

NOMINAL PHRASE IN MARQUESAN (A SURVEY)*

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This paper is a description of nominal particles in Marquesan. Most examples are quoted from *Récits marquisiens* collected by H. Lavondès. Problems of low phonetic redundancy and orthography are also discussed.

A scheme of the nominal phrase

-2 slot	-1 slot	0 slot	+1 slot	+2 slot	
o genitive inal.	te	tau	CORE	attribute	nei this
a genitive al.	he - 'e	mou			nā that
					'ā yonder
no emphatic genitive inal.	a (pers. after 'i)				
na emphatic genitive al.	deict./poss. pronoun				
to neutral genitive inal.					
ta neutral genitive al.					
'i accusative					
'i direction to location in instrument?					

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iō at, in (preceded
 e.g. by **ma**)
i agent of stative
e agent of passive
me with
ma through, via
mei from
'o specific (focus)

The subsequent description of Marquesan nominal phrase is in its essential features modelled after B. Biggs (1960, 1969, 1974), J. E. Buse (1960, 1963), and A. Pawley (1961, 1966).

The word is considered to be the basic lexical unit in all languages of the world. Unlike the inflective Indo-European languages, in Marquesan just as in other Polynesian languages, the word as such contains hardly any explicit markers of those grammatical characteristics to which we are accustomed in the familiar European languages. An inflective word comprises grammatical affixes and each time it occurs in speech it is represented by one of its forms. Thus a particular form is selected from the paradigm of its morphologically varying variants in accordance with its syntactic function within the utterance. Thus it may be said that the word is, at least in the inflective languages, not only a fundamental lexical unit but also a minimum syntactic unit. However, the situation in the Polynesian languages including Marquesan is quite different because of the radically different typology of these languages. Here any word typically acquires its proper grammatical (syntactic) markers when actualized in the speech. These markers are defined as particles. Almost all grammatical functions are fulfilled by the particles that are as a rule prepositive. Therefore most grammatical properties of words are expressed externally, i. e. outside these words. There are only two types of inflective (or internal) grammatical markers in Marquesan: affixes and reduplication. Affixes are very scanty and their list includes remnants of a passive suffix (**-'ia**, **-tia**, **-a**), a nominalizing suffix (**-'ia**, **-na**, **-ka**, **-tina**) and a causative prefix **haka-** or **ha'a-**. Reduplication (either full or partial) may also be regarded as another inflective feature and is known to occur both in nominal and verbal phrases. Partial reduplication consists in repeating the first syllable of the largely disyllabic morphemes.

An autosemantic word may be surrounded not only by grammatical particles (usually filling the functional slots before it) but also by modifying particles (in most instances following the word). The former constitute the skeleton of a phrase as the minimum syntactic unit.

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From the point of view of function in a sentence, there are two basic types of phrases in Marquesan: nominal and verbal phrases.

While the verbal phrase typically functions as a syntactic predicate, the nominal phrase often takes up the position of the syntactic subject and in addition to this it may occur as one of a variety of complements of other nominal (e.g. attribute) or verbal phrases (object, spatial or temporal circumstance) or as a predicate of a nominal sentence.

The nominal and verbal phrases differ considerably in the inventory of their grammatical particles. Due to the morphological poverty of Marquesan word structure, the criteria for their inclusion in one of the word classes have to be looked for in their distribution, especially in their compatibility with other words and in particular with the grammatical particles.

The nominal phrase comprises two functional positions preceding its core word. The immediately preceding position is occupied by the so-called articles. The definite article is **te**, indefinite article **he** or **e**, e.g.: 'A tahi 'a pe'au atu **te** tuehine 'i **te** tukane "Afterwards said the sister to her brother"; Ui mai Kue'enui 'i **te** ke'e'e "Kue'enui asked the messenger"; Ka'uo'o **te** toua "War will be difficult"; 'A'e **he** mea i toe "Nothing has remained". The definite article **te**, however, is lacking any quantitative parameter so that it may sometimes be described as being generic. It is insensitive to quantity as proved by the following example where the adjectival predicate is reduplicated to denote plurality: 'U nunui **te** to'iki "There are many children". If the need arises to quantify a noun, the so-called definite article **te** may be complemented with one of the plural markers such as **tau**, **mou** (cf. Tahitian **tau**, **mau** or Hawaiian **mau**) or some of the auxiliary quantifiers of nominal origin, e. g. **po'i** people (**te po'i** mō'i "the girls"), **hatu** group (**te hatu** tama "the children"). The paucal marker **na** (cf. its equivalent **nā** "plural marker" in Hawaiian and **ngā** "plural marker" in Maori) has the syntactic value of the definite article that denotes two or a few objects (**na** mata "two eyes", **na** vehine "two /or a few/ women"), 'Ua tihe io **na** pakahio "He came to two old women". The so-called indefinite article (**he**, **'e**) often occurs in nominal predicatives, for example **He** tama na Vakauhi ia "He is Vakauhi's son," **'E** hamani tenei "This is a book". The article **he** often occurs after prepositions: 'Ua tihe Haneamotua io **he** one "Haneamotua came to the beach," 'O au mei io **he** vehine 'a Taheta "I have issued from Taheta's wife," Na te mea **he** kui no te haka'iki "Because she is the chief's mother." **He** and its variant **'e** is not a true equivalent of the English or German indefinite article. In this function the Marquesans may use **titahi** "one, a certain". Maybe the article **he** or **'e** is used to mark new information while **te** denotes either individual familiarity or generic meaning. After all, what is generic is inevitably familiar.

The proper (or personal) article **a** known, for example from Maori, occurs in Marquesan only after the prepositive particle **'i** before a personal pronoun (**'ia** 'oe "to you") or a proper noun (**ia** 'Akahe'e "to 'Akahe'e").

The articles belonging to this functional slot are substitutable by the demonstrative pronouns **tenei** "this", **tenā** "that", **terā** "that yonder", **hua** "that, the same", **titahi** "a, an, a certain", **tahipito** "several" and possessive pronouns such as **to'u** "my", **to ia** "his", etc. These demonstratives are used in other East Polynesian languages. However, **hua** seems to have a cognate only in Hawaiian

ua (e.g. **ua** hale lā “that, just mentioned house”). Examples: **Tenei** ’enana ’o Pahaka’ima’oa “This man is Pahaka’ima’oa”, ’A’o’e au e inu ’i **tenā** mea “I shall not drink that”, **Te’ā** ’akau ’e temanu ka’uo’o “That tree is a big temanu”, I tua ’ia ai **hua** temanu “That (already mentioned) tree has been cut down”, **Titahi** ’ā ’ua he’e Pota me to ia tau hoa ’i te henua ti’ohi “One day Pota and his friends went to look at the country”; ’Ua he’e ’i te keu me **tahipito** to’iki “(He) went to play with several children”.

The particles occurring in the functional position immediately before the phrase core may and often are preceded by a different set of particles making up a paradigm of their own. This paradigm at the leftmost margin of the nominal phrase comprises prepositions that fulfill either (a) purely syntactic, relational functions or express (b) adverbial meanings such as location, direction, movement, etc.

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The grammar of Marquesan (just as that of its closest neighbours Tahitian and Hawaiian) suffers from problems specific to languages displaying very scanty phonological inventories and relevant for their smooth functioning in speech. In these languages, /k/, /ŋ/ or even /r/ may wear down to glottal stops and even if the latter do not ultimately disappear, then at least they are not easily perceived although they are phonologically relevant. This is confirmed by some of the early grammars whose English or French authors may be ranked among the least competent observers of phonetic facts strange to their own languages. Erroneous or at least insensitive orthographies devised by these scholars further decrease the extremely low phonetic redundancy of some of the monosyllabic particles. Since the glottal stops are often written down only sporadically, the interpretation of texts in most Polynesian languages is a highly exacting and precarious affair. Let us take as an example (1) particles reduced to writing as **i** or **’i** and (2) particles written down as **’o** or **o** in Marquesan texts. Various authors write the glottal stops only occasionally and, besides, they often disagree as to where the glottal stops occur and where they do not. And no wonder, because this phoneme is absent from both the English and French phonological systems. Since **’i** or **i** is used to mark both dative (or directional) and accusative, and in addition also the agent or cause of stative verbs, the ideal solution would be to distinguish at least **’i** as the marker of dative (directional) function from **i** as the marker of the accusative – provided this semantic distinction would be paralleled in the pronunciation. Agentive **i** (in other Polynesian languages it is always **i**, not **ki**) is no source of ambiguity because it occurs only with a closed set of very few stative verbs. East Polynesian languages notable for a somewhat richer consonantism than Marquesan, do clearly distinguish accusative **i** from dative **ki**. Compare Rapanui He ti’a’i te ?a’ata **i** te poki “The men were hitting the boys”, Ka ki koe **ki** a ia! “You tell him!”, Ko ’avai ’a au **i** te puka **ki** ta’aku poki “I gave the book to my son” (Du Feu 1996: 47, 114–115), Tuamotuan Rave atu Maui **i** na vaevae o Ri “Then Maui seized the two legs of Ri”, E haere **ki** te moana vaivai – ka mate he

ariki! “He shall go to remote oceans – mayhap the Prince will die there!” (Stimson 1934: 39, 53); Maori Ka inu te tangata **i** te rongoa “The man drinks the medicine”, Ka taka te raakau **ki** te whenua “The tree is felled to the ground” (Biggs 1969: 30), Rarotongan Te mātipi nei a māmā **i** te kuru “Mother is peeling the breadfruit”, Kāre au e ’aere **ki** reira “I will not go there” (Rere 1961: 22, 38).

On the other hand, Hawaiian and Tahitian, the two languages most closely related to Marquesan, do not distinguish dative (directional) and accusative particles; both have fused into one phoneme – **i** in Hawaiian and **’i** in Tahitian. Cf. Hawaiian Ua ’ai ke kanaka **i** ka poi “The man ate the poi (accusative)”, Ua hele ke kanaka **i** Maui “The man went to Maui (directional)” (Elbert – Pukui 1979: 39). Examples from Tahitian: ’E haere pinepine au **’i** te ’oire “I often go to town”, ’O vai te vahine tei tunu **’i** te ūfi? “Which woman prepared the yams?” (Tryon 1970: 59, 77).

The semantic and functional scope of the Marquesan direct case (accusative) and indirect case (dative, directional, etc.) marker, i.e. of **i** or **’i** (including the forms **ia** and **’ia** before personal pronouns and proper nouns) is quite extensive as documented by the following examples: ’A ta’ai ’otou **’i** (accusative) tu’u vaka? “Will you carve my canoe?”, Ia tihe atu ’atou **’i** (directional) te’a henua, ’i Nuku-Hiva te motu, eia titahi ’enana **’i** (locative) ’oto o te’a ka’avai, **’i** (locative) Hakapu’uvai “When they came to the island of Nukuhiva, there was a man in the valley of Hakapu’uvai”, **’I** (temporal) titahi ’ā me te he’e **’i** (purpose) te poromene **’i** (locative) te henua ti’ohi... “One day they went for a walk, to have a look at the country...”, ’Ua kite na mata’eina’a **ia** Akahe’e-’i-vevau “The people have seen Akahe’e-’i-vevau”, ’A ’oko te motua me te kui **’i** (accusative) hua tekao ’o te mata’eina’a **’i** (concerning) te po’ea ’o ’Akahe’e-’i-vevau “The father and the mother heard those words of the people about the beauty of ’Akahe’e-’i-vevau”, ’A tahi ’a vevete te tuehine **’i** (accusative) to ia ’ouoho me te hakakanahau **ia** (accusative) ia “Then the sister let her hair down and made herself beautiful”.

The third variety of **i** (sometimes written **’i**) in Marquesan may be defined as the agentive marker of stative verbs homonymous with the accusative marker of active verbs: ’Ua hemo au **’i** te ua io he a’anui “I have been halted by the rain upon the road”, ’Ua pao **’i** te kio’e “It was consumed by rats”. As mentioned above, this marker might be written without the preceding glottal stop (**i**), which would conform to the situation in other closely related languages.

Another serious problem is the distinction of the genitive (possessive) marker and the focusing (specific) marker. For example, Lavondès and Zewen write both of them as **’o**: ’Ena Vakauhi ma te tua **’o** (genitive) te ha’e “Vakauhi was behind the house” (Lavondès II 1966: 69) – **’O** (focusing) ’Etie ’e tuhao mei io titahi ka’avai io titahi ka’avai “’Etie was jumping from one valley to another valley” (Lavondès II 1966: 43), Penei ho’i te po’otu **’o** (genitive) tu’u tuehine “The beauty of my sister is really like this” (Zewen 1987: 95) – **’O** (focusing) ai te haka’iki oko nui ’omua ’i Nukuhiva? **’O** (focusing) Pakoko “Who is the strongest chief in Nukuhiva? Pakoko” (Zewen 1987: 94). Teikikeuhina Kimitete, on the other hand, writes both markers without the glottal stop: **O** (focusing) Teikikeuhina te hakate’e haka “Teikikeuhina is the leader of the dance”

(Teikikeuhina 1990: 2) – Ua mate te tuehine **o** (genitive) te haka'iki **o** (genitive) Taipi “The sister of the chief of Taipi died” (Teikikeuhina 1990: 6). However, Kaiser and Elbert have decided to distinguish both markers: E pohu'e a'a Ātea me ta ia vahine **'o** (focusing) Atanua “Ātea lived with his wife, Atanua” (Kaiser – Elbert 1989: 77) – 'Ua hatu ia te 'ou po'a **o** (genitive) te ha'e “He plaited the coconut leaves of the house” (Kaiser – Elbert 1989: 80).

Here it is suggested that the genitive marker should be written without the glottal stop (**o**) which would help to distinguish it from the focusing (specific) marker that ought to be always written with the glottal stop (**'o**). This orthography has been standardized for Hawaiian; Tryon writes both markers in Tahitian as **'o** (cf. Tryon 1970). Lazard and Peltzer, however, distinguish them: 'Ua hāmani te tāmuta i te fare **o** (genitive) Teri'i “The carpenter built Teri'i's house” (Lazard – Peltzer 1991: 3) – **'O** (focusing) mātou tā 'oe mau tamari'i “We are your children” (Lazard – Peltzer 1991: 13).

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Purely syntactic functions are fulfilled by the prepositive particle **'i** (sometimes **'ia**) that marks the object of the verb: 'A tahi 'a 'oko te motua me te kui **'i** hua tekao 'o te mata'eina'a “Then the father and the mother heard the words of their tribesmen”, 'A 'au'a koe **'i** te makamaka me te 'au “Cut off twigs and leaves”, 'I tenei pō e ha'atū au **i** to tāua ha'e “Tonight I will build our house”, 'Ua kite na mata'eina'a **'ia** 'Akahe'e-'i-Vevau “The people saw 'Akahe'e-'i-Vevau”.

Particle **e** marks the agent of action in the passive construction: 'I ke'i 'ia ai **e** Vakauhi to ia 'ua pakeho 'ia vai mata ma te tua 'o te ha'e “The hole for his tears was dug by Vakauhi behind the house”.

Particle **i**, **ia** marks the agent of a stative verb: Mei kiu mai, 'a'o'e nui i 'oaka **i** titahi vehine o 'atou i te haka mai me he mea nei “Since long time no woman was able to dance like this one”, Tuhakana, e mate **ia** koe Taheta? “Tuhakana, will you kill Taheta?”; **na** is the emphatic agentive marker with transitive verbs and, finally **'o** is a focusing or specific particle. Upon the syntagmatic level, **o** and **a** mark a genitive relation between two nominal phrases.

Spatial (adverbial) relations are denoted by **'i** toward, **'ia** toward a person, **io** location and direction, **mei** direction from, **ma** by the way of, through, at (temporal), **me** with. The latter particle, however, has the quality of a conjunction in the sentence and its nominal nature is obvious because the verb that follows it is nominalized by means of the article **te**: **Me te** 'oko anamai 'i hua tekao o na mata'eina'a, 'a tahi 'a hano ai te motua me te kui “When they heard those words, the parents went to have a look”. Example of **mei**: E pu'a te ui'a **mei** te 'aki “The lightning flashed from the sky”, 'Ua topa te ipu kava **mei** te 'ima 'o te maha'i “The cup of kava fell from the youth's hand”, 'A va'a **mei** te hiamoe, “Wake up from your sleep” 'Ua tihe Vakauhi **mei** te hi ika, “Vakauhi came from fishing”. Examples of **me** “like” follow: **me** he haha like the mouth, **me** “with (and)”: 'Ua hoe te vaka, 'ua kau te tuehine **me** te ta'a atu “(They) were paddling

the canoe, sister was swimming with crying (= and crying). Particle **io** may express both movement and location: 'A tahi 'a he'e atu ai **io** to ia mata'eina'a "Then he went to his tribesmen" (movement), 'A tahi 'a nonoho 'aia **io** na pakahio "They lived with the two old women". Example of **ma**: **ma** he vahi 'enana ko'e "in an uninhabited place", **ma** te o'io'i "in the morning".

Particle **'io (io)** is semantically akin to the directional and locative particle **'i**. There is no agreement on its orthography. Zewen in his grammar uses **'iō**: 'U tuku mai ia 'i te poe taetae oko mei **'iō** ta ia tau poe "He has given me the most precious of his pearls" (Zewen 1987: 98). Lavondès writes **io**: Me te hua **io** na pakahio "And he returned to the two old women" (Lavondès II 1966: 75) like Teikikeuhina: O te tama hou tei ha'apae 'ia. Ua hu'i 'ia **io** he 'ua ma "Only the boy was saved. He was thrown into the ditch for ma" Teikikeuhina 1990: 18). Kaiser and Elbert, however, write **iō**: 'Ua ha'amau 'o Ātea i te oka mei **iō** he hiva, tihī **iō** ke ka'ava a'o "Ātea attached the oka (rafters) from the hiva (ridge-pole) to the ka'ava a'o (front wall plate) (Kaiser – Elbert 1989: 79). Dordillon gives only **io** in his dictionary with the meaning *chez, dans, sur* (Dordillon 1931: 192). It may deliver both the meaning of movement and location, e.g.: 'A tahi 'a kite ai ia 'i te vehine po'otu **io** (location) he vai "And then he saw a pretty woman in water" – 'A'i haka'oko te tuehine, 'ua topa **io** he tai "Without listening to anything, his sister jumped into the sea" (Lavondès II 1966). The particle **io** may combine with the preceding particle **mei** "from", and the resulting **mei io** means "from inside": 'E vehine ho'i **mei io** he vai "A woman from water", **mei io** titahi ka'avai io titahi ka'avai "from one valley into another".

The particle **io** (or **'io**) does not occur in other related languages. If the parallel with Maori is not due to chance, it might perhaps be explained as a compound of the locative or directional particle **i** (or **'i**) and the reduced locative noun **'oto**, cf. Maori Ka noho ano a Ngātoro **i rō** pā "Ngatoro lives in the pah" (Williams 1957: 344), Ka ngaro ana rātou **ki rō** ngahere "They disappeared inside the forest", Ka tukua **ki rō** o te wai "They were sent to water" (Tregear 1891: 420).

The particles **o**, **a** may be compared with the genitive markers in inflective language. Their meaning is often described as possessive but they sometimes denote a more general relation than possession, namely the inclusion of an item in a larger, superordinate whole where that can be interpreted as "possession" only with a grain of salt. The two particles are synonymous except that in one respect they are contrasted: **o** is the marker of so-called inalienable possession. The referent of the noun preceded by **o** cannot be owned individually by the referent of the grammatically dominant noun. The latter is in a subordinate, inactive relationship to the former, in a relationship that is given apriori. Examples: 'Ua mate te tuehine **o** te haka'iki **o** Taipi "The sister of the chief of the Taipi died", te tau 'eka'eka **o** te pohu'e 'ia "the pleasures of life", te tau kuhane **o** te Henua 'Enana "the souls of the inhabitants of the Country of Men (i.e. Marquesas)", na pō **o** mua "the nights of long ago". On the other hand, the particle **a** denotes an active, individual, alienable attitude of the possessor to the item linked to him or

her by means of **a**: Mea hauhau te hana **a** tu'u motua 'i au "My father's acting to me was bad", 'A tahi 'a he'e atu ai te tokete me te vahana 'i hua kaikai **a** te haka'iki "Then the sister-in-law went with her husband to the chief's feast", E hiti ana, me te ma'akau ana'u **o** te to'ete 'i hua tekao **a** te vehine "When they went, the sister-in-law was thinking of the words of that woman".

The particle **no** includes the inalienable possession (or relation) marker and usually denotes appurtenance (to someone or somewhere) origin, provenance, introducing the nominal phrase fulfilling the function of a nominal predicate. Examples: Mea nui te tau ka'avai **no** Haneamotua "Many were the valleys of Haneamotua", **No** Hiva'oa tenei maha'i "This boy is from Hiva'oa", **No** hea mai 'oe? "Where are you from?" As such it furnishes us with new information and thus contains a certain degree of indefiniteness. It may also express (temporal) consequence, cause or reason of something: **No** te tihe mai 'i nei, 'ua mau 'ia hua ko'oua "The old man was arrested after he came here", **No** te aha 'oe nei? "What is the purpose you are here?", **No** 'oe te teka "The fault is yours", 'A'e au i kite 'e kui **no** 'oe tenā vehine "I did not know that woman is your mother". In all these instances **no** introduces new information and is thus an instrument of the functional sentence perspective.

The particle **na** is used analogically. However, unlike **no** it marks alienable relation or possession: **Na** 'oe tenei ika "This fish is yours", **Na** Tuki te p eto nei "This dog is Tuki's", **Na** te Etua i hana 'i te mea paotu "It is God who has created all things" (transitive actions and their results are defined as alienable), **Na** te Kuhane Meita'i i ha'ama'ama 'i to 'atou koekoe "The Holy Spirit has illuminated their minds".

Both **no** and **na** may be used in the meaning of "for": 'E ikoa **no** tana tama "Name for his child", 'E ika **na** tona tuehine "Fish for his sister", **Na** 'oe te meika nei "This banana is for you".

There are two neutral definite possessive particles **to** (inalienable) and **ta** (alienable) that are widely used in Marquesan: I titahi 'ā, 'u pe'au Atanua 'i **ta** ia vahana 'o Ātea "One day Atanua said to her husband Ātea", 'Ā tahi 'a tihe te ma'akau o Ātea 'i **to** ia tau etua tapata'i "Then Ātea thought of his ancestral gods", I tenei pō e ha'atū au i **tō** tāua ha'e "Tonight I will build our house", 'Ua ke'i 'o Ātea e tahi 'ua mea ha'apa'o to'ito'i **ta** ia hana "Ātea dug a pit so as to completely finish his work". In possessive sentences the nominal phrase containing the particle **to** or **ta** functions as its subject: 'E tau anani **ta** te to'iki "The children have oranges", He ha'e kanahau **to** matou "We have a beautiful house", 'E aha **to** ia? "What has he?" If the nominal possessive phrase is to take over the function of predicate, it is preceded by the focus (or specific) particle 'o and moved to the beginning of the sentence: 'O ta Uki peto tenā "It is Uki's dog", 'O to taua tuehine tenā "That is our sister". The particle 'o introduces a nominal predicate as new information, e.g. 'Eia me ta Taheta vehine 'omua 'o Mataheiau "Taheta's wife formerly was Mataheiau", 'O O'ohatu te tama hakataetae 'ia e Taheta "It was O'ohatu who was the child cherished by Taheta". In the following sentence 'o is used to focus upon the topicalized objects of both of the clauses: 'O te tukane, 'ua tuku te motua me te kui io he tahukahi, 'o te tuehine 'ua tuku

te motua me te kui io io he paepae ka'ioi "As for the brother, father and mother put it toward the hearth, as for the sister, father and mother put them upon the paepae of the ka'ioi".

In the right-hand periphery of nominal phrase we may sometimes find one of the three demonstrative particles **nei** (close to the first person), **nā** (close to the second person) and **'ā** (far from both). These postpositive demonstrative particles co-occur with the definite article (**te** or **na**) preceding the noun in question: te vehine **nei** "this woman", te motu **nei** "this island", te ha'e **nā** "that house", te 'enana **'ā** "that man". If the core of the phrase is occupied by a locative noun, by a proper noun, or by a pronoun, the definite article is absent: 'i tai **nei** "here at the seaside", 'o 'aua **nei** "they two here". It is quite common, however, for the demonstrative pronouns to occur before the nominal core: **tenei** ha'e "this house", **tenā** motu that island", **te'ā** 'enana "that man".

Words capable of functioning as the core of a nominal phrase can be divided into several classes. This classification is based upon their compatibility or incompatibility with various types of nominal particles. The latter thus mark various subtypes of both nominal phrases and classes of words functioning as the cores of these phrases. Syntactic compatibility of the individual words, however, reflects their semantics. The most clearcut class is the fairly small set of words referring to spatial orientation. These so-called locative nouns always combine with the particles of the slot -2 (namely with prepositions that do not fulfil purely syntactic functions) being at the same time incompatible with the particles defined as belonging to the slot -1 (articles and quantifiers). Locative nouns include, for example **'una** above, **'a'o** below, **'oto** inside, **mu'i** behind, **mua** before, in front of, **vaho** outside, open sea, **tai** seaward, **uta** interior. Examples: Kotao **'a'o**, **'a'o**, **'a'o** "Let us dive down, down, down"; 'O **'a'o** te mea meita'i, 'o **'una** te pe "Below is good, above is bad"; 'I **'una** Ferari, 'i **'a'o** teia "France is farther than this country"; 'I hakamamao ai te vaka 'i **vaho** 'oa 'o te mate 'a Haneamotua "The canoe moved into the distance, in the direction of the open sea, away from the threat of death by Haneamotua"; 'U ti'ohi te tama mei **'uka** "The child looked from above"; 'Ua hua Apeku'a me te ue 'i te ha'e me te hano io Etieitetoatahi 'i **uta** io to ia noho "Apeku'a returned crying to her house and went to look for Etieitetoatahi who lived behind the house, toward the mountains". Some of the locative nouns may also function in the core slot of full-fledged nominal phrases as autosemantic words, cf. 'Ua piki O'ohatu me ta ia mata'eina'a 'i **'oto** 'o to ia vaka "O'ohatu and his people climbed into his canoe" – Toi 'ia e te vai tihe io **te 'oto** tai "He was taken by the river into the interior of sea"; Titahi 'ā, 'ua he'e 'i **tai** 'i te mei nunu me tahipito to'iki "One day he went to the seaside to bake breadfruit with some children". The class of locative nouns includes some temporal expressions as well (**inenahi** yesterday, **epo** soon, in a while).

Another nominal subclass is that of proper nouns that are incompatible with the articles and quantifiers and compatible with the personal (or proper) article / **a**/ the occurrence of which has been reduced in Marquesan to the position after

the particle **'i** (**i**) with which it has fused into **'ia**: **'Ua kite na mata'eina'a 'ia 'Akahe'e** “The people saw 'Akahe'e”. This subclass includes personal pronouns as well: **'A tahi 'a piki te tuehine io hua tumu kehika me te vevete 'i to ia 'ouho me te hakakanahau 'ia ia** “Then the sister climbed up the kehika tree, let her hair loose and made herself beautiful”.

Many of the words capable of occurring in the nominal phrase can also function in the verbal phrase fulfilling the predicative function and are compatible with the markers of passive and gerund. A word containing the gerund marker is compatible with the nominal article **te** and its chief function is to express the subordinate clause within the complex sentence. Since it is formally a nominal construction, the agent of the (nominalized) action takes up either the genitive **o** (for the inalienable relation) or **a** (for the alienable relation). Here it is very important to orthographically distinguish the genitive **o** from the focus particle **'o**. A nominal phrase containing a gerund usually consists of the verb either in active or in passive voice preceded by the article **te** and the preposition **'i** referring to the timing of the action relative to the action of the main clause.

Examples: **'I te tihe 'ia** io hua vai, 'u tia'a 'ia me te ke'a ve'ave'a 'i 'oto “Having come into that river, she was warmed up by hot stones in it”, **'I te piki 'ia** o Vakauhi io he tumu 'ehi 'i 'uka “When Vakauhi climbed the coconut palm, the palm turned taller”, **'I te 'oko 'ia** o te motua 'i te tekao hou, 'u 'emi'e'e te ko'oua “When the old man heard the news, he turned angry”, **Te inu 'ia** o Potateuatahi 'i te kava, 'i hao 'ia ai 'e Haneamotua te toki mei te 'ima o Potateuatahi “While Potateuatahi was drinking kava, Haneamotua jerked out the axe from his hands”, **'I te hemo 'ia**, 'i kave 'ia ai io Apeku'a, io he vaka, hakanoho 'i te a'o “When he was taken (captured), he was taken to Apeku'a's, to the canoe, and made to sit in front of her”, Mei io he 'ua **te 'oaka 'ia** o Haneamotua “Haneamotua was pulled out from the ditch”, 'A'i haka'oko te mata'eina'a, 'ua hana anaiho 'i te vaka o te haka'iki tihe **'i te pao'ia** o te vaka “The people did not hear, they were just making the canoe until the completion of the canoe”, 'Ua 'oko Vakauhi 'i to 'atou 'eo **'i te pe'au 'ia** “Vakauhi heard what they had said”, **Te hika 'ia**, tihe io he tai te pukupuku temanu me te 'au “Having fallen down, the fruits of temanu and the leaves got into the sea”.

Nominal **te** is often preceded by the preposition **me** “with”, which underlines the nominal character of the construction:

'Ua hua 'Apeku'a, **me te ue**, io Nunuiapukatea “'Apeku'a returned crying and went looking for Nunuiapukatea”, **Me te hakai** a na pakahio “The two old women have brought him up”. Here the particle **a** marks the alienable characteristics of na pakahio in relation to hakai “to feed, bring up”.

The nominal character of the phrase with **te** is supported by the presence of the preposition **'i** “to, toward, in order to”:

'Ua tihe Vakauhi **'i te keu** ma he 'eita “Vakauhi went to play in the weeds”.

In relation to the hierarchically higher unit (i.e. to the sentence) the gerund behaves as a nominal phrase because it may be preceded by an article and also by a preposition (usually **me** “with” and **'i** “location in time”). The same is true of its relation to the logical subject linked to it by means of genitive particles (**o**

“inalienable” or a “alienable relation”). However, in relation to the object as its subordinate unit the gerund preserves its verbal nature because it is linked to it by means of the accusative particle 'i. Examples: Te inu 'ia o (genitive inalienable) Potateuatahi (logical subject) 'i (accusative) te kava (logical and grammatical object)... “While Potateuatahi was drinking kava...”; 'I (temporal location) te tihe 'ia atu o (logical subject) 'atou, 'a tahi 'a to'o ai te haka'iki ia Apeku'a, me te (concomitative with) pe'au atu 'i (accusative) na mata'eina'a “After their arrival there, the chief took Apeku'a and said to the people...”; 'I (temporal location) te piki 'ia o (logical subject) Vakauhi io (direction)he tumu 'ehi, 'ua 'oa te tumu 'ehi 'i 'uka “When Vakauhi climbed the coconut palm, the coconut palm became taller”.

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