Tahitian items because of his previous acquaintance with those languages. Nor did he consider the extent to which the phonological and other linguistic similarities between the two Polynesian languages escaped his check for "errors." His informants may also have been inclined to agree that such words existed in Rapanui when they were presented with written words that the missionaries had compiled some seventy years before. Such considerations, thus, should qualify his statement about the contemporary Rapanui's knowledge of the Old Rapanui vocabulary.

ones that have the approximate place and manner of articulation: /g/ and /x/ may be replaced by /k/, /l/ and /d/ by /r/, and /s/ and /č/ by /t/. Examples include regalo /regalo/ 'gift' as /rekaro/, grupo /grupo/ 'group' as /kurupo/, jefe /xefe/ 'boss' as /kefe/, idea /idea/ 'idea' as /irea/, odio /odio/ 'hate' as /orio/. Consonant clusters are often simplified by omitting a consonant (especially if it is /s/) and/or inserting a vowel between two consonants to conform to Rapanui syllable structure, for example, madre /madre/ 'nun' as /maere/, poder /poder/ 'power' as /podere/, pobre /pobre/ 'poor (thing)' as /poere/, canasto /kanasto/ 'basket' as /kanato/, hospital /hospital/ 'hospital' as /hopitara/, después /despues/ 'after' as /repuē/, and cambiar /kambjar/ 'to change' as /kamiare/.[11]

Spanish elements exhibit various degrees of adaptation to Rapanui phonology; for example, olvida /olvida/ '(he) forgets' may be pronounced as /orvida/, /orvira/, /orovida/, or /orovira/. Some non-Rapanui sounds are more often replaced by Rapanui sounds than others. Rapanui speakers tend to replace /l/ and /d/ with /r/ more often than /g/ and /x/ with /k/, and they tend not to replace /s/ and /č/ with /t/.[12] Those sounds that are rarely replaced by Rapanui sounds tend to be replaced only or mainly in proper nouns such as José /xose/ as /kosē/, Jorge /xorxe/ as /korikē/, Solomon /solomon/ as /toromone/, and Chile /čile/ as /tire/.

The degree of phonological adaptation for Spanish transfers or borrowings varies according to speakers as well as context of use. Interference from native language—which used to characterize much of the pronunciation of Spanish words by the Rapanui during the imperfect learning of Spanish—is no longer a significant factor for many contemporary speakers who are quite fluent in Chilean varieties of Spanish (see footnote 8 on page 193). Those who are capable of pronouncing the Spanish elements in the standard Chilean manner may still choose to pronounce them in the Rapanui way in some contexts. Alternation between phonologically different forms of semantically similar and etymologically identical words reflects the speaker's awareness of the language boundary between Spanish and Rapanui.

Text 1 shows such alternation where various phonological shapes of the same word can be used within a single stretch of discourse. By placing this text in a conversation format, I am also taking an opportunity to illustrate here a bilingual and syncretic way of speaking Rapanui practiced on the island. The example concerns the phonological integration of a Spanish word canasto /kanasto/ 'basket'. *Kanato* can be

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11. Rapanui elements are transcribed phonemically using a single closing quote ['] to represent the glottal stop, [ŋ] for a nasal velar, and a macron for a long vowel. Punctuation marks and capitalization have been added to make for easier reading. For elements in Spanish, a close-to-standard Spanish orthography is used except when pronunciation significantly diverges from standard Spanish. In addition, to make the contrast easily visible, elements in Rapanui are italicized and those in Spanish are underlined. Relatively well-assimilated Spanish borrowings are italicized and underlined. Well-assimilated non-Spanish borrowings are italicized and doubly underlined. Translations are also italicized or underlined to reflect the original code choice.

12. A few older speakers who learned Spanish as a second language, but not completely, and thus show heavy interference from Rapanui, also replace more extensively non-Rapanui sounds with Rapanui sounds, to the extent that they include replacing /s/ with /k/, which is rare among contemporary bilingual speakers [e.g., festivo /festivo/ 'festive' pronounced as /fektivo/ within a Spanish sentence uttered by a woman 70 years of age (trsc. 97A:485)].

TEXT 1: TAKE IN YOUR BASKET   [TRANSLATION]

GM: ⌐*Ka ma'u ki roto i ta'a* **kanato** *era.*   1   GM: ⌐*Take in your <u>basket</u>.*
      He ta'a putē? ⌐*   Where is your bag?* ⌐

Uka: ⌐<u>Cortamenlo</u>† *Nua.* <u>Llévalo donde la</u>   2   Uka: ⌐<u>Cut some for me</u>, *Grandma*
       <u>tia Sū</u>, *Nua* ⌐=   <u>Take it to Aunt Sū</u>, *Grandma*⌐=

GM: =<u>¿Qué cosa</u>?   3   GM: =<u>What thing</u>?
Uka: <u>El</u> **canasto** <u>de mi mami</u>.   4   Uka: <u>My mom's basket</u>.

GM: <u>El</u> **canasto** <u>pa (para) ti. Ese que le</u>   5   GM: <u>The basket (is) for you. It's</u>
      <u>dio la tia Sū pa (para) llevar</u> tu *tapo-*   <u>what Aunt Sū gave her to take</u>
      tapo.   <u>your</u> *chirimoya*.‡

M: *Ka haha'o ki roto ta'a me'e ena.*   6   M: *Put your thing(s) in (it).*

GM: <u>El</u> **canato** [**_kanato_**] <u>que le dio la tia</u>   7   GM: <u>The</u> *basket* <u>that the Aunt Sū</u>
      <u>Sū para llevar a su casa</u>.   <u>gave her to take to her house</u>.
      (trsc.211A.2)

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*   The sequential organization of the verbal interaction is indicated through the use of broken square
     brackets (⌐), (⌐), (⌐), and (⌐) to bound simultaneous speech, and the equal sign (=) to connect two
     utterances that were produced with noticeably less transition time between them than usual.
†   The standard imperative form would be either <u>córtenmelo</u> (plural subject) or <u>córtamelo</u> (single
     subject).
‡   Chirimoya is a fruit *(Anona cherimolio)*.

considered a Spanish borrowing. Although a Rapanui synonym *kete* continues to be
used, it has come to denote 'pocket', probably as a result of semantic differentiation
accommodating the integration of *kanato* into the Rapanui lexicon. Similarly, a Tahi-
tian borrowing *pūtē* denotes a 'bag or sack'. In the text above, María, a woman in her
midsixties (GM), her granddaughter Blanca (M = Mother), and her four-year old
great-granddaughter Uka (Blanca's daughter) are speaking about a basket.

    Within this very short excerpt from a conversation, two phonological realizations
of the word for basket—*kanato* /kanato/ and canasto /kanasto/—are employed. They
are (a) *kanato* within Rapanui context (line 1), (b) canasto /kanasto/ within Spanish
(lines 4 and 5), and (c) *kanato* within Spanish (line 7). Moreover, a single speaker
(María, GM) produces each of the three forms (lines 1, 5, and 7). One could interpret
her switch to Spanish when she asks Uka, "What thing?" (line 3) as an accommoda-
tion to her great-granddaughter who is predominantly Spanish-speaking but has
some passive knowledge of Rapanui. María (GM)'s use of canasto in her response
(line 5) to Uka may have been triggered by Uka's use of Spanish or at least the Span-
ish form of the term (line 4). María (GM)'s omission of copula <u>es</u> 'is' (line 5) was
either caused by interference from Rapanui, which does not have a copula, or can be
interpreted as her more or less conscious choice to use the Rapanui way of speaking
Spanish. Similarly, María (GM)'s rephrasing (line 7) of her previous utterance,
where <u>canasto</u> /kanasto/ (line 5) is replaced with /kanato/, may also be a switch to
Rapanui Spanish (e.g., an act of making the term Rapanui) or simply an interference,

although by no means an error. It is difficult to say to what extent such alterations are conscious and strategic, but this example illustrates the ways in which multiple phonological shapes of a word are used by a speaker and reflect a certain amount of the speaker's awareness of the potential for indexical power that the variations have.

Rapanui sounds that are not part of the Spanish phoneme inventory are also sites where multiple phonological forms may be created and where Spanish has extended its influence as well. These sounds, similarly to those unique to Spanish, may be replaced to various degrees by Spanish sounds when the Rapanui words are transferred into Spanish or in the Rapanui speech produced by those who Dorian (1977) would call "semispeakers." The glottal stop /'/, especially the word-initial ones and those for which there are no minimal pairs are sometimes dropped, and velar nasal /ŋ/ can be replaced by velar nasal plus stop /g/ as /ŋg/ in Rapanui utterances produced by semispeakers. The commonplace orthography adopted to express /ŋ/ is *ng,* and this encourages the /ŋg/ pronunciation. For example, some Rapanui speakers pronounce the name of the village Hangaroa as /haŋgaroa/ instead of the Rapanui pronunciation /haŋaroa/. This occurs more often when the term is embedded in Spanish discourse, although a few younger Rapanui speakers use the Hispanicized pronunciation of the village name even in their Rapanui speech.

3. MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL. Transferred Spanish elements are also subject to morphological transformation. For example, numerous Spanish verbs are used in otherwise Rapanui discourse. Such verbs are normally adapted in their third-person singular present forms, which, in a Rapanui context, serve as nonfinite or base forms. They are incorporated into Rapanui verbal and nominal phrases accompanied by Rapanui nominal and verbal particles, for example, acuerda (3 pers. sg. pres. form of acordarse 'to remember') in a verbal frame with a preverbal imperfective aspect particle *e* and postverbal particles of limitation and continuance *no* and *'ā*, as in (1).[13] Spanish reflexive verbs such as acordarse are usually incorporated in their nonreflexive forms. Usa (3 sg. pres. form of usar 'to use') is accompanied by a preverbal perfective aspect particle *ko* and a postverbal progressive aspect particle *'ā* in (2).

(1) [E   acuerda *no 'ā*] *au e   kī era.* (trsc.208B:71)
    IMPERF remember LIM PROG IS IMPERF say PPD
    'I said (that) I [*still* remember*ed*].'

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13. The following abbreviations are used in this article: 1, first person; 2, second person; 3, third person; AFF, affirmative particle; AG, agentive; ASP, aspect marker; BEN, benefactive; BENi, benefactive inalienable; CAUS, causative prefix; COMP, complementizer; COORa, adversative coordination; COORc, copulative coordination; COORd, disjunctive coordination; D, dual; DAT, dative; DEM, demonstrative particles; DEMn, demonstrative-(near); DIR, directional; DUP, reduplication; EMPH, emphatic; EXIS, existential; EXCL, exclusive; FOC, focus; GRP, group plural; IMPERF, imperfective aspect; INCL, inclusive; INT, interrogative; LIM, limitative; LOC, locative preposition; MOD, modal; MOM, momentary particle; NEG, negative; NOM, nominalizer; OBJ, object marker; P ~ pl., plural; PF, perfect aspect; PERF, perfective aspect; PVP, postverbal particle *ai*; POSS, possessive; PPD, postpositive determinant; PROG, progressive aspect; pers., person; pres., present; PRS, person marker; S ~ sg., singular; SBQ, subsequential particle; +SPEC, specific; ±SPEC, ± specific.

(2) *Te   vānaŋa tire pa'i i   te   hora nei [ko usa '̄a]*
     +SPEC language Chile EMPH LOC +SPEC time PPD PF   use PROG

     i   te   ara. (trsc.208A.2:28)
     LOC +SPEC street

     'As for the Chilean language, it is now [used] on the streets.'

Rapanui verbs are wholly or partially duplicated to express or emphasize the plu-
rality of the subject or the object, or plurality or intensity of action, though this is
optional. For example, reduplication transforms *tere* 'run' in (3) to *tetere* (pl. sub-
ject) in (4); *vānanga* /vānaŋa/ 'talk' to *vanavānanga* /vanavānaŋa/ (pl. subject) in
(5);[14] *neke* 'move oneself' to *neneke* (pl. subject) or to *nekeneke* (sg. subject, pl.
action); and *ma'itaki* 'clean' to *ma'ima'itaki* (pl. subject) or to *ma'itakitaki* (sg.
subject, pl. actions); and *ma'eha* 'bright' to *mā'eha'eha* (sg. subject, pl. actions).

(3) *Ka   tere   koe.* (trsc.134:42)
     MOM2   run   2S
     'You run!'

(4) *Ki   tetere tātou ki   pipiko.* (trsc.208:17)
     MOM1 DUP.run IP.INCL MOM1 DUP.hide
     'Let's run away and hide.'

(5) Entonces *ka u'i mo hakapiri o tātou, mo vanavānaŋa, mo hakatopa o te*
     mana'u, mo u'i etahi sorucione. (trsc.57A:3)
     'Therefore, let's look to unite ourselves, so as to discuss, so to think
     through, and to see one solution.'

(6) *Mo   kamikamiare o   tātou, ...* (trsc.242:29)
     SUBORD DUP.change   POSS IP.INCL
     'If we (INCL) *change, ...'*

The use of Modern Rapanui has been decreasing, especially among the younger
generations. Although the application of reduplication to Spanish verbs within
Rapanui phrases is less frequent, relatively more nativized items have been
observed undergoing this morphological process. For example, in (6), the initial
part of the verb *kamiare* (from cambiar 'to change, exchange') is duplicated as
kamikamiare to express the plurality of the omitted object.

     Another example of a morphological process being applied to transferred Span-
ish elements is their suffixation by *-nga* /-Vŋa/ (a vowel plus /ŋa/). In Rapanui, this
suffix forms nominals. For example, *noho* 'to stay' becomes *nohoanga* /nohoaŋa/ or
nohoinga /nohoiŋa/ 'staying, way of staying'. Although this suffix is used infre-
quently with Spanish verbs, I have found a few examples, as in (7) and (8).

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14. Du Feu (1996:192) explains that reduplication of the initial syllable only applies to disyllabic
    bases. However, I found a number of instances of initial-syllable reduplication for the term *vānaŋa*
    in my recording. My inquiry indicates that the initial syllable of both disyllabic and trisyllabic
    forms is duplicated optionally to indicate plurality of subject, while the entire base of the disyllabic
    forms and the last two syllables of trisyllabic forms are duplicated to indicate plurality of object
    optionally, or plurality or intensity of the action, depending on the meaning of the term.

(7) *Pē   i   ra   te   usaaŋa o   te   moni.*
Like LOC DEM +SPEC use.NOM POSS +SPEC money
'That's how the money is used.' (trsc.115:93)

(8) *Ko   te   continuaiŋa 'ā   te   parau nei e   noho mai ena.*
FOC +SPEC continue.NOM EMPH +SPEC paper PPD IMPERF stay DIR PPD
'That is how this (legal) document has been continued.' (trsc.242:30)

Another morphological device, a causative prefix *haka-,* modifies nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. For example, *piri* 'near, to come near' becomes *hakapiri* 'make closer'. Likewise, Spanish nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs can all be made causative with this prefix, as with the verb complicar /komplika ~ komprika/ 'to complicate' in (9), and the adjective importante 'important' in (10).

(9) *E   aha 'ā   koe i   hakacomplika ai?* (trsc.115:12)
IMPERF INT PROG 2S PERF CAUS.complicate PVP
'Why are you complicating it?'

(10) *Ko   hakaimportante mai 'ā.* (trsc.115:12)
PF CAUS.important DIR PROG
'He was making a big deal out of it.'

The plural marker *nga* /ŋā/ takes the position before the modified noun; for example, *poki* 'child' becomes *nga poki* /ŋā poki/ 'children', and idea 'idea' becomes *nga irea* /ŋā irea/ 'ideas' (11).

(11) *Ko   ai   'ā   rā   ŋā   irea   era.* (trsc.242:30)
PF EXIS PROG DEM GRP idea PPD
'There are already those ideas.'

(12) *'Ī   te tātou   sorucione haŋa.* (trsc.58:15)
DEMn POSS.1P.INCL solution.NOM
'That's our way of giving a solution.'

Compared with the nominalizer suffix *-nga,* the causative *haka-* and the pluralizer *ngā* /ŋā/ are used more frequently with Spanish nouns in an otherwise Rapanui context. The relative productivity with those two bound morphemes can be explained by the fact that no morphophonological adaptation (of a vowel in the case of *-nga*) is necessary. In fact, another nominalizer suffix, *-hanga* /-haŋa/, which indicates habitual or iterative action,[15] is used more frequently than the suffix *-nga* with Spanish elements, as in (12), for the same reason.

4. LEXICAL LEVEL. Spanish elements are integrated into Rapanui speech with varying degrees of ease, depending partly on their structural and semantic properties. Lexical items are more easily transferred across linguistic systems than morphological or syntactic features. Among lexical items, nouns are most transferable. Synchronically, the transferred Spanish elements are integrated through a combination

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15. For example, a verb/noun *hāpī* 'to teach, lesson, to study, leaning' becomes *hāpīhanga* /hāpīhaŋa/ 'way of teaching or studying', and an adjective *'iti'iti* 'small', nominalized as *'iti'itihanga,* for instance, in *mai te 'iti'itihanga* 'since when they were small'.

of phonological, morphological, and syntactic means. Diachronically, they may go through a process of nativization requiring a certain amount of time to be accepted as part of the "native" lexicon and grammar.[16] Some originally foreign items have retained their foreign membership in the minds of the speakers. While Spanish items are, in general, less assimilated than Tahitian items, there are a number of highly nativized originally Spanish elements such as _ka_ 'each' (from cada), and _puē_ 'can' (from puede), considered as Rapanui by many Rapanui speakers. Spanish elements such as _o_ 'or' (from Spanish o) are relatively more nativized than others such as pero 'but'. The awareness of the Spanish provenance of these borrowings, however, is heightening as purist ideology spreads.

    Some Spanish terms have been adapted creatively into the Rapanui lexicon. Examples come from Modern Rapanui kin terms. Spanish mamá 'mother' and papá 'father' have been adapted as _māmā_ and _pāpā_, and are more commonly used than their Rapanui counterparts _matu'a vahine_ and _matu'a tane_. These terms served as bases for forming compound terms such as _māmā-tia_ 'aunt', _pāpā-tio_ 'uncle', _māmā-rūau_ 'grandmother', and _pāpā-rūau_ 'grandfather' (_rūau_ means 'old') instead of adopting Spanish tia 'aunt', tio 'uncle', abuela 'grandmother', and abuelo 'grandfather'. This reflects the Polynesian preference to group together parents and their siblings. The terms _primo-hermano_ 'male cousin' and _prima-hermana_ 'female cousin' are used in Rapanui but with ranges broader than in standard Spanish 'male first cousin' and 'female first cousin', respectively. _Primo-hermano_ and _prima-hermana_, on the other hand, distinguish between genders something that was traditionally covered by the single term _taina_. In turn, the meaning of the term _taina_ has been undergoing a semantic differentiation and is increasingly used to refer only to siblings and not to cousins. The Christian practice of baptism (_papatito,_ probably from _bapetizo_ 'baptism', which was used in Tahiti by the missionaries) and associated new categories of ritual kinship such as 'godfather', 'godmother', 'godchild', '"cofather" (godfather of one's child)', and '"co-mother" (godmother of one's child' have been incorporated into the Rapanui lexicon as _pāpā papatito_, _māmā papatito_, _poki papatito_, _kumpa_, and _kunma ~ komaere,_ respectively.[17]

    In many bilingual situations, lexical borrowings are found more frequently in nonindigenous spheres of activity or topics—in the case of Rapanui, the domains of Catholic religion, government, law, commerce, technology, and names of months and years. Spanish lexical borrowings in Modern Rapanui are also found in semantic fields in which associated social relations have changed rapidly. For example, as discussed above, extensive Spanish influence in kin terms such as 'father' and 'mother' reflects changes in interpersonal and intrafamilial relationships since the late nineteenth and early twentith centuries.

    Emotion terms is another semantic class in which Rapanui speakers use Spanish terms extensively. As shown in (13) and (14), Spanish terms such as animo 'spirit, energy', duere 'to hurt, to grieve' (from doler), siente 'to feel' (from sentir),

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16. See text 2 in section 6 for a description of semantic negotiation involved in nativization.
17. See Davies ([1851]1991) for a list of foreign words used in the Tahitian Bible, in commerce, etc. For a discussion of many of the non-Spanish Rapanui terms, see McCall (1977).

<u>odio</u> 'hatred', and <u>cariño</u> 'affection' have been adopted instead of their Rapanui counterparts: *mamae* ('to hurt, pain'), *ngaroa* ('to hear, to feel')*, riri* ('to be mad, upset, or irritated with someone; anger, hatred') or *ta'e hanga* ('to dislike'), and *koa* ('happy, to enjoy, affection') or *hanga* ('to like, desire, love'), respectively.

> (13) <u>Juto</u> ([xuto] from <u>justo</u>) *i te* <u>momento</u> *kai ai to'oku* <u>animo</u> *koe i vari mai ai.*
> '<u>Exactly</u> at the <u>moment</u> I don't have <u>energy</u>, you come to me.' (trsc.133:470)

> (14) *… ta'a ŋā poki nei e* <u>duere</u> *rō 'ā. E tahi 'a'aku poki ena i vānaŋa ai au, poki 'iti'iti ena, i to'oku* <u>historia</u> *o te* <u>ante</u>. *He taŋi, he ai rō ai,* <u>o</u> <u>sea</u> *ko* <u>siente</u> *'ā ia i roto ia 'ia pe he* <u>odio</u> *mo to'oku* <u>māmā</u> *era. He kī e au* <u>nō</u>, *hakarē nō ma'aku 'ā e me'e, ta'e ma'au 'ina koe ko me'e. Pē ira i hoki haka'ou i ē he ai haka'ou te* <u>cariño</u> *ki to'oku* <u>māmā</u> *era, ta'aku poki ena.*
> '*… these children would* <u>grieve</u>*. I talked to one of my children, the small one, about my* <u>history</u> *from* <u>before</u>*. She cried, there was,* <u>that</u> <u>is</u>*, she* <u>felt</u> *inside of herself something like* <u>hatred</u> *for my* <u>mother</u>*. I told her "*<u>no</u>*, leave it to me to deal with, it is not for you, don't do it." This is how my child came to have* <u>affection</u> *again for my* <u>mother</u>*.*' (trsc.202A:29)

Example (14) is taken from a conversation that I had with a woman I will call Emilia and her 25-year-old daughter, Lucia, in their house one afternoon. We exchanged our life stories over a few cups of instant coffee while Lucia's friend came by with her infant child and joined us for some time. After her father died some thirty years ago, when she was sixteen, Emilia had left her mother. Until that time, she had helped to raise her nine younger siblings. She told me she did not get along with her own mother, who had mistreated her. She indicated that when she had told Lucia, still as a young child, about her own hard life (*to'oku* <u>historia</u> 'my history'), Lucia had "cried, there was, that is, she felt (<u>siente</u>) inside of herself something like hatred (<u>odio</u>) for my mother (<u>*māmā*</u>)." But she proudly added how she had told her daughter Lucia not to dislike her grandmother and that Lucia had indeed come to have <u>cariño</u> 'affection' for her.

It is difficult to explain why Rapanui speakers use so many Spanish terms to express their emotions. Even those who do not have a "Continental" (Chilean) parent or spouse or have not spent considerable time on the Continent use Spanish terms or phrases for talk of emotions. My guess is that such a genre of elaborating verbally one's own feelings was not deeply rooted in the Rapanui interactional ethos. I also suspect that numerous melodramatic television soap operas and movies available on the island since the 1970s have had a significant effect on the acquisition and use of Spanish emotion terms.

Unlike Spanish, Rapanui has O and A categories of possessives. Bilingual speakers apply this Rapanui grammatical rule to Spanish words transferred into their Rapanui speech, displaying their tacit knowledge and application of O and A possession. Let me describe briefly this grammatical feature that Rapanui speakers are maintaining in Modern Rapanui speech before discussing the Spanish transfers. The distinction between O-class possessives (containing the /o/ sound) and A-class forms (containing the /a/ sound) is common among Polynesian languages

and generally definable in terms of activity and dominance of the possessor in its relation to what is possessed (Biggs 2000). O-possession is considered the unmarked form and A-possession marks the active or dominant possessor (Ross Clark, quoted in Biggs 2000). In their discussion of the Rapanui possessives, Mulloy and Rapu highlight the concept of responsibility and dependence in the relationship between the possessor and the possessee and hypothesize that the two categories have stemmed from the ancient social organization of chiefly and non-chiefly persons, activities, and objects. They reason that an O-class possessive is used when the possessor is of higher status, and thus possessing more *mana* than the possessee, and, for nonhuman possessions, when the possessed is an embodiment of one's *mana* or activities and objects associated with the chiefly class (Mulloy and Rapu 1977:12–13). While some nouns in a possessor role may be marked in either way depending on their relationship with the possession, certain possession relationships in Rapanui are indeed relatively predictable in possessive class assignment. O-possession is usually used for one's name, age, parents (and their siblings), grandparents, siblings (and cousins), friends, house, furniture, money, means of transport, clothes, dreams, feelings, thoughts, land, body and its parts, and shadows. A-possession is usually used for one's children, spouse, work, tools, speech, food, material possessions, and completed or obligated actions.[18]

The speaker's choice of the O- and A- class possessives can alter meaning given to the nature of the possessor's relationship with the possessee. For example, as in (15) and (16), the same speaker uses both types of possessives to refer to her grandchildren (*to'oku makupuna* 'my grandchildren' and *ta'aku makupuna* 'my grandchildren'). Her choice of an A-class possessive pronoun in (16) emphasizes her control and responsibility toward her grandchildren when discussing how she raised and taught not only her children but also her grandchildren.

(15) *He 'a'ara pa'i **to'oku makupuna**, …* (trsc.80B:8)
      '**My grandchildren** were awake, …'

(16) *Ko hāpī tako'a 'ana au ki ta'aku ŋā poki ki **ta'aku makupuna**.* (trsc.80B:79)
      'I also taught my children and **my grandchildren**.'

For another example, in (17) the speaker uses two A-class possessives (*ta'a* 'your' and *'a'au* 'your')[19] when she asked a man whether his grandchildren spoke

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18. In Rapanui, A-class forms are not used for plural possessors. A-class possessive particles *'a* and *ma* are used only with the proper name of a person. For example, one's child (*poki*) and food (*kai*) are possessed by A-class possessives when the possessive is a pronoun (e.g., *ta'aku poki* 'my child', *poki 'a'aku* 'my child', *te kai ma'ana* 'the food for her') or when the possessor is a proper name (e.g., *te poki 'a Tiare* 'Tiare's child', *monamona ma Io* 'candy for Io'). O-class possessive particles *o* and *mo* are used for all other constructions. For example, as shown below, child is possessed by the O-class preposition *o* 'of' when the possessor is a noun phrase, *te* <u>ultimo</u> *ariki* 'the last king'.

 To'oku <u>pāpārūau</u> *era he **poki** o te* <u>ultimo</u> *ariki o Rapanui ko me'e ko Riro.* (trsc.168B:19)
 '**My grandfather** was a **child of the** last **king** of Rapanui, ah, Riro.'

19. Rapanui possessives have both prepositive and postpositive positions (e.g., [17], [23]).

Rapanui. Her choice of A-class possessives shows acknowledgement that he, along with his wife, is raising his grandchildren.

(17) *Ko 'ite 'ā rō **ta'a ŋā makupuna** nei **'a'au** i te vānaŋa rapanui?*
(trsc.208A:25)
'Do **your grandchildren** know the Rapanui language?'

Rapanui speakers apply the same semantic and grammatical principles when using Spanish transfers within a possessive relation. Thus, Spanish terms in the possessee role are modified by possessives according to the relationships that their possessors have with them. For example, one's age (*to'oku* <u>edad</u> 'my age' as in [18]—cf. *'o'oku matahiti* 'my age (year)' as in [18]); spouses (*ta'aku* <u>vieja</u> 'my wife (old woman)', as in [19], *ta'aku* <u>esposo</u> 'my husband'—cf. *ta'aku rū'au* 'old woman' as in [19], *ta'aku kenu* 'my husband'); parents (*to'oku* <u>pāpā</u> 'my father' as in [20], <u>māmā</u> *o'oku* 'my mother' as in [23]—cf. *to'oku matu'a tane* 'my father', *to'ona matu'a vahine* 'her mother' as in [23]); name *(to'oku* <u>apellido</u> 'my family name' as in [20]—cf. *to'ona iŋoa* 'his name' as in [21]); knowledge (*to'ona* <u>conocimiento</u> 'her knowledge' as in [22]—cf. *to'ona 'ite* 'her knowledge'); and fault (<u>culpa</u> *'o'ona* 'her fault' as in [23]—cf. *to'ona hape* 'her mistake' as in [24]).

(18) ***To'oku* <u>edad</u>**, <u>yo</u> <u>tenia</u> <u>once</u> <u>años</u>, <u>yo</u> <u>me</u> <u>fui</u>, *mai nei au i oho ai ki a* <u>tire</u> *ho'e 'ahuru ma ho'e **'o'oku matahiti**, he <u>vive</u> au ia* <u>tire</u>*.* (168B:32)
'**My <u>age</u>**, I <u>was</u> <u>11</u> <u>years</u> <u>old</u>, I <u>went</u>, *from here I went to* <u>Chile</u> *(when) I was 11 years old (**my years**) and I <u>lived</u> in <u>Chile</u>.*'

(19) *... 'ite rō e **ta'aku <u>rū'au</u>** era. **Ta'aku <u>vieja</u>** era pa'i ko 'ite 'ā pē nei ē ko* <u>envita</u> *tahi 'ā e au ki te nu'u era.* (trsc.226A:16)
'... **my wife (old woman)** knew it. **My <u>wife</u> (<u>old</u> <u>woman</u>)** knew that I <u>invite</u>d all those people.'

(20) *Ē ho'i, kī mai ana ho'i e **to'oku <u>pāpā</u>** era mo* <u>kamiare</u> *i **to'oku <u>apellido</u>***.
(trsc.144A:153)
'*Yeah,* **my <u>father</u>** told me to <u>change</u> **my** <u>family</u> <u>name</u>.'

(21) *Ko* <u>Juan</u> ***to'ona <u>iŋoa</u>.*** (136B:90) '***His name*** *was* <u>Juan</u>.'

(22) <u>Porque</u> <u>muy</u> <u>poca</u> ***to'ona* <u>conocimiento</u>** (trsc.242A:38)
'<u>Because</u> she <u>knew</u> (***her* <u>knowledge</u>**) <u>very</u> <u>little</u>.'

(23) *Ta'e nei he me'e o, ta'e he* <u>**culpa**</u> *nei **'o'ona**,* <u>ni</u> *o **to'ona matu'a vahine**. <u>**Māmā**</u> nei **'o'oku**,* ... (trsc.202A:19)
'*It's not that, it's not* **her <u>fault</u>**, <u>nor</u> **her mother**'s. **My** <u>mother</u> ...'

(24) <u>Si</u>, *mo hakakore o **to'ona hape**,* ... (trsc.187B:83)
'<u>Yes</u>, *if she corrects* **her mistake,** ...'

When discussing language mixing between Rapanui and Spanish, most people tend to focus on Spanish words used in Rapanui that are displacing the Rapanui terms. As pointed out by Silverstein (1979), surface-segmentable parts of language draw more attention from speaker-hearers than elements of indexical function. For example, many Rapanui believe that speakers of what they consider to be

good Rapanui are those with extensive knowledge of names of places and other entities such as historical figures, plants, and fish. Knowledge of these names is an indication of knowledge of oral traditions and traditional cultural practices, which is considered inseparable from knowledge of the Rapanui language.

The purist language ideology that has been developing recently in the community is manifested in several different ways. For one, more people are making the conscious decision to speak Rapanui, especially in public. Another is that speakers are making conscious efforts to avoid Spanish mixing. In speaking purist Rapanui, which is a marked speech style, speakers' efforts tend to concentrate on an easily segmentable level of lexicon. They tend to target more or less established Spanish loanwords and replaced them with Rapanui or, at least, Polynesian words. The nativization process that Spanish borrowings have been going through may be reversed through such language practice.

5. SYNTACTIC LEVEL. This section discusses four mechanisms of syntactic adaptations of Spanish elements: (1) syntactic category crossing; (2) the introduction of an expression of obligation; (3) the introduction of coordinating conjunctions; and (4) the introduction of an adverb of negation.

5.1 SYNTACTIC CATEGORY CROSSING. Spanish words of all parts of speech can be transferred into Rapanui. Rapanui noun and verb phrases are constructed by particles that precede or follow the main noun or verb. Many verbs can also function as nouns or adjectives, and by means of these particles and word order, their syntactic categories are established. Although some of the nominal and verbal particles are the same, a distinction between noun phrases and verb phrases is useful in the analysis of syntactic constructions (see Du Feu 1996).

Spanish verbs in the third-person singular present form are frequently adapted as base forms of the verbs, as in (25), and, sometimes, also as nouns and adjectives in Rapanui discourse. For example, in (26), agradece (3 pers. sg. pres. form of agradecer 'to be grateful, to thank')—and not the noun agradecimiento—is adopted into the nominal frame, to'ona agradece 'her appreciation'. *Karaba*, from graba (3 pers. sg. pres. of grabar 'to record') is used as a noun preceded by the definite article te 'the' (instead of using grabadora 'recorder'), as in (27). In (28), pia (from pide, 3 pers. sg. pres. of pedir 'to request') modifies te caso 'the case, issue' (cf. [25]).

(25) *Ka pia mai ki te autorirā ki te henua.* (trsc.56A:348)
       '*Ask the authority for the land.*'

(26) *… ena a ia, me'e hurukē   to'ona* agradece *ki   te   hau*
                      thing exceptional POSS.3S gratitude   DAT +SPEC race
       nei he   rapanui. (trsc.18B-19:1)
       PPD ±SPEC   Rapanui
       '*… as for her, her gratitude for this race, the Rapanui, is exceptional.*'

(27) *'A'aku te <u>podere</u> i va'ai ki te <u>conjunto</u>* [konxunto] *era ko Hotu 'Iti*, <u>justa-</u>
       <u>mente</u> [xustamente] *ki a Mihaera e to'o 'ā i te <u>karaba</u>, e hakahoki mai 'ā*
       mai i a <u>tire</u>. (trsc.84:53)
       'I gave the <u>right</u> to the Hotu 'Iti <u>group</u>, <u>precisely</u> to Mihaera, who took
       the <u>recorder</u> to bring back from <u>Chile</u>.'

(28) *… o te <u>caso</u> nei o te henua te ha'aura'a, o te <u>caso</u> <u>pia</u> era ki a*
       rāua. (trsc.57A:3)
       '… that means, (it's) about this <u>case</u> (issue) of the land, the <u>case</u> (issue)
       <u>requested</u> of them.'

Much less frequently, Spanish nouns and adjectives are incorporated as verbs in
Rapanui phrases. This may indicate the primary status of the verb in Rapanui as
opposed to other parts of speech. Spanish <u>menos</u> 'less', which functions as an
adjective, adverb, and preposition, but not as a verb, is adapted as /meno/ and used
as a main verb in (29), and the adjective <u>claro</u> 'clear' as a verb in (30).

(29) *I   te   ava'e tu'u   mai nei, ko   <u>meno</u> 'ana tu'u   mai ena.*
       LOC +SPEC month arrive DIR   PPD PF   less   PROG arrive DIR   PPD
       'This month, what came (my pension) was <u>less</u>.' (trsc.182.52)

(30) *<u>Tiene</u> <u>que</u> <u>claro</u> ki te nu'u nei pe nei ē.* (trsc.57:186)
       'It <u>has</u> <u>to</u> be (made) <u>clear</u> to the people that ...'

(31) *Ko <u>voto</u> 'ā te nu'u ki a tātou.* (trsc.20A.1:25)
       'The people <u>voted</u> for us.'

One of the few exceptions is the Spanish noun <u>voto</u> 'vote', which has become
established as a loanword serving both as noun and verb, as in (31), whereas deri-
vations from the verb <u>votar</u> (e.g., <u>vota</u>) are not used.

   Another example of the category crossing is observed in the use of <u>antes</u>
'before'. In standard Spanish, <u>antes</u> functions as an adverb or a preposition fol-
lowed by <u>de</u> and follows a verb phrase, or it may be topicalized and raised to the
sentence-initial position for emphasis. It is pronounced /ante/ in otherwise
Rapanui usage and often in colloquial Chilean Spanish. It can be used to form an
adverbial clause of time, the equivalent of *i mu'a 'ā* in Rapanui—which I heard
only rarely—without the preposition *i* but with postpositions *'ā* or *ana,* as in [<u>ante</u>
+ *'ā ~ ana*] in (32) and (33).[20] As in (34), <u>ante</u> + *'ā* can be made into a noun phrase
preceded by a definite article *te* to express something like 'the old times', which, in
turn, forms an adverbial phrase of time with a possessive particle *o.*

(32) *<u>Ante</u>   'ā   taŋata ta'e rahi te   ha'aura'a.* (trsc.182:5)
       before PROG man   NEG many +SPEC reason
       '<u>Before</u>, there were not many people.'

(33) *<u>Ante</u>   'ana ho'i he   kompania Williamson.* (trsc.186:24)
       before PROG EMPH ±SPEC company   Williamson
       '<u>Before</u>, there was the <u>Williamson</u> <u>Company</u>.'

20. The progressive particles *'ā* and *'ana* are—at least for the time being—used interchangeably.

(34) *Ta'e pe rā <u>via</u> era pa'i o   te   <u>ante</u>   'ā.*
    NEG like DEM life PPD EMPH POSS +SPEC before PROG
    'Life just wasn't like that <u>before</u>.' (trsc.101B)

Example (35), uttered by a teenage bilingual, is an example of the use of <u>ante</u> in a postverbal position (in this case, the verbal phrase includes the prepositional phrase *ki te tire* 'to the Chileans') that syntactically approximates the standard Spanish usage of the adverb. As in Spanish, it can be placed after a verb, functioning as an adverb modifying the verb, as in (35) and (36) (cf. [27]).

(35) *'Ina au he piri   ki   te   <u>tire</u>   <u>ante</u>.* (trsc.133B:411)
    NEG IS ASP go.close DAT +SPEC Chilean before
    'I didn't go close to the <u>Chileans</u> before.'

(36) *A Aŋata ho'i[ko   mate <u>ante</u> 'ā   ].* (trsc.98:40)
             PF   die   before PROG
    'But Angata [died <u>a long time ago</u>].'

(37) *[Ko   mate tako'a 'ā   ].* (trsc.103B:144)
     PF   die   also   PROG
    '(She) [also died].'

Rapanui speakers do not use the Spanish construction [<u>ante(s)</u> + <u>de</u> + verb (infinitive)] in otherwise Rapanui context. Instead, they use [*i* + verb] or [*ki* + noun] to form an adverbial phrase with <u>ante</u>, depending on the aspect: the verbal phrase with the perfective aspect marker *i* for the realized action, as in (38), and the noun phrase with the dative *ki* for the unrealized event, as in (39).

(38) *Te rapanui pa'i, <u>ante</u>   i   oho mai nei, …* (trsc.182:186)
                  before PERF come DIR here
    'The Rapanui, well, <u>before</u> coming here…'

(39) *<u>Ante</u> ki te   tu'u mai o   te   <u>presidente</u>, …* (trsc.57:209)
    before DAT +SPEC arrive DIR POSS +SPEC president
    '<u>Before</u> the arrival of the <u>president</u>, …'

5.2 EXPRESSION OF OBLIGATION WITH <u>*TIENE QUE*</u>. Obligation or necessity is expressed in Rapanui with the use of the imperfective aspect particle *e* and without any postverbal particle. For example, compare the construction with no postverbal particles [*e* + verb + Ø], as in (40) and (41), and the one with postverbal particles [*e* + verb (+ *rō*) + *'ā*], as in (42).

(40) *… e   mo'a a   tātou, e   hakatoro te   rima, ...* (trsc.52:9)
        IMPERF respect PERS IP.INCL IMPERF CAUS.touch +SPEC hand
    '… we should respect, (and) give (him) our hands, …'

(41) *E   ai te   maika mo aŋa o   te   po'e.*[21]
    IMPERF EXIS +SPEC banana COMP make POSS +SPEC pudding
    '(We) must have bananas (in order) to make po'e (Polynesian pudding).'

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21. Examples (41–43), (56), and (59) were obtained from consultation sessions with my Rapanui research assistant, Ivonne Calderón Haoa.

(42) *E   ai   rō 'ā   te   maika mo aŋa o   te   po'e.*
     IMPERF EXIS AFF PROG +SPEC banana COMP make POSS +SPEC pudding
     'There are bananas to make po'e.'

(43) *E   kai 'ā   Maria i   te   maika.*
     IMPERF eat PROG Maria OBJ +SPEC banana
     'Maria is eating the banana.'

It is the absence of postverbal particles (except for directionals *mai* and *atu*) that adds the sense of obligation or necessity to the construction with the imperfective aspect particle *e*.[22] In contrast, the modal construction of obligation with tiene que ('has to') allows the speaker to strengthen the sense of obligation and necessity, thus introducing a new syntactic construction to express obligation or necessity.

Although constructions with modals are considered to exhibit considerable structural "distance" between unrelated languages,[23] modals of Spanish provenance such as *puē* of possibility and tiene que are often used in Modern Rapanui speech. *Puē* (from puede, 3 pers. pres. form of poder 'can') is well advanced in the nativization process. This modal predicate takes a complement clause with *mo* followed by the main verb, as in (74). With increased usage tiene que is establishing itself as a borrowing (e.g., [44]).

(44) *Tiene que iri   ki   te   parta   āpō.* (trsc.18A:35)
     MOD.has.to go.up DAT +SPEC avocado tomorrow
     '(You will) have to go up to (get) the avocados tomorrow.'

(45) a. (Ella) tiene que declarar.   b. (Yo) tuve que ir.
       'She has to declare.'   'I had to go.'

The modal construction [*tiene que* + verb] requires more complicated syntactic adaptation than *puē* does.[24] In standard Spanish, the verb tener is conjugated according to the subject and tense, where the subject, unless it is omitted, normally precedes the phrase ([45]). When adapted into a Rapanui context, this construction occurs in its third-person singular present form, *tiene que*, for all persons and tenses. Similar to Spanish use, its subjects can be omitted. Unlike Spanish, however, Rapanui does not have verbal inflections marking person. Thus, when omitted, the subject must be interpreted from the context, as, for example, the understood subject *koe* 'you' in (44). When not omitted, the subject follows the modal complement in accordance with the Rapanui basic word order of VSO, as do *tātou* (IP.INCL), *mātou* (IP.EXCL), and *tāua* (ID.EXCL), respectively, in examples

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22. The imperative mood is expressed with momentary particle*s ka* (for 2 pers.) and *ki* (for 1 and 3 pers.), as in (3–4).

23. Through analysis of Spanish-English code-switching data, Timm (1975) proposed that switches do not occur between finite verbs and their infinitive complements and between verb phrases containing auxiliaries and main verbs. Other investigators have since provided counter examples to these constraints (Pfaff 1979; Poplack 1981).

24. The verb is in its base form without any preverbal particle. When Spanish verbs are incorporated as the modal complements, they take, as expected, third-person singular present forms instead of infinitive forms as would be required in standard Spanish usage.

(46–48). Extract (47) provides examples of nonpronoun subjects (*etahi* <u>acta</u> '*an* <u>act</u>'; *te mātou* <u>secretario</u> <u>titular</u> '*our* <u>official</u> <u>secretary</u>').

(46) *'O ira* <u>hay</u> <u>que</u>²⁵ <u>recurrir</u>, <u>a</u> <u>cualquier</u> <u>medio</u>, <u>hay</u> <u>que</u> <u>recurrir</u>, *tiene que mana'u tātou i te* <u>formula</u> *pa'i.* (trsc.58:487)

'*That is why* <u>it</u> <u>is</u> <u>necessary</u> <u>to</u> <u>appeal</u>, <u>to</u> <u>whatever</u> <u>means</u>, <u>it</u> <u>is</u> <u>necessary</u> <u>to</u> <u>appeal</u>, *we* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> *think of the* <u>formula</u>.'

(47) *Tiene que o'o mātou ki roto i te* <u>votación</u>, *mo* <u>voto</u> *tiene que ai etahi* <u>acta</u>, *tiene que ai te mātou* <u>secretario</u> <u>titular</u>. (trsc.25B:112)
'*We* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> *be in the* <u>voting</u>, *to* <u>vote</u> *there* <u>has to</u> *be an* <u>act</u>, *there* <u>has</u> <u>to</u> *be our* <u>official</u> <u>secretary</u>.'

(48) *Tiene que vānaŋa tāua i te vānaŋa rapanui.* (trsc.168:78)
'*We* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> *speak in Rapanui.*'

To give emphasis, the subject pronoun can be raised to the position after the modal verb *tiene*, as in (49) and (50). Alternatively, the subject can be emphasized by being introduced by the existential verb *ai,* as in (47) and (51). Emphasis may also be given by the use of postverbal particles of emphasis *mau + 'ā* and of *ho'i*, as in (52–54).

(49) *Tiene tātou que mana'u hai* <u>forma</u> <u>positiva</u> *pē mu'a.* (trsc.25B:109)
'*We* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> *think in a* <u>positive</u> <u>way</u> *from now on.*'

(50) *'O ira, i kī era e au pe nei ē,* <u>bueno</u>, *ma'ana pa'i* <u>como</u> <u>pāpā</u>, <u>no</u> <u>importa</u> *pa'i 'ina au he* <u>comparte</u> *ki a ia,* <u>pero</u> <u>derecho</u> <u>pāpā</u> *tiene koe que* <u>aiua</u> (<u>ayuda</u>) *mai etahi* <u>parte</u> *pa'i.* (trsc.80:48)

'*That's why, I said that,* <u>well</u>, <u>as</u> (*a*) <u>*father*</u>*, although it is* <u>not</u> <u>important</u> *whether I* <u>share</u> *(my life) with him or not,* <u>but</u> (the) <u>*father*'s</u> <u>right</u> *(respon-sibility), you* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> <u>help</u> *me one* <u>part</u>.'

(51) *Tiene que   o'o   mai.   O* <u>sea</u> *tiene que   ai   ia i   nei.* (trsc.25B:72)
MOD.has.to   enter   DIR   that.is   MOD.has.to   EXIS   3S   LOC   here
'*(He)* <u>has</u> <u>to</u> *be included.* <u>That</u> <u>is</u> *he* <u>has</u> <u>to</u> *be here.*'

(52) *Kona nei pa'i, e haŋu ē, kona vari o te nu'u ta'ato'a* <u>así</u> *que tiene que* <u>asuma</u> *mau 'ā i te aŋa* <u>i</u> *e* <u>sacrificio</u> *mo* <u>reconoce</u> *pa'i.* (trsc.115:4)
'*This place, listen young man, is a place for all the people,* <u>so</u> *(we)* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> <u>assume</u> *all the work* <u>and</u> <u>sacrifice</u> *for the* <u>recognition</u>.'

(53) *Tiene mau 'ā que ture* <u>porque</u> <u>repuē</u> (<u>después</u>) *ai i* <u>entiende</u> *ai i te* <u>razone</u> *pe nei ē tiene mau 'ā que ture* <u>porque</u> *e ai ro 'ā te hape o te tetahi ŋā taina era, tahi ŋā kope era pa'i.* (trsc.115:284)
'*(We) really* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> <u>fight</u> <u>because</u> <u>afterwards</u> *one will have* <u>understood</u> *the* <u>reason</u> *why (we)* <u>have</u> <u>to</u> *fight* <u>because</u> *there're mistakes made by the other brothers, that's the other guys.*'

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25. There is another Spanish modal construction, [<u>hay</u> + <u>que</u> + verb (infinitive)] 'it is necessary to ~', which always takes the third person singular form (<u>hay</u> is an impersonal verb 'to exist'), which does indicate tense. This construction is not adopted into Rapanui as often as [<u>tiene</u> + <u>que</u> + verb (infinitive)].

(54)   *Tiene ho'i que tama'i.* (trsc.28:178)
       '*(We) have to fight.*'

When in a Rapanui context, *tiene* + *que* also relies on other grammatical elements
to express tense or aspect. Future tense can be expressed by adding a time expres-
sion, as in (44) and (55). However, the incorporation of *tiene que*, in general,
requires further restructuring of the constituents of the construction of necessity or
obligation according to the tense and the place of emphasis.

   Adhering to the basic word order of VSO, the subject, if not omitted, is usually
placed after the verb, as in (56). When emphasized, the subject is either accompa-
nied by the personal marker *a,* as in (55), or in the dative case (a possessive con-
struction with a benefactive *ma*), as in (57) and (58), and, in both cases, raised to
the position before the verb phrase.

(55)   *I   te   mahana piti,a   ia   e   tu'u mai nei.*
       LOC   +SPEC Tuesday   PRS 3S IMPERF come DIR here
       '*He is to come here on Tuesday.*' (Du Feu 1996:38)

(56)   *E   tunu au i   te   kai.*[26]
       IMPERF cook IS OBJ +SPEC food
       '*I must cook a meal.*'

(57)   *Ma'aku   e   oho.* (Du Feu 1996:38)
       BEN.POSS.IS IMPERF go
       '*I'm the one who's to go.*'

(58)   *Ma Nua e   runu hai   pipi.* (Du Feu 1996:39)
       BEN Nua IMPERF collect +SPEC shells
       '*Nua's the one who has to collect some shells.*'

A greater syntactic restructuring is needed to indicate obligation or necessity in past
time reference, where a possessive construction is used to express the actor whose
action is nominalized by the definite article *te*, as in (59). With *tiene que*, the subject
may not be introduced immediately after the main verb but follows the existential verb
ai, with the past action being conveyed by the perfective aspect particle *i* (60).

(59)   *A   Maria te   to'o, 'ina he me'e kē   pa'i mo to'o.*[26]
       POSS Maria +SPEC take NEG ±SPEC person different EMPH COMP take
       '*Maria must have taken (it), there was no one else who'd take (it).*'

(60)   *Tiene que ai   a   Maria i   to'o porque 'ina he   me'e*
       MOD.has.to EXIS PRS Maria PERF take because NEG ±SPEC person
       kē   pa'i mo   to'o. (trsc.18A:197)
       other EMPH COMP take
       '*Maria had to be the one who took (it) because there was nobody else
       who'd take (it).*'

The introduction of the construction with *tiene que* seems also to have started the
use of the preposition que to introduce a verbal complement. For example, the
adverbial verb seguir 'to continue' can modify another verb or adjective to express

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26. See footnote 21 on page 206.

the continuity of the action ('to go on + ~ing', 'to keep + ~ing'). The combined element would be in the gerund or adjective form in standard Spanish, as for example, seguir yendo 'to continue to go.' In (61), seguir is incorporated in a similar manner to tiene que, [sigue (3 pers. sg. pres.) + que + *verb*].

> (61) *He mate au tiene que* sigue *que oho atu te me'e era.*
>   '*When I die, that has to* continue *to go on.*' (trsc.168:76)

The Spanish tiene que has replaced the Rapanui construction (with the verbal marker *e*) in some uses. Spanish syntax allows for two word orderings in terms of the position of the subject [tiene que + verb + subject], as in (36–38) or [tiene + subject + que + verb] (subject raising), as in (49–50), where both subjects are in the nominative case. The Rapanui construction [*e* + verb + subject], as in (40), also allows subject raising [subject + *e* + verb], as in (55), where the subject in both constructions is in the nominative case. In addition, Rapanui allows for the use of the dative case with the benefactive particle *ma* for the agent of the verb, as in (57) and (58). Preference for the nominative instead of the possessive construction may be one instance in which Spanish syntax is influencing Modern Rapanui syntax.

5.3 INTRODUCTION OF COORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS. Rapanui traditionally coordinates sentences and constituents by means of parataxis—without any element whose function is to coordinate—and by placing constituents next to each other, as in (62).[27] In addition to parataxis, Modern Rapanui has some elements that fulfill a coordinating role. One is the negative subordinator *'o* 'lest', often used in the verbal construction [*'o* + verb + *rō*] following an imperative, as in (63) and (64).

> (62) *'ēē, ŋā   poki tane ŋā   poki vahine pa'i.* (trsc 80B:8)
>   yes GRP child male GRP   child female EMPH
>   '*Yes, boys and girls.*'

> (63) *E   kai   koe, 'o   māuiui rō.*
>   IMPERF eat 2S   NEG sick   AFF
>   '*You have to eat, lest you get sick. (Eat, or you get sick.)*'

> (64) *'Ina ko rei   te   tiare ena, 'o pū   rō   tu'u   va'e.*
>   NEG NEG step.on +SPEC flower PPD NEG prick AFF POSS.2S foot
>   '*Don't step on this flower, or your feet will be pricked.*'

Possibly because of its phonological and semantic similarities to this Rapanui coordinator, the Spanish disjunctive coordinator o is frequently used in Rapanui speech. Its usage is much broader than the Rapanui negative subordinator *'o* (e.g., [65–67]).

> (65) *Eko puē   pa'i koe mo   kai, he   kumā   tunu kiri*
>   NEG MOD.can EMPH 2S COMP eat ±SPEC sweet.potato cook skin
>
>   *o   he   taro tunu kiri.* (trsc.81A:81)
>   COORd ±SPEC taro cook skin
>   '*You can't eat a sweet potato or taro cooked with skin.*'

27. Chapin (1978) speculates that Rapanui may have had coordinating conjunctions and lost them at some point in its historical development.

(66) *Ko 'ite   a   koe o   'ina?* (trsc.170B:15)
     PF   know PRS 2S   COORd NEG
     'Did you know, or not?'

The Spanish adversative coordinator *pero* is also frequently used.[28]

(67) A: Bueno, *'a ai te pua'a? 'A'au o 'a C.?*
     B: *'A'aku. Pero 'a rāua te porítica* (política).

     A: *'*Well, *whose cows are they? Yours or C.'s?'*
     B: *'(They are) mine. But the politics is theirs.'*

(68) *Te henua i ho'o pero kai e'a mai 'ā te moni.* (trsc.3:32)
     'The land was sold but did not bring me any money.'

(69) A: *He   padrino   ia kōrua o   'ai ?*
        ±SPEC godfather 3S 2P   POSS INT

     B: *O   te   hāipoipo.*
        POSS +SPEC marriage

     A: No, *pero   o   rā   taŋata o   rā   vi'e ?*
        NEG COORa POSS DEM man   COORd DEM woman

     A: *'You will be* godparents *of whom?'*
     B: *'Of that marriage.'*
     A: *'*No, *but of the man or the woman?'*

There are other Spanish adversative conjunctions that are used in otherwise Rapanui discourse, such as sino (que) 'but, except (that)', as in (70) and (71), and ni 'nor'. For comparison, (72) paraphrases (71) without the use of sino que.

(70) *He kai he hakamakenu e koe hai rima mo taiko, ta'e e tiaki ki te 'ua* sino *hai rima 'ā ana hakaŋae'i pau rō te mahana pa'i.* (trsc.12:212)
     'You move (the soil) with your hand to stir (to let the plant grow), not to wait for the rain, but rather *with your hands you move (the soil) everyday.'*

(71) *Kai haŋa o   mātou ki   te   independencia,* sino que
     NEG want POSS 1P.EXCL DAT +SPEC independence   but rather
     ka   reconoce mai te   mātou   henua.
     MOM2 recognize DIR +SPEC 1P.EXCL land
     'We (EXCL) *don't want the* independence, rather *(we want them to)* recognize *our* (EXCL) *land.'*

(72) *Kai haŋa o mātou ki te* independencia. *Haŋa 'ā mātou mo reconoce mai o te gobierno tire ki te mātou henua.*
     'We do not want the independence. *We want the Chilean government to recognize our land.'*

The Spanish additive coordination y /i/ and the Tahitian borrowing *e* (from French *et*) are also used, as in (73–75). Rapanui equivalents are parataxis or the use of *tako'a* 'also', which follows the modified constituent, as in (76).

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28. The degree of assimilation of pero is discussed on page 200. For discussion of its use as a discourse marker, see section 6.

(73) <u>Entonces</u> *ka* <u>orvire</u> (<u>olvida</u>) *tātou 'i rā* <u>parte,</u> *ka hakarehu, ka ha'ati'a*
      mai kōrua ka va'ai mai te henua ki a mātou. <u>Y</u> <u>además,</u> *to'oku mana'u* <u>en</u>
      <u>corto</u> <u>tiempo</u> *he rē tātou, ta'e mo mātou nō, ta'e mo te vi'e era te me'e nei*
      e kī atu ena, <u>sino</u> *he me'e* <u>legal</u> *e noho mai ena 'i ruŋa i te parau.*
        (trsc.25A:155)

      '<u>Therefore,</u> *let us* (INCL) <u>forget</u> *that* <u>part,</u> *forget it, you permit us, give the*
      land to us (EXCL). <u>And</u> <u>in</u> <u>addition,</u> *in my opinion* <u>in</u> <u>short</u> <u>time</u> *we all*
      (INCL) *win, not just for us* (EXCL), *not for that woman that the other was*
      telling you about, <u>but</u> *a* <u>legal</u> *thing on the paper.'*

(74) | *E* | *he* | *tu'u* | *mai* | *ki* | *nei* | *he* | <u>adapta</u> | *au* | <u>*e*</u> | *he* |
      |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
      | COORC | ASP | arrive | DIR | DAT | here | ASP | adapt | IS | COORC | ASP |

<u>*puē*</u>	*mo*	<u>adapta</u>. (trsc.168:44)
MOD.can	COMP	adapt

      '<u>*And*</u> *when I arrived here I* <u>adapt*ed*</u> <u>*and*</u> <u>could</u> *adapt.'*

(75) | *Ko* | *tike'a 'ā* | *e* | *koe?* | <u>*E*</u> | *i* | *te* | <u>hora</u> *nei,* | *he* ... (trsc.48:65) |
      |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
      | PF | see | PROG | AG | 2S | COORC | LOC | +SPEC | hour | PPD | ASP |

      '*Do you see/understand?* <u>And</u> *now (at this* <u>time</u>), ...'

(76) | *I* | *au* | *tako'a* | *he* | *iri* | *rō* | *'ai* | *au.* (trsc.28: 231) |
      |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
      | DEMn | IS | also | ASP | go.up | AFF | SBQ | IS |

      '*Here I am also going to leave.'*

Coordinators borrowed from Spanish could have been omitted, as in (72). However, similar to the expression of obligation and necessity (*tiene que*) discussed above, because Spanish coordinators, especially disjunctive and adversative ones, are used frequently in Modern Rapanui speech, their presence is increasingly perceived necessary for expressing coordination. This is supported by the relatively greater frequency with which Spanish disjunctive and adversative coordinators are used, as opposed to additive ones.

5.4 ADVERB OF NEGATION *NUNCA*. Finally, a case of syntactic adaptation is observable in the use of a Spanish adverb *nunca* 'never.' Expressions of negation in Rapanui use either the preverbal particles *'ina eko*, *eko*, *'ina ko*, *'ina*, *'ina kai*, or *kai*, or they use *nunca*.[29] However, rather than replacing or competing with a (set of) Rapanui negative particle(s) or adverb(s) of similar meaning, with *nunca*, the verbal frame is constructed differently, and *nunca* functions as a negative predicate and enlists the complementizer *mo*. In (77), the speaker rephrases the Rapanui negative construction [*eko* + verb] with the *nunca* construction [*nunca* + *mo* + verb].

(77) | *Eko* | *va'ai* | *atu* | *i* | *te* | <u>*pasa*</u> | *ki* | *a* | *koe,* | *nunca* | *mo* | *va'ai* | *atu* |
      |---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
      | NEG | give | DIR | OBJ | +SPEC | pass | DAT | PRS | 2S | never | COMP | give | DIR |

i	*te*	<u>*pasa.*</u> (trsc.186B2:22)
OBJ	+SPEC	pass

      '*(They'll) not give the* <u>pass</u> *to you, (they'll)* <u>never</u> *give you the* <u>pass</u>.'*

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29. According to Schuhmacher (1993), the negative *'ina* was borrowed from Mangarevan in 1866–1867. I treat it as Rapanui here for the purpose of discussing present-day Spanish transfer to Modern Rapanui, because its nativization has advanced to the extent that Rapanui speakers consider it to be fully part of the Rapanui lexicon.

I will review the Rapanui negative constructions and the standard Spanish use of *nunca* before analyzing the syntactic adaptation of *nunca* in the Modern Rapanui context. The first four particles mentioned above are in order of greater emphasis; thus, most emphasis is given in *'ina eko*, as in (78). The preverbal particles of negation have corresponding relations with a complex of verbal aspect particles.[30] Briefly, *(e)ko* has future or present reference, as in (79), replacing verbal complexes composed of *e … rō, he,* or *ka ~ ki. 'Ina ko* is imperative or obligation, as in (80), replacing verbal momentary (or contiguity) particles *ka ~ ki. ('Ina) kai* replaces stative, perfect, and narrative past particles, *ko … 'ā, i,* and *he,* as in (81). The subject can be placed after the verb according to Rapanui basic word order, as in (79), or it can be omitted, as in (78), or raised for emphasis to the position after *'ina*, as in (80).

(78) *'Ina eko omo, 'ina au he omo.* (trsc.186B.2:30)
     NEG NEG smoke NEG IS ASP smoke
     '*(I) will never smoke, I don't smoke.*'

(79) *Eko haŋa ho'i au ki   to'oku <u>famiria</u> mo   hāipoipo*
     NEG want EMPH IS DAT POSS.IS family   COMP marry
     e   te   ŋā poki era 'a'aku. (trsc.130A:17)
     AG +SPEC GRP child PPD POSS.IS
     '*I will not want my <u>family</u> (relatives) to marry my children.*'

(80) *He kī e   au, 'ina koe ko taŋi <u>porque</u> <u>nunca</u> mo*
     ASP say AG IS NEG 2S   NEG cry   because never   COMP
     ora haka'ou <u>porque</u> ko mate 'ā. (trsc.80B:49)
     live again   because PF die   PROG
     '*I said, "Don't you cry, <u>because</u> (she'll) <u>never</u> come back alive, <u>because</u> (she) died."*'

(81) *'Ina kai aŋiaŋi pe nei ē   a   ai i   oka.* (trsc.48:93)
     NEG NEG know   like this here PRS   INT PERF plant
     '*(They) didn't know who planted (it).*'

(82) <u>El</u> nunca <u>utirizará</u> esa <u>moto</u>.
     '<u>He</u> <u>will</u> <u>never</u> <u>use</u> <u>that</u> <u>motorcycle</u>.'

(83) <u>Ella</u> <u>no</u> <u>viene</u> nunca <u>a</u> esta <u>casa</u>.
     '<u>She</u> <u>never</u> <u>comes</u> <u>to</u> <u>this</u> <u>house</u>.'

In standard Spanish, the adverb <u>nunca</u> can be placed either before or after the verb, as in (82–83). These two positions of <u>nunca</u> in relation to the verb do not create conflict with Rapanui syntax, because Rapanui has both preverbal and postverbal positions for particles (or adverbs) of negation. In Rapanui speech, *<u>nunca</u>* tends to be placed in a preverbal position, as in (84–85). Because emphasis is generally accomplished in Rapanui by raising the item to clause-initial position, preference for the preverbal position for *<u>nunca</u>* can be explained by the emphasis that the speaker wishes to place on the impossibility. Depending on its position, speakers can use different sets of particles to mark aspect and other meanings.

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30. For discussion of negation, see Stenson (1981), R. Weber (1988), Chapin (1978), and Du Feu (1996).

(84) *Pero mo ai etahi kurupo* (grupo) *i rā, etahi i te kona era, etahi i rā ai,* nunca *mo rova'a,* porque *a tātou 'ā te kai haka'ou i a tātou 'ā.* (trsc.18B:1)

    '<u>But</u> if there is one <u>group</u> there, one somewhere else, one over there, (with such factionalism we) will <u>never</u> obtain (our collective objective), <u>because</u> we are eating (hurting) ourselves again.'

(85) <u>Pero</u> <u>muy</u> <u>bueno</u> *ta'aku ŋā poki ena,* nunca *mo raŋi mai ki a au.* (trsc.18B:76)
    '<u>But</u> my children are <u>very</u> <u>good</u>, (they) <u>never</u> yell at me.'

(86) <u>Tengo</u> <u>de</u> <u>todo</u>, *'ina au kai o'o* nunca *ki te   política.*
                            NEG IS NEG enter never   DAT +SPEC politics
    '<u>I</u> have <u>everything</u>, I have <u>never</u> entered <u>politics</u>.' (trsc.58B:394)

(87) *'Ina au kai oho ki Hiva,* nunca *au i oho ki Hiva,* porque *ko ai 'ā pa'i ta'aku ŋā poki.* (trsc.186B.2:46)
    'I did not go to the Continent, I <u>never</u> went to the Continent, <u>because</u> I have children.'

Less often, *nunca* takes a postverbal position, as in (86). This is the position that can be taken up by adverbs of quality, quantity, and negation, such as *rivariva, etahi,* and *'o*, respectively. *Nunca* is accompanied by preverbal negation particle(s), *'ina … kai* in (86), which can be considered loan blending, calqued on Spanish <u>no</u> … <u>nunca</u>, as in (83). The postverbal *nunca* allows the use of the preverbal negative particle *kai*, which also marks the main verb in the perfect or stative aspect. When *nunca* occurs in phrase-initial position, the main verb is introduced either with the complementizer *mo* [31] or the preverbal perfective aspect particle *i*, as in (87). In (88), the speaker differentiates the past and future tenses using *nunca*, [nunca + subject + *i* + verb + *ai*] and [*nunca* + subject + *mo* + verb], respectively.

The insertion of the subject (*koe*) in the two examples in (88) sets *nunca* apart from particles of negation such as *eko, ko,* and *kai,* which do not allow the subject to be placed between these particles and the negated verb. Similarly to *'ina*, which does allow the subject to be placed between it and the negated verb, as in (78), (80), and (88), *nunca* seems to take on the quality of a predicate verb.

(88) *Ki oti he oho he profesor, e* inglé (inglés) *te ha'aura'a,* <u>o</u> francé (francés), *pero 'ina kai 'ite,* nunca *pa'i* **koe** *i tu'u mai ai i kī atu ki a koe. A koe he* kāpone, *au he rapanui, ia* nunca **koe** *mo 'ite tahi i te vānaŋa rapanui,* <u>o</u> sea *ki te hope'a o te vānaŋa rapanui.* (trsc.182B:203)

    'When finished (he) will become a <u>teacher</u>, for example, <u>English</u>, <u>or</u> <u>French</u>, <u>but</u> (he) doesn't know (it), but you (he) <u>never</u> came (to us) to tell you (us) (that). You are <u>Japanese</u> and I am Rapanui, and you will <u>never</u> know all of the Rapanui language, <u>that</u> <u>is</u>, to the end of the Rapanui language.'

The incorporation of *nunca* involves different combinations of grammatical elements—aspect and negative particles and a complementizer—and word ordering, depending on the degree of emphasis and aspect of the modified verb complex. Use of the complementizer *mo* to introduce the main verb modified by *nunca* seems to be an instance of structural convergence, where the Rapanui predicate

complement structure is recruited instead of simply replacing Rapanui negation particles or adverbs with <u>*nunca*</u>.

Contact-induced changes are not necessarily changes due to a language death situation. For example, Campbell and Muntzel (1989) discuss the features of structural changes occurring in a moribund language, Pipil, of the Nahua branch of Uto-Aztecan, spoken in El Salvador and in contact with Spanish, which are paralleled by those occurring among its sister languages that remain viable while in contact with Spanish.

6. DISCOURSE LEVEL. Spanish elements frequently function as discourse markers in Rapanui speech. Discourse markers are "sequentially dependent elements [that] bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1987:31), and they organize the structure of conversation. The Spanish discourse markers are important points of syncretism and interactional convergence in Rapanui bilingual speech acts. Other studies of language contact have also found that discourse markers are frequently borrowed, create a site for code switching, or constitute code switches themselves.[32] Spanish coordinators such as <u>pero</u> 'but', <u>y</u> 'and', and <u>porque</u> 'because', as well as interjections <u>bueno</u> 'well', <u>o sea</u> 'that is', <u>ya</u> 'O.K., so', and <u>entonce(s)</u> 'then' are frequently used in otherwise Rapanui discourse. They are generally optional and function largely as discourse markers of coherence, connection, and sequencing.

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31. In Rapanui, *mo* is used to introduce predicate complements and purposive and conditional clauses, as in (a–c).

    (a) *E   haŋa rō koe mo   kī atu etahi me'e?* (trsc.81:49)
        IMPERF want ASS 2S   COMP say DIR one thing
        'Do you want (me) to tell you one thing?'

    (b) *He kī mai i   tu'u   mana'u mo   'ite   atu e   au.* (trsc.13B:1)
        ACT say DIR OBJ POSS.2S thought COMP know DIR AG IS
        'You tell me your thought so that I know.'

    (c) *Mo ta'e haŋa o   kōrua, ka   mou   nō.* (trsc.57:160)
        MOD NEG want POSS 2P   MOM2 keep.quiet LIM
        'If you don't want (it), just keep quiet.'

    Mo is also used to introduce complements to predicates of Spanish provenance such as <u>*puē*</u> 'can', *prefiere* 'prefer', *ojalá* 'wish, if only(interjection)', as well as Rapanui ones such as *hanga* 'want', as in (d–g). *Ojalá* is also used with *ana*, a complementizer that indicates potential or feasible future and conditional, whereas <u>*nunca*</u> is not accompanied by *ana*.

    (d) *Eko <u>puē</u>   au mo kī atu o'oku ko tike'a mai 'ā te   rakerake.*
        NEG MOD.can IS COMP say DIR POSS.IS PF see   DIR PROG +SPEC bad
        'I <u>can</u> not say that I have seen the bad (in it).' (trsc. 81:67)

    (e) *Mo'oku, <u>ojalá</u> [oxala]te   papa'ā mo o'o koro'iti mai ki   nei.* (trsc.81:80)
        BENi.IS wish   +SPEC foreigner COMP enter slowly DIR DAT here
        'For me, I <u>wish</u> foreigners will slowly come here.'

    (f) *<u>Prefiere</u> au mo   kimi.* (trsc.202A:15)
        prefer   IS COMP search
        'I <u>prefer</u> to search (for others).'

    (g) *<u>Muy</u>   peligroso mo   hakafunciona.* (trsc. 58A:5)
        (it is) very dangerous COMP CAUS.function
        '<u>It</u> is <u>very</u> <u>dangerous</u> to make (it) <u>work</u>.'

32. Brody (1995:136–141); Hill and Hill (1986:178–194, 349); Myers-Scotton (1993:201–203); Pfaff (1976:311–314); Poplack (1980:602); Stroud (1992:141–142).

The Spanish conjunction <u>porque</u> 'because' is frequently used to state reasons in Modern Rapanui speech and can be considered a borrowing from Spanish in many instances, as illustrated in the first occurrence of the term in (89). It can serve also as a site for code switching to Spanish, as in the term's second occurrence in (89) and in (90).

(89) A: *He   me'e ho'i a tātou e   ta'e me'e nei pe i   ra **porque***
   ±SPEC thing EMPH PRS IP.INCL IMPERF NEG do   this like LOC DEM because
   *kai ai 'ā te <u>acuerdo</u> o kōrua ananake, **porque** <u>son</u> <u>dos</u>*
   NEG exist PROG +SPEC agreement POSS 2P   all   because are two
   <u>posiciones</u> <u>distintas.</u>
   positions   distinct

   B: <u>**Ya**</u> [ja]. *Mo ta'e ai o te* <u>acuerdo,</u> <u>¿qué pasa</u>? (trsc.58:232)

   A: *'The thing is, we don't do this **because** there is no* <u>agreement</u> *among you all,* **because** there <u>are</u> two <u>distinct</u> <u>positions.'</u>
   B: '<u>**O.K**</u>. *If there is no* <u>agreement,</u> <u>what</u> <u>happens</u>?'

(90) A: ***He aha** ta'a* <u>consulta</u> *ena ka aŋa ena*?
   B: <u>**Porque**</u> <u>yo</u> <u>creo</u> <u>que</u> <u>ustedes</u> <u>tienen</u> <u>su</u> <u>posición</u>. (trsc.58B:430)

   A: '***Why** will you* <u>consult</u>?'
   B: '<u>**Because**</u> <u>I</u> <u>think</u> <u>that</u> <u>you</u> <u>have</u> <u>your</u> <u>position</u>.'

In contrast to <u>porque</u>, even though it is essentially homonymous with it, Rapanui speakers do not use the Spanish interrogative <u>por qué</u> 'why?' in their Rapanui speech. Instead, they use variations of *he aha* 'why? what?': *mo aha* 'for what? (why?)', *ki te aha* 'for what?', and *o te aha* 'why? because of what?'. As in (90), <u>porque</u> is often used to answer questions posed by a Rapanui interrogative *he aha* 'why? what?'. Furthermore, <u>porque</u> and *he aha* are often paired within an utterance to emphasize, rhetorically, the reason to be stated in what follows, as in (91).

(91) *I   o'o nō au, i   u'i nō, i   <u>visita</u> nō, **porque he   aha**?*
   PERF enter LIM IS, PERF look LIM PERF visit   LIM because ±SPEC INT
   'ina he mana'u rakerake. (trsc. 80:83)
   NEG ASP thought bad
   *"I just entered, just looked, just <u>visited</u>, **because** why? (I) didn't have any bad thought.'*

For another example of juxtaposition of Rapanui and Spanish discourse markers, Rapanui speakers frequently pair *ia* 'O.K.' and <u>entonces</u> 'then' to convey a sense of transition and sequence, as in (92). Rapanui speakers also often use the Spanish interjection <u>bueno</u> 'well' as a discourse marker to convey a sense of transition that is similar to the function associated with *ia*. *Ia*, <u>entonces,</u> and <u>bueno</u> all serve as discourse markers to indicate narrative continuity and transition, and share the same clause-initial syntactic position. Rapanui speakers frequently follow *ia* with <u>entonces,</u> but they do not follow <u>entonces</u> with *ia*; nor do they pair *ia* and <u>bueno</u>. Juxtapositions of Rapanui and Spanish discourse markers with the same syntactic position thus seem to be limited to those with at least slightly different meanings.

(92) *Ko rā korohu'a ko Atamu Tekena.* **Ia, entonces**, *i tu'u mai era ki nei.*
Bueno, *kai mana'u 'ana ho'i tātou mo poreko,* **pero** *o rā poki era pa'i o*
rā korohu'a ko to'oku <u>abuela</u> *era ko Maria Aifiti Tekena, ko te rū'au ko Rū*
e kī ena. **Ia, entonces**, *o rā rū'au i vānaŋa tahi mai pe rā, pe rā, pe rā.*
(trsc.18:35)

'That old man was named Atamu Tekena. ***O.K.,* <u>then</u>**, *when he arrived*
here. **<u>Well</u>**, *we did not think that (a child) would be born,* **<u>but</u>** *that child of*
that old man is my <u>grandmother</u>, *named Maria Aifiti Tekena, the old*
woman called Rū. ***O.K.,* <u>then,</u>** *that old woman told me all about this,*
that, and this.'

The adversative coordinator <u>pero</u> 'but' is another Spanish loanword used fre-
quently as a discourse marker in Rapanui speech, as in (92). As discussed in 5.3,
adversative coordinators have been assimilated more easily into the Modern
Rapanui lexicon as borrowings than have additive ones. In (92), <u>pero</u> and the
Rapanui emphasis marker *pa'i* are both used to indicate an adversative sense. *Pa'i*
modifies a noun or verb phrase and takes a position immediately following the
modified constituent, whereas <u>pero</u> takes a clause-initial position. This contrasts
with the example discussed above of Spanish discourse markers <u>bueno</u> and
<u>entonces</u> and Rapanui discourse marker *ia,* all of which take clause-initial posi-
tions. Thus it seems that even though *pa'i* and <u>pero</u> both serve adversative mean-
ings, because they occupy different surface-structure positions, speakers use them
together to give emphasis.

Another example is the Spanish interjection <u>ya</u> /ja/ 'O.K.', which coexists with
Rapanui *ia* /ia/. The phonological, semantic, and syntactic similarities most likely
prevent them from being used at the same time. They are both accompanied by
slight pauses in between sentences. Their meanings differ slightly, where Rapanui
ia marks a continuation to the following of a narrative, as in (93), and <u>ya</u>, in Stan-
dard Spanish usage, signals a sense of transition to advance to the next stage, hav-
ing finished the previous one. Both <u>ya</u> and *ia* can also be used by conversation
partners, as in (89). <u>Ya</u> is usually used within a Spanish environment or followed
by a Spanish utterance and *ia* in a Rapanui environment or followed by a Rapanui
utterance. However, their usages converge in many cases for many speakers. For
example, I observed the use of <u>ya</u> followed by a Rapanui Spanish or a Rapanui
phrase, and the use of *ia* followed by Spanish.

(93) *He e'a mai te* <u>*pāpā*</u> *nei, he oho, he kimi, he rova'a, he to'o mai, he ma'u,*
he puru i roto i te hare, he kā i te umu mo ta'o. **Ia**, *i kā era i te 'umu mo*
ta'o, he oho e te poki nei … (trsc. 48:58)

'The <u>father</u> came out, went, looked (for the child), found (him), took (him),
carried (him), locked (him) up inside the house, and lit the fire for the
earthoven. ***O.K.,*** *when the earthoven was lit, the child went ...*'

(94) *'Ēē, **pero** kai kī atu he va'ai tahi atu te henua.* **Ya [ja],** <u>muy facil</u> *e Nico ē.*
      Bueno, *ko haŋa 'ā a tātou ki te henua mo va'ai tahi mai.* **Bueno**, *he tute
      tahi te <u>tire</u> mai nei ...* (trsc.57:179)

      'Yes, **~~but~~** *(he) did not say that they would give you all the land.* **O.K.,**
      (it's) <u>very easy.</u> Nico. **Well**, *we want them to give us all of the land.* **Well**,
      let's take away the <u>Chileans</u> from here ...'

Spanish <u>no</u> 'no' is used extensively in otherwise Rapanui discourse. In contrast, <u>sí</u>
'yes' is rarely used. The fact that the sound /s/ was foreign to Rapanui phonology
does not provide an adequate explanation. Rather, <u>no</u> is used as a discourse marker
in Rapanui in a manner different from the Rapanui negative *'ina*. *'Ina* 'no' is
rarely used alone, and such use is felt to be abrupt and to lack politeness. Spanish
<u>no</u>, in contrast, is quite freely used to interrupt or give a negative response to the
other speaker, as in (95), and to negate the perceived presupposition held by the
other speaker, as in (96–97).

(95) A: *Te hatu ia he ha'aura'a 'ā. Hakaha'aura'a atu i ta'a vānaŋa he hatu
          atu i ta'a vānaŋa <u>o</u> i ta'a moe vārua?*=
      B: =**No**. *Me'e kē* =
      A: =*Me'e kē, ko ŋaroa a au i te vānaŋa pe nei ē ī au he hatu atu i ta'a
          vānaŋa ena koe ē vānaŋa mai ena.* (trsc.90:4)

      A: *'Then (you are saying that) "hatu" means to explain the meaning. As
          in, I explain your words, I "hatu" your words <u>or</u> your dreams?'*=
      B: =*'**No**. That's different'*=
      A: =*'It's different, (but) I've heard others saying that "I 'hatu' your
          words that you're telling me.'''*

(96) A: <u>*Hora aha rā e o'o ena ararua ki te hāpī?*</u>
      B: **N̄o**, *i te hora nei ho'i ararua e oho nei mo <u>armuerza</u> i rā. E kai ro 'ā
          ararua i r̄ā e kai ro 'ā i te hare hāpī.* (trsc.208)

      A: *'What <u>time</u> are the two going to the class?'*
      B: *'**No**, ri̅g̅h̅t now (this <u>time</u>). They are going to have <u>lunch</u> there. Both of
          them eat there, eat at t̅h̅e school.'*

(97) A: *He aha rā koe i ta'e turu atu ai i aŋataiahi?*
      B: **No**, *i oho mai era he piri mai a Elsa, he vānaŋa rō ai māua ko Elsa.*
          (trsc.186:57)

      A: *'Why didn't you go yesterday?'*
      B: *'**No**, on the way I met Elsa and we talked (thus it wasn't necessary to
          go).'*

In text 2, a man in his late fifties was discussing with a young Rapanui woman
(my assistant) how the Rapanui mix languages in their speech. He starts to illus-
trate his point with examples of borrowed words.[33] He uses <u>no</u> frequently to
negate the other's response to him, which he reports in his explanation (lines 3, 7,

and 8). <u>No</u> accentuates his speech as a discourse marker. His use of <u>sí</u> 'yes' (line 19) is an example of a relatively rare occurrence of the term in a similar manner.

Thus, Spanish discourse markers such as <u>porque</u>, <u>entonces</u>, <u>bueno</u>, <u>ya</u>, and <u>no</u> serve within a given conversational interaction as "semiotic resources," relatively independent of the grammar and social meaning of code mixing (Auer 1995:132). More importantly, these Spanish discourse markers give a Chilean or Spanish flavor to or modernize the Rapanui discourse.

Code switching serves to contextualize or change footing in bilingual (and multicode) interactions. In addition to these contextualization functions, Spanish words and phrases mixed in Rapanui speech collectively signal modern ways of speaking Rapanui where syncretism and interactional convergence have become their characteristics. Spanish elements collectively index modern ways of speaking Rapanui through the extensive use of Spanish elements as discourse markers.

TEXT 2: NO ('NO') AND SÍ ('YES') AS DISCOURSE MARKERS IN RAPANUI SPEECH

J: *E <u>prefiere</u> tātou mo vānaŋa ki aŋiaŋi e te nu'u ena <u>o</u> e koe mau 'ā.* **No!** *Te vānaŋa nei he <u>mati</u>, 'ina mau 'ā he <u>mati</u> o te <u>rapanui mo kī pē nei ē.</u> Ko kī mai 'ana ho'i ki a au etahi me'e pē nei ē.* **No**! *he hika.* **No!** *hika me'e kē. O te <u>porinesica</u> (<u>polinesia</u>) te vānaŋa he hika.*

I: *He aha te ha'aura'a?*

J: *Ko te vānaŋa era i kī mai era he hika. Te hika ho'i, ko te vānaŋa ena e kī ena he hika mo hū o te ahi.* **Ia,** *vānaŋa <u>porinesia</u>, i <u>usa</u> ai e te rapanui he hika me'e kē. Te hika i te rapanui he me'e aŋa kupeŋa. He ahi,* **sí,** *he ahi mau 'ā te ahi i te rapanui pa'i. Ia, 'ina pa'i ko <u>usa</u> 'ā e tātou i te hora nei i te vānaŋa <u>tire</u> he <u>foforo</u>,* **ia, pero,** *i te vānaŋa <u>paratane</u>, he <u>mati</u>.* (trsc.208A2:53)

J: *We <u>prefer</u> to speak so that the people would understand <u>or</u> it's only you.* **No!** *As for the word "<u>mati</u>" ('match'), there was no <u>Rapanui</u> <u>match</u> to speak of. But some<u>one</u> <u>told</u> me what it is.* **No!** *it was a "hika."* **No!** *"hika" is something different. That word "hika" is from <u>Polynesia</u>.*

I: *What does it mean?*

J: *"Hika" was the word that he told me. But "hika" is the word used for making fire.* **O.K.**, *it's a <u>Polynesian</u> word, and the Rapanui <u>used</u> it for something else. The "hika" in Rapanui is the thing to make nets. An "ahi" ('fire'),* **yes,** *a fire is indeed fire in Rapanui. O.K., today we do not <u>use</u> the <u>Spanish</u> word "<u>foforo</u>" (<u>fósforo</u> 'match'),* **O.K., <u>but</u>** *(rather) the <u>British</u> word, a "<u>mati</u>" ('match').'*

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33. The text also illustrates a kind of semantic negotiation that introduced terms go through in the minds of speakers, where various words for "match" competed with each other. Now *mati* is considered part of the native lexicon. *Hika*, according to Fuentes (1960) is an Old Rapanui term for a shuttle with holes at both ends used in the weaving of fishing nets and also for two sticks for making fire. Its modern usage refers to lighting or striking a match or a lighter. *Sika* "fire stick" is used in other Polynesian languages. *Ahi* is a Rapanui and Polynesian term for fire. *Foforo* derives from Spanish <u>fósforo,</u> and *mati*, from English "match," is also used in Tahitian.

7. CONCLUSION. In this paper, I have described the kinds of linguistic mechanisms that Rapanui speakers apply when transferring Spanish elements into their Modern Rapanui speech, providing examples taken from naturalistic verbal interactions. This paper also contributes toward understanding the changing Modern Rapanui language, a language that has been in contact with Spanish for over a century, and most of whose contemporary speakers are also fluent Spanish speakers. My approach foregrounds the speakers' roles in enacting and leading linguistic change, in this case, in the making and transforming of Modern Rapanui grammar and speech styles.

Much has been written about the historical development of the language of Easter Island or Rapanui, particularly on the relationship between Old Rapanui and other Polynesian languages.[34] In their project of reconstructing the long past historical developments of the Rapanui language, historical linguists have, with justification, left Spanish transfers outside the purview of their studies. Many others have considered interlingual transfers only as "influence" or "interference" of one language on the other (i.e., Spanish influence and Rapanui interference), and furthermore, consider them, with less justification, as undesirable and apt to be censored in linguistic representations. Still others have blamed contemporary Rapanui speakers for corrupting the language or for not knowing "their" language. A community-wide language shift to Spanish has, indeed, been underway since the 1960s, and Rapanui children are predominantly Spanish-speaking; but this alone does not justify making such characterizations.

The analysis of Modern Rapanui speech that I have presented demonstrates that mixing Spanish elements in Rapanui discourse requires that speakers hold significant tacit knowledge of the Rapanui linguistic system. Rapanui speakers are actively constructing Modern Rapanui by incorporating Spanish elements from their knowledge of Spanish. Instead of looking at these Spanish transfers as evidence of Rapanui becoming contaminated by Spanish, they can be analyzed as evidence of the bilingual speakers' creative performance in Modern Rapanui speech, which involves negotiating between two linguistic frameworks or grammars.

Spanish transfers require linguistic adaptations, and, for the most part, the ways in which they are adapted are not interference caused by inadequate acquisition of Spanish as second language. Some of the adaptation mechanisms were, indeed, originally interference features observable during the earlier stages of the development of Spanish bilingualism in the island community in the first half of this century. However, many of these features can no longer be characterized as interference, as most speakers today are able to use the Spanish elements according to standard Spanish rules within the Spanish context. The Rapanui speakers are, thus, developing and maintaining the Spanish elements and these adaptive mechanisms as part of Modern Rapanui grammar. The initial innovation to transfer Spanish elements into Rapanui and the subsequent negotiations that must take place to establish form and

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34. For example, Biggs (1972), Blixen (1972), Clark (1983), Elbert (1953), Emory (1963, 1972), Finney and Alexander (1998), Fischer (1992), Green (1966, 1988), Langdon and Tryon (1983), Pawley (1966), Schuhmacher (1976, 1990).

meaning are part of the dynamic interaction between language structure and performance that helps shape the process of linguistic change.

The ways in which Rapanui speakers adapt these transfers can be characterized as having not only diachronic but also synchronic variations, according to speakers and context of use. This was illustrated, for example, by the case of the multiple pronunciations of <u>canasto</u> 'basket' in section 2. I do not claim that Rapanui speakers are always aware when they use Spanish transfers in their Rapanui speech. There is strong evidence, however, that their awareness of the different degrees of Rapanuiness or Spanish-ness (or Chilean-ness) of the linguistic elements enables them to choose between a set of ways of saying "the same thing" according to the context of use. Within the climate of an active indigenous movement and ongoing negotiation with the Chilean state to gain increased political autonomy for the island community, the Rapanui have more recently been developing purist linguistic ideology and practice. As a result, many Rapanui speakers are now choosing to speak Rapanui more often and more consciously; and they are becoming more aware of the Spanish provenance of many previously highly nativized items and choosing to avoid using them in situations where the association between Rapanui identity and language is salient. Such changes in language awareness and use will be further changing the Modern Rapanui language in the decades to come.

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