Proceedings of AFLA 7

The Seventh Meeting of the Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association

Edited by
Marian Klamer

Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
Department of Linguistics
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Preface

This volume consists of papers presented at the seventh meeting of AFLA (Austronesian Formal Linguistics Association), held at the Vrije Universiteit on May 11-13, 2000.

For the first time in the history of AFLA, this meeting was held outside the North-American continent, and contained contributions by speakers from eleven different countries: New Zealand, Australia, Indonesia, Brunei Darussalam, Taiwan, the USA including Hawaii, Canada, the UK, France, Germany, and The Netherlands.

Apart from the languages that are traditionally well-represented at Austronesian conferences, we were happy to see that the program also contained work on relatively small or lesser described languages, such as the minority languages of Taiwan, North-West Borneo, Eastern Indonesia, Papua and Oceania.

Special themes of this conference were Iconicity and Argument marking. The papers in this volume show that the program covered a broad range of subdisciplines -- from discourse grammar, phonology, morphology, syntax, to semantics -- and that the authors are working within various theoretical frameworks. But despite the obvious differences in expertise, interest and background, the atmosphere on the conference was typically AFLA: lively and constructive, with an average rate of attendance of about 80%. The papers in this volume deserve the same rate of attention.

This meeting has again furthered the unwritten mandate of AFLA to encourage the formal study of Austronesian languages, especially work by speaker linguists and junior scholars. Six scholars presented analyses of their native language, and more than half of the 45 participants subscribed as ‘student’. This suggests that the future of Austronesian linguistics looks very bright indeed.

The eight edition of AFLA will be held in the spring of 2001 at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Boston, USA. The principal organiser will be Ileana Paul.

Marian Klamer, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam

Proceedings of previous AFLA meetings:

A Selection of the papers of AFLA 2, in 1995 is published as:

The proceedings of AFLA 3 and AFLA 4 in 1996/1997 are published as:

The proceedings of AFLA 5 and AFLA 6 in 1999 are published as:
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Nominalisation of verbal clauses in Marquesan

(Oceanic, French Polynesia)

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1. Introduction

The present paper examines the nominalisation of verbal clauses (henceforth: NVC) in Northwest Marquesan\(^1\) (henceforth: N-MQA, or just Marquesan), an Eastern Oceanic language of the Proto-Eastern Polynesian subgroup spoken in the North-Western part of the Marquesan archipelago in French Polynesia. With respect to nominalisations, languages of the world differ as to whether nominalisations are more closely related to the syntax of noun phrases or to the syntax of verb phrases. This was suggested by Comrie & Thompson (1985). My paper also addresses the question whether nominalisations in N-MQA show more characteristics of noun phrase syntax or more characteristics of verb phrase syntax.

2. Why do I call nominalisations in N-MQA ‘Nominalisation of verbal clauses’?

The type of nominalisations I am interested in are event- and proposition-denoting nominalisations. In many languages of the world these kinds of nominalisations are not purely nominal, i.e. they do not have all the syntactic properties which non-derived noun phrases such as Engl. ‘the dog’, ‘the house’ etc. have.

In N-MQA nominalisations are not derived by morphological means such as Engl. ‘performance’ from ‘perform’. All verbal clauses in Marquesan can be nominalised without changing the form of the word functioning as the lexical head of the verbal clause.

All words which function as the lexical head of a verbal clause can also function as the lexical head of a nominalised verbal clause. Nominalisations do not derive nouns from verbs, but they transform verbal clauses into noun phrases.

At this point it is important to emphasize that nominalisations in Marquesan are syntactically derived whereas event-denoting nominalisations such as Engl. ‘performance’ are lexical nominalisations which are derived by specific morphological means.

Following Comrie & Thompson (1985) I will examine the following questions concerning NVCs in Marquesan:

1) What are the morpho-syntactic processes of deriving NVCs?
2) How many verbal and nominal properties does the lexical head of a NVC show?
3) How are arguments expressed in NVCs?
4) Do NVCs occur more with nominal or more with verbal modifiers?

\(^1\) The data presented here was collected on the islands of 'Ua Pou and Nuku Hiva.
NVCs in Marquesan show characteristics of NPs as well as verbal clauses, i.e. they occupy an intermediate position between being purely nominal and purely verbal. However, the categorisation into verbs and nouns is problematic in Marquesan. Words cannot easily be classified as belonging to one particular word class such as nouns or verbs because the same form of a word can appear in several different syntactic environments such as verbal, nominal or as lexical modifiers. Therefore it is not possible to distinguish formally between the head of an NP, VP or NVC. The best way out of this problem is to define a word on the basis of its morphosyntactic properties within a particular syntactic environment. So their actual use in a particular syntactic environment classifies words as verbs, nominals or lexical modifiers.

NVCs in Marquesan are interesting to examine because they seem to be a salient feature of Marquesan grammar. About 73% of all sentential units I examined contained at least one nominalisation. Moreover, the fact that we have syntactic nominalisation in Marquesan is a reflection of the multifunctionality of words and the difficulty in categorising them into nouns and verbs. One of the aims of this paper is to demonstrate that there seems to be no clear boundaries of what nominal or verbal in Marquesan really is. Before I turn to nominalisations in N-MQA in more detail, I would like to give some information on the basic features of N-MQA.

3. Features of N-MQA

N-MQA is an accusative case-marking language with case being marked by prepositions. Common noun phrases are marked by articles whereas verb phrases are marked for tense, aspect and mood by verbal particles (short: TAM-particles). The basic constituent order is V-S-O:

(1) *u kanca Teiki i t-a ia ha'e
   TAM build T. DO ART=FOSS 3.sg house
   Teiki has built his house.

3.1 Noun phrases: expression of arguments

The absence or presence of prepositions indicates the syntactic function of a noun phrase. Subject NPs are unmarked NPs, whereas direct object NPs are marked by the preposition *i* (see (1)). Oblique NPs expressing cause, instrument and recipient are also preceded by the preposition *i*:

(2) *ua motu tu'u kalu 'i-i'ma i tc ke'a (DD)
   TAM cut FOSS.Pr.1.sg.cothes RED-aband/arm OBL ART stone
   My sleeves were cut by/with the stone (lit.'... caused by the stone')

---

2 About 1,500 sentential units of narratives were examined.
3.2 Verbal classes

Words which function as the lexical head of a verbal clause are classified on the basis of their valency. N-MQA has three major verbal classes, namely transitive, intransitive (action (e.g. he'a "go"), process (e.g. topa "fall") , state (e.g. kanahau "nice") and neuter verbal.

transitive verbal clause
(3) e kōtia'a Teiki i te vehie me te toki... (CH-B-005)
TAM cut Dem T. DO ART fire.wood with ART axe
Teiki is cutting the fire wood with an axe.

intransitive verbal clause
(4) e 'ori te tau vehine ... (K1B-T5:19)
TAM dance ART PL woman
The women are dancing...

Neuter verbs
The class of neuter verbs is a small class of intransitive action verbs which take the undergoer as their subject and optionally an agent as an oblique argument (see also (2)):

(5) `a'o'e i hemo te kamo i=a'u. (D13)
be.not TAM catch/caught ART thief OBL=ART.poss 3.sg
I did not catch the thief/ The thief was not caught by me.

4. Nominalised Verbal Clauses in N-MQA

Keeping these features of Marquesan in mind I will now turn to the four leading questions asked in the beginning.

4.1 What are the (morpho-syntactic) processes of forming NVCs?

Any verbal clause can be nominalised without morphological changes of the lexical head by simply replacing the TAM-marker by the general article te:

Verbal clause
(6a) e pōpahiti ia i t=a ia puke manu:... (Mak-017)
TAM command 3.sg DO ART=POSS 3.sg pile bird
He commanded his birds:...

Nominalised verbal clause
(6b) me te pōpahiti o Pa'etini i t=0 ia tau po'i:... (Mak-026)
and ART command POSS P. DO ART=POSS 3.sg.PL people
And Pa'etini's commanding of his people:...

According to some researchers (Chung 1973; Clark 1981) Polynesian languages have a nominalising suffix which goes back to PPN *-Canga. In N-MQA this suffix -'ia often occurs in nominalisations, but its primary function is not to nominalise verbal clauses, but
to mark an aspectual distinction between perfective vs. imperfective aspect (see also Mosel (1992:277) for Samoan). I will discuss this below (see §4.2.1.1).

4.2 Verbal and nominal properties of NVCs

In order to decide whether NVCs in N-MQA are more closely related to the syntax of noun phrases or to the syntax of verbal clauses, it is crucial to determine the verbal and nominal properties of NVCs. This also includes the expression of arguments in NVCs.

Typical nominal features in N-MQA are the marking of case, definiteness and occasionally number in NPs and their occurrence in a number of syntactic positions such as subject, object or oblique position. Further nominal characteristics of NPs are the modification by genitive attributes, by relative clauses and by a class of state verbals (e.g. kanahau “be nice”, rui “be big”, po’otu “be beautiful”).

Typical verbal features are the marking of tense, aspect and mood, voice, negation and occasionally number agreement on the verb. Moreover, the expression of subjects and objects in NVCs can also tell us something about the more verbal or more nominal nature of NVCs. If the subject and object of the corresponding verbal clause are expressed in the same way as in NVCs we have evidence for the more verbal character of NVCs. However, if subject and object appear as nominal attributes we have evidence for the more nominal nature of NVCs. I will begin with the verbal properties.

4.2.1 Verbal categories

4.2.1.1 Tense, aspect and mood

NVCs in Marquesan lack tense and mood marking, but they have the linguistic means of marking perfective aspect by using the suffix -ia (which I briefly mentioned above). According to Clark (1981) ‘the suffix is often determined by its larger syntactic context’ in which the nominalisation appears. It is true that the suffix occurs in certain syntactic constructions such as in temporal adverbial phrases expressing punctual aspect, or with numerals. It is probably no surprise that these NVCs occur with the suffix -ia because they refer to bounded, individual and countable events. Therefore I believe that the suffix’ main function is to mark an aspectual distinction. Where the suffix -ia occurs the situation is seen as a whole or the event is regarded as being completed as e.g. in (7) and (8):

(7) ‘u ko’ana ‘atou i te pokoki a te po’i o Taiipi
   Perf find 3.pl ART capture POSSART people POSST.
   me te kai=-ia atu (Hak-16)
   and ART eat=Perf DIR.temp
   The people of Taiipi were able to capture them and later ate them up.

(8) mea ‘oa te ha’apeipei=-ia a te po’i i te-ia ‘aa
   STV-P long ART CAUS=prepare=Perf POSS ART people LD ART=Dem day
   ‘i te-ia ‘aa i te tau himene me te tau haka... (Kim-2)
   LD ART=Dem day DO ART PL. song and ART PL. dance
   The people’s preparation of songs and dances each day was long...

NVCs which lack the suffix -‘ia often have an habitual or imperfective reading as in (9):
Nominalisation of verbal clauses in Marquesan

(9) ‘ua kave mai na ‘enana ‘i te vaka,
Perf carry this ART PL. man LD ART canoe
‘i ‘ci’a te ha’a=moe ‘a i te nino.... (Hak-20)
LD ANA ART CAUS=loc EMPH DO ART body
The two men carried (him) to the canoe; there was the laying out of the body....

The following two contrasting examples with tihe “arrive”, illustrate that the suffix -ia triggers a perfective reading (see (10)), whereas the lack of the suffix -ia triggers an imperfective reading (see (11)):

(10) ‘i te tihe=ia ‘i’a ‘u pe‘au Pa’etini... (Mak-014)
LD ART arrive=Perf there Perf say P.
When (he) arrived there, Pa’etini said... (lit. ‘at the arrival there Pa’etini said’)

(11) epo te tihe o te oumati, ‘omua Teatau’apaku ‘i te tihe. (E-123)
later ART arrive POSS ART sun before T. LD ART arrive
The arriving of the sun is later, first Teatau’apaku is arriving.

The contrast between the usage of the suffix -ia and the lack of the suffix -ia in NVCs is probably best demonstrated by an example in the same linguistic context. The following two examples are taken from a legend in which a guardian of the chief Uhutete is listing to the talk of an imprisoned boy:

(12) he mea hemopu=ia ia te ha’a=hiti a i te ikoa o
ART thing tear=PASS 3.sg ART CAUS=go up EMPH DO ART name POSS
Tahiatemata i mate te tuehine o te ha’a’iki o Taipi ‘o
T. TAM dead ART sister POSS ART chief POSS T. PRES
Uhutete. (Hak-18)
U.
The thing that tore him apart was the uttering of Tahiatemata’s name who is dead, the sister of the Taipi chief, who is called Uhutete.

In (12) the situation is viewed from within and we do not really know how often the boy utters the name of his mother, probably repeatedly. However, the guardian goes back to his chief and tells him about the boy’s uttering the name of the chief’s sister. Now, the situation is seen as a whole and thus ha’ahiti “utter”, the lexical head of the NVC, is suffix by -ia:

(13) ‘ua ‘oko au i te maha‘i i te ha’ahiti=ia i te ikoa
Perf hear 1.sg DO ART boy OBL ART CAUS=Perf DO ART name
ma te pe‘au o t=0 ia kui ‘o Tahiatemata”. (Hak-18)
with ART say POSS ART=POSS 3.sg mother PRES T.
“I heard the boy who uttered a name by saying his mother’s name which is Tahiatemata.

The occurrence and non-occurrence of the suffix -ia in NVCs of N-MQA is a retention of the verbal category of perfective aspect and not simply a nominalising suffix as often claimed in the literature on Polynesian languages. Other verbal categories are voice, negation and number agreement.

1 The report of the guardian is in direct speech.
4.2.1.2 Voice

Transitive verbs are also passivized by the suffix -‘ia. The optional expression of the agent is introduced by the preposition e in passivized verbal clauses as well as in NVCs:

**Passivized verbal clause**

(14a) ‘u humu=‘ia te puaka e Teiki (E)
   Perf attach=PASSART pig AGS T.
   The pig was attached by Teiki.

**Passivized NVC**

(14b) te humu‘ia o te puaka e Teiki (E)
   ART attach=PASSPOSSART pig AGS T.
   the attachment of the pig by Teiki

The expression of the agent by an e-phrase is in fact evidence for the retention of verbal syntax.

4.2.1.3 Negation

In Marquesan verbal negation is not expressed by particles but by verbs which function as the matrix verb of a clause:

(15) ‘A‘ole aua i kite ena me te ‘enana ma ‘oto. (Lav-U:049)
   be not 2.di TAM know exist with ART man Prep inside.
   They do not know that there are men inside.

In nominal constituents, the nominal can be negated by the postpositioned particle ko‘e “without, cease”:

(16) ‘io te henua ‘enana ko‘e
   Prep loc ART country man without
   in the desert (lit. ‘in the land without men’)

In NVCs the head is negated in the same way as in nominal constituents:

(17) ‘ua he‘e Hi‘imona i Nuku Hiva me te vivini ko‘e o ia,
   Perf go H. LD N. H. and ART understand Neg POSS 3.sg
   ‘o te ‘ite=ia paona te=nei o ia i t=a ia ‘ona vehine.
   PRES ART see=Perf final ART=Dem POSS 3.sg DO ART=POSS 3.sg dear wife
   Hi‘imona went to Nuku Hiva without understanding that this is the last time
   he has seen his wife. (Hak-22)

The use of nominal negation in NVCs of Marquesan shows, in fact, the more nominal character of NVCs. However, the reason for nominal negation in NVCs might be due to the fact that verbs of negation cannot be nominalised.
4.2.1.4 Number agreement

Verbs occasionally, but not obligatorily show number agreement on the verb. If the subject has more than one referent, the verb is partially reduplicated as in (18). This is also sometimes retained in nominalizations as in (19):

(18) ‘u he-he’e hua mou pakahio ma he one... (U-019)
    Perf RED-go ART PL old.woman Prep ART sand/stone
    The old women went along the beach.

(19) Ene iio he mata’ae te no-noho o te=mou maha’i. (T/H-210)
    exist Prep ART land’s.end ART RED-stay POSS ART=Dem PL boy
    The boys are staying at land’s end. (lit. ‘there is at land’s end the staying of the two boys’)

4.2.2 Nominal categories

4.2.2.1 Syntactic positions in a clause

A good argument for the noun phrase status of NVCs is that they occur in a number of syntactic position in which non-derived NPs can occur. They occur in subject, object and oblique positions of a clause (see examples (20-23)):

Subject in verbal clauses
(20) ‘u haka Lala te piki a hua maha’i i te vchine. (T/H:349)
    Perf stop ART climb POSS same boy DO ART woman
    It stopped the making love of the boy to the woman.

Subject in nominal clauses
(21) ‘ua rere hua vchine; ‘io he tae te ka’o’ia atu.
    Perf flee ART woman Prep loco ART sea ART disappear=Perf thither
    That woman flew; the disappearing was on sea.

Object
(22) U pe’au haka’ua hua vchine Perf say again ART=ana woman
    “Po’iti, ‘ua koe ko te kutu i te upoko?” (T/H:331)
    Perf know 2.sg DO ART delouse DO ART head
    That woman said again: “Po’iti, do you know how to delouse the head?”
    (lit. ‘... do you know the delousing of the head’)

Oblique
(23) Atahi ‘u hemo ai te tucheine i te mate koea
    then TAM catch ANA ART sister DO ART illness crazy
    i te =ue i t=ia tukane i mate nei ‘o Teatau’apaku
    OB! ART cy OB!ART-POSS 2.sg brother TAM dead just Prep T.
    Then the sister became mad caused by the crying over her brother’s recent death
    who was called Teatau’apaku. (E-122)
The examples above illustrate that NVCs behave syntactically like NPs because they are marked by case and occur in syntactic positions in which other non-derived NPs occur. Other nominal features are the marking of number and definiteness.

4.2.2.2 Number

N-MQA has a number of plural markers which precede the lexical head of an NP. NVCs cannot be marked for plurality by these plural markers. Compare (24a) and (24b):

(24a) me te popahi o Pa'etini i =o ia tau poi...
and ART command POSS P. DO ART=POSS 3.sg PL. people
And Pa'etini's commanding of his people... (Mak-026)

(24b) *me te tan popahi o Pa'etini (F)
and ART PL command POSS P.

However, in Marquesan NVCs can occur with numerals when the events denoted by the nominalisation signal several individual and countable events:

(25) e to'u kanea='ia i te vaka....
Num three construct=Perf DO ART canoe
Three constructions of a canoe (=a canoe (unspec.) was constructed three times)

When NVCs occur with numerals, the numeral replaces the article. Moreover, the head of the NVC is suffixed by -'ia because it refers to individual bounded events.

As for definiteness of NVCs, I could only observe that the general article te was used in the overwhelming majority of occurrences. The article te neither marks an NP for definiteness nor for specificity. The article te is a kind of default-article which is used when all other articles are less appropriate. Therefore we can say that definiteness is weakly specified in NVCs and that the main function of the article te is to syntactically derive NVCs from verbal clauses.

4.3 The expression of arguments in NVCs

The most interesting evidence for the more verbal or more nominal character of NVCs is the examination of how arguments are expressed. According to Comrie & Thompson (1985) the expression of oblique objects and adjuncts is less interesting because there seems to be little variation across languages. Oblique objects and adjuncts do not normally undergo a transformation, i.e. they occur in the same form as in the verbal clause. This is also true for Marquesan.

In Marquesan the expression of subjects and objects show nominal as well as verbal features.

4.3.1 Expression of subjects in NVCs

Subjects are expressed as genitive attributes and therefore assimilate to NP syntax. The genitive attribute mostly occurs in postnuclear position, but when subjects are pronominalised, they can occur in pre- and postnuclear position:
Possessive attribute in prenuclear position

(26) 'i t=ŋ ia tihe='ia 'i Hakamou'ui... (Mak-14)
LD ART-POSG 3.sg arrive=Perf LD II
At his arrival/arriving in Hakamou'ui...

The genitive attribute need not follow the head of NVC directly. In (27) the direct object is
closer to the nominalised lexical head than the genitive attribute:

(27) atahi 'a oko nui ai te 'i'i
when TAM strengthen very ANA ART strength
te ha'a'ha'a atu ia ia o te Hiva 'Oa.... (H-012)
ART be.angry DIR DO 3.SG POSS ART H. O.
When they had strengthened the forces, the enraging of the Hiva 'Oa against
him...

Polynesian languages often make a distinction between inalienable and alienable possessive
relationships. Alienable relations are expressed by a, inalienable by q.
The q/a-distinction is partly maintained in NVCs. Subjects of transitive verbs often have an
agentive role in the action expressed by the verb and therefore are often marked by a in the
NVC:

(28a) e he'e au 'u tihe mai nei 'a te vava'o4a te hei
I TAM go 1.sg Pert arrive latter now EMPIR AKI call POSS AKI garland
I am going because the garland's calling has reached me now.

However, not all subjects of transitive clauses are explicitly agentive and thus are marked
by o:

(28b) 'ua 'oko=ŋ ia te vava'o o te tau pahu me te po'i haka. (Hak-30)
Perf hear=PASSART call POSS ART PL. drum and ART people dance
The calling of the drums and the dancers was heard.

Subjects of intransitive verbal clauses are expressed by an o-phrase, although subjects of
corresponding intransitive verbal clauses can sometimes express an agentive role (like he'e
"go", hiamoe "sleep"):

(29) 'ua ko'e te peke o hua vehine.... (U-126)
Perf cease ART be.angry POSSART woman
The being angry of the woman was over.

O marking of subjects in NVCs is also consistent with experience verbalas, neuter verbalas
and state verbalas.
We can therefore conclude that the distinction of inalienable and alienable possessive
marking in subjects of NVCs is dependent on semantic as well as syntactic factors. For

---
4 The missing of the direct object in the NVC might question whether vava'o "call" is really transitive.
However, in the same legend vava'o "call" is clearly used transitively in verbal clauses:

e.g. e vava'o nei te he'i ia au (T/H-063)
TAM call new ART garland DO 1.sg
The garland is calling me now.
nominalised transitive verbals the choice is semantically determined, whereas for
nominalised intransitive verbals the choice is syntactically motivated.
All subjects in NVCs are expressed as a genitive attribute and therefore clearly show that
NVCs have nominal features.

4.3.2 Expressions of objects in NVCs

As for the expression of objects in NVCs, objects are expressed in the same way as in the
corresponding verbal clause and therefore have retained verbal syntax. The direct object of
transitive clauses always remains in the accusative case in the corresponding NVC
regardless of whether the subject is expressed or not:

(30) 'atahi 'a kete atu Anihoka ia He'a'ato
      when TAM see thither A. DO H.
      me te i afi mata'eina'a me te mave atu ia ia... (H-037)
      and ART-POSS 3.sg village/people with ART welcome thither DO 3.sg
Where Anihoka saw He'a'ato and his men, (he) welcomed him...

With respect to the expression of subjects and objects in NVCs of Marquesan we can so
far conclude that NVCs shows nominal and verbal features alike. Although we have a
derivation of a verbal clause into a noun phrase on the syntactic level, the assimilation to
noun phrase syntax is only partial.
The partial assimilation to noun phrase syntax in NVCs of Marquesan might be due to a
constraint in the noun phrase syntax of Polynesian languages. According to Clark (1981:71)
only one postpositioned possessive phrase can be dependent on the lexical head of a NVC.
Two postpositioned possessive phrases cannot be dependent on the same lexical head:

(31) te humu'ia o te puaka a Teiki
   ART attach=Perf/PASS POSS ART pig POSS T.
   1) *Teiki attached the pig
   2) The attachment of Teiki's pig

Teiki is not the initiator of the action, but only the possessor of the pig over which he has
control (thus the a-marking).
Some ergative Polynesian languages like e.g. Samoan allow double possessive marking of
agent and undergoer when one of the "possessors" is preposed in a pronominalised
possessive phrase:

Samoan (Mosel 1992:275)
(32) ... po-na sasa o maile
   ART-POSS=3.sg hit POSS dog
   His hitting of the dogs

In Marquesan, double possessive marking of subject and object does not occur in NVCs
which have derived from active verbal clauses. Thus constructions like 'his hitting of the
dogs' or 'his cooking of the fish' are not possible to construct, unless the corresponding
verbal clause was passivised as in (33):
Nominalisation of verbal clauses in Marquesan

(33) \( t=0 \ ia \ humu=ia \ o \ te \ puaka \)
\( \text{ART=poss } 3.5g \text{ attach=PASS } \text{poss } \text{ART pig} \)
His attachment of the pig

In passivized NVCs the undergoer is always expressed as a genitive attribute, simply because subjects are always expressed as genitive attributes in NVCs of Marquesan. However, in nominalisations of active verbal clauses we do not have the co-occurrence of subjects and objects as two genitive attributes. It is only possible to construct ‘his cooking the fish’:

(34) \( t=a \ ia \ nunu=ia \ i \ te \ ika \)
\( \text{ART=poss } 3.5g \text{ cook=perf } \text{do } \text{ART fish} \)
His having cooked the fish

Sentences like (32) and (33) are probably explained by a second constraint in nominalisations of Polynesian languages which is mentioned by Clark (1981:71): unmarked NPs cannot occur in nominalisations. Thus, in Samoan the unmarked undergoer NP has to appear as a genitive attribute. In Marquesan, on the other hand, where the undergoer NP in active verbal clauses is marked in the accusative, the language need not adopt to nominal syntax. However, if the verbal clause is passivized the syntax of nominalisations requires the unmarked undergoer NP to appear as a genitive attribute.

The reasons why Marquesan only allows constructions like (34) in NVCs which derive from active verbal clauses might be due to the retention of voice distinction in NVCs.

4.4 Do NVCs occur more with nominal or more with verbal modifiers?

Non-derived nominals in Marquesan can be typically modified by possessive phrases, relative clauses and by a class of state verbals which comprise lexemes such as kanahau “be nice”, rui “be big”. However, the head of a NVC can neither be modified by relative clauses nor by state verbals:

(35) \( *te \ nunu=veve \ i \ te \ ika \)
\( \text{ART=cook } \text{fast } \text{do } \text{ART fish} \)
? The fast cooking of the fish

Lexical heads of verbal clauses and NVCs are typically modified by verbal modifiers such as directional (mai “hither” and atu “thither”, iho “downwards, later”) and adverbial modifiers. Non-derived nominals (e.g. te ha’e “the house”) do not occur with directional and other verbal modifiers. The ability of NVCs to occur with verbal modifiers is again evidence that many verbal properties have been retained in the lexical head of NVCs. Here are some examples:

**Directionals**

(36) ‘u pei-pei He’ato me \( t=0 \ ia \ mata’aina’a toa \)
\( \text{perf } \text{RED-ready } \text{H} \text{ with ART=poss } 3.5g \text{ village } \text{warrior} \)
\( \text{no te hiti atu ‘i te toua umu huke ‘i Hiva ‘Oa (H-036) for ART go.up DIR LD ART war oven revenge LD H } \text{O} \)

He’ato and his village warriors were ready to go up to make a war of revenge at Hiva ‘Oa.
Adverbial modifiers

(38) 'u tu-tukina tc menava mc tc tabc anamai o na vaimata. (Hak-?)
Perf RED-whiz ART breath with ART flow suddenly POSS ART.PL tear
The breath was whizzing while the tears were suddenly running. (lit. ‘with the
running suddenly of the tears’)

Conclusion

The lexical head of NVCs is neither purely verbal nor purely nominal because its syntactic
properties, as we have seen, are verbal as well as nominal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Verbal</th>
<th>Nominal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>case</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>definiteness</td>
<td>+ (only 1e)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural markers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>numerals</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitive attributes</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative clauses</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>state verbals</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>negation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense/Mood</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>number agreement</td>
<td>(+)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voice</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verbal modifiers</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(directionals, adverbials)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Verbal and nominal properties of NVCs

From a syntactic point of view, nominalisation of verbal clauses in N-MQA is a process
by which verbal clauses become noun phrases. Although there is a shift in structural level
from clause to phrase which also changes the valency of the lexical head of nominalised
verbal clauses (now being the head of an NP it cannot have a subject, but only a possessive
attribute), the assimilation to noun phrase syntax is only partial (the expression of subjects
as genitive attributes, the loss of tense and mood marking, and the usage of nominal
negation). The internal structure of nominalised verbal clauses clearly shows that many
verbal properties have been retained (such as aspectual marking, verbal modification and
the case-marking object NPs). Therefore we can classify the lexical head of NVCs as a
verbal-nominal hybrid which is generated on a syntactic level of nominal derivation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal clause</th>
<th>→</th>
<th>Nominalised verbal clause</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. TAM V&lt;sub&gt;tr&lt;/sub&gt; S - O (i-NP)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ART V&lt;sub&gt;tr&lt;/sub&gt; g/o-POSS NP (S) - i-NP (O)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. TAM V&lt;sub&gt;tr&lt;/sub&gt; S</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ART V&lt;sub&gt;tr&lt;/sub&gt; g-POSS NP (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. TAM V&lt;sub&gt;neut&lt;/sub&gt; S - OBL (i-NP)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ART V&lt;sub&gt;neut&lt;/sub&gt; g-POSS NP (S) - i-NP (OBL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. TAM V&lt;sub&gt;pass&lt;/sub&gt; S - A (g-NP)</td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ART V&lt;sub&gt;pass&lt;/sub&gt; g-POSS NP (S) - g-NP (A)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>→</td>
<td>ART =o/a PrePoss (A) V&lt;sub&gt;pass&lt;/sub&gt; g-POSS NP (S)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Syntactic transformation and case-marking of NVCs

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