

COMPLEX SENTENCE INCLUDING A TEMPORAL CLAUSE PROBLEMS OF MARQUESAN SYNTAX

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Complex sentence types including deverbative in the predicative function of dependent clause in the Marquesan language are described here. Texts collected and published by E. S. Craighil Handy in 1930 as well as the important collection of Marquesan legends prepared by Henri Lavondès are employed for the description and analysis of complex sentences containing dependent clauses of temporal meaning. All documents used illustrate the linguistic situation on the islands and demonstrate the existing differences concerning phonology (especially the consonantal system), just as the functioning of the grammatical category of deverbalization in syntax.

Key words: Marquesan syntax, complex sentence, territorial clause, nominal particles, deverbalization, southeastern and northwestern dialects of Marquesan.

The Marquesas may be regarded as the first archipelago to have been discovered by Europeans in the Eastern Pacific and as a matter of chance the Marquesas were settled by the population of East Polynesian type earlier than other islands situated to the east of Melanesia.¹ The archipelago obviously played an active role in the process of gradual settling of some other groups of islands in this region (probably Mangareva, Easter Island). The question of whether the early voyages were accidental or intentional is too foggy to reply – the voyagers may have decided to discover a new island group and at the same

¹ SUGGS, C. R. *The Archeology of Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia*, p. 178; GRACE, G. W. *Subgrouping of Malayo-Polynesian: "A Report of Tentative Findings"*, p. 59.

time without knowing whether they would discover it, or, quite the contrary, they arrived at an unknown island during a storm and without wishing it. And so on. We are not sure whether successive waves of settlers reached the Marquesas and entered into contact with the groups of their precursors much later. May we assume that seafarers speaking Hawaiian were the first to have interacted with the Marquesans?

The Marquesan archipelago may be linguistically divided into two mutually intelligible dialectal groups (or languages) – the northwestern and the southeastern ones. The existing differences between them concern phonology (especially the consonantal system), for example, the functioning of the grammatical category of deverbalization in syntax; these differences are there, however, without threatening the mutual intelligibility between northwestern and southeastern groups of dialects; the overall intelligibility between the dialects have frequently been explained as the probable result of occasional contacts between the inhabitants of various more or less distant islands. That is what was stated for example by François Zewen² as well as recently by Gabriele H. Cablitz³ who turned their attention to the existing differences in the manners of deverbalization and to the inevitable implications of their consequences.

In this survey I decided to make use of Marquesan texts from the publication written by E. S. Craighill Handy and published in 1930.⁴ E. S. C. Handy collected a considerable amount of the Marquesan legends and included them in his book; these legends illustrate the linguistic situation on the southern island of Hivaoa, in the valley of Atuona (former Vevau considered to have been a centre of lore.⁵ His chief informant was the native Isaac Puhetete (Haapuan). In his brief introduction, Handy has included some remarks on the phonetics of consonants and on their true pronunciation while using the consonantal phoneme (ʻ) only rarely. This circumstance may complicate the correct interpretation of consonantism just as occasional omission of the nominal particles o, a. He has not used a strictly correct phonological transcription and has remarked that in this respect he relies on I. R. Dordillon's *Grammaire et Dictionnaire de la Language des Iles Marquises* 1904. Another available and reliable source of the pronunciation of words is *Introduction à la Langue des Iles Marquises* by Père François Zewen (issued by Edition Haere Po no Tahiti in Pape'ete 1987) and we can only hope that Margaret Mutu's thesis will be a useful and interesting contribution to the study both of the ʻUa Pou dialect and of the grammar of Marquesan as a whole.

² See ZEWEN, P. F. *Introduction à la Langue des Iles Marquises*.

³ See CABLITZ, G. H. Marquesas project. Available from <http://www.mpi.nl/DOBES/WebpageDobes1/SubpagesTeams/SubpageMarquesan/Con>.

⁴ See HANDY, E. S. C. *Marquesan Legends*.

⁵ HANDY, E. S. C. *Marquesan Legends*, pp. 3-6.

Texts collected and published by E. S. Craighil Handy are employed here for the description and analysis of complex sentences containing dependent clauses of temporal meaning; the scheme of such clauses consists of <A: *dependent clause consisting of a deverbative noun usually marked by the suffix -tina or -na*> and of the subsequent <B: *independent clause*>. The specific deverbative suffixes are commonly used in the southeastern dialects, but are lacking in the North of the Marquesas. I should add that there are (less frequent) instances in the text where the independent clause may precede the dependent clause. And further, the temporal linkage between A and B may be made explicit by the presence of either *'ohia* "when, while" (in the southeastern dialects) or *'ia* verbal particle of a similar meaning.

This phenomenon has been at least partially described in my previous paper.⁶

Deverbatives are found to occur in a pure substantival meaning, as in the simple sentence "Ua tihe me te mata'einana 'i te tiohi 'i te fe'etina o hua tama." The tribesmen came to see the hanging of the child; "Ua 'ono maua 'i te ha'anaunautina o hua puhi." We heard the chant. I have to add that this occurrence is not too frequent in the texts.

I have concentrated on the following legends in Marquesan language (accompanied by the English translation of the author):

<i>Legend</i>	<i>occurrence of 'ohia</i>	<i>occurrence of -(ti)na</i>	<i>number of sentences</i>
Mahuike (pp. 14-17)	2	6	96
Huuti and Te-moonieve (pp. 21-25)	1	14	289
Tahia-noho-uu (pp. 26-360)	6	35	361
Tuapuu and her children (pp. 37-44)	6	38	248
Te-poea-hei-o-Tona (pp. 45-50)	1	10	60
Tona-hei-eee (pp. 51-55)	2	15	150
Kae (pp. 64-77)	0	24	253
Pota-a-te-mau (pp. 64-77)	8	32	495
Puhi-nui-aau-too (pp. 78-80)	0	7	95
Tupa (pp. 81-84)	0	11	99
Tana-oa (pp. 85-102)	19	23	585

The number of sentences in the legends varies from almost 600 in Tana-oa, approximately 500 in Pota-a-te-mau, some 350 in Tahia-noho-uu, cca. 300 in Huuti and Te-moo-nieve, around 250 in Kae and in Tuapuu and her children,

⁶ KRUPA, V. Syntax of the Verbal Nouns in Marquesan, pp. 505-516.

and some 150 in Tona-hei-eee; the number of sentences approaches 100 in Tupa, Puhi-nui-aau-too and Mahuike, and, finally, to some 60 in Te-poea-hei-o-Tona.

Another relevant estimate concerns the occurrence of the deverbative suffix *-ina* (rarely *-na*) in the same texts; 1 occurrence in each 6th sentence in Te-poea-hei-o-Tona, 1 in each 7th sentence in Tuapuu and her children, 1 in roughly each 10th sentence in Tupa, in Kae, in Tona-hei-eee, and in Tahia-noho-uu, 1 in each 15th sentence in Puhi-nui-aau-too, in Pota-a-te-mau and in Mahuike, 1 in each 20th sentence in Huuti and Te-moo-nieve, and, finally, 1 in each 30th sentence in Tana-oa.

And finally, the conjunction *'ohia* "when" is found in Tana-oa (some 20 times), less frequently in Tahia-noho-uu and in Pota-a-te-mau and seems to be absent in Tupa and Puhi-nui-aau-too. The conjunction *'ohia* seems not to occur in the legends collected by H. Lavondès.

I have paid attention to the legends collected by E. S. Craighil Handy and a selection of typical examples containing deverbatives of various types are quoted and characterized; many of them operate in temporal function without additional markers but there are quite a few instances in which the temporal character is explicit because of the occurrence of *'ohia* or due to the particle *'ia*.

Another important collection of Marquesan legends in two volumes, prepared by Henri Lavondès and published in Marquesan with parallel French translations of the texts in two volumes,⁷ has a different origin. Volume 1 was prepared in collaboration with Samuel Teikiehuupoko and volume 2 in cooperation with Varii, Kehueinui, Poau, Totio, Tahiahuiupoko and also with Kouhumoetini. Several of the legends included here originate from the northern islands – for example from the big island of Nukuhiva or from a smaller but densely inhabited Ua Pou not too far from Nukuhiva.

One of the most recent descriptions of the Marquesan sentence is that written by Margaret Mutu.⁸ The core of a sentence is defined as consisting of verbal and nominal phrases and their functioning within the sentence is specified by a variety of grammatical particles compatible either with nominal or verbal clauses. One has to add that synonymy (or polysemy?) is a common phenomenon in Marquesan just as in other Polynesian languages. For example, we have to distinguish the Marquesan particle *te* occurring with nouns (*te haka'iki* "chief", *te haamani* "book", *te kai* "food") from the verbal particle occurring in the verbal phrases (clauses) such as *Te kai nei (ia)* "(he) eats", *'O au te he'e nei* "It is me who goes..." The verbal particle *te* homophonous with the nominal particle *te* is known from other Polynesian languages as well, cf.

⁷ See LAVONDÈS, H. *Récits marquisiens*, Vol. 1, 1964 and Vol. 2, 1966.

⁸ See MUTU, M. *Aspects of the Structure of the Ua Pou dialect of Marquesan*.

Maori *te* in *Kei te hiahia ia ki te haere* "He wishes to go". Should we explain it as two homophonous but different particles, one verbal and another one nominal, or accept this phenomenon as an obvious and remarkable tendency to nominalization? By the way, this phenomenon is known from other closely related languages within East Polynesia that employ the so-called deverbative nouns operating quite frequently in temporal complex sentences, for example, in the complex sentence "*Te tihena 'i 'una o te ko'utu, 'ua 'ite 'i hua puhi e moe a'a i 'oto o te tai*" "When she came upon the rocks, she saw the eel sleeping in the sea water" where *tihena* is a deverbative derived from *tihe* "to arrive, come" (Puhi-nui-aau-too; Handy (from Omoa, Fatuhiva). And thus we may assume that the distinction between what is nominal and what verbal is far from clearcut in many cases.

Below a selection of complex sentences follows in which the mixed verbal-nominal nature of the dependent clause is obvious:

"*Te 'itetina o hua ha'atepei'u 'u koakoa i hua 'enata.*" When the chiefess saw him she was delighted with this man.

"*Ma hea mai te tihe o te 'enata 'io tatou nei?*"
Others said: "How would a man come among us here?"

"*E to'u po te na'otina o Hu'uti, 'atahi ma tihe 'i Ta'a'oa.*" When three nights were past, Hu'uti reached Ta'a'oa.

"*Te pe'autina au 'ia ia.*" I said to her.

The following sentence is remarkable for its rare word order – where the subject takes up the first position in the sentence and is followed by the deverbative predicate:

"*Hu'uti tupoutia 'i 'oto to ia kahu pu.*" Then Huuti pulled his sleeping cloth over his head.

According to F. Zewen,⁹ the Marquesan dialects have inherited the suffixal nominalizer from old Polynesian; the suffix *-anga* has survived as *-ka* in the northern Marquesan dialects and as *-na* in the southern dialects. In the south the deverbative notable for the suffix *-na* requires the occurrence of *te* before the root, usually at the beginning of sentence, and expresses an action that takes

⁹ ZEWEN, P. F. Introduction à la Langue des Iles Marqueses, pp. 99-103.

place before another action which serves as the chief predicate of the whole complex sentence:

"Te 'itetina 'o te motua 'i ta ia tama, 'ua uē oko." Quand le père reconnut son enfant, il pleura amèrement.¹⁰

Reading traditional Marquesan texts (e.g. in Handy's Marquesan legends), one may notice that the introductory clause usually takes the first position in the complex while the subsequent clause comprises the kernel information. The same is true of Northern Marquesan which, however, employs the ending -*'ia* to describe a similar situation: *"Te hika 'ia 'o te temanu, 'u he 'u 'u te henua me te taki 'o te hatuti 'i"* Quand le temanu s'abattit, la terre trembla et le tonnerre gronda.¹¹ The legends collected by Henri Lavondès do not contain the conjunction *'ohia* "when" but this absence is compensated by wide use of the verbal prepositional particle *'ia* "when, if"; see the following examples:

"Ia ea ma to a 'o, 'o au te ia." Si elle monte devant toi, ce sera moi.

"Ia kave hua 'enana 'i te kai 'a te puaka, poponiho 'o ue te puaka, na te mea 'u hao 'ia te kaikai 'a te puaka 'e hua vehine a 'a na ia." Quand l'homme eut apporté la nourriture des cochons, ceux-ci mirent sitôt après à grogner.

"Ia kave 'i te kai 'a te puaka, 'ua hua ha'amoti 'i." Lorsqu'il eut apporté la nourriture des cochons, il revint pour faire le guet.

"Ia 'ite hua mou 'enana, 'u ha'apupuni te vehine vehine, 'o te hakai puaka te haka'ite." Lorsqu'ils voyaient venir, la femme se cachait et c'était le porcher qui se montrait.

"Ia 'ava ta 'atou pua, 'a tahi nei 'a haki titahi teina iho 'o hua tau vehine, 'o Kohuhu te ikoa." Sitôt montées sur leur branches, elles lui donnèrent des coups de pieds. Elle tomba dans la rivière Rarihi.

The particle *'ia* is quite common in the collection of Handy's Marquesan legends:

"Ia koana te tama, e pehea te kui?" And when you have the child, then what of the mother?

"Ia fiti atu 'oe o'io 'i, 'a pe'au 'oe 'i tahipito tau vehine." When you go up-valley tomorrow, tell the other women.

¹⁰ ZEWEEN, P. F. Introduction à la Langue des Iles Marquises, p. 101.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 101.

"Ia motu te pito o te tama iti, 'atahi 'a ha'ako 'e te tafai 'i te kou'a." When the umbilicum of the child breaks, then you are to stop feeding it shrimps.

"Ia tata te ma'ama, 'ua 'e'e Tana-ʻoa." When dawn was near, Tana-ʻoa departed.

"Ia pao to 'atou ha'atani 'i ta 'atou ki, 'a tahi 'a hano 'i te vai kaukau." When they had finished playing their flutes they all went and had a bath.

As mentioned before, the occurrence of deverbative suffixes *-tina* and *-na* in the legends Kopuhoroto'e and Akahe'e-i-Veva'u and in other texts collected by Henri Lavondès is not known. Here are several examples of temporal clauses:

"Te piki'ia io to ia maka, 'i ke'ahi 'ia ai topa io he vai 'i Rariuhi vai hohonu." Sitôt montées sur leur branches, elles lui donnèrent des coups de pieds. Elle tomba dans la rivière Rarihi;

"Tuku'ia te ikoa o te tama, 'o te Tekaka'atumeike." On donna à l'enfant le nom de Kakaatumeike.

"Te inu'ia 'o Potateuatahi 'i te kava, 'i hao 'ia ai 'e Haneamotua te toki mei te 'ima o Potateuatahi." Pendant que Potateuatahi buvait le kava, Haneamotua lui arracha la hache des mains et le frappa à la nuque.

In the complex sentence the action of the first clause is paralleled by the action of the second clause.

The particle *'ohia* at the beginning of the temporal clause is known from Handy's publication. Its frequency is not too high but, for example, it occurs more than 20 times in the legend Tana-ʻoa, and in the legend of Kae 24 times, in Tuapu'u 38 times, in Tahia-noho-u'u 35 times but is present also in Tahia-noho-e'e'e (15 occurrences), and elsewhere:

"'Ohia 'u peipei te kai, 'u pe'au 'i te tau ka'ioi. 'A mai 'i ta 'otou kai" When the food was ready, he said to the kaiioi: Come and eat your food.

"'Ohia 'ua pao te kaukautina o hua vehine i to ia vai, 'u pe'au Tana-ʻoa 'ia titahi hoa..." When the bathing was finished by that woman, Tana-ʻoa said to one of the men...

"'Ohia peipei te mata'einana, 'a tahi 'a hua'i Tana-ʻoa 'i te puaka." As soon as the people were ready, Tana-ʻoa produced his hog.

"'Ohia te paotina to ia hana, 'a ea 'ia Matafenua." When this work was done, he came up out of the water at Matafenua.

"*Ohia 'ua 'ite te kui tenei tutae, 'a'o'e me he 'ave tou'a.*" When mother saw this excrement, she could not grip it.

"*Ohia 'ua pao hua tama 'i te patu me te tiki, 'u pe'au te motua me te kui...*" When the tattooing was finished, the father said to the mother...

"*Ohia 'ua 'ono hua tau tuhuna mei te ia ka'avai, 'i te tekao a te haka'iki, 'ua hua 'atou fenua.*" When the tuhuna from this and that valley had heard the word of the chief, they returned to their lands.

"*Ohia 'ua he'e na po o te tihe mai o na mata'ainana pao'tu, 'u pe'au te po'i 'ave pepa 'i te haka'iki...*" When the night arrived on which all the tribes were to come, messengers said to the chief...

"*Ohia 'u peipei te hana o te kai 'i hua mou mata'ainana 'e 'ima, 'a tahi 'a tihe mai na mata'ainana pao'tu 'i 'oto o Veva'u.*" When the labour of preparing the food was done by these five, then arrived all the tribes of Veva'u.

"*Ohia 'ua 'ite Hatea-motua 'i te nui o te 'enata 'i 'oto o 'Ani-'ani-te-'ani, 'u pe'au te papa tuhuna me Hatea-motua. 'A hina tatou, 'a'o'e e 'ava tatou 'ia toua.*" When Hatea-motua saw the number of people in 'Ani-'ani-te-'ani, his advisers said to him: We shall fall, there are not enough of us to fight.

"*Ohia te paotina to ia hana, 'a ea 'ia Matafenua.*" When this work was done, he came up out of the water at Matafenua.

"*Ohia eia 'i vaho 'e'eka nei hua vehine hae.*" And all the while here was that wild woman outside.

As mentioned before, the particle *ohia* "when" does not occur very frequently. Deverbatives (suffixed with *-tina* and sometimes with *-na*) without *ohia* as well as without *ia* are much more frequent and widespread and as a rule are located at the head of the dependent (temporal) clause and are linked to the rest of that dependent clause with one of the (usually) noun particles. We include several examples from Handy's book:

"*Te keitina o tenei mo'i, te tau to'iki e kamo 'ia ia.*" As this girl grew the boys sought her favours.

"*Te 'onotina 'o te mata'ainana 'i tenei tau tekao meita'i ma 'una o hua mo'i, me te 'ono te motua, 'o Tuapu, 'ua tihe to ia ma'ima'i 'ia ia.*" When the people had heard this good word about this girl, the father, Tuapu, also heard and desire came upon him.

"*Te fititina te po'i 'oko 'io te kapua, 'ua fiti me te kui, me te tunane, 'o Namu, 'o Tikaue.*" When the vigorous men went up the mountains, the girl's mother and her brothers, Namu and Tikaue, went up also.

"*Te tihena 'o hua po, 'o Hotu-nui, 'ua he'e Namu me Tikaue 'io Tu-Tona.*" When that night came, that is Hotu-nui, Namu and Tikaue went to Tu-Tona's.

"*Te he'etina te vaka hua ahiahi, menino te tai ma 'oto.*" As the canoe put out that evening the sea was calm.

"*Te pepeutina hua hue, vi'ihu Nukuhiva 'ua 'i'o te kaka'a.*" As it was opened, the sweet smelling things spread all about Nukuhiva.

"*Te honitina Tu-Tona te kaka'a, pe'au ia Tikaue me Namu: Te nei haina no Tahia-noho-u'u?*" When Tu-Tona smelt it, he asked of Namu and Tikaue: Does that thing belong to Tahia-noho-u'u?

"*Te tihe ena 'atou to 'oto'u, 'o Tikaue me Namu me hua 'enata po'ea.*" Then the three of them arrived, Tikaue and Namu, and this beau.

"*Te 'onotina o hua mata'ainana mei Puamau 'i te kapa a Ta'a-po, 'ua he'e titahi 'ou te'e no te haka'iki, 'o Ahu-tai, pe'au 'i te mata'ainana no Nukuhiva...*" After they had heard Ta'a-po's kapa, the Puamau people and the chief set off with them on a voyage from Puamau to the island of Nukuhiva...

"*Te tihena 'atou tataeka te fa'e, 'ua 'ite hua po'ea e 'ua vehine, maita tau toko'ua, hua haka 'tu to 'aua po'ea 'a'o'e 'ite vehine hea ta ia vehine.*" As they came close to the dwelling, the youth saw two women, both of them white, one just like the other.

Finally, I would like to quote a few examples which give the speakers a possibility to modify the description of the passage of time in a finer way:

"*E 'ua feutina, 'ua tau te vaka me he one 'i Atuona.*" In two strokes of the paddles the canoe was on the sand at Atuona.

"*E to'u po te matetina hua vehine, to ia kuhane 'ua tihe 'io te vahana 'i Nukuhiva.*" Three nights after the woman had died, her ghost came to her husband in Nukuhiva.

An unusually detailed definition of the temporal sentence of actions may also arise:

"*Me te fanau te tama, te 'itetina te kui tama'oa to ia fanau 'u makakatia inoa, pe'autia to ia vahana mate nei Tua-i-kaie.*" The child was born and when the mother saw that it was born a boy, she named it the name her dead husband had told her.

"*E to'u mahina te fanautina tenei tama, 'ua 'i'o te motua te kamo Na-oputu.*" It was three moons after the birth of this boy that the father was stolen by Na-oputu.

Nominalization of verbs is supported in several ways. The fundamental variant requires several devices such as preposing the article in front of the

nominative stop (e.g. *te 'ite* "seeing"). The component of the nominal particle *o* / *a* is sometimes characterized as a genitive marker occurring in the dependent clause of temporal sentences and confirms the nominal character of the deverbative; grammatically a kind of possessive attribute but interpreted as an agentive marker in accordance with Fillmore's theory. Useful remarks concerning this problem occur in a study by Gabriele H. Cablitz from the Max-Planck-Institute for Psycholinguistics.

More examples of the above situation may no doubt be found in Handy's legends:¹²

"*Te 'itetina o hua ha'atepei'u, 'u koakoa i hua 'enata.*" When the chiefess saw him, she was delighted with this man.

"*Ma hea mai te tihe o te 'enata 'io tatou nei?*" Others said: How would a man come among us here?

"*Te tihena ma 'una te 'akau, 'io te hiku Te Mo'o-nieve.*" When he came up on the tree, there was Te Mo-o-nieve at the end.

"*E to'u po te na'otina 'o Hu'uti, 'atahi 'ua tihe 'i Ta'aoa.*" When three nights were past, Hu'uti reached Ta'a'oa.

"*Ta Ta'a-po timatatina 'i te tumu o te kapa.*" Ta'a-po forgot a small part of the kapa.

In conclusion I would like to add that the deverbatives usually occur in the initial position preceded by the particle *te*, e. g. "*Te tihetina o hua ahi, 'ua ve'a to 'atou fa'e, pao'tu te taetae 'i 'oto i te ve'a i hua ahi.*" When that fire came there it burnt their house and all their possessions in it; "*Te kaitina 'i hua mei, 'a'o'e meita'i.*" When they ate the fruit it was not good;

There are instances in which the deverbative is preceded by the particle *ma* plus *hua*: "*Ma hua pe'autina o Tana-'oa, 'atahi 'a hemo to ia 'i'ima mei 'una o to ia oho*" With this mention of Tana-'oa, her hands came off her eyes.

At other opportunities we meet with the initial particle *me*: "*Me te tihe mai 'o te ha'atepei'u.*" Then the chiefess arrived.

The occurrence of possessive phrases preceding the deverbative may also be met with, e.g. "*Ta 'aua hikitina, 'a'o'e i noho haka'ua 'i to 'aua fa'e toitoi*" When they returned they did not live any more in their house.

Neither are adverbs preceding the deverbatives rare, e.g. "*E to'u po te matetina hua vehine to ia kuhane 'ua tihe 'io te vahana i Nukuhiva.*" Three nights after the woman had died, her ghost came to her husband in Nukuhiva.

¹² See HANDY, E. S. C. Marquesan legends.

The subject of the deverbative clause usually takes place after the deverbative itself and there are virtually no exceptions in this rule. However, it is common that the deverbative clause precedes the chief clause of the complex sentence; a different arrangement of the two clauses is rather rare.

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