

CLASSIFICATION OF NIUEAN VERBS: NOTES ON CASE

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0.0 INTRODUCTION

In this paper we present a classification of Niuean verbs compiled from McEwen's (1970) *Niue dictionary* and various texts.¹ The aim of this classification is to shed light on properties of surface-ergative Case systems, such as that exhibited by Niuean. Though our findings are preliminary in many ways, interesting dependencies between thematic structure, grammatical relations and Case properties of verbs are revealed.

Verbs taking sentential complements are seen to fall into two basic classes: those with ergative subjects and those with absolutive subjects. Ergative Case-marking on subjects of verbs taking sentential complements appears to be counter-evidence to Safir's (1982) proposal that sentences (S's) cannot receive Case.² Whether directly or indirectly, such sentential complements must be viewed as receiving absolutive Case. Of interest is the fact that such verbs are all able to take NPs as direct objects as well. Absolutive Case-marking on subjects of verbs taking sentential complements argues for a theory in which sentences may, but need not, receive Case. The fact that the absolutive subject class includes all Raising-to-subject verbs in Niuean provides further empirical support for the second half of "Burzio's generalisation" (Burzio 1981). This generalisation states that: "A thematic role can be assigned to the subject if and only if Case is assigned by a verb to its object." As we will see, the Niuean data argues against $T \rightarrow A$, while strengthening the claim that $A \rightarrow T$. Such data are also compatible with Perlmutter's (1978) "Unaccusative Hypothesis".

Classification of Niuean verbs has also allowed us to examine data concerning the status of passive structures in Niuean. As discussed in Chung 1978, certain verbs in Niuean (and the entire Tongic subgroup) show evidence of the Proto-Polynesian passive suffix *-Cia. In Niuean, we find that some such verbs are syntactically intransitive and have lexically determined 'passive' interpretations, while others function as regular syntactic transitives. Other structures with optionally expressed agents include a class of verbs marked by the prefix ma-. These verbs form a fairly unified semantic class, and exhibit 'passive' interpretation, as well as syntactic intransitivity. Finally, certain canonically transitive verbs may be given passive interpretations when they appear with single absolutive arguments, despite the absence of any passive morphology. Such constructions indicate that the historical loss of passive is not yet complete, and that the presence or absence of an ergative-NP can determine active or passive voice respectively.

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1.0 BASIC CASE ASSIGNMENT

Before examining verb classes in Niuean and their significance for Case Theory, it will be helpful to outline the Case theory and mechanisms for Case assignment adopted in this paper.

We follow Marantz 1984 in classifying languages with surface-ergative Case systems together with nominative-accusative languages. True (or deep) ergative languages differ from nominative-accusative languages and surface-ergative systems in terms of the underlying correspondences between semantic roles and grammatical relations. The Nominative-Accusative/Ergative opposition proposed by Marantz is found in (1).³

(1) Semantic roles and grammatical relations (Marantz 1984:198)

Roles	Nominative-Accusative (includes surface-Erg.)	(Deep) Ergative
AGENT	SUB of [+trans], [+log sub] verb	OBJ of [+trans], [+log sub] verb
PATIENT/THEME	OBJ of [+trans], [+log sub] verb	SUB of [+trans], [+log sub] verb

Though Niuean has surface-Ergative Case-marking, it is clearly not an Ergative language as defined in (1), as we can see from the structure of the simple sentences in (2):

(2)a. Ne fakifaki e ia e fua moli. (M-29)

Pst *pluck* Erg *he* Abs *fruit orange*
He plucked an orange.

b. Ne hapo he tama e fuapolo. (M-77)

Pst *catch* Erg *child* Abs *ball*
The boy caught the ball.

Niuean is a VSO language with strict word-order.⁴ In (2), the SUB of each sentence has the semantic role of AGENT, while the OBJ has that of PATIENT/THEME, just as in the English glosses provided. Thus, in Marantz's system, both Niuean and English are classified as nominative-accusative languages. What we must now ask is how nominative-accusative Case systems differ from surface-ergative Case systems.

This can be captured by the correspondences between grammatical relations and Case-marking shown in (3):

(3) Grammatical relations and Case-marking in NOM/ACC languages

Grammatical relation	Nom/Acc	(surface) Erg
A. SUB of [-trans] V	NOM	NOM (ABS)
B. SUB of [+trans] V	NOM	ACC (ERG)
C. OBJ of [+trans] V	ACC	NOM (ABS)

We will continue to refer to absolutive and ergative Case in Niuean, however, it should be clear from (2) and (3) that we are still speaking of a NOM/ACC system in terms of grammatical relations.

What remains to be formalised is the difference of Case-assignment which results in the two surface patterns shown in (3). The Case Filter (Chomsky 1981) given in (4) requires that every NP have Case, where Case may or may not be spelled out morphologically.

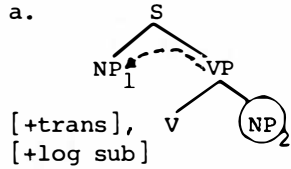
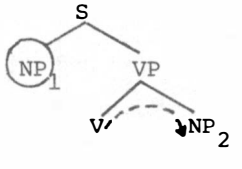
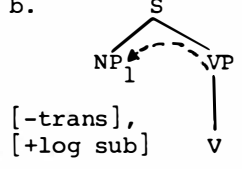
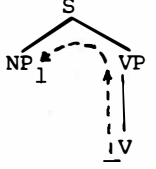
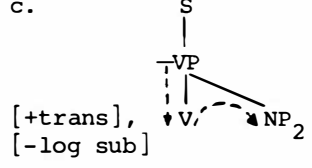
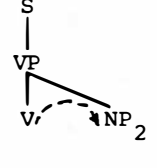
- (4) Case Filter (Chomsky 1981)
 *NP where NP has a phonetic matrix but no Case.
- (5) The Case Marking Principle (Marantz 1984)
 Case is determined under government/Government.⁵

We also adopt the Case Marking Principle in (5), where V is said to govern NP/VP and VP governs NP/S. In nominative-accusative languages, verbs assign accusative Case to their objects, and VPs assign nominative Case to their subjects. In ergative systems however, verbs regularly assign absolutive (=nominative) to their objects under government. Subjects governed by VP show up as absolutive (=nominative) with intransitive verbs, and as ergative (=accusative) with transitive verbs. These two systems can be seen to differ minimally if we allow both V and VP to determine nominative Case cross-linguistically. All that need be said is that assignment of nominative Case is *obligatory*. In so-called accusative languages, VP determines nominative, while in surface-ergative systems, it is the verb which determines nominative. If nominative Case cannot be assigned by V in such a system (i.e. if there is no NP/VP) then nominative (absolutive) percolates to the VP projection and is assigned by VP to the NP it governs, namely the subject. In accusative systems where VP cannot assign nominative case (i.e. in so-called "unaccusative constructions"), nominative can percolate from VP down to V, where it can then be assigned to NP/VP. We formalise this mechanism as follows:

- (6) Conditions on Nominative (=Absolutive) Case (CNC)
- A. Nominative Case must be assigned wherever possible.
- B. Nominative Case determined by X^n is transferable within X^{\max} .

We can now evaluate the formal differences between accusative and surface-ergative systems within this framework, as shown in (7), where arrows indicate Case assignment.

(7) Assignment of nominative (absolute) Case

Accusative System	Ergative System
<p>a.</p>  <p>[+trans], [+log sub]</p>	
<p>b.</p>  <p>[-trans], [+log sub]</p>	
<p>c.</p>  <p>[+trans], [-log sub]</p>	

The circled NPs in (7) receive Accusative (ergative) Case via their governors. Thus, the single parameter which distinguishes accusative from surface-ergative Case assignment in this system, is the choice of which element determines nominative Case assignment. In surface-ergative systems it is the verb, while in nominative-accusative systems it is the verb phrase.

We are now in a position to evaluate verb classes in Niuean with respect to the Case-marking schema shown in (7). We will concern ourselves with two basic questions. First, given that the Case Filter (4) refers specifically to NPs, what are the Case relations in Niuean when an NP in (7) is replaced by a sentential argument? Second, passive is usually analysed as a mapping between structures (7a) and (7c), with subsequent change of grammatical relations, making NP₂ the surface subject of VP. If this is so, are there structures like (7c) in Niuean which have passive properties?

2.0 VERBS WITH SENTENTIAL ARGUMENTS

Given that Niuean exhibits fairly strict VSO word-order, it is difficult to distinguish the argument structures shown in (7b) from those in (7c). Nevertheless, we can make a primary descriptive division in verbs with sentential arguments by separating those with a single sentential argument from those with multiple arguments. We will first discuss the subdivisions of the class of verbs taking multiple arguments.

2.1 [+trans] verbs with S' complements

Verbs which assign syntactic roles have the feature [+transitive] as a lexical property (cf. Marantz 1984). Both fakifaki *pluck*, and hapo *catch*, in (2) are [+transitive], as they assign syntactic roles to their objects. As we saw in (7), absolutive (nominative) Case, in these instances, is assigned by V to the NP it governs, and ergative Case on the subject is determined by the VP. Notice however that replacing an NP-object by an S' leaves open the possibility that absolutive Case not be assigned by V, as long as it is eventually assigned to some argument. This is possible because the Case Filter (4) refers to NPs, not S's, thus allowing non-Case-marked S's. The two possibilities for absolutive Case-assignment are illustrated in (8):

(8) Absolutive (=nominative) Case Assignment with S' complements



If S's required Case, then (8a) would result, and all [+transitive] verbs with S' complements would surface with ergative subjects. On the other hand, if S's could not be Case-marked, then the CNC (6) would dictate the Case schema in (8b) and subjects in these constructions would be found Case-marked as absolutive.

The Niuean data proves interesting in that it supports an analysis where both possibilities in (8) are realised. That is, [+transitive] verbs with S' complements subdivide into two classes, one which appears with ergative subjects, and the other with absolutive subjects. In (9a,b) two Niuean sentences are given to illustrate the evidenced Case arrays of (8a,b) respectively.

- (9)a. Kua iloa e mutolu ke mailonga e mahani he langi. (M-180)
 Perf know Erg you Sbj distinguish Abs signs of sky
You know how to distinguish the appearance of the sky.
- b. Kua lali a ia ke vangahau. (M-146)
 Perf try Abs he Sbj talk
He is trying to talk.

The class of verbs which pattern with *iloa know* in (9a) is quite small. A list of these verbs, which are labelled TS-ERG, is given in (10).

(10) V erg-NP S': TS-ERG verbs

iloa know, know how; kamata begin; kitia see; manatu think, wonder;
longona hear, feel; talahaua say.

The example in (9a) shows *iloa* taking a non-finite complement.⁶ However, TS-ERG verbs can also occur with finite complements, as shown in (11).

- (11)a. Kua iloa n̄ e au to tutupu e tau mena he p̄ ia. (S-125)
 Perf know Emph Erg I Fut grow Abs Pl thing on night that
I just know that things (clouds) would gather that night.
- b. Ne kitia he kau kaihā kua mate tuai e mol̄ he fale. (S-126)
 Pst see Erg group thief Perf die Perf Abs lamp in house
... the thieves saw that the lamp in the house had gone out.

Such data appears to be clear counterevidence to Safir's (1982) hypothesis that S's cannot receive Case. Though absolutive Case does not surface morphologically on S's, ergative Case on the subject indicates that absolutive has been assigned. Furthermore, given the CNC, absolutive Case must have been assigned, leading us to conclude that the S's in (9a) and (11) have all been Case-marked as absolutive. The fact that TS-ERG verbs show up with both finite and non-finite complements also argues against a weaker version of Safir's proposal, where the subset of tensed (or finite) S's could not be Case-marked.

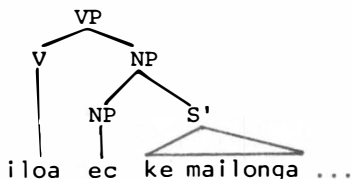
One might argue that the S's in question are immediately dominated by NP, thus accounting for their absolutive Case-marking. In fact, all TS-ERG verbs listed in (11) can also take NP-objects. Examples with *iloa know* and *kitia see* are given in (12):

- (12)a. Kua iloa tuai e lautolu oti a au. (S-248)
 Perf know Perf Erg they all Abs me
All of them know me.
- b. Kua kitia e maua e pusi haau i loto he tau fiti. (TM)
 Perf see Erg 1.Ex.Du Abs cat your Loc inside of Pl flower
We see your cat among the flowers.

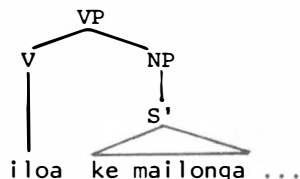
Arguing that such S' complements are in fact NPs with either of the headless relative structures shown in (13), would predict that extraction from such clauses would result in violations of the Complex NP Constraint (Ross 1967) or, in more recent terms, of subadjacency (Chomsky 1981).

(13) (=9a) a.

(ec=empty
category)



b.



However, extraction from such clauses is grammatical, as shown by the constructions in (14), where relativisation or *ko*-Clefting has occurred out of a complement S'.

- (14)a. e ika ne iloa e koe ke hī
 Abs fish Nft know Erg you Sbj catch
the fish which you know how to catch
- b. ko Moka ne manatu e ia ke alofa
 Pred Moka Nft think Erg he Sbj love
It's Moka that he thinks he loves.

Despite the fact that S' complements of TS-ERG verbs cannot be analysed as NPs, the correspondence between Case to NP objects and S' objects need not remain a coincidence. The subcategorisation frames for such verbs refer to NP or S'. If Case-marking is a lexically determined property of verbs, then TS-ERG verbs must be classified as Case Assigners in their lexical entries. We will call such verbs [+CA]. A verb which is [+CA] must assign Case to its internal argument(s). Such a hypothesis clearly needs to be tested on other languages with surface-ergative Case-marking where Case-marking to sentential complements is visible via ergative Case on the subject.

We now turn to a brief examination of [+transitive] verbs taking S' complements with absolutive subjects, such as *lali try* in (9b). A partial list of these verbs, which we will call TS-ABS verbs, is given in (15).

(15) V Abs-NP S' : TS-ABS verbs

amanaki hope; *fakaanga attempt*; *foli decide*; *lali try*; *fakalata think*;
manako want; *talifaki expect*; *amamanaki hope*; *piko believe*.

The example in (9b) shows *lali try* taking a non-finite complement. Though the majority of verbs in this class are Control (Equi) verbs and as such take non-finite complements, TS-ABS verbs also appear with finite complements as the examples in (16) illustrate.

(16)a. *Fakalata a Stan kua fakatau tuai he fifine e falaoa.* (S-126)
think Abs Stan Perf buy Perf Erg woman Abs bread
Stan thinks that the woman bought the bread.

b. *Piko e mangafaoa haaku ne fano a koe ki Sāmoa.* (S-125)
believe Abs family my Pst go Abs you to Samoa
My family believed (mistakenly) that you were on your way to Samoa.

The class of TS-ABS verbs illustrates the Case-marking schema shown in (8b). Sentential objects, not being NPs, need not be Case-marked, and absolutive can be transmitted to VP and assigned to NP/S. The fact that such verbs do not assign Case to their internal arguments leads us to classify them as [-CA], that is, as non-Case-assigners.

Recall Burzio's generalisation, which is repeated in (17):

(17) Burzio's generalisation (Burzio 1981:170)

T ↔ A where: T = assignment of theta-role to subject
A = accusative Case assignment

In surface-ergative Case-systems like Niuean, A must refer to that Case governed by V, i.e. to absolutive. Given the two classes TS-ERG and TS-ABS, or [+CA] and [-CA], it is clear that -T ↔ -A does not hold. TS-ABS verbs do not assign absolutive Case to their S' complements, and yet a theta-role is assigned to the subject. It seems we have found the evidence Burzio himself hypothesised might exist in his discussion:

... our framework will not require that the statement [-A → -T; j|/dm] should hold for verbs appearing in other than the configuration in (138) [[NP]V[-A] ...NP, where NP/VP is governed by V and only by V; j|/dm]. For example we would expect that in a base form "NP V S" where there is no NP to assign Case to, the verb could very well lack the capability to assign accusative However, since we find no evidence that would ever falsify it, we will assume that (139) [-A → -T; j|/dm] holds categorically. (p.169)

The Niuean data is still compatible with the weaker form of (18) which says simply A → T.

Data on Raising-to-subject verbs also seems to lend support to this weakened well-formedness condition, or to its logical equivalent, -T → -A. Raising-to-subject verbs are a subclass of TS-ABS verbs, though they differ from the verbs

listed in (15) in that they are [-log sub], no theta-role being assigned to the position NP/S. A list of Raising-to-subject (RS) verbs is given in (18):

- (18) Raising-to-subject verbs: $V [{}_{NP}ec] S'$, $V Abs-Np S'$
maeke can, be possible; kamata begin; fakaa'i not; mahani usual, customary; teitei almost; fetamakina nearly.

In (19) we see three sentences related by the rule of Raising.

- (19)a. Kua kamata ke hala he tama e akau. (S-158)
 Perf *begin* Sbj *cut* Erg *child* Abs *tree*
The child has begun to cut down the tree.
- b. Kua kamata e tama ke hala e akau.
- c. Kua kamata e akau ke hala he tama.

In (19b) the lower subject is raised, while in (19c) it is the lower object which is raised to subject position.⁷ As should be clear, Case of the raised NP is determined by the matrix clause, not the embedded clause. All RS verbs occur with absolutive subjects. The absence of RS verbs with ergative subjects is negative evidence supporting Burzio's proposal, $-T \rightarrow -A$, or equivalently $A \rightarrow T$.

In summary, data from transitive verbs taking S' complements provides evidence that S' 's may be Case-marked, though they need not be. Furthermore, we have seen that both TS-ABS verbs and RS verbs support only half of Burzio's generalisation, the half which states $A \rightarrow T$, while the existence of a class of TS-ABS verbs in itself falsifies the stronger proposal $T \leftrightarrow A$, since sentential complements appear without Case, and a theta-role is assigned to NP/S.

2.2 Verbs with single S' arguments

As mentioned earlier, it is difficult to distinguish (7b) from (7c) in a surface-ergative VSO language. The same holds if NP in (7) is replaced by S' . S' 's do not take part in agreement nor in noun-incorporation, so it is difficult to test their status as surface subjects or objects. It so happens then that this particular class of verbs tells us little about Case-marking. A partial list of what we will call bare- S' verbs is given in (20) and several examples appear in (21).

- (20) Bare- S' verbs: $V S'$
hangahanga appear; lata be right; lingalinga probable, possible; liu again; tonuhia be right; mitaki good; kelea bad.

- (21)a. Kua lata ke fekapitingaaki a tautolu. (M-40)
 Perf *right* Sbj *be-friendly-Rcpr* Abs *we*
It's right that we should be friendly with each other.
- b. Kua kelea koa he pākia a koe. (S-129)
 Perf *bad* Emph Caus *injured* Abs *you*
It's too bad that you were hurt.

(21) illustrates that both finite and non-finite clauses appear in this configuration. Bare- S' verbs which take ke-clauses, such as *lata* in (21a), must be

analysed as taking only a single external argument, since raising-to-subject cannot take place with these verbs. Assuming the S' to be in subject position in (21a), raising is not possible, since there is no empty position for the NP to move into. The similar semantics of verbs like *maeke possible*, *be able* and *lingalinga possible*, *probable* make it appear likely that argument structure (internal vs. external S' argument) is the essential factor distinguishing raising verbs from non-raising verbs.

3.0 PASSIVE AND CASE-MARKING

Our investigation of Case-marking properties in Niuean focuses on possible passive constructions for two main reasons. First, within certain theoretical frameworks, such as Government and Binding theory (Chomsky 1981), passive is characterised as the elimination of the Case-assigning properties of the verb. In our terms, we state that Passive changes a [+CA] verb into a [-CA] verb. That is, though in English passive eliminates accusative Case assignment to NP/VP, in Niuean it eliminates assignment of absolutive case to NP/VP. Second, Chung (1978) has argued convincingly that the surface-ergative Case system in Niuean is a result of a historical reanalysis of Proto-Polynesian passive constructions. The passive-to-ergative reanalysis is claimed to have done away with a syntactic passive altogether. We will investigate what a rule of passive would look like in a surface-ergative Case-system, given the mechanisms for nominative (absolutive) Case assignment presented earlier. The conditions of Nominative Case Assignment (CNC) stated in (6) together with the second part of Burzio's generalisation, actually predict the possibility of passive in surface-ergative languages without passive morphology, a possibility which is realised in Niuean.

3.1 Remnants of Proto-Polynesian passive suffix *-Cia

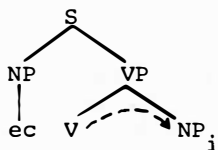
As discussed in Chung 1978, the remnants of Proto-Polynesian passive suffix *-Cia can be seen in several types of non-productive lexical derivational forms, some of which are verbs. Semantically, -Cia verbs can differ from their stems in terms of completion of an event, duration or lack of agency. Syntactically they are usually intransitive and select a subject corresponding to the direct object of the stem. The agent can be expressed by an oblique NP. What we would like to point out here is that in terms of syntactic argument structure, there is no formal way to distinguish a canonical intransitive verb from an intransitive verb with a -Cia suffix. Both positions can be controlled, and neither can be incorporated (noun-incorporation in Niuean is limited to non-subjects). The control facts are illustrated in (23):

- (22)a. *Ati kata vave e tama. (M-116)*
and laugh soon Abs boy
and then the boy soon laughed.
- b. *Kua hulungia a Tapeu. (M-98)*
Perf lit up Abs Tapeu
Tapeu is lit up.
- (23)a. *Kua lali a ia ke vangahau. (M-146)*
Perf try Abs he Sbj talk
He is trying to talk.

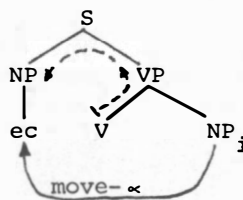
requires that in such a configuration, a theta-role be assigned to subject position. But if this is the case, then the passive interpretation will not be available.

Let us now review absolutive Case assignment as put forth in (7). In particular, we will examine (7c), which is repeated in (25a).

(25) (=7c) a.



b.



In (25a) the logical object of the verb is assigned absolutive Case, since absolutive (=nominative) must be assigned under the CNC, and NP_i must be assigned Case to satisfy the Case Filter. However, (6B), the second clause of the CNC allows Case to be transferred within the VP. This transference must occur just in case no theta-role is assigned to the subject, since otherwise, a violation of $A \rightarrow T$ results. Thus, as illustrated in (25b), absolutive Case may be transmitted from V to VP without any additional morphology. Should this occur, NP_i will not receive Case, and will be forced to move into subject position to receive Case under government by VP.

Such a process is formally identical to passive in nominative/accusative languages, except that instead of additional morphology changing a verb from [+CA] to [-CA], in surface-ergative languages the Case-marking properties of V are freely transferable to VP. Niuean appears to exploit this mechanism, to the point where one might speak of the (b) sentences in (26)-(28) as instances of passive without morphology.

(26)a. Ti nākai liu foki keli e au e tau mena momoui oti. (M-125)
and not resume kill Erg I Abs Pl thing alive all
And I will not again kill all living things.

b. Kua keli a ia. (M-21)
Perf kill Abs he
He is killed.

(27)a. Kua tāmāte e laua a Mutalau. (M-307)
Perf kill Erg they Abs Mutalau
They killed Mutalau.

b. Ne tāmāte a ia. (M-307)
Pst kill Abs he
He was killed.

(28)a. Afu he tau tangata e umu. (TM)
heap-up Erg Pl man Abs oven
The men heaped up the oven.

b. Afu e umu. (M-3)
heap-up Abs oven
An oven was heaped up.

Similar facts have been discussed by Tchekoff (1979) for Tongan, where a syntactically transitive verb appearing with a single absolutive NP can be interpreted in one of the three ways shown in (29), depending on the particular verb.

(29) Tongan: V[+trans] Abs-NP (Tchekoff 1979)

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| A. <i>kai eat</i> | AGENT or THEME |
| B. <i>ʔave bring</i> | THEME only |
| C. <i>tamate kill</i> | AGENT only |

In Niuean, certain verbs may be ambiguous as those in (29A), but no instances of (29C) have been found. In fact, (28b) shows the Niuean cognate, *tāmate*, with a (29B) reading. Further investigation into the status of ambiguous versus non-ambiguous interpretation of single absolutive arguments with [+transitive] verbs remains to be done. Even at this point however, the interpretation of [+trans] verbs with single absolutive NPs as passives, despite the lack of any overt morphology, lends support to the theory of Case proposed herein and, in particular, to the equivalency set up between nominative and absolutive Case, and to the Condition on Nominative Case proposed above. It was only within such a theory that the optional Case assignment to sentential complements could be formulated properly, strengthening A → T of Burzio's generalisation. It appears then that we have confirmation of a method of analysis which focuses on the integrity of Case-marking systems, both language-internally and cross-linguistically.

NOTES

1. Sources for example sentences are given in parentheses after each example. Seiter (1980) has been used as a secondary source, in addition to the primary sources listed in the bibliography. We would like to thank Jerry Malumaleuma for his work as a Niuean consultant.
2. Throughout we use Case to refer to abstract Case in the sense outlined in Chomsky 1981. Abstract Case is assigned by a verb to its direct object, by a VP (or INFL) to its subject, and by a preposition to its object. Abstract Case may or may not have a morphological realisation depending on the language and on the specific Case involved.
3. See B. Levin 1983 for a detailed discussion of Marantz's system of deep versus surface ergativity.
4. While the surface word-order of Niuean is VSO, we will follow Chung (1983) and Sproat (1985) in positing a VP at both D- and S-structure. Thus, the underlying word-order is SVO with a subsequent V-movement rule resulting in the surface VSO word-order. At the level where Case assignment is relevant, then, the word-order is SVO, as we have indicated in the tree-structures where Case assignment is illustrated.
5. See Chomsky 1981 and references therein and Marantz 1984 for a detailed exposition of the theory of government, and for consequences of the Case Marking Principle.
6. We refer to *ke*-clauses as non-finite, since they do not contain regular tense markers, and since their subjects can be controlled. They differ however from truly non-finite clauses, and are more like subjunctive clauses, in that they may appear with overt subjects, and in that it is possible to inflect *ke* for past tense (*kua*) if embedded under a past tense matrix verb.

7. This sentence illustrates raising from object to subject, a construction particular to Niuean among Polynesian languages, and problematic in many respects. For a discussion of this construction, see Levin and Massam 1984.

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