Modern Rapanui Adaptation of Spanish Elements

Miki Makihara

QUEENS COLLEGE OF CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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. 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. 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. 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.

Modern Rapanui is based on Old Rapanui. 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). 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-

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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 1881:188; 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, 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. 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

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 /¢/ 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 /repuê/, 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 /¢/ with /t/. Those sounds that are rarely replaced by Rapanui sounds tend to be replaced only or mainly in proper nouns such as José /xose/ as /kosê/, Jorge /xorxe/ as /korikê/, Solomon /solomon/ as /toromone/, and Chile /¢ile/ 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

11. Rapanui elements are transcribed phonemically using a single closing quote [‘] to represent the glottal stop, [g] 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

GM: [Ka ma’u ki roto i ta’a kanato era. He ta’a putê?]*
Uka: ‘Cortamenlo*Nua, Llévalo donde la tia Sû, Nua J=
GM: ¿Qué cosa?
Uka: El canasto de mi mami.
GM: El canasto pa (para) ti. Ese que le dio la tia Sû pa (para) llevar tu tapo-tapo.
M: Ka hahao ki roto ta’a e’ena.
GM: El canasto [kanato] que le dio la tia Sû para llevar a su casa.

[TRANSLATION]

1 GM: Take in your basket. Where is your bag?
2 Uka: ‘Cut some for me, Grandma. Take it to Aunt Sû. Grandma’=
3 GM: =What thing?
4 Uka: My mom’s basket.
5 GM: The basket (is) for you. It’s what Aunt Sû gave her to take your chirimoya.†
6 M: Put your thing(s) in (it).
7 GM: The basket that the Aunt Sû gave her to take to her house.

* 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 córtamenlo (plural subject) or córtamelo (single subject).
‡ Chirimoya is a fruit (Anona cherimolia).

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 Tahitian borrowing pûë denotes a ‘bag or sack’. In the text above, María, a woman in her mid-sixties (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 accommodation 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 Spanish form of the term (line 4). María (GM)’s omission of copula es ‘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 canasto /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,

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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 /ʔ/, 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 /hanɡaroa/ instead of the Rapanui pronunciation /hanaroa/. 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 ‘â, as in (1). 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 ‘â in (2).

(1) [E acuerda no ‘â ] au e ki era. (trsc.208B:71)
   IMPERF remember IMPERF say PPD
   ‘I said (that) I [still remembered].’

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; coord, adversative coordination; coor, copulative coordination; coord, disjunctive coordination; d, dual; dat, dative; dem, demonstrative particles; demih, demonstrative-(near); dir, directional; dup, duplication; emph, emphatic; exist, 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; pl, plural; perf, perfect aspect; perf, perfective aspect; pvp, postverbal particle ai; poss, possessive; ppp, postpositive determinant; pro, progressive aspect; pers, person; pres, present; prs, person marker; s, sg., singular; sbq, subsequent particle; +spec, specific; zspec, ± specific.
Rapanui verbs are wholly or partially duplicated to express or emphasize the plurality 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. subject) in (4); *vânanga* /vânaŋa/ ‘talk’ to *vanavânanga* /vanavânaŋa/ (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 *mâ‘eha‘eha* (sg. subject, pl. actions).

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 Spanish elements is their suffixation by -*nya* /-ŋa/ (a vowel plus /ŋa/). In Rapanui, this suffix forms nominals. For example, *noko* ‘to stay’ becomes *nohoanga* /nohoaŋa/ or *nohoinga* /nohoiŋa/ ‘staying, way of staying’. Although this suffix is used infrequently with Spanish verbs, I have found a few examples, as in (7) and (8).

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 *vânaga* 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.
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 haka[companika] ai?* (trsc.115:12)
*Why are you complicating it?*

(10) *Ko haka[importe]ma ‘ā.* (trsc.115:12)
*He was making a big deal out of it.*

The plural marker nga /ŋä/ takes the position before the modified noun; for example, pokí ‘child’ becomes nga pokí /ŋä pokí/ ‘children’, and idea ‘idea’ becomes nga idea /ŋä idea/ ‘ideas’ (11).

(11) *Ko ai ‘ā rā gā idea era.* (trsc.242:30)
*There are already those ideas.*

Compared with the nominalizer suffix -nga, the causative haka- and the pluralizer ngä /ŋä/ 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, is used more frequently than the suffix -nga with Spanish elements, as in (12), for the same reason.

(12) *Ī te tātou sorucione[haŋa].* (trsc.58:15)
*That’s our way of giving a solution.*

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/ ‘small’, nominalized as /iti/iŋha, for instance, in mai te /iti/iŋha ‘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. 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 puë ‘can’ (from puede), considered as Rapanui by many Rapanui speakers. Spanish elements such as g ‘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 mamâ ‘mother’ and papâ ‘father’ have been adapted as mâmâ and pâpâ, 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 mâmâ-tia ‘aunt’, pâpâ-tio ‘uncle’, mâmâ-riau ‘grandmother’, and pâpâ-riau ‘grandfather’ (riau 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’, ‘co-father’ (godfather of one’s child), and ‘co-mother’ (godmother of one’s child) have been incorporated into the Rapanui lexicon as pâpâ papatito, mâmâ papatito, poki papatito, kumpa, and kumpa – kongere, respectively.

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 twentieth 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).
odio ‘hatred’, and cariño ‘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) Juto ([xuto] from justo) i te momento kai ai to’oku animo koe i vari mai ai. ‘Exactly at the moment I don’t have energy, you come to me.’ (trsc.133:470)

(14) ... ta’a pā poki nei e duere rō ‘ā. E tahi ‘a’aku poki ena i vānapa ai au, poki ‘iti ‘iti ena, i to’oku historia o te ante. He tapī, he ai rō ai, o sea ko siente, ‘ā ia i roto ia ‘ia pe he odio mo to’oku māmā era. He ki e au nō, hakarē nō ma’aku ‘ā e me’e, ta’e ma’au ‘ina koe ko me’e. Pē ira i hoki haka’ou i e he ai haka’ou te cariño, ki to’oku māmā era, ta’oku poki ena. ‘... these children would grieve. I talked to one of my children, the small one, about my history from before. She cried, there was, that is, she felt inside of herself something like hatred for my mother. I told her “no, leave it to me to deal with, it is not for you, don’t do it.” This is how my child came to have affection again for my mother.’ (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 historia ‘my history’), Lucia had “cried, there was, that is, she felt (siente) inside of herself something like hatred (odio) for my mother (māmā).” But she proudly added how she had told her daughter Lucia not to dislike her grandmother and that Lucia had indeed come to have cariño ‘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 hâpî tako’a ‘ana au ki ta’aku yā 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 ultimo ariki ‘the last king’.

To’oku pa’i a’ara pa’i to’oku makupuna ‘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 yā makupuna nei 'a'au i te vānaga 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 edad ‘my age’ as in [18]—cf. ‘o’oku matahiti ‘my age (year)’ as in [18]); spouses (ta’aku vieja ‘my wife (old woman)’, as in [19], ta’aku esposo ‘my husband’—cf. ta’aku rū’au ‘old woman’ as in [19], ta’aku kenu ‘my husband’); parents (to’oku pāpā ‘my father’ as in [20], mâmâ 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 apellido ‘my family name’ as in [20]—cf. to’ona ipea ‘his name’ as in [21]); knowledge (to’ona conocimiento ‘her knowledge’ as in [22]—cf. to’ona ‘ite ‘her knowledge’); and fault (culpa o’ona ‘her fault’ as in [23]—cf. to’ona hape ‘her mistake’ as in [24]).

(18) To’oku edad, yo tenía once años, yo me fui, mai nei au i oho ai ki a tī re ho’e ‘ahuru ma ho’e ‘o’oku matahiti, he vive au ia tīre. (168B:32)

‘My age, I was 11 years old. I went, from here I went to Chile (when) I was 11 years old (my years) and I lived in Chile.’

(19) ... ‘ite rō e ta’aku rū’au era. Ta’aku vieja era pa’i ki ‘ite ‘ā pē nei ê ko envita tahi ‘ā e au ki te nu’u era. (trsc.226A:16)

‘... my wife (old woman) knew it. My wife (old woman) knew that I invited all those people.’

(20) Ê ho’i, kī mai ana ho’i e to’oku pāpā era mo kamiare i to’oku apellido. (trsc.144A:153)

‘Yeah, my father told me to change my family name.’

(21) Ko Juan to’ona ipea. (136B:90) ‘His name was Juan.’

(22) Porque muy poca to’ona conocimiento (trsc.242A:38)

‘Because she knew (her knowledge) very little.’

(23) Ta’e nei he me’e o, ta’e he culpa nei ‘o’ona, ni o to’ona matu’a vahine. Māmā nei ‘o’oku, ... (trsc.202A:19)

‘It’s not that, it’s not her fault, nor her mother’s. My mother …’

(24) Si, mo hakakore o to’ona hape, ... (trsc.187B:83)

‘Yes, 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 autorirâ ki te henua. (trsc.56A:348)
   ‘Ask the authority for the land.’

(26) ... ena a ia, me’ehurukê 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 podere i va’ai ki te conjunto [konxunto] era ko Hotu ‘Iti, justamente [xustamente] ki a Mihaera e to’ a i te karaba, e hakahoki mai ‘ā mai i a tire. (trsc.84:53)
‘I gave the right to the Hotu ‘Iti group, precisely, to Mihaera, who took the recorder to bring back from Chile.’

(28) … o te caso nei o te henua te ha’aura’a, o te caso pia era ki a rāua. (trsc.57A:3)
‘… that means, (it’s) about this case (issue) of the land, the case (issue) requested 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 menos ‘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 claro ‘clear’ as a verb in (30).

(29) I te ava’e tu’u mai nei, ko meno ‘ana tu’u mai ena.
‘This month, what came (my pension) was less.’ (trsc.182.52)

(30) Tiene que claro ki te nu’u nei pe nei ê.
‘It has to be (made) clear to the people that …’

(31) Ko voto ‘ā te nu’u ki a tātou.
‘The people voted for us.’

One of the few exceptions is the Spanish noun voto ‘vote’, which has become established as a loanword serving both as noun and verb, as in (31), whereas derivations from the verb votar (e.g., vota) are not used.

Another example of the category crossing is observed in the use of antes ‘before’. In standard Spanish, antes functions as an adverb or a preposition followed by de 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 [ante + ‘ā ~ ana] in (32) and (33).20 As in (34), ante + ‘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) Ante ‘ā tagata ta’e rahı te ha’aura’a. (trsc.182:5)
‘Before there were not many people.’

(33) Ante ‘ana ho’i i kompania Williamson. (trsc.186:24)
‘Before, there was the Williamson Company.’

20. The progressive particles ‘ā and ‘ana are—at least for the time being—used interchangeably.
Example (35), uttered by a teenage bilingual, is an example of the use of ante 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 tire ante. (trsc.133B:411)
    neg has go.close dat +spec Chilean before
    ‘I didn’t go close to the Chileans before.’

(36) A Ayata ho‘i[ ko mate ante ‘â ]. (trsc.98:40)
    pf die before prog
    ‘But Angata [died a long time ago].’

(37) [ Ko mate tako’a ‘â ]. (trsc.103B:144)
    pf die also prog
    ‘(She) [also died].’

Rapanui speakers do not use the Spanish construction [ante(s) + de + verb (infinitive)] in otherwise Rapanui context. Instead, they use [i + verb] or [ki + noun] to form an adverbial phrase with ante, 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, ante i oho mai nei, … (trsc.182:186)
    before perf come dir here
    ‘The Rapanui, well, before coming here…’

(39) Ante ki te tu‘u mai o te presidente, … (trsc.57:209)
    before dat +spec arrive dir poss +spec president
    ‘Before the arrival of the president, …’

5.2 EXPRESSION OF OBLIGATION WITH TIE NE QUE. 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 1p.incl imperf caus.touch +spec hand
    ‘… we should respect, (and) give (him) our hands, …’

(41) E ai te maika mo aya 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).’

21. Examples (41–43), (56), and (59) were obtained from consultation sessions with my Rapanui research assistant, Ivonne Calderón Haoa.
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 puê of possibility and tiene que are often used in Modern Rapanui speech. Puê (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 apô. (trsc.18A:35)

'(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 puê 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 tâou (IP.INCL), mâtou (IP.EXCL), and tâua (ID.EXCL), respectively, in examples

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22. The imperative mood is expressed with momentary particles 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 acta ‘an act’; te mâtou secretario titular ‘our official secretary’).

(46) ‘O ira hay que\(^{25}\) recurrir, a cualquier medio, hay que recurrir, tiene que mana’u tâtou i te formula pa’i. (trsc.58:487)
That is why it is necessary to appeal, to whatever means, it is necessary to appeal, we have to think of the formula.

(47) Tiene que o’o mâtou ki roto i te votación, mo voto tiene que etahi acta, tiene que etahi secretario titular. (trsc.25B:112)
‘We have to be in the voting, to vote there has to be an act, there has to be our official secretary.’

(48) Tiene que vâna¥a tâua i te vâna¥a rapanui. (trsc.168:78)
‘We have to 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 + ‘â and of ho’i, as in (52–54).

(49) Tiene tâtou que mana’u hai forma positiva pê mu’a. (trsc.25B:109)
‘We have to think in a positive way from now on.’

(50) ‘O ira, i ki era e au pe nei ê, bueno, ma’ana pa’i como pâpâ, no importa pa’i ‘ina au he comparte ki a ia, pero derecho pâpâ tiene koe que alia (ayuda) mai etahi parte pa’i. (trsc.80:48)
‘That’s why, I said that, well, as (a) father, although it is not important whether I share (my life) with him or not, but (the) father’s right (responsibility), you have to help me one part.’

(51) Tiene que o’o mai. O sea tiene que ai ia i nei. (trsc.25B:72)
‘(He) has to be included. That is he has to be here.’

(52) Kona nei pa’i, e ha¥u ê, kona vari o te nu’u ta’ato’a asi que tiene que asuma mau ‘a i te aya i e sacrificio mo reconoce pa’i. (trsc.115:4)
‘This place, listen young man, is a place for all the people, so (we) have to assume all the work and sacrifice for the recognition.’

(53) Tiene mau ‘a que ture porque repué (después) ai i entiende ai i te razone pe nei ë tiene mau ‘a que ture porque e ai ro ‘a te hape o te tetahi gâ taina era, tahi gâ kope era pa’i. (trsc.115:284)
‘(We) really have to fight because afterwards, one will have understood the reason why (we) have to fight because there’re mistakes made by the other brothers, that’s the other guys.’

\(^{25}\) There is another Spanish modal construction, [hay + que + verb (infinitive)] ‘it is necessary to ~’, which always takes the third person singular form (hay is an impersonal verb ‘to exist’), which does indicate tense. This construction is not adopted into Rapanui as often as [tiene + que + verb (infinitive)].
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 expression, 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 accompanied by the personal marker *a*, as in (55), or in the dative case (a possessive construction 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 tuu mai nei.* |
|---|---|
| local +spec | Tuesday | prs 3s imperf | come dir | here

‘He is to come here on Tuesday.’ (Du Feu 1996:38)

(56) | *E runu au i te kai.* |
|---|---|
| imperf | cook 1 +obj +spec | food

‘I must cook a meal.’

(57) | *Ma’aaku e oho.* |
|---|---|
| ben. poss. 1s | imperf | go

‘I’m the one who’s to go.’

(58) | *Ma Nua e runu hai pipi.* |
|---|---|
| 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.* |
|---|---|
| poss | Maria | +spec | take | neg +spec | person | different | emph | comp | take

‘Maria must have taken (it), there was nobody else who’d take (it).’

(60) | *Tiene que ai a Maria i to’o porque 'ina he me’e kē pa’i mo to’o.* |
|---|---|
| mod. has.to | exis | prs | Maria | perf | take | because | neg +spec | person | 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

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 me’e era.*

‘When I die, that *has to continue to go.*’ (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 + rô] following an imperative, as in (63) and (64).

(62) *‘êê, yã poki tane yã poki vahine pa’i.* (trsc 80B:8)

Yes GRP child male GRP child female EMPH

‘Yes, boys and girls.’

(63) *E kai koe, ‘o mâuui rô.*

IMPERF eat 2 imperf sick AFF

‘You have to eat, lest you get sick. (Eat, or you get sick.)’

(64) *‘Ina ko rei te tiare ena, ‘o pû rô 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 pu‘ê pa’i koe mo kai, he kumâ tunu kiri

NEG MOD.can EMPH 2s COMP eat +SPEC sweet.potato 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.
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(66) Ko 'ite a koe o 'ina? (trsc.170B:15)
PF knowPRS2sCOORDNEG
'Did you know, or not?'

The Spanish adversative coordinator pero is also frequently used.28

(67) A: Bueno, 'a ai te pu'a'a? 'A au o 'a C.?
B: 'A aku. Pero 'a râua te portîca (polîtica).

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 'â te moni. (trsc.3:32)
'The land was sold but did not bring me any money.'

(69) A: He padrino ia kôrâ o 'ai?
SPECgodfather3s2pPOSSINT
B: O te haiopo. POSS+SPECmarriage

A: No, pero o râ ta'ata ga  râ vi'e?
NEGCOORDPOSSDEMMANCOORDDEMMAN

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 'a ana hakaqe'i pau rô 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 ha' a o mâtou ki te independencia, sino que negwantposs1PEXCLUDAT+SPECindependencebutrather
kâ reconoce mai te mâtou henua.
MOM2recognizemom1PEXCLUDLAND
'We (excl) don’t want the independence, rather (we want them to) recognize our (excl) land.'

(72) Kai ha' a o mâtou ki te independencia. Ha' a mâtou no reconoce mai o te gobierno tire ki te mâtou 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).

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

‘Therefore, let us (incl) forget that part, forget it, you permit us, give the land to us (excl). And in addition, in my opinion in short time we all (incl) win, not just for us (excl), not for that woman that the other was telling you about, but a legal thing on the paper.’

(74) E he tu'u mai ki nei he adapta au e he
E COORC ASP arrive DIR DAT here ASP adapt 1S COORC ASP
puē mo adapta. (trsc.168:44)

‘And when I arrived here I adapted and could adapt.’

(75) Ko tike'a 'â e koe? E i te hora nei, he...
PF SEC PROG AG 2S COORC LOC +SPEC HOUR PPD ASP
‘Do you see/understand? And now (at this time), ...’

(76) I au tako'a he iri rō 'ai au. (trsc.28: 231)
DEM 1S also ASP GO_UP AFF SBQ 1S
‘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. 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 pasa ki a koe, nunca mo va'ai atu
NEG give DIR OBJ +SPEC PASS DAT PRS 2S never COMP give DIR
i te pasa. (trsc.186B2:22)
OBJ +SPEC PASS

‘(They’ll) not give the pass to you, (they’ll) never give you the pass.’

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. 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 haqa ho'i au ki to’oku famiria mo hāipoipo  
(trsc.130A:17)  
NEG want EMPH IS DAT POSS.IS family COMP marry  
e te gā peki era 'a'aku.  
AG +SPEC GRP child PPP POSS.IS  
'I will not want my family (relatives) to marry my children.’

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

(81) 'Ina kai apiapi 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) El nunca utirizará esa moto.  
'Hé will never use that motorcycle.’

(83) Ella no viene nunca a esta casa.  
'She never comes to this house.’

In standard Spanish, the adverb *nunca* can be placed either before or after the verb, as in (82–83). These two positions of *nunca* 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, *nunca* 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 *nunca* 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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(84) Pero mo ai etahi kurupo (grupo) i rā, etahi i te kōna era, etahi i rā ai, nunca mo rova'a, porque a tātou 'ā te kai haka'ou i a tātou 'ā. (trsc.18B:1)

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

(85) Pero muy bueno ta'aku gā poki ena, nunca mo râjī mai ki a au. (trsc.18B:76)

'But my children are very good, (they) never yell at me.'

(86) Tengo de todo, 'ina au kai o'o, nunca ki te política. (trsc.58B:394)

'I have everything, I have never entered politics.'

(87) 'Ina au kai oho ki Hiva, nunca au i oho ki Hiva, porque ko ai 'ā pa'i ta'aku gā poki. (trsc.186B.2:46)

'I did not go to the Continent, I never went to the Continent, because 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 in (86), which can be considered loan blending, calqued on Spanish no, 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 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 inglés (inglés) te ha'aura'a, o francés (francés), pero 'ina kai 'ite, nunca pa'i koe i tu'u mai ai i ki atu ki a koe. A koe he kāpone, au he rapanui, ia nunca koe mo 'ite tahi i te vānaga rapanui, o se a ki te hope'a o te vānaga rapanui. (trsc.182B:203)

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

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 pero ‘but’, y ‘and’, and porque ‘because’, as well as interjections bueno ‘well’, o sea ‘that is’, ya ‘O.K., so’, and entonces ‘then’ are frequently used in otherwise Rapanui discourse. They are generally optional and function largely as discourse markers of coherence, connection, and sequencing.

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

(a) E haŋa rô ko mo kî 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 kî 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 1S
   ‘You tell me your thought so that I know.’

(c) Mo ta’e haŋa o kôrua, ka mo u nô. (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 puê ‘can’, prefire ‘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 nunca is not accompanied by ana.

(d) Eko puê au mo kî atu o’oku ko tike’a mai ā te rakerake.
   NEG MOD.can 1S COMP say DIR POSS.1S PF SEE DIR PROG +SPEC bad
   ‘I can not say that I have seen the bad (in it)’. (trsc.81:57)

(e) Mo’oku, ojalá [oxala] te papa’a mo o’o koro’iti mai ki nei. (trsc.81:80)
   BEN.1S wish +SPEC foreigner COMP enter slowly DIR DAT here
   ‘For me, I wish foreigners will slowly come here.’

(f) Prefiere au mo kini. (trsc.202A:15)
   prefer 1S COMP search
   ‘I prefer to search (for others).’

(g) Muy peligroso mo hakafunciona. (trsc.58A:5)
   (it is) very dangerous COMP CAUS.function
   ‘It is very dangerous to make (it) work.’

The Spanish conjunction porque ‘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’eho’i a tātou e ta’e me’e nei pe i ra porque
   kai ai ’ā te acuerdo o kōrua ananake. 
   because of spec agreement all because are two
   posiciones distintas.
   positions distinct
B: Ya [ja]. Mo ta’e ai o te acuerdo, ¿qué pasa? (trsc.58:232)
A: ‘The thing is, we don’t do this because there is no agreement among
   you all, because there are two distinct positions.’
B: ‘O.K. If there is no agreement, what happens?’

(90) A: He aha ta’a consulta ena ka afa ena?
B: Porque yo creo que ustedes tienen su posición. (trsc.58B:430)
A: ‘Why will you consult?’
B: ‘Because I think that you have your position.’

In contrast to porque, even though it is essentially homonymous with it, Rapanui speakers do not use the Spanish interrogative por qué ‘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), porque is often used to answer questions posed by a Rapanui interrogative he aha ‘why? what?’. Furthermore, porque 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 nô au, i u’i nô, i visita nô, porque he aha?
   perf enter lim 1s, 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 visited, 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 entonces ‘then’ to convey a sense of transition and sequence, as in (92). Rapanui speakers also often use the Spanish interjection bueno ‘well’ as a discourse marker to convey a sense of transition that is similar to the function associated with ia. Ia, entonces, and bueno 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 entonces, but they do not follow entonces with ia; nor do they pair ia and bueno. 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.
The adversative coordinator pero ‘but’ is another Spanish loanword used frequently 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), pero 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 pero takes a clause-initial position. This contrasts with the example discussed above of Spanish discourse markers bueno and entonces and Rapanui discourse marker ia, all of which take clause-initial positions. Thus it seems that even though pa’i and pero both serve adversative meanings, because they occupy different surface-structure positions, speakers use them together to give emphasis.

Another example is the Spanish interjection ya/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 ya, in Standard Spanish usage, signals a sense of transition to advance to the next stage, having finished the previous one. Both ya and ia can also be used by conversation partners, as in (89). Ya 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 ya followed by a Rapanui Spanish or a Rapanui phrase, and the use of ia followed by Spanish.

(92) Ko râ korohu’a ko Atamu Tekena. Ia, entonces, i tu’u mai era ki nei. Bueno, kai mana’u ‘ana ho’i tâ tou mo poreko, pero o râ poki era pa’i o râ korohu’a ko to’oku abuela era ko Maria Afiti Tekena, ko te rû’au ko Rû e ki ena. Ia, entonces, o râ rû’au i vâna’a tahi mai pe râ, pe rû, pe râ. (trsc.18:35)

‘That old man was named Atamu Tekena. O.K., then, when he arrived here. Well, we did not think that (a child) would be born, but that child of that old man is my grandmother, named Maria Afiti Tekena, the old woman called Rû. O.K., then, that old woman told me all about this, that, and this.’

(93) He e’a mai te pâpâ nei, he oho, he kimi, he rova’a, he to’o mai, he ma’u, he puru i roto i te hare, he kâ i te umu mo ta’o. Ia, i kâ era i te ‘umu mo ta’o, he oho e te pokî nei … (trsc. 48:58)

‘The father 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) ‘Yes, pero (he) did not say that they would give you all the land. O.K., (it’s) very easy, Nico. Well, we want them to give us all of the land. Well, let’s take away the Chileans from here ...’

Spanish no ‘no’ is used extensively in otherwise Rapanui discourse. In contrast, si ‘yes’ is rarely used. The fact that the sound /s/ was foreign to Rapanui phonology does not provide an adequate explanation. Rather, no 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 no, 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 ‘â. Hakaha’aura’a atu i ta’a vânaga he hatu atu i ta’a vânaga o i ta’a moe vârua?=
B: =No, Me’e kê=
A: =Me’e kê, ko yaroa a au i te vânaga pe nei ê i au he hatu atu i ta’a vânaga ena koe ê vânaga 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 or 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: Hora aha râ e o’o ena ararua ki te hâpî?
B: =No, i te hora nei ho’i ararua e oho nei mo armuerza i râ. E kai ro ’â ararua i râ ê kai ro ’â i te hare hâpî. (trsc.208)
A: ‘What time are the two going to the class?’
B: =’No, right now (this time). They are going to have lunch there. Both of them eat there, eat at the school.’

(97) A: He aha râ koe i ta’e turu atu ai i apataiahi?
B: =No, i oho mai era he piri mai a Elsa, he vânaga rô ai mâua 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 illustrate his point with examples of borrowed words. He uses no frequently to negate the other’s response to him, which he reports in his explanation (lines 3, 7,
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and 8). No accentuates his speech as a discourse marker. His use of sí ‘yes’ (line 19) is an example of a relatively rare occurrence of the term in a similar manner.

Thus, Spanish discourse markers such as porque, entonces, bueno, ya, and no 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 preferiría todo mo vānaga ki aqiaqia e te mu u ena q e koe mau “à. No! Te vānaga nei he maté, ‘ina mau “à he maté o te Rapanui mo ki pè nei é. Ko ki mai ‘ana ho’i ki a a e tahi me’e pè nei é. No! he hika.

No! hika me’e ké. O te porinesica (polinesia) te vānaga he hika.

J: We prefer to speak so that the people would understand or it’s only you. No! As for the word “mati” (‘match’), there was no Rapanui match to speak of.

But someone told me what it is. No! It was a “hika.” No!

“hika” is something different. That word “hika” is from Polynesia.

I: He aha te ha’aura’a?

J: Ko te vānaga era i ki mai era he hika. Te hika ho’i, ko te vānaga era e ki ena he hika mo hú o te ahi. Ia, vānaga porinesica, i usa at e te rapanui he hika me’e ké. Te hika i te rapanui he me’e ana kupa’a. Te ahi, sí, he ahi mau “à te ahi i te rapanui pa’i. Ia, ‘ina pa’i ko usa “à e tātou i te hora nei i te vānaga tire he foforo, ia, pero, i te vānaga pūratane, he mati. (trsc.208A2:53)

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 Polynesian word, and the Rapanui used 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 use the Spanish word “foforo” (fósforo ‘match’), O.K., but (rather) the British word, a “mati” (‘match’).

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 fósforo, 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. 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

Modern Rapanui adaptation of Spanish elements

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 canasto ‘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 Rapanui-ness 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.

REFERENCES


