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HAWAIIAN SENTENCE STRUCTURES

by

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1. THE LANGUAGE

The language described in this work is that of the indigenous people of Hawai'i. The written sources range in time from 1870 to 1974. Hawaiian is still the home language of approximately 800 people, and is the first language for about 500, most of whom are either Ni'ihau people living on Ni'ihau and Kaua'i or senior citizens. There are probably another thousand who can communicate in Hawaiian. My oral sources range in age from the twenties to the eighties. Mileka Kanahale, a Ni'ihau woman who has resided in Honolulu since the 1950s, was my first and most important language consultant and I am grateful to her for tolerating my limited knowledge of both the language and eliciting techniques. The data collected with her are in both standard Hawaiian and in the Ni'ihau dialect, (primarily differing in phonology.) Since the major concern of this work is syntactic, I have shown all examples in standard Hawaiian.

The sources for my data are three. My primary oral informants were Mileka, Sarah Nakoa, a retired translator, and Larry Kimura, a young instructor of Hawaiian language at the University of Hawai'i. Many other native speakers unknowingly aided me by appearing with Larry on *Ka leo Hawai'i*, a weekly Hawaiian language radio broadcast. The primary written sources were *Pāka'a*, (Nakuina: 1901), *Ka'ala*, (Kapu: 1904), and excerpts from the newspaper *Kū'oko'a*. The student newspaper *Uluhoi* is the most recent written source. Some of the sentences were created by me and then checked with informants. Whenever possible these sentences have been supplemented by sentences from other sources.

## 1.2. ORTHOGRAPHY

This work adopts the orthography of the Pukui-Elbert *Hawaiian-English Dictionary*. One deviation from this system is *kā* 'of, belonging to'. There is a definite difference in length between this possessive and the definite determiner *ka*.

*ka* 'the' /kʌ/  
*kā* 'of' /ka:/

Etymologically, the latter form is the combination of *ka* 'the' and a 'of' (see §3.3.2).

## 1.3. PREVIOUS GRAMMATICAL STUDIES

Much of what I will say is influenced by other grammatical descriptions. Previous descriptions of Hawaiian can be divided into two eras. The first series of grammars were written in the mid eighteenth hundreds. The three outstanding grammars on that era are Lorrin Andrews' *Grammar of the Hawaiian Language*, 1854; W.D. Alexander's *A Short Synopsis of the Most Essential Points in Hawaiian Grammar*, 1864; and Adelbert von Chamisso's *On the Hawaiian Language*, 1837. Andrews (p.43) described Hawaiian in terms of a Latin-based model. Consequently, his noun phrases are defined by cases, which are themselves defined by the preposition of the phrase.

Andrews' term	Preposition	Traditional term	Translation of Hawaiian term
<i>au i kumu</i>	∅	nominative	basic case
<i>au i pili</i>	<i>o/a</i>	genitive	adhering case
<i>au i iki</i>	<i>ko/ka</i>	genitive	more (adhering) case
<i>au i paewa</i>	<i>no/na</i>	dative	uneven case
<i>au i alo</i>	<i>i</i>	accusative	facing case
<i>au i moe</i>	<i>ma</i>	locative	lying case
<i>au i hea</i>	<i>e</i>	vocative	calling case
<i>au i hui</i>	<i>me</i>	ablative	joining case
<i>au i 'ia</i>	<i>e</i>	-	passive case
<i>au i hele</i>	<i>mai</i>	(source)	moving case

Andrews' use of a case framework makes his grammar particularly relevant to this study. It is also useful in that it contains numerous examples in addition to the statements of use and function.

W.D. Alexander's grammar is by far the best existing statement on sentence structure. He described not only simple sentences, both verbal and verbless, but also complex sentences. He did not follow a model, as Andrews did, but described sentence formation in logical and traditional terms, which thereby makes his grammar amenable to both



structural and semantic theories of language.

Chamisso's grammar is notable because it was written far from Hawai'i with only the barest of sources. However, it adds little to what is found in the other two, more comprehensive grammars.

The second era of Hawaiian grammars came one hundred years later with the publication of pedagogical materials and the Pukui-Elbert *Hawaiian-English Dictionary*. Most present-day descriptions are directly or indirectly traceable to Mary Kawena Pukui, a recognised authority on things Hawaiian, and Samuel H. Elbert, Polynesian linguist and lexicographer. Their grammar, which appears as a preface to the first three editions of the dictionary, is greatly expanded by Elbert in *Hawaiian Grammar*. The structural model is used to describe the phonology, morphology, and syntax of Hawaiian. The recent pedagogical materials *Conversational Hawaiian*, by Elbert and Keala, and *E Kama'ilio Hawai'i Kākou*, by Kahananui and Anthony contain numerous statements on sentence structure. Most recently William H. Wilson has written a thesis on the syntax of A and O possession.

Recent publications concerning other Polynesian languages were also consulted. Ross Clark's *Aspects of Proto Polynesian Syntax*, and 'Verbless Sentences of Samoan', touch on many of the points which are important issues in this study. All the works of Chapin, Chung, Hohepa, and Pawley cited in the bibliography were secondary sources.

#### 1.4. GOALS OF THIS STUDY

This study tries to give a systematic description of Hawaiian sentence structure which is both theoretically consistent and close to the surface. The theoretical model used in this description is based on Fillmore's 'Case for Case' and subsequent articles.

Although case grammar has flourished within the generative model since 1968, its proponents have said little about case relations that exist in verbless sentences. Since Hawaiian is a language which has many verbless sentences, any application of case grammar to it would be inadequate without an expansion of the model. Therefore, one of the specific goals of this work is to show how verbless sentences express case relationships. Using a case framework for verbless sentences enables one to view the two types of possession in a new light - that is - as differences of case relationship (see Chp. 3).

A case framework also permits a fresh look at the group of verbs that Pukui and Elbert called loa'a-verbs. Their apparent irregularity can be attributed to a difference between the case frames for the Hawaiian and English equivalents (see §2.3.1).

Finally, an analysis of embedding in Hawaiian is presented for the

first time. Only one other description (Alexander: 1864) deals with the general principles followed in the embedding process.

### 1.5. THE MODEL

This study presupposes a theory of grammar in which the deepest structure is the semantic structure. This semantic structure has been characterised in a kind of dependency notation by Fillmore (1971:263). Chafe (1970:55) proposes the processes of "formation" for the assemblage of semantic configuration and "transformation" to modify it and arrive at a surface structure. However, these deep structure notations result in configurations that bear little resemblance to the configurations generally used to represent the surface structure (Fillmore 1971:263). Consequently, the underlying structure that will be used in this study will employ Fillmore's 1968 notation.

#### Base Component

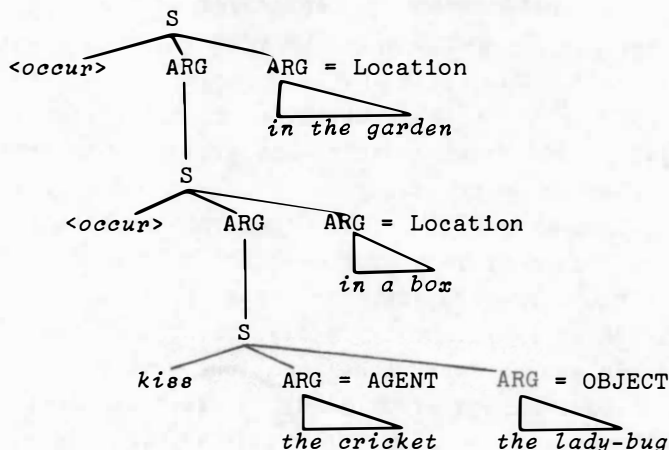
The sentence is composed of two constituents, a modal and a proposition.

$$S \rightarrow \text{MOD}^{\wedge}\text{PROP}$$

The modal includes all of the sentence-level modifiers: tense/aspect, adverbial units, and transformation cues.

$$\text{MOD} \rightarrow (t/a)(Q)(CP)$$

Between Fillmore's 1968 and 1971 formulations of the case model, he moved from a lexicalist to a generative semantic model. In neither article did he fully exploit the role of the modal. Within his later framework the modal could be viewed as the repository for case relations which derive from higher sentences. His claim that each case occur only in a simple sentence (1968:21) does not apply, then, to the modal, since the modal may involve several higher sentences. For example, if two higher sentences with the abstract verb 'occur' have introduced two Location cases, the modal will contain more than one instance of a case even though the surface sentence is simple.



*'The cricket kissed the lady-bug in a box in the garden.'*

The proposition is composed of a predicator and the arguments which are related to the predicator by means of case (1971:246).

$$\text{PROP} \rightarrow \text{PRED}^{\wedge} \text{ARG}_n$$

Syntactically, the arguments are case phrases which consist of a preposition and a noun phrase or a sentence.

$$\text{ARG} \rightarrow \text{CP}$$

$$\text{CP} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{prep}^{\wedge} \text{NP} \\ \text{S} \end{array} \right\}$$

The preposition, which carries a case feature in the lexicon, is selected only if that feature coincides with the case of the phrase. The noun phrase takes the case of its accompanying preposition. Sentential complements are derived from case phrases which immediately dominate S (1968:28). In Hawaiian only the Object, Benefactive, and Locative phrases can directly dominate S.

The predicator of the proposition may be a verb or a case phrase.

$$\text{PRED} \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{VP} \\ \text{CP} \end{array} \right\}$$

This formulation of case phrase in the predicate is not totally innovative. Ross Clark (1969:110) found that for his description of Samoan, three case phrases needed to be included in the predicate. Fillmore, while never specifically formulating a case phrase for the predicate, does introduce the possibility. In 'Case for Case' he states:

All semantically relevant syntactic relations between NP's and and the structures that contain them must be of the 'labelled' type. (1968:17)

In his 1971 paper, he says the predicator can be noun, verb, or any contentive (p.247). Thus, any noun which occurs in the predicate must be within a case phrase.

The modal includes tense, aspect, question and adverbial elements. These adverbial elements are related to the rest of the sentence by means of case (1968:23). Two cases that are expressly excluded from the modal, since they are capable of becoming subject of the sentence, are Agent and Object. The modal constituents are moved by transformations into their surface positions.

The noun phrase is composed of a determiner, a head noun, and modifiers. The possible modifiers of the noun coincide with the possible modifiers of the verb. The full extent of this modification can be found in Pukui-Elbert (1975:257). In converting from that description of the phrase to a transformational one, the noun phrase-specific formative 'ana must be regarded as derived by transformation. This is also true for the verb phrase-specific 'ia (see §2.4.2) and ai (§4.1.1.). Only the noun phrase can contain an embedded sentence as modifier.

### The Case Relations

In reviewing previous studies which discuss the universal case relations, defined in the deep structure in terms of the semantic role that they serve in the predication, it seems that these case relations can be further analysed into semantic features. How these features are bundled together to form the separate case relations (which Fillmore termed simply cases) is a problem for the model. The problem can be seen by comparing the cases proposed by Fillmore.

Case for Case (24-25)	Some Problems (251)
Agentive	Agent
Instrumental	Experiencer
Dative	Instrument
Factitive	Object
Locative	Source
Objective	Goal
	Place
	Time

It is interesting to compare how his earlier cases have been broken up and recombined in the later cases. The Dative was split into Experiencer, Object, and Goal. In addition, Factitive became part of Goal. A restructuring of this type is only possible because, rather than being the ultimate semantic distinctions, case relations are bundles of features which may be shared by more than one relation. For example, the feature <causation> is found in both Agent and Instrument. If Fillmore's cases are compared with those of another (Chafe: 1970), the same diversity appears. Chafe proposes these seven noun-verb relation-

ships: patient (=object), agent, experiencer, beneficiary, instrument, complement, and location. The differences between these three case lists bear witness to the fact that the features of which the case relations are composed allow for different groupings by linguists working on a single language.

If a unique definition of deep structure cases for one language is difficult to arrive at, it stands to reason that any grouping adopted for one language need not fit another language as well. The semantic features may be viewed in different perspectives resulting in distinctive case lists from language to language. One language may view the differences between the features of the proposed cases Agent, Instrument, and Cause significant enough to have three cases; whereas, other languages may structure the features so that only two cases result. In determining cases for a language, the semantic features must be considered together with the most accessible clues in the language, the syntactic distinctions, including the surface case markers and transformational possibilities.

It is with this in mind, that I have determined the following deep structure cases for Hawaiian.

AGENT The instigator or active participant in an action. When Agent occurs with verbs which take no Object, [<sub>A</sub>^G], it includes the semantic sense of Object.

OBJECT That which is in a state, changing or moving. Since there is no distinctive syntactic marking for an Experiencer in Hawaiian and the primary distinction between Fillmore's Experiencer and Object is animateness, it (E) is subsumed within Object in this analysis.

INSTRUMENT The cause of an action, or state, including the stimulus reacted to. Although typically found in a sentence with a transitive verb, Instrument may also occur with stative verbs, to indicate a cause for the state. Fillmore (1971:254) found that for the verb cause in English, Instrument - and not Agent as previously thought - must be an obligatory case. In Hawaiian, as in other Polynesian languages, the case previously termed CAUSE (Lynch) can be found to coincide with Fillmore's description of Instrument (see §2.1).

SOURCE The earlier location, state, or time.

GOAL The later state, location, or time.

BENEFACTIVE The reason for a state or action.

"State" subsumes the inalienable possessive relationship (see §3.2.4). This case deviates the most from Fillmore's cases. Fillmore (1971:261) subsumes Benefactive under Goal because of its co-occurrence restriction with Agent. This condition does not exist in Hawaiian. Chafe discusses a broad function of Benefactive (1970:147-151) which closely parallels

the Hawaiian data. In particular he notes that a discussion of benefactive states has to take into account the alienable-inalienable possession distinction (148). This distinction directly involves Benefactive in Hawaiian (see §3.1.2.). Unfortunately, the term benefactive is not toally appropriate as this case in Hawaiian includes not only positive but also negative factors.

**LOCATION** The spatial or temporal orientation of the state or action. This case includes Fillmore's Location and Time. The collapsing of the two cases was possible after limiting the one-instance-per-clause rule to the proposition. Since this is mainly an adverbial case, it originates in the modal which is not limited by that rule, except with a small group of location verbs which have a [<sub>O</sub>^L] case frame. The head noun of the phrase adds the features [+time] and [+location].

**VOCATIVE** The person(s) addressed. This case is always in the modal.

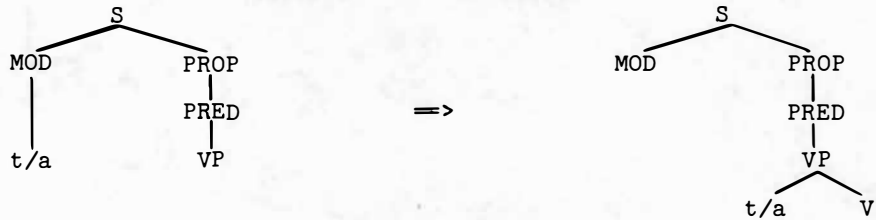
In summary, then, cases in Hawaiian can be derived in the modal, the predicate and the argument. The cases of the argument are the non-oblique cases. Those of the modal are oblique. The term oblique cannot be applied to the predicate cases since oblique refers to the relation of the case to the predicate. The phrase structure rules are:

S	→	MOD^PROP		
PROP	→	PRED^ARG <sub>n</sub>		
MOD	→	(t/a) (Q) (CP) <sub>n</sub>	n: more than one possible	
PRED	→	{VP}	AP	
		{CP}		IP
ARG	→	CP	CP: a cover symbol for	
CP	→	{PREP NP}	SoP	
		{S}		GP
NP	→	Det^N (PN) (Mod)		LP
VP	→	V (PN)		BP
				VP

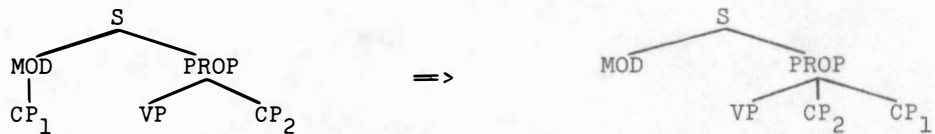
Lexical selection operates with the string of labelled phrase markers. The selectional restrictions associated with lexical categories serving given syntactic function is provided by subcategorisation (Fillmore 1969a:367). Verbs are selected according to the case environments of the sentences (1968:26).

In the lexicon verbs carry with them their case-frame features in addition to information about their semantic reading. The case-frame features allow a classification of the verbs of the language.

Transformations apply after lexical selection. The first obligatory transformation moves the tense-aspect markers from the modal to the verb phrase.



If t/a is generated in a NP^NP sentence, it does not show up on the surface. If any case phrases have been generated in the modal, their position will be changed by an optional transformation.



If this transformation is not applied, the phonological component will insert a pause at the modal-proposition boundary.

The analyses of the data given in the following chapter will be cited in a form which has already been re-ordered by the preceding transformation.

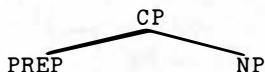




## CHAPTER 2

### SIMPLE VERBAL SENTENCE STRUCTURE

The sentences characterised in this chapter have a verb as predicate, the type of sentence most often described in case grammars. In these sentences the cases will be showing relationships between the arguments and the verb. The exact formal notation of the case phrase structure rules is a theoretical problem in the model. Although Fillmore rejects his earlier notation system as not worthy of serious consideration (1971:263), he has not proposed another workable system; and therefore, the older one will be used here, as it facilitates the description. The following representation will be used:



#### 2.1. THE CASE RELATIONS OF THE SIMPLE VERBAL SENTENCE

Sentences containing only the Agent case with other than intradirective verbs (see §2.3.3.) can be analysed as having a deleted Object, as in Ua 'ai 'oia 'He ate' from Ua 'ai 'oia i ka mea 'ai 'He ate the food'; or the verb may contain the Object, i.e., incorporated-object verb, as in E 'ai-poi ana 'oia 'He's eating-poi' from E 'ai ana 'oia i poi 'He's eating poi'.

Instrument and Agent may seem to converge in certain instances. The similarity of the relationships covered by Instrument and Agent can be seen in the following sentences.

## Instrument

(1)

*die-the-chief-prep-the-man*  
 [\_O]                      [+I]

'The chief died because of the man. / The man caused the chief's death.'

## Agent

(2) Ho'omake ke kanaka i ke ali'i.

*kill-the-man-prep-the-chief*  
 [\_AO]                      [+O]

'The man killed the chief.'

(3) Ho'omake 'ia ke ali'i i ke kanaka.

*kill-pass.-the-chief-by-the-man*  
 [\_AO]

'The chief was killed by the man.'

The difference between ke kanaka of Sentence 1 and ke kanaka of Sentences 2 and 3 has to do with responsibility or intention. Agent expresses responsibility; Instrument does not. The latter sentences illustrate what is usually termed the causative construction. This construction requires an Agent case, thereby not corresponding to Fillmore's observations about *cause* in English. These ho'o constructions will be discussed in §2.3.3.

Source and Goal typically occur with verbs of movement; however, contexts can occur within which a non-movement verb may co-occur with these cases. Location and Benefactive can occur with all verbs.

## 2.2. CASE-MARKING PREPOSITIONS IN HAWAIIAN

## 2.2.1. e

This preposition marks the Vocative case, which will not be discussed in any detail in this study. This is the only totally oblique case. Its presence in a sentence neither affects the sentence structure nor helps to classify the verbs.

(4) E Manu, pehea 'o Kimo? 'Hey Manu, how's Kimo?'

(5) Aloha, e ke kumu. 'Greetings, teacher.'

## 2.2.2. e

This is traditionally called the agent marker. It occurs in a sentence only if the verb has been passivised with the suffix 'ia. Passivisation is treated as a transformation in this work; therefore, the e preposition will be discussed with transformations in §2.4.2.

## 2.2.3. mai

As a preposition, mai marks the Source case: Ua hele 'oia mai ka hale 'He came/went from the house'. There is a homophonous form which is a directional, indicating movement toward the speaker: E hele mai ana 'oia 'He is coming'. These two functions are similar enough to lead one to suspect that one usage may be derived from the other (see §4.2.7.). Mai shares with i the ability to join with ā before personal names.

i ke kai	'to the sea'	mai ke kai	'from the sea'
to-the-sea		from-the-sea	
iā Kalani	'to Kalani'	mai ā Kalani	'from Kalani'
to-Kalani		from-Kalani	
i Hawaii'i	'to Hawai'i'	mai Hawai'i	'from Hawai'i'
to-Hawai'i		from Hawai'i	

Both Andrews (p.51) and Alexander (p.14) made note of this feature. Elbert and Pukui have stated that mai can occur with iā (p. xxiii). All four were probably describing the same phenomenon since mai ā and mai iā would sound the same in normal speech.

## 2.2.4. ma

This preposition marks Location.

- (6) Ke noho nei 'o ia ma Hilo.  
pres.-live-prox.-prep.-he-prep.-Hilo  
'He is living in Hilo.'

It has also been found to occur with Goal (Hanchett).

- (7) Ho'i ke ali'i ma Maui.  
return-the-chief-prep.-Maui  
'The chief returned to Maui.'

If two locations are spoken of together, the larger area is frequently marked by ma and the smaller, or more specific, by i.

- (8) Ke hana nei au i Moore Hale ma ke kula nui o Hawaii'i.  
pres.-work-prox.-I-prep.-Moore-Hall-prep.-the-school-big-prep.-  
Hawaii'i  
'I am working in Moore Hall at the University of Hawai'i.'

This distinction is not rigid since inconsistency has been found within a single speaker and from speaker to speaker (Hanchett: p.4).

## 2.2.5. me

The Instrument case is marked with the preposition me, which also functions as a conjunction.

- (9) Ua 'ai 'o ia i ka palaoa palai me ka malakeke.  
 perf.-eat-prep.-he-prep.the-bread-fry-conj.-the-syrup  
 'He ate the pancake with syrup.'

Conjunction and similitude will not be discussed as they involve compound structures, which this research has not included.

#### 2.2.6. na

Na is the preposition of the Agent case. However, if Agent is in an unmarked sentence, one with verb initial and an Agent subject, this preposition will be deleted (§2.4.). Therefore, na is most often found with 'preposed agents', those in which Agent is placed before the verb for emphasis.

- (10) Ua heluhelu ke keiki i ka puke.  
 perf.-read-the-child-prep.-the-book  
 [+O]  
 'The child read the book.'

- (11) Na ke keiki i heluhelu i ka puke.  
 prep.-the-child-perf.-read-prep.-the-book  
 [+A] [+O]  
 'THE CHILD read the book.' (Upper case indicates emphasis)

The Agent of one group of verbs, the intradirectives, includes within it the semantic features of Object. The cases have converged in this instance.

- (12) Na lākou i hele. 'THEY went.'  
 prep.-they-perf.-go  
 [+A]

Very rarely, na appears following the verb in what could be considered as subject position or as Agent in a passive construction.

- (13) Ua hānau mai na Wakea. 'Wakea gave birth(to them).'  
 perf.-birth-dir.-prep.-Wakea  
 [+A]
- (14) Ua haku 'ia na na. '(It) was composed by him.'  
 perf.-compose-pass.-prep.-he  
 [+A]

The function of the na traditionally called possessive will be discussed in §3.1.1.

#### 2.2.7. no

No marks the Benefactive case. In a simple verbal sentence, it usually translates as 'for' or because, but there are several other translations (see §3.1.2.).

- (15) Ua hana 'o ia i ka noho no ko-na makuakāne.  
 perf.-make-prep.-he-prep.-the-chair-prep.-poss.-he-father  
 'He made the chair for his father.'
- (16) Ua ha'alele 'o ia iā Hilo no ke kai 'e'e  
 perf.-leave-prep.-he-prep.-Hilo-prep.-the-sea-rough.  
 'He left Hilo because of the tsunami.'

The function of the no traditionally called possessive will be discussed in §3.1.2.

#### 2.2.8. i

The preposition i is best described as the universal case marker. It can occur in given environments with Instrument, Object, Goal, Benefactive, and Location. Only Agent and Source are not marked by this preposition, and only Object and Goal do not have an additional unique marker. Historically, there are two sources for i, which should be 'i and i, but Hawaiian has not preserved the distinction between these two possibilities.

#### 2.2.9. $\phi$ and position as case markers

The transformation which forms the subject of a sentence automatically deletes the preposition of that phrase. For transitive, bi-transitive, and intradirective verbs, the Agent case becomes subject.

- (17) Ua peku na ka pepe i ka pōpō → Ua peku ka pepe i ka pōpō.  
 perf.-kick-prep.-the-baby-prep.-the-ball  
 [+A] [+O]  
 'The baby kicked the ball.'

For statives, the Object case becomes the subject.

- (18) Ua ola i ke akua → Ua ola ke akua.  
 perf.-save prep.-the-god  
 [+O]  
 'God saves.'

Therefore, no preposition ( $\phi$ ) indicates the subject of the sentence; excepting that preceding proper nouns and the 3rd person singular pronoun the caseless preposition 'o replaces the case preposition and is not deleted.

Although the permutation possibilities in Hawaiian are great, there is an unmarked order for the cases in a sentence. This is probably more critical to understanding in Hawaiian than in other Polynesian languages because of the greater semantic load that i carries in the sentence. Typical sentence order is Verb^(A)^(O)^(G)^(I)^(L). Since all four of the non-Agent cases can occur with i, the position signals the case

interpretation where the lexical features of the nouns involved do not add enough information to make the case clear. Sentences including all the possibilities of the i-marked cases, with more than three cases, are not common.

(1)

perf.-go-prep.-Lono-prep.-Honolulu-prep.-the-car  
 [\_A][+nm]            [+G]                    [+L]

*'Lono went to Honolulu in the car.'*

(20) Ua hele 'o Lono i ke ka'a i Honolulu.

perf.-go-prep.-Lono-prep.-the-car-prep.-Honolulu  
 [\_A][+nm]            [+G]                    [+L]

*'Lono went to the car in Honolulu.'*

(21) Ua ha'i mai ko-'u kupunawahine i ka mo'olelo ia 'u i ke kakahiaka.

perf.-tell-dir.-poss.-I-grandmother-prep.-the-story-prep.-me-prep.-  
 [\_AOG]                                    [+O]                    [+G]                    [+L]

*the-morning*

*'My grandmother told me the story in the morning.'*

Ambiguity is still quite possible but rarely found.

(22) Ua ho'ouna 'o ia i ka pahi i ka pepa i ka pohaku.

perf.-send-prep.-he-prep.-the-knife-prep.-the-paper-prep.-the-rock  
 [\_AOG][+nm]

*'He sent the knife to the paper on the rock.'*

or

*'He sent the paper to the knife on the rock.'*

or

*'He sent the knife in the paper on the rock.'*

All case phrases are optional in the actual sentence. When a case which is required by the verb is not found in the surface structure, the verb implies its presence.

(23) Ua wehe i ka puka.                    Agent not present.

perf.-open-prep.-the-door  
 [\_A^O][+O]

*'(Someone) opened the door.'*

(24) Maopopo ia 'u.                    Object not present.

understand-prep.-I  
 [\_O]                    [+I]

*'(Something) understood by me.'*

Optionality will not be discussed separately, but will show up in pertinent examples.

### 2.3. VERB CLASSIFICATION

An elementary classification of verbs can be made on the basis of their occurrence with four cases; these 'classificatory' cases are Agent,

Object, Goal, and Location. The four broad verb classes thus defined are stative [<sub>O</sub>], transitive [<sub>A</sub><sup>O</sup>], bi-transitive [<sub>A</sub><sup>O</sup>G], and intra-directive [<sub>A</sub>]. A very small class of location verbs are defined by the [<sub>OL</sub>] case frame. While the other cases are not significant in defining broad verb classes, these 'non-classificatory' cases add information which supplements the relationships of the four major classes. One significant group of verbs can take the case frames of both stative and transitive verb classes (§2.3.2.). Several of these verbs could be termed psych-verbs, but this group does not include all such verbs.

### 2.3.1. Statives

These verbs are specified as requiring the Object case only.

+ [<sub>O</sub>]

Typical stative verbs are wela 'hot', loa'a 'obtained', make 'die', ola 'live', maika'i 'fine, pretty', lilo 'gone, taken', ana 'fulfilled', lawa 'sufficient', pau 'finished', mau 'continue', kaumaha 'heavy, sad', weliweli 'dread', mihi 'regret', pa'a 'stuck', hemo 'unfastened', luana 'relax', piha 'full', and pinepine 'frequent'.

(25) Kaumaha ka no'ono'o.

*sad-the-thought*  
[<sub>O</sub>]

'(His) thoughts are/were sad.'

(26) Make na i'a.

*dead-the(pl)-fish*  
+ [<sub>O</sub>]

'The fish are/were dead/'

(27) ...ua ola na iwi o ke kahu hanai.

*perf.-live-the(pl)-bone-prep.-the-leader-foster*  
[<sub>O</sub>] [ +B ]

'The [bones of the] foster parents live on/are supported.'

(28) Ua piha ku'i a'e la ke kahua i na kanaka.

*perf.-full-jammed-dir.-rem.-the-place-prep.-the(pl)-people*  
+ [<sub>O</sub>] [ +I ]

'The place was completely filled with people.'

(29) Ola ka 'ohana iā 'oe.

*live-the-family-prep.-you*  
+ [<sub>O</sub>] [ +I ]

'The family lives because of you. / You are the support of the family.'

(30) Ua pinepine ko lāua nei halawai mau 'ana.

*perf.-frequent-poss.-they-prox.-meet-continue-nom.*  
+ [<sub>O</sub>]

'Their (two) constant meetings were frequent.'

(31) Ua pa'a kekahi mau mea ma ka na'au o ka po'e kahiko.  
 perf.-fix-some-pl-thing-prep.-the-intestine-prep.-the-people-old  
 +[\_O] [+L] [+B]  
 'Some things are fixed in the intestines (minds) of the old people.'

(32) Ua nui ho'i ko-na minamina iā ia no ko-na mākaukau...  
 perf.-great-int.-poss.-he-value-prep.-he-prep.-poss.-he-competence  
 +[\_O] [+I] [+B]  
 'Great was his<sub>1</sub> valuing of him<sub>1</sub> for his<sub>2</sub> competence.'

Some of these stative verbs would seem to be states and some processes, but the states can be interpreted as processes if used in certain environments. Lyons (p.324) says that this difference may be illusory. Real world limitations play a leading role in determining whether a stative can be used to denote a state, a process, or both. Mau 'continue' is an example of a state that can be interpreted as a process.

(33) Ua mau ke ea o ka 'āina i ka pono.  
 perf.-continue-the-life-prep.-the-land-prep.-the-right  
 +[\_O] [+B] [+I]  
 'The life of the land continues (is preserved) in good.'

(34) Ua mau no ka huhū o nā mākua.  
 perf.-continue-int.-the-anger-prep.-the(pl)-parents  
 +[\_O] [+B]  
 'The anger of the parents continued.'

(35) Ke mau nei no ko -'u aloha iā 'oe.  
 pres.-continue-prox.-int.-poss.-I-love-prep.-you  
 +[\_O]  
 'My love for you is continuing.'

The use of Instrument with stative verbs has been a problem for descriptions of Polynesian languages, for there are a group of stative verbs which seem to have Agent subjects when translated into English. It is the English translation which has really created the problem. Here are some of the common translations with possibly less misleading translations added for clarification.

	COMMON	BETTER
maopopo	'to understand'	'clear, understandable'
eo	'win'	'lose (a game)'
loa'a	'get, obtain'	'obtained, gained'
lilo	'take'	'gone, lost'

A good example of this problem can be seen with maopopo.

(36) Maopopo ka mana'o.  
 clear-the-idea  
 +[\_O]  
 'The idea is clear.'



With Instrument phrase,

- (37) Maopopo ka mana'o ia 'u./Maopopo ia 'u ka mana'o.  
 +[\_O] [+O] [+I] +[\_O] [+I] [+O]  
*'The idea is clear to me.'*

Since any nominal element may be optionally deleted, the Object may be left out.

- (38) Maopopo ia 'u.  
 +[\_O] [+I]  
*'I understand. / (It) is clear to me.'*

Other examples of Instrument with statives follow.

- (39) ...a i eo wau ia 'oe, ko -'u kino ka uku.  
*and-if-lose-I-prep.-you-poss.-I-body-the-wager*  
 +[\_O] [+I]  
*'and if I lose to you, my body will be the reward.'*
- (40) Loa'a au i ke anu.  
*caught-I-prep.-the-cold*  
 +[\_O] [\_I]  
*'I was caught by a cold. (I caught a cold.)'*
- (41) Lilo ka hale i ke aupuni.  
*gone-the-house-prep.-the-government*  
 +[\_O] [+I]  
*'The house has gone (accrued) to the government.'*

In these sentences it might be asked if there is not truly an Agent since it is possible for someone to 'defeat', 'catch', or to 'take', but the point is that in Hawaiian that is not what is being said. If one needed to express a true agent in these sentences it could be formed with the 'causative' prefix or with another word. As the immediate cause, but not the instigator, the Instrument case expresses all that is intended. Such Instruments occurring with stative verbs have been called Experiencer by others.

### 2.3.2. Transitives

These verbs have the case frame feature +[\_A^O]. The Agent case becomes subject (§2.4.) and thereby loses its preposition.

- (42) Ua nānā na na haumāna i na nani.  
*perf.-look-prep.-the(pl)-student-prep.-the(pl)-beauty*  
 +[\_AO][+A] [+O]

becomes

- Ua nānā na haumāna i na nani.  
*'The students looked at the beauties.'*

If the Agent is omitted there will be no sentence subject.

Ua nānā nā na haumāna i na nani.

<delete na na haumāna: in paragraph referring entirely to na haumāna.>

(43) Ua nānā i na nani.

'(Someone) looked at the beauties.'

Only passivisation can convert the Object into surface subject (see §2.4.2.). Verbs exemplifying this class are 'ai 'eat', hānau 'to give birth', nānā 'to look at', wehe 'to open', pani 'to close', pepehi 'to strike', pū'ili 'to embrace', hāpai 'to carry', hā'upu 'to recall', pane 'to answer', inu 'to drink', 'aihue 'to steal', 'imi 'to seek', holoi 'to wash', 'ike 'to see, know', and lohe 'to hear'.

(44) 'Ai ho'onu'u iho la lākou i ka malolo...

eat-relish-dir.-rem.-they-prep.-the-malolo(fish)  
+[\_AO] [+O]

'They relishingly ate the malolo.'

(45) ...ua hānau mai la 'o La'amaomao i ke keiki,...

perf.-bear-dir.-rem.-prep.-La'amaomao-prep.-the-child  
+[\_AO] [+nm] [+O]

'La'amaomao gave birth to the child.'

(46) ...nānā iho la i ko-na mau maka palupalu.

look-dir.-rem.-prep.-poss.-he-pl-eye-tender  
+[\_AO] [+O]

'(He) looked into her tender eyes.'

(47) E wehe ana ke keiki i na makana.

imp.-open-cont.-the-child-prep.-the(pl)-present  
+[\_AO] [+O]

'The child will open the presents.'

(48) Ua pū'ili mai la 'o Ka'aiali'i i kā-na aloha...

perf.-grasp-dir.-rem.-prep.-Ka'aiali'i-prep.-poss.-he-love  
+[\_AO] [-C] [+O]

'Ka'aiali'i embraced his love.'

(49) Hā'upu 'o-ia i kā-na 'uala.

recall-prep.-she-prep.-poss.-she-sweet potato  
+[\_AO] [+nm] [+O]

'She remembered her sweet potato.'

There are a few words which seem to have both the stative and transitive case frame features. An incomplete list of these words follows.

	+[_O]	+[_AO]
'ono	'delicious'	'to crave'
hānau	'be born'	'to give birth to'
maopopo	'clear'	'to understand'
poina	'forgotten'	'to forget'
minamina	'prized/sad'	'to prize, value'

Hānau is more often used as +[AO]. The transitive use of maopopo is one of the modern innovations in the language.

- (50) Maopopo au i kou mana'o.  
*understand-I-prep.-your-idea*  
 [+O]

*'I understand your idea.'*

Some speakers explain the difference between the stative and transitive use of maopopo by the degree of reflection given by the person involved. If there has been a deliberate attempt to understand, the verb is used transitively. Examples which include Instrument with the stative reveal interesting differences.

- (51) 'Ono ka poi. *'The poi is delicious.'*  
 +[O]
- (52) 'Ono au i ka poi. *'I crave poi.'*  
 +[AO]
- (53) 'Ono ka poi ia'u. *'Poi is delicious to me.'*  
 +[O] [+I]
- (54) Minamina au i ka lei. *'I prize the lei.'*  
 +[AO]
- (55) Minamina ka lei ia'u. *'The lei is prized by me.'*  
 +[O] [+I]

### 2.3.3. Intradirectives

These verbs primarily involve the concept of motion. This class was first identified for Hawaiian by Wilson (1976:50). However; the use of the term here implies a more limited scope than in Wilson's definition. It has the case frame +[A]. Agent functions simultaneously as Object since the instigator of the action is simultaneously the affected party in the action. Verbs in this class include hele 'come, go', lele 'fly, jump', kahe 'flow', ne'e 'move', 'au 'swim', komo 'enter', pā 'blow', noho 'live, stay, sit', kau 'settle, rest', hā'uile 'fall', and ho'i 'return'.

- (56) E hele ana 'o-ia i kahakai.  
*imp.-go-cont.-prep.-he-prep.-beach*  
 +[A] [+nm] [+G]  
*'He is going to the beach.'*
- (57) Ua lele ka lono i na moku'āina apau.  
*perf.-fly-the-news-prep.-the(pl)-island-all*  
 +[A] [+G]  
*'The news flew to all the islands.'*
- (58) Kahe ke kanawai i ke kai.  
*flow-the-stream-prep.-the-sea*  
 +[A] [+G]  
*'The stream flows into the sea.'*

- (59) Ua ne'e ka honu.  
 perf.-*move-the-turtle*  
 +[\_A]  
 'The turtle moved (fitfully).'

#### 2.3.4. Bi-transitives

The case frame for this verb class is +[\_A^O^G]. This class seems to share the characteristics of movement and transitivity of the transitive and intradirective verbs. This group is the smallest. Some verbs in it are lawe 'bring, take', ha'awi 'give', kau 'put, place', noi 'ask', and ha'i 'tell'.

- (60) Ua lawe aku 'o Kaipo i kā-na wahine i ka hale ola.  
 perf.-*take-dir.-prep.-Kaipo-prep.-poss.-he-wife-prep.-the-hospital*  
 +[\_AOG] [+O] [+G]  
 'Kaipo took his wife to the hospital.'
- (61) Ke ha'awi aku nei au i keia ipu iā 'oe.  
 pres.-*give-dir.-prox.-I-prep.-this-gourd-prep.-you*  
 +[\_AOG] [+O] [+G]  
 'I am giving this gourd to you.'
- (62) E ha'i mai i ka mo'olelo iā mākou.  
 imp.-*tell.-dir.-prep.-the-story-prep.-us*  
 +[\_AOG] [+O] [+G]  
 'Tell us the story.'
- (63) Ha'awi 'o Kamehameha i a'ahu hulu manu no ke ali'i o Pelikania.  
*give-prep.-Kamehameha-prep.-cape-feather-bird-prep.-the-chief-*  
 +[\_AOG] [+O] [+B]  
 prep.-*Britain*  
 [+B]  
 'Kamehameha gave feather capes for the chief of Britain.'

Compare sentence 60 with the following sentence which contains the stative verb lilo 'take'. Notice that the use of lilo entails no idea of the final destination of the object.

- (64) Ua lilo ka wahine iā Kalani.  
 perf.-*taken-the-woman-prep.-Kalani*  
 +[\_O] [+I]  
 'The woman was taken by Kalani.'

#### 2.3.5. Other Classes

The preceding verb classes involve only four cases in the case frames, and represent the majority of verbs. However, other verb classes, containing only one or two verbs, do exist. For example, there is only one verb with the following case phrase.

[\_O^G] lilo 'to become'

- (65) Ua lilo ka 'aihue i kia 'āina.  
 perf.-become-the-thief-prep.-governor  
 +[\_OG]  
 'The thief became governor.'

These minor classes will not be discussed and very few sentences containing these examples will be used.

### 2.3.6. Non-classificatory Cases

The cases which are not included in the case frame of a verb can be called non-classificatory. There are very few restrictions on the co-occurrence of these cases with most verbs. As seen in §2.3.1., Instrument does occur with stative verb. Source and Goal are used principally with the intradirective verbs, but may occur with the others. When present they always imply movement or change resulting from the action.

- (66) Ua wehe 'o-ia i ka puka mai Kane'ohe i Kailua.  
 perf.-open-prep.-he-prep.-the-door-prep.-Kane'ohe-prep.-Kailua  
 +[\_AO][+nm] [+O] [+So] [+G]  
 'He opened the door from Kane'ohe to Kailua.'
- (67) Ua ho'ololi ke kāne i ka aloha 'āina mai ka ho'ohui'āina.  
 perf.-change-the-man-prep.-the-love-land-prep.-the-annexation  
 +[\_O] [+G] [+So]  
 'The man changed to a Royalist from an Annexationist.'

Locative and Benefactive can also occur with all verbs.

- (68) Ulu ke kalo i uka.  
 grow-the-taro-prep.-inland  
 +[\_O] [+L]  
 'The taro grew inland.'
- (69) Ua eo ka wahine no ka ho'omau'ana.  
 perf.-lose-the-woman-prep.-the-persistence  
 [\_O] [+B]  
 'The woman lost because of her persistence.'
- (70) Ua heluhelu 'o Lono i ka puke i ka waihona puke.  
 perf.-read-prep.-Lono-prep.-the-book-prep.-the-repository-book  
 +[\_AO][+nm] [+O] [+L]  
 'Lono read the book in the library.'
- (71) E hele ana 'o Alika i Kaleponi no ka hui 'Ōpio.  
 imp.-go-cont.-prep.-Alex-prep.-California-prep.-the-club-Youth  
 +[\_AG] [+nm] [+G] [+B]  
 'Alika is going to California for the club 'Ōpio.'

Benefactive is marked by the preposition 'no' most of the time. 'I' precedes only when the Benefactive phrase occupies the predicate position in topicalised sentences and questions. These are discussed in chapter IV.

## 2.3.7. The Effect of ho'o on the Case Frame

The prefix ho'o, which is usually called the causative-simulative prefix, can ideally occur with every verb and does occur with most. However, the term causative is misleading, because in many instances its function is not causative. In the non-simulative function, ho'o plus the verb shows that the agency of the verb is more deliberate. With transitive and bi-transitive verbs, its primary function is to make the agency deliberate.

(72) Ua peku 'o Kale i ke kinipōpō.  
 perf.-kick-prep.-Kale-prep.-the-ball  
 +[\_AO][+nm] [+O]  
 'Kale kicked the ball.'

(73) Ua ho'opeku 'o Kale i ke kinipōpō.  
 perf.-kick-prep.-Kale-prep.-the-ball  
 +[\_AO][+nm] [+O]  
 'Kale deliberately kicked the ball.'

The intradirective (intransitive) verb pe'e 'hide' has a transitive counterpart hūnā. Ho'ope'e is not transitive, but remains an intradirective. Ho'ohūnā is similar to ho'opeku in that the agency is emphasised.

When ho'o is prefixed to 'like and lohe, 'see' and 'hear', the meanings become 'to show, cause someone to see', and 'to listen, cause oneself to hear', respectively. These changes are not parallel.

(74) Ua lohe ka luahine i na manu.  
 perf.-hear-the-old woman-prep.-the-bird  
 [+O] [V  
 +\_AO]  
 'The old woman heard the birds.'

(75) Ua ho'olohe ka luahine i na manu.  
 perf.-listen-the-old woman-prep.-the-bird  
 [+O] [V  
 +\_AO]  
 'The old woman listened to the birds.'

(76) Ua 'like ke koa i ka ihe.  
 perf.-see-the-warrior-prep.-the-spear  
 [+O] [V  
 +\_AO]  
 'The warrior saw the spear.'

(77) Ua hō'like ke koa i ka ihe (i ko-na 'enemi).  
 perf.-show-the-warrior-prep.-the-spear-prep.-  
 [+O] [+G] [V  
 +\_AOG]  
 poss.-he-enemy  
 'The warrior showed the spear (to his enemy).'

Lohe and 'ike are both transitive. Ho'olohe is also transitive, but hō'ike is bi-transitive.

In addition to making the agency deliberate, then, the prefixation of ho'o can add another case to the frame. This is what happens to stative and intradirective verbs.

	+[_O]		+[_AO]
mākaukau	'ready'	ho'omākaukau	'to prepare'
ulu	'grow (int.)'	ho'oulu	'to grow something'
mau	'continue'	ho'omau	'to persevere'
	+[_AG]		+[_AOG] / +[_AG]
hele	'come, go'	ho'ohele	'make move/move deliberately'
holo	'run, sail'	ho'oholo	'to sail something/ sail deliberately'

(78) Mākaukau ka mea 'ai.  
ready-the-thing-eat  
+[\_O]  
'The food is ready.'

(79) Ua ho'omākaukau 'o Manu i ka mea 'ai.  
perf.-prepare-prep.-Manu-prep.-the-thing-eat  
+[\_AO] [+nm] [+O]  
'Manu prepared the food.'

One intradirective verb seemingly lacks a ho'o form. There is no ho'oho'i alongside ho'i 'to return'. Instead there is ho'ihoho'i which means 'to return something'.

(80) E ho'i ana au. 'I will return.'  
imp.-return-cont.-I

(81) E ho'ihoho'i ana au i na mea. 'I will return the things.'  
imp.-return-cont.-I-prep.-the(pl)-thing  
[+O]

The phonological similarity of ho'o and ho'i leads me to speculate that ho'ihoho'i results from vowel assimilation in the basic ho'oho'i.

#### 2.4. SENTENCE STRUCTURE

In the preferred or 'unmarked' sentence structure the verb phrase, including the tense-aspect markers, comes first. Next comes the subject of the sentence if there is one. Subject is chosen according to the following rule.

The Agent becomes the subject with transitive, bi-transitive, and intradirective verbs; the Object becomes subject with statives.

The case phrase loses its preposition when it becomes subject. A subject noun phrase with a proper noun is preceded by 'o. This also

functions as a topic marker (§4.1.). The order of the cases following the subject are as described in §2.2.9.

The two major changes to this unmarked sentence structure are the preposing of Agent and the passive transformation.

#### 2.4.1. Preposed Agent

Agents may be emphasised by being placed before the verb. Such preposed agents are obligatorily initiated by *na*.

(82) *Ua lawe na Kawelo i ko-na malo. na+'o 'on surface'*  
 perf.-take-prep.-Kawelo-prep.-poss.-he-loincloth  
 [+A] [+O]  
 'Kawelo took his loincloth.'

(83) *Na Kawelo i lawe (i) ko-na malo.*  
 prep.-Kawelo-perf.-take-prep.-poss.-he-loincloth  
 [+A] [+O]  
 'KAWELO took his loincloth.' (Uppercase shows emphasis; see §4.2.1.)

Three other changes accompany Agent preposing. First, the completed aspect particle *ua* becomes *i*. Second, the Object may lose its preposition. Third, the Object may be fronted, sans preposition, if it is a common or proper noun; pronoun Objects must be fronted.

(84) *Na-na au i malama. 'SHE cared for me.'*  
 prep.-she-I-perf.-care  
 [+A] +[\_AO]

is derived from: *Ua malama 'oia ia'u.*

(85) *Na-u ka popoki e malama. 'YOU are to care for the cat.'*  
 prep.-you-the-cat-imp.-care  
 [+A] +[\_AO]

is derived from: *E malama 'oe i ka popoki.*

(86) *Na makou i noho kēlā 'āina. 'WE live on that land.'*  
 prep.-we-perf.-live-that-land  
 [+A]

(87) *Na lākou i hele kēlā kahakai.*  
 prep.-they-perf.-go-that-beach  
 [+A]

'THEY traversed that beach.'

Another analysis of this process is proposed in chapter 4.

#### 2.4.2. The Passive Transformation

The passive transformation adds *'ia* after the verb and specifies that the Object case become the subject of the sentence. If the Agent case is present it is preceded by the preposition *e*. This *e* only appears with a verb that has been passivised. It is not related to the Vocative *e*.



V A O X → V-'ia [O]<sub>SUBJ</sub> X eA

X and A may be transposed.

- (88) 'Ai [lākou]<sub>A</sub> [i ka malolo]<sub>O</sub> .  
eat-they-prep.-the-malolo  
[+O]  
'They ate the malolo.'
- (89) 'Ai 'ia [ka malolo]<sub>O</sub> e [lākou]<sub>A</sub>.  
'The malolo were eaten by them.'
- (90) Ua hānau mai ['o La'amaomao]<sub>A</sub> [i ke keiki]<sub>O</sub>.  
perf.-bear-dir.-prep.-La'amaomao-prep.-the-child  
[+nm] [+O]  
'La'amaomao gave birth to the child.'
- (91) Ua hānau 'ia mai [ke keiki]<sub>O</sub> e [La'amaomao]<sub>A</sub>.  
'The child was borne by La'amaomao.'

#### 2.4.3. Simple Reorderings

The sentence may also be reordered to allow the Locative, Source, Benefactive, Instrument, or Goal phrase to initiate the sentence. As noted in chapter I, in the discussion of transformations affecting the modal cases, a pause will follow the verb-preceding case. Pause will be indicated in the examples by a comma.

VAOL → L,VAO

- (92) Ua honi 'o Keaho i na kāne i ke kahua ho'olulu mokulele.  
perf.-kiss-prep.-Keaho-prep.-the(pl)-man-prep.-the-place-rest-  
[+nm] [+O] [+L]  
airplane  
'Keaho kissed the guys at the airport.'

→ I ke kahua ho'olulu mokulele, ua honi 'o Keaho i na kāne.

'At the airport, Keaho kissed the guys.'

VOGB → B,VOG

- (93) Ua hele au i Waipi'o no Ku'uilei.  
perf.-go-I-prep.-Waipi'o-prep.-Ku'uilei  
[+G] [+B]  
'I went to Waipi'o for/because of Ku'uilei.'

→ No Ku'uilei, ua hele au i Waipi'o.

'For/because of Ku'uilei, I went to Waipi'o.'

VAOI → I,VAO

- (94) Ua ho'omake 'o Kalā i ka māka'i me ka pahi.  
perf.-kill-prep.-Kala-prep.-the-police-prep.-the-knife  
[+nm] [+O] [+I]  
'Kalā killed the policeman with a knife.'

→ Me ka pahi, ua ho'omake 'o Kalā i ka māka'i.

'With a knife, Kalā killed the policeman.'

VOI → I,VO

(95) Ua lilo ka lolo hou iā Kanani.  
 perf.-taken-the-dress-new-prep.-Kanani  
 [+I]

*'The new dress was taken by Kanani.'*

→ iā Kanani, ua lilo ka lolo hou.

*'By Kanani, the new dress was taken.'*

These simple reorderings are not to be confused with topicalisation, which will be discussed in chapter IV.

## 2.5. SENTENCE COMPLEMENTS

Complete sentences can fill some of the case phrases. In this section only the sentences filling the Object phrase will be discussed. (See §4.2.3. and §4.2.5. for sentences in the Benefactive and Locative phrases.) Negation is a major sub-type of this sort of complementation.

### 2.5.1. Verbs Taking Complements

There are two types of verbs which take sentential complements. The first type takes only sentences; the second takes either sentences or noun phrases. Only two verbs belong to the first type. They are hiki 'can' and pono 'should'. Both belong to the stative class.

(96) Hiki iā iākou [ke hula]<sub>S</sub>.  
 can-prep.-they-pres.-dance  
 +[\_O][+I]

*'They can dance.'*

(97) Pono i ke keiki [ke ha'i mai i ka mo'olelo]<sub>S</sub>.  
 should-prep.-the-child-pres.-tell-dir.-prep.-the-story  
 +[\_O] [+I] [+O]

*'The child should tell the story.'*

The sentences in both of these complements have the verb initiator ke. Pono also permits the initiator e. No other tense-aspect markers are found here. Both these verbs are in process of changing from [\_O] to [\_AO]. In a recent book (Buffet), these sentences were found.

(98) Ua hiki no 'oe [ke lilo i mea like 'ole]<sub>S</sub>.  
 perf.-can-int.-you-pres.-become-prep.-thing-alike-not  
 +[\_AO] [+G]

*'You can become various things.'*

'Oe is Agent subject.

(99) Ua hiki iā ia [ke ho'ololi iā ia iho mai ka pua'a]<sub>S</sub>.  
 perf.-can-prep.-he-pres.-change-prep.-he-dir.-prep.-the-pig  
 +[\_O][+I] [+O] [+So]

*'He can change himself from a pig...'*

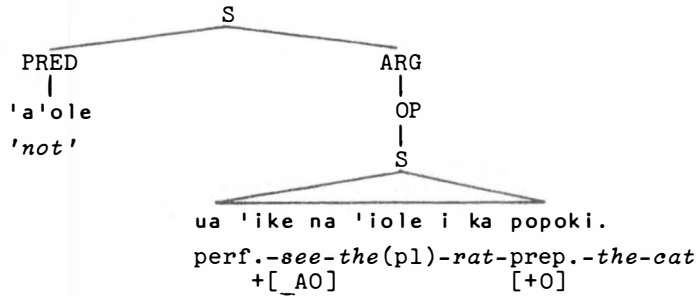
- (100) ...a hiki 'ole ia iā [ke ne'e]<sub>S</sub>,...  
*until-can-not-prep.-he-pres.-move*  
 +[\_O] [+I]  
 '*..until he couldn't move,...*'
- (101) ...e pono [e make lāua i ka wana'ao]<sub>S</sub>.  
*imp.-must-imp.-die-they-prep.-the-dawn*  
 +[\_O] [+L]  
 '*..they must die at dawn.*'

Some verbs taking both noun phrase and sentential Objects are; makemake, mana'o, no'ono'o, pōina, koho [\_AO]; and 'ōlelo, noi, ha'i, kono [\_AOG]. The complement is initiated by the common verb aspect markers ua and e. If the subject of the complement sentence is co-referential with the subject of the higher sentence, it is deleted. If not, the subject can be promoted with the Object preposition preceding it.

- (102) Mai pōina [[e hele hou mai]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>O</sub>. Subject of pōina is 'oe.  
*don't-forget-imp.-go-again-dir.* Subject of hele is 'oe.  
 +[\_AO]  
 '*Don't forget to come again.*' Both are deleted.
- (103) Maopopo ia 'u [[ua nele kēlā wahine]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>O</sub>.  
*understand-prep.-I-perf.-lack-that-woman*  
 +[\_O] [+I]  
 '*I understand that the woman has no money.*'
- Subject of maopopo is S.
- (104) Ke no'ono'o nei au [[hiki paha iā kākou ke hele pū]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>O</sub>.  
*pres.-think-prox.-I-can-perhaps-prep.-we-pres.-go-together*  
 +[\_AO] [+I]  
 '*I am thinking that perhaps we can go together.*'
- (105) Makemake na pua'a e nānā i na wawae o na moa.  
*want-the(pl)-pig-imp.-look-prep.-the(pl)-leg-prep.-the(pl)-chicken*  
 +[\_AO] [+O] [+B]  
 '*Pigs like/want to look at the legs of the chickens.*'
- (106) E kono [[ia lakou e hele mai]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>O</sub>. Subject of kono is 'oe.  
*imp.-invite-prep.-they-imp.-go-dir.* Subject of hele, lākou, is  
 +[\_AO] [+O] fronted.  
 '*Let's invite them to come.*'
- (107) Ua ha'i mai ka haumāna [[ua hala ka manawa]<sub>S</sub>]<sub>O</sub>.  
*perf.-tell-dir.-the-student-perf.-pass-the-time*  
 +[\_AOG]  
 '*The student said that the time had passed.*'

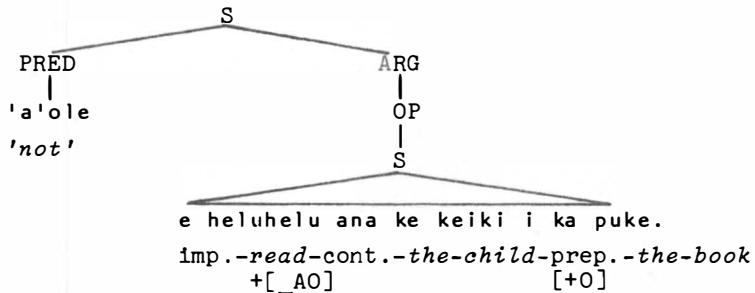
### 2.5.2. Negation

Negative sentences have the negative stative verb 'a'ole predicated of a sentential argument.



- (108) 'A'ole i 'like na 'iole i ka popoki.  
'The rats didn't see the cat.'

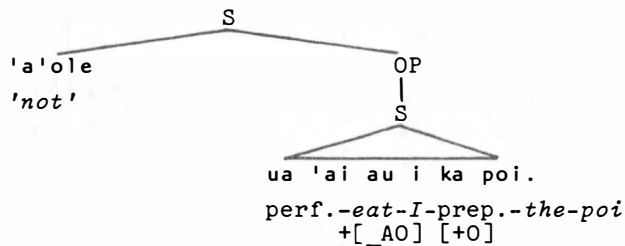
If nei 'here, now' and ana 'continuing' are part of the verb phrase, as in ke V nei or e V ana, they are commonly deleted in the negative.



- (109) 'A'ole e heluhelu ana ke keiki i ka puke.

- (110) 'A'ole e heluhelu ke keiki i ka puke.  
'The child is not reading the book/not going to read.'

Raising of the subject of the positive sentence is obligatory when it is a pronoun and optional when it is a proper noun.



- (111) 'A'ole au i 'ai i ka poi.  
'I didn't eat the poi.'





CHAPTER 3  
CASE IN VERBLESS SENTENCES

Simple sentences not having a verb phrase are called verbless. These sentences usually contain two noun phrases. In this chapter only those verbless sentences which include a case-marking preposition will be discussed (however, see §3.4. and chap. IV).

3.1. CASE MARKERS

In Hawaiian there are five case markers which occur in verbless sentences. They are *mai*, *ma*, *i*, *na*, and *no*. Of these, it will be recalled, only *i* marks more than one case. Object, Instrument and Locative are the cases which *i* marks in verbless sentences.

(113) *I wahi pepa na-'u. 'Some paper for me.'*

prep.-*some-paper*-prep.-*me*  
[+O] [ +A]

(114) *I ka 'ōlelo ke ola, i ka 'ōlelo ka make.*

prep.-*the-word-the-life*-prep.-*the-word-the-death*  
[+I] [ +I]

*'The word is life, the word is death.'*

(115) *I ka pahi ka make. 'Death is by the knife.'*

prep.-*the-knife-the-death*  
[+I]

(116) *I ka pahu hau ka hame. 'The ham is in the refrigerator.'*

prep.-*the-box-ice-the-ham*  
[+L]

*Mai* and *ma* function exactly as they do in verbal sentences.

(117) *Mai 'Ewa keia keiki 'e'epa. 'This peculiar child is from 'Ewa.'*

prep.-*'Ewa-this-child-peculiar*  
[+So]

- (118) Ma ke alanui ka hale kū'ai hou. *'The new store is on the street.'*  
 prep.-the-street-the-house-sell-now  
 [+L]

Na and no require special discussion.

### 3.1.1. na

As we have seen in §2.2.6., na is the preposition marking the Agent relationship specifically when the Agent precedes the verb in a simple sentence (Agent focus).

- (119) Na Kaipō i kākau i ka leka.  
 prep.-Kaipō-perf.-write-prep.-the-letter  
 [+A] [+O]  
*'Kaipō wrote the letter./The letter was written by Kaipō.'*

Another use of na is traditionally discussed under possession.

- (120) Na Kaipō keia puke. *'This book is Kaipō's.'*  
 prep.-Kaipō-this-book  
 [+A]
- (121) He kaikamahine keia na-'u.  
 a-daughter-this-prep.-me  
 [+A]  
*'This daughter is mine./This is my daughter.'*

Na also occurs in embedded sentences.

- (122) Ua mele 'o-ia i ka mele na-na i haku.  
 perf.-sing-prep.-he-prep.-the-song-prep.-he-perf.-compose  
 [+nm] [+O] [+A]  
*'He sang the song (that) he had composed.'*
- (123) E noho ana au i ka hale na ko'u makuakāne i kūkulu.  
 imp.-live-cont.-I-prep.-the-house-prep.-my-father-perf.-built  
 [+L] [+A]  
*'I'm going to live in the house my father built.'*

The preceding sentences differ only slightly in meaning from sentences 124 and 125.

- (124) Ua mele 'o ia i ka mele a na i haku ai.  
 (125) E noho ana au i ka hale a ko'u makuakāne i kūkulu ai.

The difference between these sentences; na in the former, a....ai in the latter, is discussed in 4.1.1.

The use of na in embedded sentence structure raises the question whether its use is an instance of Agent focusing or an instance of possession. Since it is a single phenomenon, the difference seems to be neutralised here, or the distinction made previously between possession and Agent focus is superficial and prevents us from making a generalisation. In sentences 119-126 and 120-127 following, we can see that the distinction made between Agent focus and possession is contingent upon the presence or absence of a verb in the sentence.



- (119) Na Kaipo i kakau (i) ka leka. AGENT-FOCUS  
 prep.-Kaipo-perf.-write-prep.-the-letter  
 [+A] [+O]  
 'Kaipo write the letter.'
- but
- (126) Na Kaipo ka leka. POSSESSION  
 prep.-Kaipo-the-letter  
 [+A]  
 'The letter is Kaipo's.'
- (120) Na Kaipo keia puke. POSSESSION  
 prep.-Kaipo-this-book  
 [+A]  
 'The book is Kaipo's.'
- but
- (127) Na Kaipo i heluhelu (i) keia puke. AGENT-FOCUS  
 prep.-Kaipo-perf.-read-prep.-this-book  
 [+A] [+O]  
 'Kaipo read this book.'

Sentence 126 says that the letter is Kaipo's. Since the 'possessive' is in the a form (as opposed to o), the relationship is active or dominated by Kaipo or alienable. That is, Kaipo was able to act upon the letter in some way resulting in a relationship between them. The addition of the verb, as in 119, specifies more exactly what his action was. Sentence 120 and 127 show the same relationship of the verbal to the verbless sentence.

Na, then, is a marker for just one relationship. Within this case framework the most appropriate term is 'Agent-relating preposition'. The possessive function of na comes from its use in the possessive construction (see §§3.2.3-4).

### 3.1.2. no

The preceding discussion of na without regard to no deviates from all other descriptions of Hawaiian. Na and no have always been seen as complementary forms of one relationship, possession, or genitive. This view is easy to appreciate when one contrasts sentence pairs like:

- (128) Na ke ali'i ka wahine. 'The woman is the chief's.'  
 prep.-the-chief-the-woman  
 [+A]
- (129) No ke ali'i ka po'e. 'The people are the chief's.'  
 prep.-the-chief-the-people  
 [+B]

and

- (130) Na ke kanaka keia hale. 'This house is the man's. (He made it.)'  
 prep.-the-man-this-house  
 [+A]
- (131) No ke kanaka keia hale. 'This house is the man's (to live in).'  
 prep.-the-man-this-house  
 [+B]

It is in trying to describe the differences in meaning between them that terms like active, alienable, or subordinate for na, and passive, inalienable, or dominant for no have arisen. The construction used for expressing possession has been interpreted as a necessary criterion for assigning dual functions to both na and no.

na	Agent focus	alienable poss.
no	Benefactive	inalienable poss.

In this study the two functions for each preposition are seen as manifestations of case relations: na for Agent and no for Benefactive. Sections 3.2.3. and 3.2.4. deal with this at length (also see §4.3).

No has several uses, which can also be found in other Polynesian languages (Hohepa: 1967, Buse: 1963b). These uses result in translations such as: a) about, concerning, b) belonging to, c) for, and d) because of.

- (132) He mo'olelo no Kawelo keia.  
 a-story-prep.-Kawelo-this  
 [+B]  
 'This is a story about Kawelo.'
- (133) He mau 'ōlelo 'ohana no Hawai'i nei.  
 a(pl)-language-family-prep.-Hawai'i-here  
 [+B]  
 'The kin languages belong to Hawai'i.'
- (134) Ke mahalo aku nei au iā 'oukou no ko 'oukou  
 pres.-grateful-dir.-prox.-I-prep.-you-prep.-poss.-you-  
 ho'ouna 'ana i ka pepa, Ka Ulu Hoi.  
 send-nom.-prep.-the-paper-Ka-Ulu-Hoi  
 'I am grateful to you (plural) for sending the paper, Ka Ulu Hoi.'

One sentence may be translated in several of these ways.

- (135) Heluhelu au i ka puke no Kawelo.  
 read-I-prep.-the-book-prep.-Kawelo  
 [+B]  
 'I read the book about Kawelo.'  
 for Kawelo (He is blind, perhaps).  
 because of Kawelo.

To disambiguate this sentence, more information could be put into it,

but it would no longer be a simple sentence. The variety of interpretations comes from the nature of the relationship marked by *no*. As in the verbal sentences, *no* is the marker for the Benefactive as broadly defined in Chapter I.

- (136) Ua 'aihue ka manu i ke kaula li'ilili'i no ko-na pūnana.  
 perf.-steal-the-bird-prep.-the-string-little-prep.-poss.-he-nest  
 [+O] [+B]

*'The bird stole the string FOR his nest.'*

- (137) E noi ana 'o-ia i ka mea 'ai no ka pōloli.  
 imp.-ask-cont.-prep.-he-prep.-the-thing-eat-prep.-the-hunger  
 [+nm] [+O] [+B]

*'He will ask for food BECAUSE OF the (his) hunger.'*

- (138) He kahu iwikuamo'o ho'i 'o-ia no Keawenuia'umi.  
 a-steward-family-int.-prep.-he-prep.-Keawenuia'umi  
 [+nm] [+B]

*'He was (is) a personal steward TO/FOR/OF Keawenuia'umi.'*

The term Benefactive is unfortunate in that it implies good intentions in the relationship. This relationship in Hawaiian is neither benefactive or malefactive (Adversative). It implies no intentions, therefore it can be either depending on the context. When the participants in the relationship are non-human, naturally the relationship is 'without intentions'.

- (139) No ka hale keia moena.  
 prep.-the-house-this-mat  
 [+B]

*'This mat is for the house.'*

The case relations covered by Agent and Benefactive can be seen to correspond closely to the traditional terms used for *na* and *no* respectively. Their function in possessive constructions can be seen in §§3.2.3-4.

### 3.2. ORDER

One of the noun phrases in a verbless sentence will always be in the Object case. The usual order of a verbless sentence is:

Predicate^Subject,

where the Object case is subject. Verbless sentences, then, share the property of Object subject with stative sentences. The predicate cases could then be Locative (including Time), Source, Benefactive, or Agent.

- (140) Ma ka lae [ko-na maka aniani]<sub>O</sub>.  
 prep.-the-forehead-poss.-she-eye-glass  
 [+L]

*'Her glasses are/were on the (her) forehead.'*

- (141) I uka ['o Kamapua'a]<sub>O</sub>.  
 prep.-inland-prep.-Kamapua'a  
 [+L] [+nm]  
 'Kamapua'a was/is inland.'
- (142) Mai Kona [kēlā mokulele]<sub>O</sub>.  
 prep.-Kona-that-plane  
 [+So]  
 'That plane is from Kona.'
- (143) No ke keiki ali'i [ka wa'a]<sub>O</sub>.  
 prep.-the-child-chief-the-canoe  
 [+B]  
 'The canoe is for the royal child.'

However, this order is affected if the Object case is non-specific, i.e., if it has the determiner *he* (see Appendix A). If the Object is non-specific, it precedes the other case in the sentence.

- (144) [He pua'a]<sub>O</sub> i uka.  
 a-pig-prep.-inland  
 [+L]  
 'A pig is inland.'
- (145) [He wa'a]<sub>O</sub> no ke keiki ali'i.  
 a-canoe-prep.-the-child-chief  
 [+B]  
 'A canoe is for the royal child.'
- (146) [He nalo]<sub>O</sub> ma ko-na lae.  
 a-fly-prep.-poss.-she-forehead  
 [+L]  
 'A fly is on her forehead.'

Whether this is a simple reordering or a change which puts the Object case into the predicate is debatable. One argument for saying that this is a reordering without any change in the deeper structure, is the possibility of adding *aia* 'there' or less commonly *eia* 'here' to the sentence, when the other case is Locative.

- (147) I Kailua [ke keiki]<sub>O</sub>.  
 prep.-Kailua-the-child  
 [+L]  
 'The child is in Kailua.'
- (148) [He keiki]<sub>O</sub> i Kailua. (rare)  
 a-child-prep.-Kailua  
 [+L]  
 'A child is in Kailua.'
- (149) Aia he keiki i Kailua.  
 there-a-child-prep.-Kailua  
 [+L]  
 'There's a child in Kailua.'

(150) Ma ka 'ao'ao kona ke kulanakauhale nui.

prep.-the-side-south-the-city-big  
[+L]

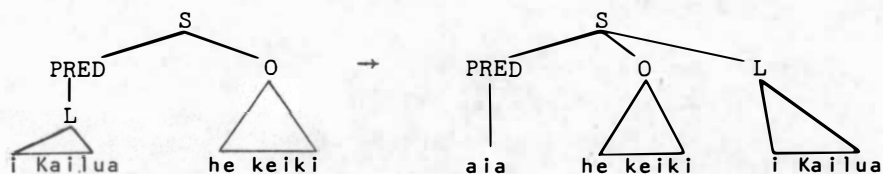
'The big city is on the south side.'

(151) Aia he kulanakauhale nui ma ka 'ao'ao kona.

there-a-city-big-prep.-the-side-south  
[+L]

'There is a big city on the south side.'

In these sentences aia serves to fill the empty predicate node, which must be [+nm] since a [+L] phrase previously filled it. Aia is the [+loc] predicate filler.



(For another view, see §3.3.1.)

On the other hand, it could be argued that the change has the effect of making the Object the predicate.

(152) Na 'u [ke kope]<sub>0</sub>. 'The coffee is by me/for me/mine.'

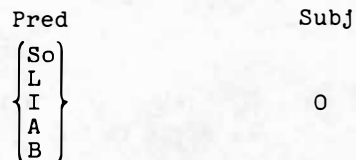
prep.-me-the-coffee  
[+A]

(153) I kope na 'u. 'Coffee for me.'

prep.-coffee-prep.-me  
[+O] [+A]

Notice the emergence of the Object marker i once the kope phrase is no longer subject. I, Object marker, and he, the non-specific determiner, cannot occur together. One rarely does he appear rather than i (see Appendix A).

If at this point we add the consideration of old, or given, and new information, certain things become clearer. First, it must be noted that old information is usually definite and specific, while new information may be either specific or non-specific. The old information can generally be found in the surface subject, while the predicate introduces the unknown or to-be-associated-with (new) information (Chafe 1970:212). The only time the order of the verbless sentence is not as diagrammed,



is when O is not specific. In that case, it is not old, and thus as new

information, it does not remain in the subject position. The surface position it does take when introducing new information is the initial position or *predicate*.

### 3.2.1. Source^Object

Sentences consisting of Source and Object assert the identity of the source of the object. Whether the object originated at the source is immaterial to the meaning of the sentence. Aspects of origin are covered by *no*.

- (154) Mai Hilo ka lei maile.  
 prep.-Hilo-the-lei-maile  
 [+So]  
 'The maile lei is from Hilo.'
- (155) Mai ko-na wā li'ilili'i ka pea palaunu.  
 prep.-poss.-he-time-little-the-bear-brown  
 [+So]  
 'The brown bear is from his childhood (time).'
- (156) Mai kā-na haumāna keia mo'olelo ho'omake'aka.  
 prep.-poss.-he-student-this-story-funny  
 [+So]  
 'This funny story is from his student.'
- (157) Mai ko kaula mau lā ho'oipoipo keia mau leka aloha.  
 prep.-poss.-we-pl-day-courting-this-pl-letter-love  
 [+So]  
 'These love letters are from our courting days.'

An *ā* occurs between *mai* and a personal name or pronoun.

- (158) Mai ā Kalai keia leka.  
 prep.-p.m.-Kalai-this-letter  
 [+So]  
 'This letter is from Kalai.'
- (159) Mai ā Kamehameha 'ekahi keia pāhoa.  
 prep.-p.m.-Kamehameha-one-this-spear  
 [+So]  
 'This spear is from Kamehameha the First('s era).'
- (160) Mai a ia ke kala.  
 prep.-p.m.-he-the-money  
 [+So]  
 'The money is from her.'

### 3.2.2. Location^Object

These sentences identify the spatial or time location of the object.

- (161) Ma Waimea i Kaua'i ke kū mua 'ana mai o Lono.  
 prep.-Waimea-prep.-Kaua'i-the-land-first-nom.-dir.-prep.-Lono  
 [+L] [+L] [+B]  
 'The first landing of Lono (was) at Waimea, Kaua'i.'

(162) I loko o ka hale pa'ahao na keikikāne kolohe.  
 prep.-inside-prep.-the-house-prisoner-the(pl)-boy-rascal  
 [+L] [+B]

'The rascal boys (are) in jail.'

(163) I ke ahiahi o ka lā 'umi-kūmā-walu ka pā'ina.  
 prep.-the-evening-prep.-the-day-ten-plus-eight-the-feast  
 [+L] [+B]

'The feast (will be) on the evening of the 18th.'

When the Object is non-specific, it will precede the Locative. This structure can be interpreted as both a whole sentence and as a NP with case phrase modifier (see §3.3). In order to disambiguate the construction, aia (or eia) may initiate the sentence.

(164) (Aia) he mau keikikāne kolohe i loko o ka hale pa'ahao.  
 there-a-pl-boy-rascal-prep.-inside-prep.-the-house-prisoner  
 [+L] [+B]

'(There are) some rascal boys in jail.'

(165) (Aia) he pā'ina i ke ahiahi o ka lā 'umi-kūmā walu.  
 there-a-feast-prep.-the-evening-prep.-the-day-ten-plus-eight  
 [+L] [+B]

'(There will be) a feast on the evening of the 18th.'

Aia also occurs in the L<sup>0</sup> [+specific] sentences, but not as frequently as in the previous structures. The lack of aia in the [+specific] Object group does not result in confusion between a sentence construction and an NP construction.

### 3.2.3. Agent<sup>0</sup>Object

This construction can be called the alienable possession construction. It serves to identify the one who acts upon an Object. The exact nature of the action involved is not specified.

(166) Na Kehau ka lei kukui.  
 prep.-Kehau-the-lei-kukui  
 [+A]

'The kukui lei (is) by Kehau. (strung by, sold by)'

(167) Na na 'elemakule keia mau puke.  
 prep.-the(pl)-old-man-this-pl-book  
 [+A]

'These books (are) by the old men. (read by, written by, carried by, etc.)'

When the Object is non-specific, i.e., new information, it will precede the Agent.

(168) He lei kukui na Keola.  
 a-lei-kukui-prep.-Keola  
 [+A]

'A kukui lei (is) by Keola.'

(169) I waiū na na pēpē.

prep.-milk-prep.-the(pl)-baby  
[+A]

'Some milk (is) for the babies.'

Generally, these last sentences are thought of as only partial sentences because of their similarity to noun phrases containing case phrase modifiers. This will be discussed in §3.3. The usual form of expressing possession with a non-specific Object will be discussed in §3.3.2.

### 3.2.4. Benefactive^Object

This construction can be called the inalienable possession construction. It identifies the benefactor of the Object.

(170) No Hawai'i 'o-ia.

prep.-Hawai'i-prep.-he  
[+B] [+nm]

'He (is) from Hawai'i/of Hawai'i.'

(171) No Kainoa ka lei pikake.

prep.-Kainoa-the-lei-pikake  
[+B]

'The pikake lei (is) for Kainoa.'

(172) He wa'a no ke ali'i.

a-canoe-prep.-the-chief  
[+B]

'A canoe (is) for the chief.'

Statements of inalienable relationships are made using this construction. Types of inalienable relationships are:

#### A. Attributes

1. parts of a whole, including body parts
2. traits (abstract parts of the whole)

#### B. Extensions

3. clothing
4. mode of transportation

Whether the Benefactive case form is being used to express these 'distinct' relationships, or whether the case, here called Benefactive, encompasses these various interpretations, is difficult to determine. In this description, which tries to establish no more case relationships than there are formal distinctions, all the interpretations are considered one case relation. Given a normal context of situation and the use of this case in a verbless sentence, the participants in the communication will know the 'exact' meaning intended.

Admittedly, there are many cases of what seems to be simple a and o possession which would require a very far-fetched or abstract analysis in order to justify calling them Agent and Benefactive relationships.



These can best be understood within the rules established by Wilson in his thesis on possession.

1. Where the primary relationship is the location of an object, an O possessive will be used.

2. Where the primary relationship is controlled by the possessor (clearly analysable as Agent), an A possessive will be used.

3. All other relationships exhibit an O form.

These rules are ordered as given here. See Wilson for a much more detailed and illustrated explanation of these rules.

Perhaps, historically, the system for simple possession derived from a distinction between case relations as shown here and in Chapter 4, but it would be presumptuous to assume so today without much more research.

As with Agent<sup>Object</sup> sentences, the Benefactive<sup>Object</sup> sentences are generally interpreted as noun phrases when the Object phrase precedes.

### 3.3. ATTRIBUTION OF CASE PHRASES

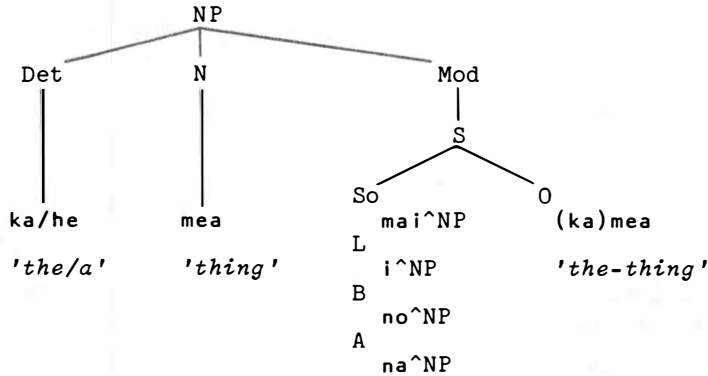
The structure of the noun phrase is Determiner<sup>Noun</sup><sup>Modifier</sup>. This modifier may be another noun, a verb, a case phrase, or an entire sentence. In Chapter 4 we will look at embedding of an entire sentence. Here we will be concerned only with case phrases as modifiers.

#### 3.3.1. Case Phrases as Modifiers

As noted earlier, the simple verbless sentences, in which the non-specific Object phrase precedes the other case phrase, can often be interpreted as a noun phrase with a case phrase modifier.

		Sentence	NP (Det <sup>N</sup> <sup>Mod</sup> )
(173) O <sup>S</sup>	He uluna mai ka hale. <i>a-pillow-prep.-the-house</i> [+So]	'A pillow is from the house.'	a pillow from the house
(174) O <sup>L</sup>	He uluna i ka noho. <i>a-pillow-prep.-the-chair</i> [+L]	'A pillow is in the chair.'	a pillow in the chair
(175) O <sup>B</sup>	He uluna no ke keiki. <i>a-pillow-prep.-the-child</i> [+B]	'A pillow is for the child.'	a pillow for the child
(176) O <sup>A</sup>	He uluna na ke ali'i. <i>a-pillow-prep.-the-chief</i> [+A]	'A pillow is by the chief.'	a pillow by the chief

Attribution is represented as



Mea stands for any noun.

Where the embedded co-referential noun (and determiner) are deleted.

### 3.3.2. Attributing Benefactive and Agent

Attributing a Benefactive or Agent phrase can have two alternative results, whereas all other case phrases are attributed with only one resulting structure. Both Benefactive and Agent can lose the *n* (of the prepositions *na* and *no*) with the resulting structure:

(177) He hale a Kapepa. 'A house by Kapepa.'

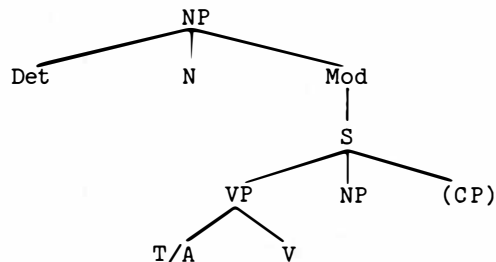
(178) He hale o Kapepa. 'A house for Kapepa.'

The presence or absence of *n* in these instances can be understood by looking to witnesses both within and outside the language. In some Polynesian languages there are two forms where Hawaiian has only one. The difference between the two forms is one of tense.

Maori	Hawaiian
maa future	na all tenses
naa non-future	

It would seem that in the history of the language, *n* and *m* had some time function (Clark 1974:158), and that Hawaiian has dropped the time distinction and chosen one undifferentiated form with the *n*.

A verb phrase is attributed in the same way that a case phrase is.



The resulting construction may or may not indicate the tense/aspect of the verb phrase.

(179) Ka wahine make 'The dead woman.'  
the-woman-die

(180) Ka wahine i make 'The woman (who) died.'  
the-woman-perf.-die

Dropping of *n* (which historically had a time function (vs. *m*)) can be seen as paralleling the deletion of the tense/aspect marker in the verb phrase.

(181) Ka hale a Kapepa 'The house by Kapepa.'  
the-house-prep.-Kapepa

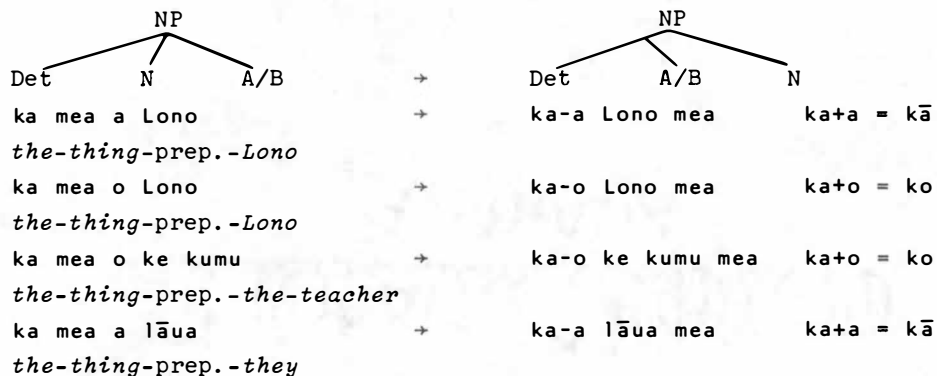
(182) Ka hale na Kapepa 'The house by Kapepa.'  
the-house-prep.-Kapepa

The presence or absence of *n* in a sentence does involve a different interpretation. The attribution with *n* implies an impending and possibly duty-bound relationship rather than an existing relationship. Without *n* any interpretation is possible, as is to be expected of an unmarked member. Ross Clark (1974:159) wrote, concerning this problem:

If  $\emptyset$ -possessives are the result of *n*-deletion, the meaning difference would be consistent with that which seems characteristic of non-application of optional reduction rules, i.e., the inclusion of elements which are recoverable and could be deleted means that the speaker is 'spelling out' more of the full underlying structure of the sentence than he needs to, in order to clarify or add emphasis to what he is saying at that point.

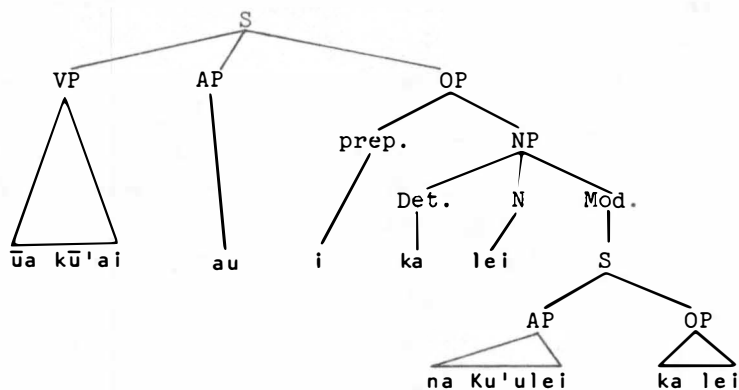
The data in Hawaiian substantiate this theory, since constructions with *n* specify more exactly the relationship than do those without *n*.

The deletion of *n* also allows further embedding of the modifying phrase. In Hawaiian, as in other Polynesian languages, a 'possessive phrase' can be incorporated into the determiner *ka* preceding the noun head.

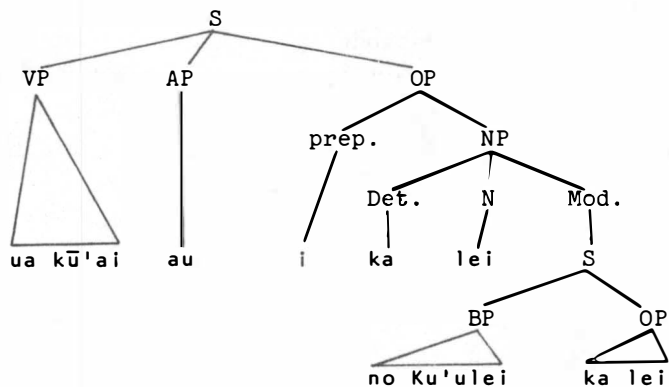


Wilson claims that certain restrictions in attributing *nā* and *no* phrases are significant enough to establish a separation between their possessive and prepositional functions. By contrasting the derivations of the following three sentences, I hope to show that these restrictions result from different derivational histories.

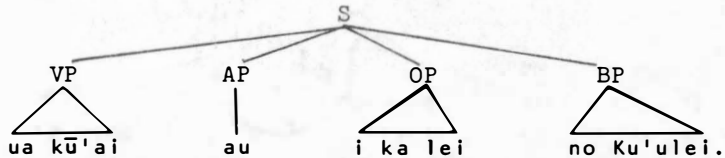
- (a) Ua kū'ai au i ka lei na Ku'ulei.  
 perf.-buy-I-prep.-the-lei-prep-Ku'ulei.  
 [+A]  
 'I bought the lei (made/sold) by Ku'ulei.'



- (b) Ua kū'ai au i ka lei no Ku'ulei.  
 perf.-buy-I-prep.-the-lei-prep.-Ku'ulei.  
 [+B]  
 'I bought the lei (to give to) Ku'ulei/that Ku'ulei will wear.'



- (c) Ua kū'ai au i ka lei no Ku'ulei.  
 perf.-buy-I-prep.-the-lei-prep.-Ku'ulei.  
 'I bought the lei (as a favour/errand) for Ku'ulei.'  
 (The lei would have been made by someone else and may not necessarily be for her use.)



Although one surface sentence (b) and (c) represents two functions for the phrase no Ku'ulei, the sources can account for the difference in functioning.

### 3.3.2.1. Possessive Statements with Agent and Benefactive Attributes

One construction for expressing possession was omitted from §3.2.3, since the preposed possessive form which is necessary to its description had not been introduced. The  $A^{[O \text{ +specific}]}$  order for statements is:

- (183) Na Mele ka mea. 'The thing is Mary's.'

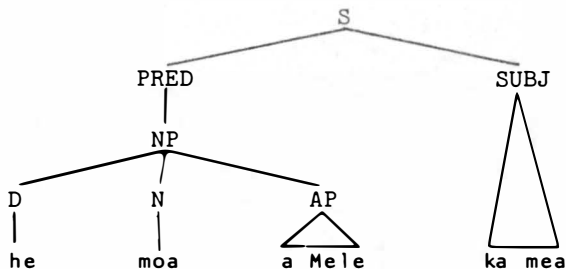
The  $[O \text{ -specific}]^A$  statement can be:

- (184) He mea (n)a Mele. 'A thing is Mary's.'  
 a-thing-prep.-Mary  
 [+A]

but as noted in §3.2.3. and also shown in §3.3.1., this construction may be either a two case-phrase sentence or a noun phrase with embedded case-phrase modifier. The non-ambiguous construction for sentences with a non-specific object phrase is as follows.

- (185) He moa kā Mele. 'Mary has a chicken.'  
 a-chicken-poss.-Mary  
 [+A]
- (186) He moa ka-'u. 'I have a chicken.'  
 a chicken-poss.-me  
 [+A]
- (187) He moa kā ke kanaka. 'The man has a chicken.'  
 a-chicken-poss.-the-man  
 [+A]

This construction results from the addition of a dummy phrase. The structures  $O^A$  and  $O^B$  are treated as predicates. The subject position is then filled by ka mea 'the thing' (see §4.1.2.2.).



(Note that *n* is deleted in this modifying Agent phrase. The *n* is most frequently retained in highest predicate position or with specific noun heads. The significance of this frequency is not fully grasped by the author.)

The predicate is then split by the subject (see §4.1.2.1.).

He moa ka mea a Mele.

As discussed in §4.1.2.2., *mea* is then deleted.

He moa ka-a Mele. = He moa kā Mele.

*a-chicken-the-prep.-Mary*  
[+A]

'Mary has a chicken.'

With a Benefactive phrase, the sentences would be:

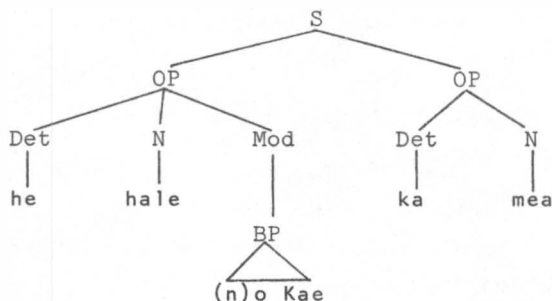
(188) He hale ka-o Kae. = He hale ko Kae.

*a-house-the-prep.-Kae*  
[+B]

'Kae's (thing) is a house./Kae has a house.'

### 3.4. SENTENCES WITH NO CASE MARKING

A sentence such as *He hale ka mea o Kae* above seems to be an equational sentence without case markings on the subject or predicate, a sentence of the sort we have generally left out of our discussion in this chapter. It can be interpreted as having two Object cases and a Benefactive case modifier.



Thus, sentences previously excluded on the basis that they have no case markings can now be described using the insights from sentences with case markings.

Insight #1. The subject is in the Object case (but see §3.2.0).

#2. The predicate usually precedes.

These sentences, like the others, need not be limited to two noun phrases in length.

(189) [He anakala]<sub>O</sub> [keia]<sub>O</sub> [no-'u]<sub>B</sub>.  
*an-uncle-this-prep.-me*  
 [+B]

*'This is an uncle of mine.'*

(190) [He wehe wale iho no] [kā-na] [i ke po'i]<sub>O</sub>.  
*a-open-only-dir.-int.-poss.-she-prep.-the-cover*  
 [+A]

*'She had only to open the cover. (just opens)'*

(191) [He kāne]<sub>O</sub> ['o-ia]<sub>O</sub> [i ko-na lauoho]<sub>I</sub>.  
*a-man-prep.-he-prep.-poss.-he-hair*

*'He is a man because of his hair. (Others can tell because of the hair.)'*

The second sentence of this group, (190), presents a problem, in that it contains the verb *wehe* 'open' and, therefore, seems verbal in contrast to the others. However, the word following the non-specific determiner *he* must be a noun, which means that *wehe* is being used as a noun in this phrase. If the action were expressed as completed, it would be a verbal sentence.

(192) Ua wehe wale no 'o ia i ke po'i.  
*perf.-open-just-int.-prep.-she-prep.-the-cover*  
 [+nm] [+O]

*'She just opened the cover.'*

Negative generic sentences are usually verbless, while affirmative ones are verbal.

(193) Makemake au i poi. *'I like poi.'*  
*like-I-prep.-poi*  
 [+O]

(194) 'A'ohe a 'u makemake i poi. *'I don't like poi.'*  
*not-prep.-I-like-prep.-poi*  
 [+A] [+O]

Generic sentences such as 190 and 194 must be analysed as having nominalised predicates. This entire topic needs thorough study.

### 3.4.1. Verbal and Verbless Characteristics

If a scale were established with activity at one end and state at the other, transitive, bi-transitive, and intradirective verbs would

cluster at the former end, and verbless sentences and stative verbs at the other. Similarly, on a time-timeless axis, transitive verbs would be at the time end and verbless sentences and statives at the timeless one. One could define case phrases in the predicate as a special sort of stative verb since they occur in the case frame +[\_0].

Existential statements may consist of only a predicate, which carries no case marking. Generally, these statements contain the particle *no* which is defined as an intensifying particle. This *no* may be related to the Fijian and Rotuman existential particle *nō*, which is cognate to the Proto-Oceanic \**nopo* 'to stay' (Schütz: personal communication).

(195) He wai no. 'There is water.'

det.-water-int.

(196) He Akua no. 'There is a god.'

det.-god-int.

All sentences, whether verbal or verbless, have predicates, the obligatory element.

### 3.5. NEGATION

As described in §2.5.2., negation involves a stative verb 'a'ole 'not' and a sentence complement filling the Object phrase. However, a discussion of negation of verbless sentences is included here in order to show the relationship between positive and negative constructions.

Negation of verbless sentences is similar to that of verbal sentences. The negative predicate 'a'ole precedes the positive construction.

(197) 'A'ole [i Hilo ka lua pele]<sub>S</sub>.  
not-prep.-Hilo-the-pit-volcano  
[+L]

'The volcano is not in Hilo.'

(198) 'A'ole [mai Kahuku na mai'a]<sub>S</sub>.  
not-prep.-Kahuku-the(pl)-banana  
[+So]

'The bananas are not from Kahuku.'

(199) 'A'ole [na Koko na puke]<sub>S</sub>.  
not-prep.-Koko-the(pl)-book  
[+A]

'The books are not Koko's.'

An interesting process shows up when sentences beginning with *he 'a'* are negated. When an equational sentence such as 200 is negated, the resulting sentence is 201.

(200) He haumāna au. 'I (am) a student.'  
a-student-I

(201) 'A'ole au he haumāna. 'I'm not a student.'  
not-I-a-student



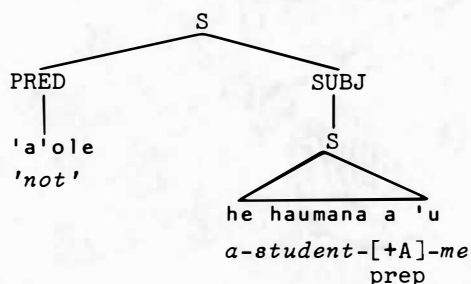
However, when a he-sentence involving n-less possession such as 202 is negated, the result is 203.

(202) He haumāna ka'u. 'I have a student.'  
a-student-mine

(203) 'A'ohe a'u haumāna. 'I don't have a student.'

The construction for the negative of n-less possessive statements is evidence for their analysis as predicates with dummy subjects (see §3.3.2.). The negative results in a 'possessive' without any k, usually called the k-less possessive.

Diagram:

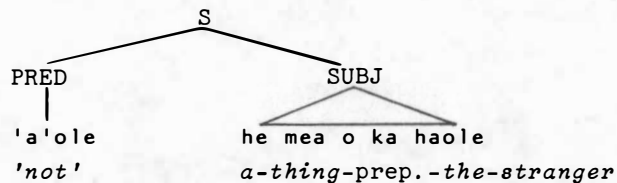


First 'a'ole and he coalesce.

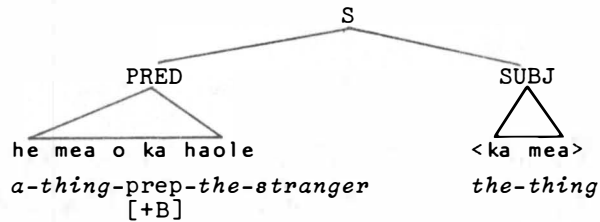
'A'ohe haumāna a'u.

The pronoun and preposition are fronted, a phenomenon noted previously for pronoun subjects in verbal sentences (§2.5.2.). If the modifier is a proper noun, it may be fronted; common nouns are not fronted.

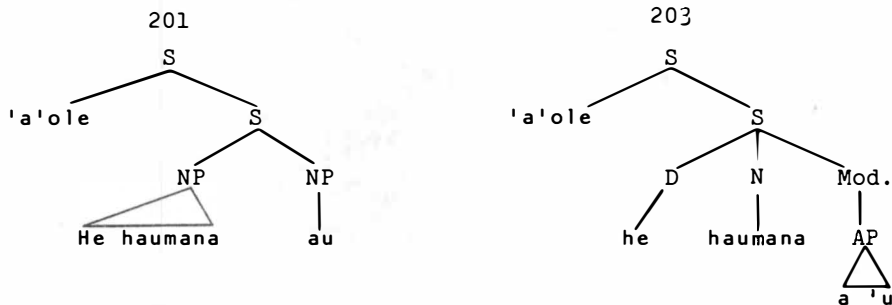
The lack of k in these negative constructions is evidence that the dummy subject is not added until the higher nodes are read. If the sentence is filling the subject position for 'a'ole, it does not require a subject of its own.



(204) 'A'ohē mea o ka haoīe. *'The stranger has nothing.'*  
Whereas, the positive sentence needs a subject filler.



(205) He mea ko ka haoīe. *'The stranger has a thing.'*  
The difference between the negatives in 201 and 203 can be understood if their structures are compared



Before 'a'ole and he have a chance to coalesce in 201, the pronoun separates them. When positive sentences with common nouns in the same position as au are negated, there is much confusion among speakers. As a matter of fact, they are not common.

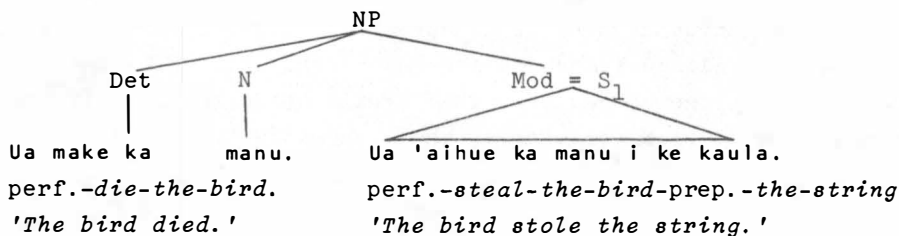
(206) He kauka kēlā wahine. *'That doctor is a woman.'*  
*a-doctor-that-woman*

(207) 'A'ole he kauka kēlā wahine.  
'A'ole kēlā wahine he kauka.

Note that 'a'ole and he do not coalesce in 207. This aspect of negation has not been fully explored.



Subject formation in the subordinate sentence precedes the embedding process, in which the co-referent in the lower sentence is deleted after leaving the anaphor *ai* with the embedded verb. If the co-referential phrase in the subordinate sentence is the subject of that sentence, *ai* is not attached to the verb. One possible explanation for the absence of *ai* in conjunction with noun phrases is the fact that the subject alone is not preceded by a preposition. In addition the cases are semantic and syntactic relationships whereas the subject is a purely syntactic relationship. Chapin noted this situation in several Polynesian languages (1974:272-78).

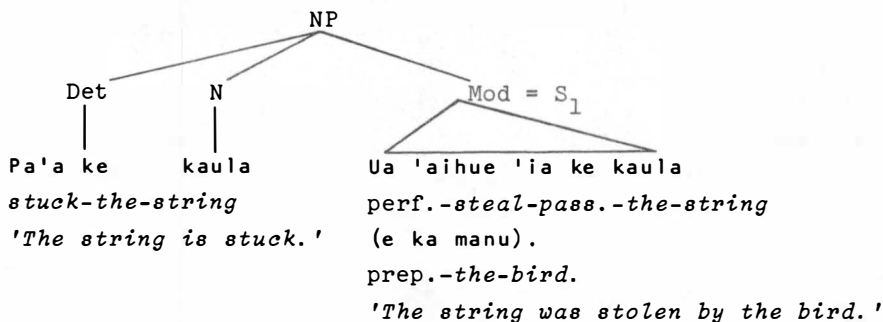


ka manu = ka manu

ka manu is subject of Mod S no ai

ka manu<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub> deleted

- (209) Ua make ka manu i\* 'aihue i ke kaula.  
'The bird (that) stole the string died.'

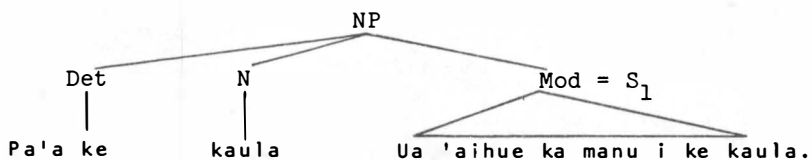


ke kaula = ke kaula

ke kaula is subject of Mod S no ai (Passive S)

ke kaula<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub> deleted

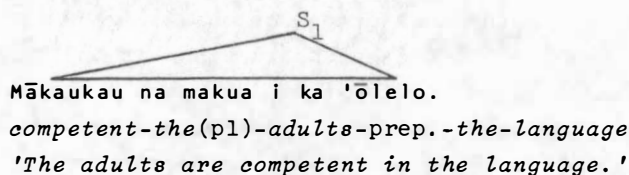
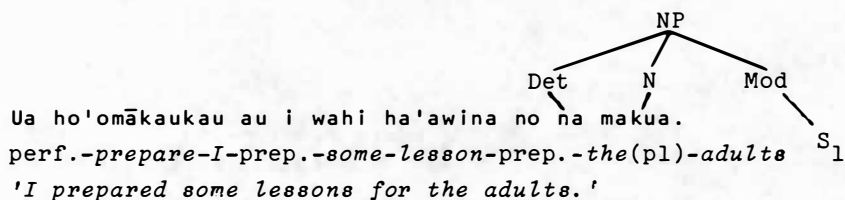
- (210) Pa'a ke kaula i 'aihue 'ia (e ka manu).  
'The string (that) was stolen by the bird (is) stuck.'



\*See Appendix B.

ke kaula = ke kaula  
 ke kaula of S<sub>1</sub> not subject      add ai  
 ke kaula deleted

- (211) Pa'a ke kaula i 'aihue ai ka manu.  
 'The string (that) the bird stole is stuck.'



na mākua = na mākua  
 na mākua of S<sub>1</sub> is subject      no ai  
 na mākua<sub>S<sub>1</sub></sub> deleted

- (212) Ua ho'omākaukau au i wahi ha'awina no na mākua makaukau i ka  
 'ōlelo.  
 'I prepared some lessons for the adults competent in the language.'

#### 4.1.2. Topicalisation

A restricted form of embedding is involved in emphasizing a given phrase within a sentence. This emphasis is a result of a phrase being made the about-ness topic of the sentence. The processes which account for the formation of these structures are to be called topicalisation. The topic typically introduces or requests new information. There are two types of topicalisation. In the first the predicate resembles the predicates of the verbless sentences described in Chapter 3. Each predicate is initiated with a case-marking preposition. In the second type, there are no case markings on the predicate.

##### 4.1.2.1. Case Topics

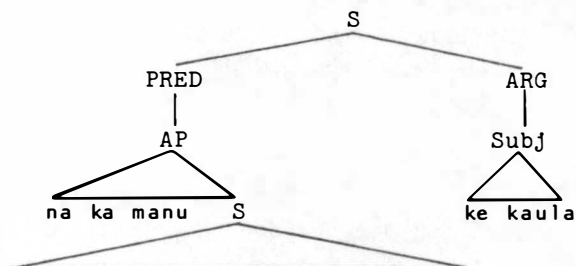
In this type of topicalisation, the emphasis seems to be on the case relationship of the topic to the rest of the sentence. The topic predicate is initiated by the preposition that it would have carried in the unmarked sentence before subject formation.



(214) Na ka manu i 'aihue i ke kaula mai ka lupe no ko-na pūnana.

'THE BIRD stole the string from the kite for his nest.'

In the above tree, there is an empty node, that of the ARG which would be subject of the verbless sentence. As noted earlier, it is possible to have a subject-less sentence in Hawaiian. However, there is a structural pressure in effect, which may form a subject for these sentences. The first classificatory case phrase following the verb in the unmarked sentence after the deletion of the topic may be promoted to fill the subject node. In the sentence above, the phrase *i ke kaula* is first and may, therefore, become the subject.



*i 'aihue mai ka lupe no ko-na pūnana*

As subject, *i ke kaula* loses its preposition. The subject usually immediately follows the first constituent of the predicate.

(215) Na ka manu ke kaula i 'aihue mai ka lupe no ko-na pūnana.

'THE BIRD stole the string from the kite for his nest.'

Ross Clark first noted this rule in his dissertation (1973:165). This subject movement rule accounts for otherwise mysterious placement of short subjects, including pronouns, demonstratives, and unmodified nouns.

(216) I ka hale aku nei au o ke kumu.

prep.-the-house-dir.-prox.-I-prep.-the-teacher

'I was just at the house of the teacher.'

(217) 'Olelo mai 'o-ia he halawai ho'olala wale no keia a 'oukou.

say-dir.-prep.-he-a-meeting-plan-just-int.-this-prep.-you

'He said (that) THIS was only a planning meeting by you/of yours.'

(218) 'O ka wā kūpono no ia a-na e noi aku ai i ke ali'i no kā-na

prep.-the-time-right-int.-it-prep.-he-imp.-ask-dir.-a-prep.-the-huaka'i māka'ika'i.

chief-prep.-poss.-he-trip-sightsee

'IT was the right time for him to ask the chief about his trip.'

- (219) He mea ia i hiki ia-'u ke ana i kā lākou holo 'ana i ka pau 'ana  
*a-thing-it-perf.-can-prep.-I-pres.-measure-prep.-poss. they-*  
*o kekahi mahine paha.*  
*progress-nom.-prep.-the-complete-nom.-prep.-a-month-perhaps*  
*'IT is something that will enable me to measure their progress*  
*at the end of perhaps a month.'*

In the topicalised sentence, the formation of a subject for the topic predicate is optional. However, if the phrase which can become the subject contains a pronoun, subject formation will take place more often than with a noun. It is more common for pronouns to become subjects than to remain in the embedded sentence.

- (220) Na Ma'ilou ['oe]<sub>nm</sub> i mālama a hānai.  
*prep.-Ma'ilou-you-perf.-care for-and-rear*  
*'Ma'ilou cared for and raised you.'*

#### 4.1.2.2. Non-case Topics

While similar to the case topics, the non-case topic structures lack any case marking on the topic. These sentences resemble the verbless sentences which were not explicitly described, that is, the equational type sentence, where both the subject and predicate lack any case marking. For the purposes of this analysis, however, a case could be assigned to these predicates since the case of the topic phrase in the unmarked sentence is known.

The topic dominates the unmarked sentence it occurs in. The preposition of the topic is deleted. A predicate cannot be initiated with the definite determiner *ka*, consequently, 'o is added. 'o can be viewed as the preposition expressing lack of case. These topic predicates can be described as caseless [-C]. (Previously 'o was marked as [+nm] when used with a proper noun subject. Note that subjects have lost their case-marking prepositions, thereby becoming 'caseless'.) The non-specific determiner *he*, which cannot occur with most case prepositions (see Appendix A), also cannot occur with 'o. Consequently, a topic with the determiner *he* will not be preceded by a preposition (see sentences 218 and 219).

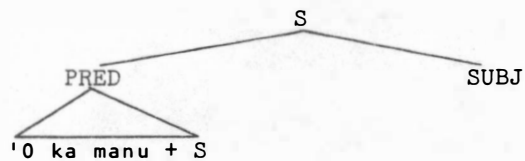
The subject of the sentence is not chosen from the unmarked sentence.

#### UNMARKED SENTENCE

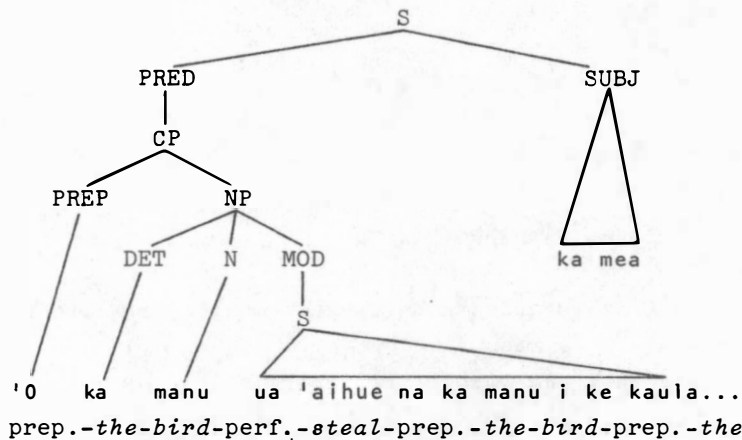
- (221) Ua 'aihue na ka manu i ke kaula mai ka lupe no ko-na pūnana.



## A-TOPIC



The 'designated representative' (Chomsky 1964:71) of the noun category, *mea* 'thing, one', fills the subject position. The subject movement rule applies to these sentences.



The embedded *na ka manu* is deleted.

*Ka mea* is moved to follow *manu*.

(222) '0 ka manu ka mea i 'aihue i ke kaula...

One additional optional process may occur. *Mea* may be deleted when preceding the markers, resulting in:

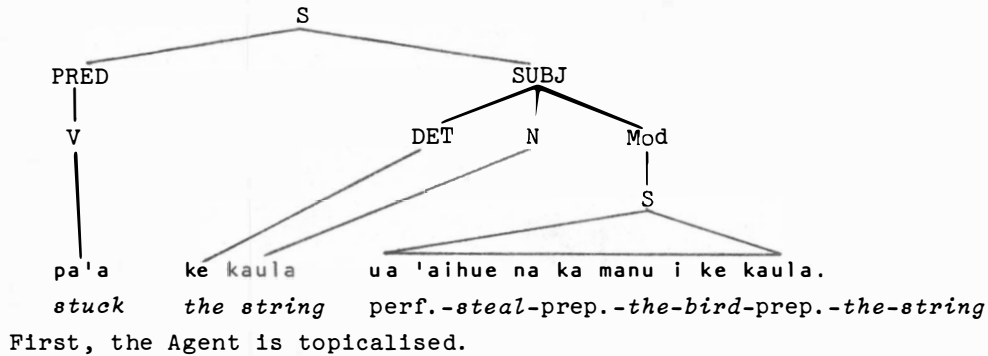
(223) '0 ka manu ka i 'aihue i ke kaula...

*'It was the bird who stole the string...'*

All of the non-case topic sentences are best translated as *'It was/is \_\_\_\_\_ who/that \_\_\_\_\_.'* The exact form and meaning for each case can be found later in the chapter.

## 4.1.3. Complex Embedding

An optional process in embedding is to first topicalise the Agent and then embed the sentence to the co-referential noun.



Na ka manu i 'aihue i ke kaula.

The n of na is usually lost in these positions where it is not in the highest predicate. If it is retained, the modifying clause is much like an appositive and can be preceded by a pause. In that case no ai is added when the redundant phrase is deleted.

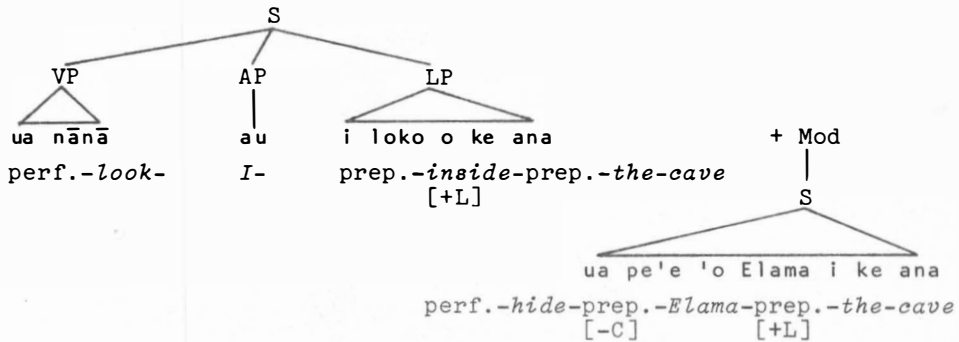
(224) Pa'a ke kaula na ka manu i 'aihue.

If n has been lost, ai is added when the embedded i ke kaula is deleted.

(225) Pa'a ke kaula a ka manu i 'aihue ai.

*'The string that the bird stole is stuck.'*

This internal topicalisation of Agent is extended to include the non-Agent subjects also.



1. Topicalise the Object subject of the embedded sentence.

(n)o Elama i pe'e i ke ana

In §4.3.1., the use of o will be explained. The above string, in contrast to the string resulting after Agent subject topicalisation, is not an acceptable surface string.

2. Add ai; delete the co-referential phrase.

(226) Ua nānā au i loko o ke ana o Elama i pe'e ai.  
 perf.-look-I-prep.-inside-prep.-the-cave-prep.-Elama-perf.-hide  
 [+L]

*'I looked inside of the cave that Elama hid in.'*

It seems to me that, historically, the order of development of this subject topicalisation began with Agent topicalisation, which was re-analysed as subject topicalisation, and once the reanalysis took place, the topicalisation of non-Agent subjects, i.e., Object subjects, had to be allowed for. Agent topicalisation is easily identifiable with the subject since Agent is always subject in the unmarked sentence. In addition, "the Agentive is clearly more closely related to the Nominative than any other determinant, both semantically and syntactically" (Chafe 1973:41).

The topicalisation of Object subjects is less common and more restricted than Agent subjects (see §4.2.4.). In §4.2.2. a restriction against Object topicalisation in simple topicalised sentences will be discussed.

#### 4.1.4. Questions

Question-word questions usually take the same structure as the topicalisations. They can occur in both the case and caseless topic structures. In the place of the noun of the topic a question word is placed. The question words are wai 'who', aha 'what', hea 'where, which', ināhea 'when (in the past)', āhea 'when (in the future)', and pēhea 'how'. All of these questions can be expressed by inserting the question word in the noun position in a simple sentence; however, the topicalised form is most common. The decision involved in choosing either the simple or topicalised construction seems to me to be of the same scope as the choice made by native speakers of English whether to use a compound or complex structure. The less fluent a speaker is, the more often he will choose the simple structure.

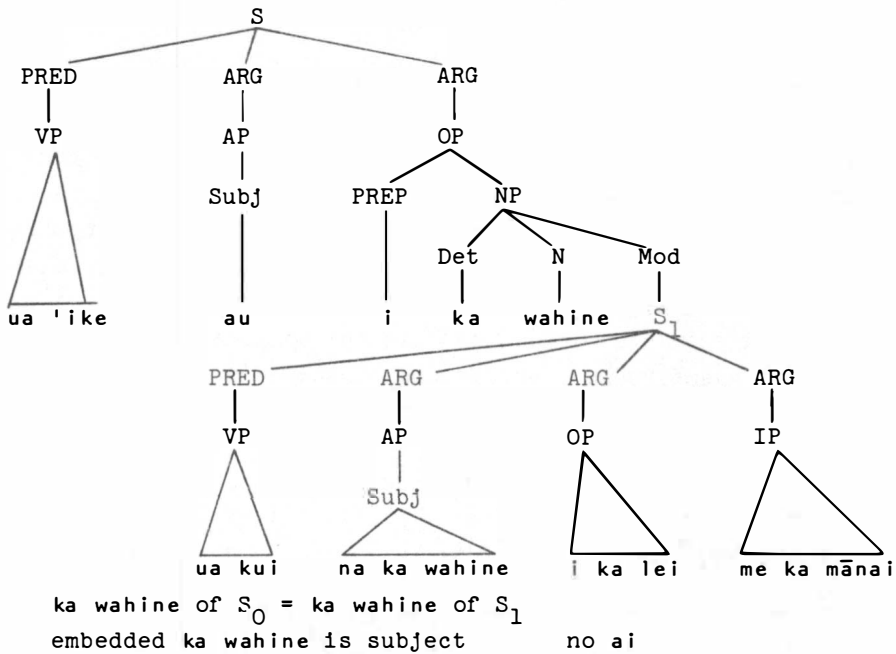
The discussion of questions will be included with each case.

#### 4.2. SPECIFICS

In this section we shall see how each case is dealt with in the complex structures.

##### 4.2.1. Agent

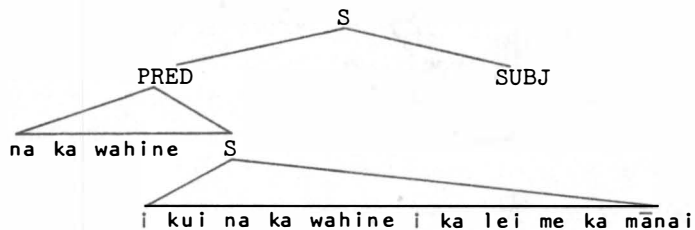
Agent is subject when present in the unmarked sentence, therefore, the embedding of this case never leaves an *al* with the verb phrase. After passivisation, Agent cannot be embedded. A typical embedding is:



- (227) Ua 'ike au i ka wahine i kui i ka lei me ka mānai.  
 perf.-see-I-prep.-the-woman-prep.-string-prep.-the-lei-prep.-  
 the-needle

'I saw the woman who strung the lei with a needle.'

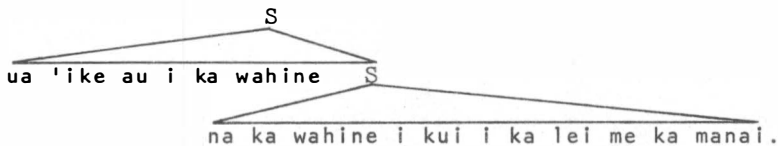
An appositive-type construction results if the subordinate sentence is first topicalised:



Delete the embedded na ka wahine.

Na ka wahine i kui i ka lei me ka mānai.

The lower sentence has been derived and is now embedded to the higher sentence.

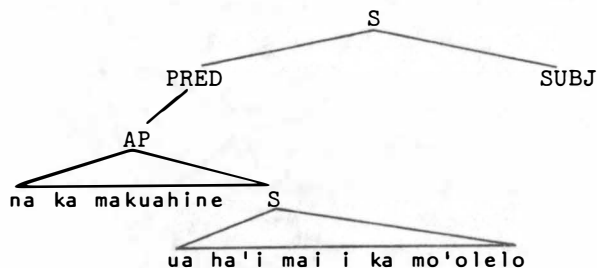


Ka wahine of the topic of the embedded sentence is pronominalised, resulting in:

(228) Ua 'ike au i ka wahine, na na i kui i ka lei me ka mānai.

'I saw the woman who strung the lei with the needle.'

When Agent is the topic of a case-topic structure, one additional process may take place. If subject formation has not occurred, the Object of the embedded sentence may lose its preposition. Thus, the following structure:



(229) Na ka makuahine i ha'i mai i ka mo'olelo.

prep.-the-mother-perf.-tell-dir.-prep.-the-story

or

(230) Na ka makuahine i ha'i mai ka mo'olelo.

prep.-the-mother-perf.-tell-dir.-the-story

'THE MOTHER told me the story.'

Historically, the loss of this preposition is most likely in analogy with the structure of the sentences with topics of the other cases. In them, the first constituent following the verb phrase is the subject of the unmarked sentence and consequently, lacks a preposition.

	TOPIC	VP	SUBJ
L-topic	I nehinei prep.-yesterday-	i hele ai perf.-go-an.-	ka māka'i kiu. the-police-spy
	'YESTERDAY the detective went.'		
B-topic	No ka makani prep.-the-wind-	i pani ai perf.-close-an.-	na mākua i ka puka. the(pl)-parent-prep.- the-door
	'BECAUSE OF THE WIND the parents closed the door.'		
A-topic	Na ka makuahine prep.-the-mother-	i ha'i mai perf.-tell-dir.-	ka mo'olelo. the-story
	'THE MOTHER told me the story.'		

If the unmarked sentence is generated with an Agent and no Object, as in

Ua 'ai lākou. 'They ate.'

the topic sentence has no phrase to choose as subject, and will be

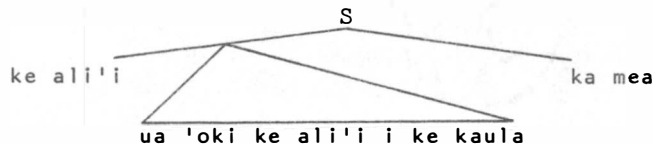
subjectless.

Na lākou i 'ai. 'THEY ate.'

In his dissertation, Ross Clark devoted an entire chapter to Actor-Emphatic Constructions in Polynesian languages. These are what I am calling Agent-topic sentences. By looking solely at the Agent-topics he encounters problems which leave the analysis tentative. In Hawaiian all the cases follow a general pattern in topicalisation. I do not know if this is true for other East-Polynesian languages to the extent it is for Hawaiian. Non-east Polynesian languages do not show A-topic constructions (Clark 1973:150). Hawaiian may have regularised a process which only extended to Agent in some stage of East-Polynesian.

A non-case topicalisation of Agent yields:

- (231) 'O ke ali'i ka (mea) i 'oki i ke kaula.  
 prep.-the-chief-the-thing-perf.-cut-prep.-the-string  
 'It was the chief who cut the string.'



1. The predicate is initiated by 'o.
2. Ka mea is moved.
3. (Optional) Mea is deleted.

The following sentence is an example of topicalisation within topicalisation.

- (232) 'O ia ka mea na-na i ho'okanukanu i ka na'au o na mākua.  
 prep.-it-the-thing-prep.-it-perf.-make sulky-prep.-the-gut-prep.-the(pl)-parent  
 'That was the thing which made [the intestines of] the parents sulky.'

The unmarked sentence would be:

Ua ho'okanukanu 'o ia i ka na'au o na mākua.  
 'It made [the intestines of] the parents sulky.'

First, this sentence is topicalised to an Agent-topic.

Na-na i ho'okanukanu i ka na'au o na mākua.  
 'IT made [the intestines of] the parents sulky.'

Then, it is topicalised again into a non-case topic.

'O ia ka mea na-na i ho'okanukanu i ka na'au o na mākua.

The following sentence fragment results from the same two operations, but then it has also been embedded as an appositive into another sentence.

- (233) ...ku'u ali'i ho'okahi, ka mea na-na i waele mua ka mahina'ai  
*my-chief-only-the-one-prep.-he-perf.-weed-first-the-garden-prep.-*  
 o Lana'i a kikoni hō'i i ko-na 'opu'u pua e mohala a'e.  
*Lana'i-and-pierce-int.-prep.-poss.-he-blossom-flower-imp.-bloom-*  
*dir.*

'...my only chief, the one who first weeded the garden of Lana'i and (who) pierced his blooming flower blossom.'

In the embedding process the predicate of the non-case topic 'o ia is deleted from its position just before ka mea.

The underlined portion of the sentence could be reduced without any change in meaning. A spelling-out indicates added emphasis.

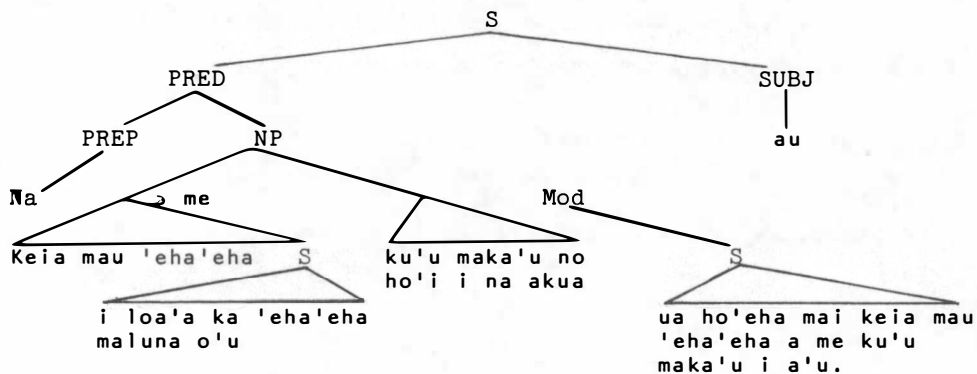
...ka mea na-na i waele...	}	'the one who'
...ka mea i waele...		
...ka i waele...		
...na-na i waele...	}	'who'
...i waele...		

In a long utterance, such as the one above, the speaker, frequently pausing, tends to use the longer constructions. In the written literature, shortened form occurs most often in narrative and longer form occurs most frequently in conversations.

The following sentence has a compound and lengthy Agent-topic phrase, so the pronominal form is used to renew the force of the topic. Even though there are two nouns in the Agent case, the singular pronoun na 'it' is used. This use of the singular pronoun to refer to a plural referent is very common in Hawaiian.

- (234) Na keia mau 'eha'eha i loa'a maluna o-'u a me ku'u maka'u no ho'i  
*prep.-this-pl-pain-perf.-got-on-prep.-I-and-with-my-fear-int.-*  
 i na akua, na-na au i hō'eha mai; no laila, e make ana au.  
*int.-prep.-the(pl)-god-prep.-it-I-perf.-hurt-dir.-therefore-imp.-*  
*die-cont.-I*

'By these pains gotten on me and my fear of the gods, by them I have been hurt, therefore, I will die.'





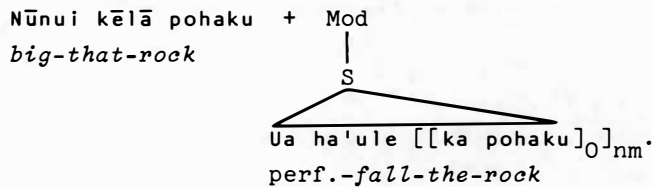


- (238) 'O wai ka (mea) i heluhelu i ka puke?  
 prep.-who-the-(one)-perf.-read-prep.-the-book  
 [-C] [+O]  
 'Who was the one who read the book?'

#### 4.2.2. Object

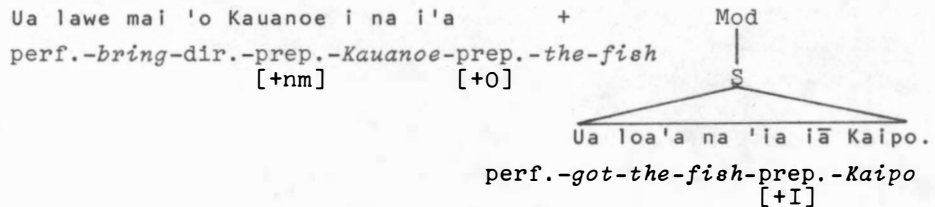
When the Object in an embedded sentence is the co-referent to the head noun of its matrix, two variations in the embedding are possible. The first is the simple deletion of the co-referent with addition of *ai* to the verb phrase, if Object is not subject of the subordinate sentence.

OBJECT = SUBJECT



Delete the co-referent.

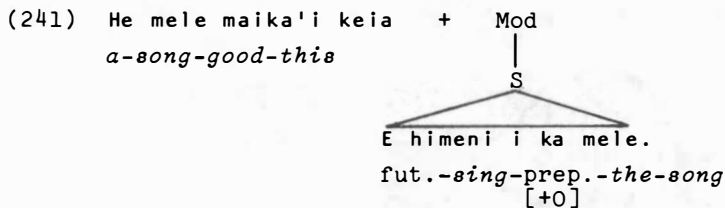
- (239) Nūnui kēlā pohaku i ha'uile.  
*big-that-rock-perf.-fall*  
 'That rock that fell was big.'



Delete the co-referent.

- (240) Ua lawe mai 'o Kauanoē i na i'a i loa'a iā Kaipo.  
 perf.-bring-dir.-prep.-Kauanoē-prep.-the-fish-perf.-got-prep.-  
 [+nm] [+O] [+I]  
 Kaipo  
 'Kauanoē brought the fish caught by Kaipo.'

OBJECT ≠ SUBJECT



Add ai; delete co-referent.

He mele maika'i keia e himeni ai.

*a-song-good-this-imp.-sing-an.*

*'This is a good song to sing.'*

(242) E mālama ana au i ka popoki +  
 imp.-care for-cont.-I-prep.-the-cat  
 [+0]

Mod  
 |  
 S  
 / \  
 Ua 'ike ke keiki i ka popoki.  
 perf.-see-the-child-prep.-the-cat  
 [+0]

Add ai; delete co-referent.

E mālama ana au i ka popoki i 'ike ai ke keiki.

fut.-care for-cont.-I-prep.-the-cat-perf.-see-an.-the-child  
 [+0]

*'I am caring for the cat the child saw.'*

The second variation in embedding occurs only when the subordinate sentence has an Agent subject, which is first topicalised within the embedded sentence. Sentence 242 above is a candidate for this topicalisation.

(243) Ua 'ike ke keiki i ka popoki.  
 perf.-see-the-child-prep.-the-cat  
 [+0]

Topicalise Agent subject.

(n)a ke keiki i 'ike i ka popoki.  
 prep.-the-child-perf.-see-prep.-the-cat  
 [+A] [+0]

Add ai; delete co-referent.

(244) E mālama ana au i ka popoki a ke keiki i 'ike ai.  
 fut.-care for-cont.-I-prep.-the-cat-prep.-the-child-perf.-see-an.  
 [+0] [+A]

*'I am caring for the cat the child saw.'*

However, if n of na is retained, no ai will occur.

(245) E mālama ana au i ka popoki na ke keiki i 'ike.

The topicalisation of Agent within the embedded sentence is optional with nouns, but with pronouns it is obligatory.

Ua kū'ai lākou i ka mea 'ono + Mod  
 perf.-buy-they-prep.-the-dessert [+0]  
 |  
 S  
 / \  
 ua kuke au i ka mea 'ono.  
 perf.-cook-I-prep.-the-dessert  
 [+0]

\*Ua kū'ai lākou i ka mea 'ono i kuke ai au.

- (246) Ua kū'ai lākou i ka mea 'ono a 'u i kuke ai.  
 perf.-buy-they-prep.-the-thing-good-prep.-I-perf.-cook-an.  
 [+0] [+A]

*'They bought the dessert I made.'*

The surface phrase *i ka mea 'ono a 'u* can be reordered as discussed in §3.3.2., resulting in the 'preposed possessive' structure *i ka'u mea 'ono*. Other sentences undergoing Agent topicalisation and reordering follow.

- (247) Eia ke kāne + Mod  
*here-the-man*  
 S  
 Ua aloha au i ke kāne.  
 perf.-love-I-prep.-the-man  
 [+0]

Topicalise Agent in embedded sentence.

(n)a 'u i aloha i ke kāne.

Add ai, delete co-referent.

Eia ke kāne a 'u i aloha ai.

Reorder.

Eia ka-'u kāne i aloha ai.

*here-poss.-I-man-perf.-love-an.*

*'Here is the man I love(d).'*

- (248) Nui no na po'e + Mod  
*many-int.-the(pl)-people*  
 S  
 Ua kama'āina au i na po'e ma kēlā wahi.  
 perf.-familiar-I-prep.-the-people-prep.-that-place

Topicalise Agent in embedded sentence.

(n)a 'u i kama'āina i na po'e ma kēlā wahi.

Add ai; delete co-referent.

Nui no na po'e a 'u i kama'āina ai ma kēlā wahi.

*many-int.-the(pl)-people-prep.-I-perf.-familiar-an.-prep.-that-place*

*'I was familiar with many people at that place.'*

Note that in this sentence there can be no reordering, since the singular pronoun is not present.

- (249) Kūnana au i ka mea + Mod  
*undecided-I-prep.-the-thing*  
 S  
 e hana au i ka mea.  
 imp.-do-I-prep.-the-thing

Topicalise Agent.

(n)a 'u e hana i ka mea.

Add ai; delete co-referent.

Kūnana au i ka mea a 'u e hana ai.

Reorder.

Kūnana au i ka-'u mea e hana ai.

*undecided-I-prep.-poss.-I-thing-imp.-do-an.*

*'I don't know what to do.'*

The Object cannot be topicalised in the case topic construction. In the description of verbless sentences it was stated that the Object case is the subject of the sentence while the other cases are predicates.



Given the requirement for topicalisation that the topic phrase must be the predicate of the embedding higher sentence, it is understandable that Object cannot be topicalised in this way since it does not serve as predicate for these sentences. However, Object may be topicalised in the non-case topic construction. Thus, corresponding to

(250) Ua hewa ka ha'ina. *'The answer is wrong.'*

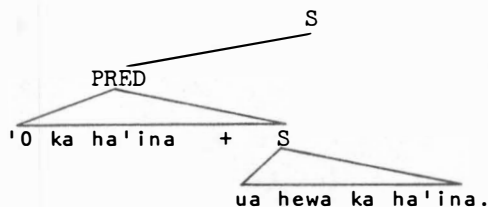
*perf.-wrong-the-answer*

is the topic construction

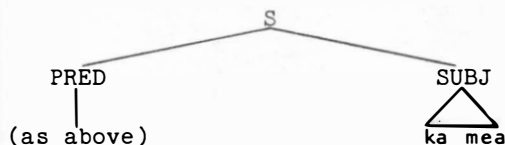
(251) 'O ka ha'ina ka i hewa.

*'It's the answer that's wrong.'*

which could be shown as the tree structure below.



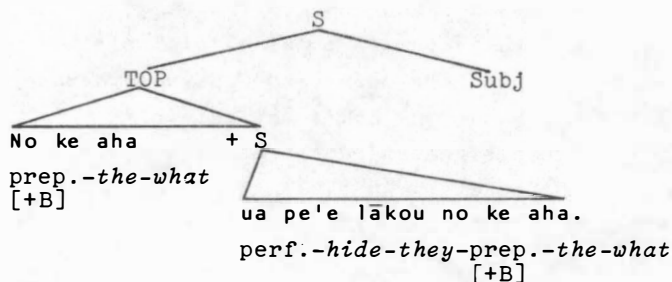
Form a subject with ka mea.





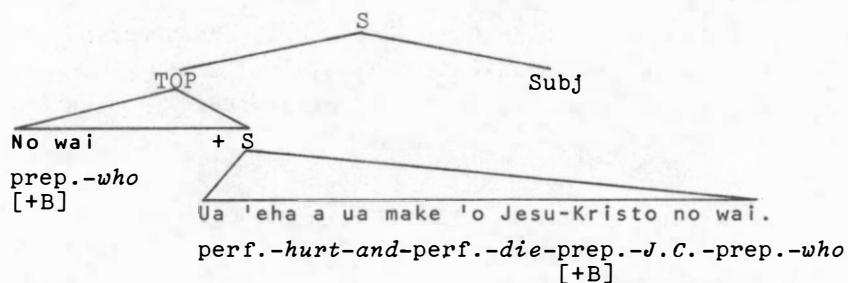


- (256) No ke aha lākou i pe'e ai?  
 prep.-*the-what*-they-perf.-*hide-an*.  
 [+B]  
 'Why did they hide?'

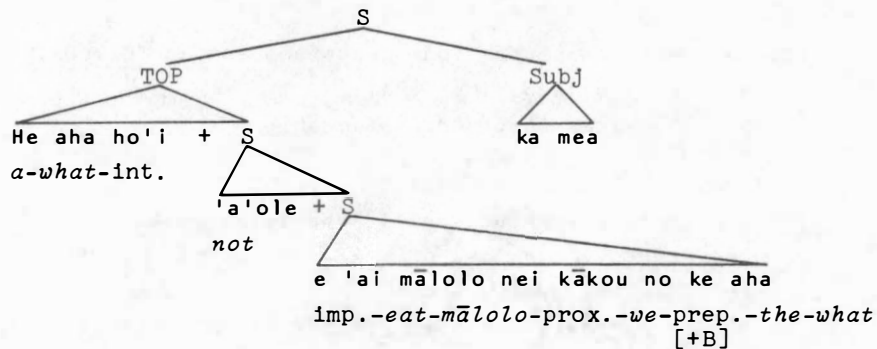


Sentence 256 involves subject raising; sentence 257 does not.

- (257) No wai i 'eha ai a i make ai 'o Jesu-Kristo?  
 prep.-*who*-perf.-*hurt-and*-perf.-*die*-prep.-*Jesus Christ*  
 [+B]  
 'Who did Christ suffer and die for?'



A question in the non-case topic construction will have the question topic phrase he aha.



Since 'a'ole is not the highest predicate in the sentence, it is incorporated into the verb phrase as 'ole. (The 'a of 'a'ole may be a fossilised aspect marker.)

e 'ai mālolo 'ole nei kākou no ke aha

The addition of *ai* is blocked in this sentence by the presence of *nei*. After co-referent deletion, internal subject topicalisation and *ka mea* transposition, the sentence is:

He aha ho'i ka mea a kākou e 'ai mālololo 'ole nei.

Re-ordering of *ka mea a kākou* results in:

(258) He aha ho'i kākou mea e 'ai mālololo 'ole nei?

*a-what-int.-poss.-we-thing-imp.-eat-mālololo-not-prox.*

*'What's the reason we don't eat mālololo?'*

In addition to the designated representative *mea*, *kumu 'reason'* is also used with the Benefactive. An alternation between the two does not change the meaning, but *kumu*, since it is only used with Benefactive, does not allow any ambiguity.

The preceding sentence allows one change which we haven't seen before. The possessive form which results after the internal Agent-subject topicalisation can also be *o*.

He aha ho'i ko kākou mea e 'ai mālololo 'ole nei?

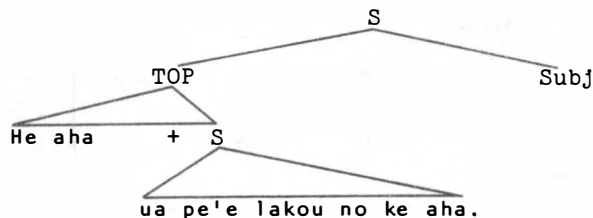
This phenomenon will be discussed in §4.3.1.

The question previously stated in the case topic construction will have the following form in a non-case topic construction.

(259) He aha ke kumu a lākou i pe'e ai? a ~ o

*a-what-the-reason-prep.-they-perf.-hide-an.*

*'What's the reason they hid?'*



Possible answers to the previous questions are as follows.

(260) No ka maka'u lākou i pe'e ai.

*prep.-the-fear-they-perf.-hide-an.*  
[+B]

*'They hid BECAUSE OF FEAR.'*

(261) No na po'e o ka honua nei i 'eha ai a i make ai 'o Jesu-Kristo.

*prep.-the(pl)-people-prep.-the-earth-prox.-perf.-hurt-an.-and-perf.-die-an.-prep.-J.C.*

*'Christ suffered and died FOR THE PEOPLE OF THIS WORLD.'*

(262) 'O Ma'ilou ke kumu o kākou e 'ai mālololo 'ole nei.

*prep.-Ma'ilou-the-reason-prep.-we-imp.-eat-mālololo-not-prox.*

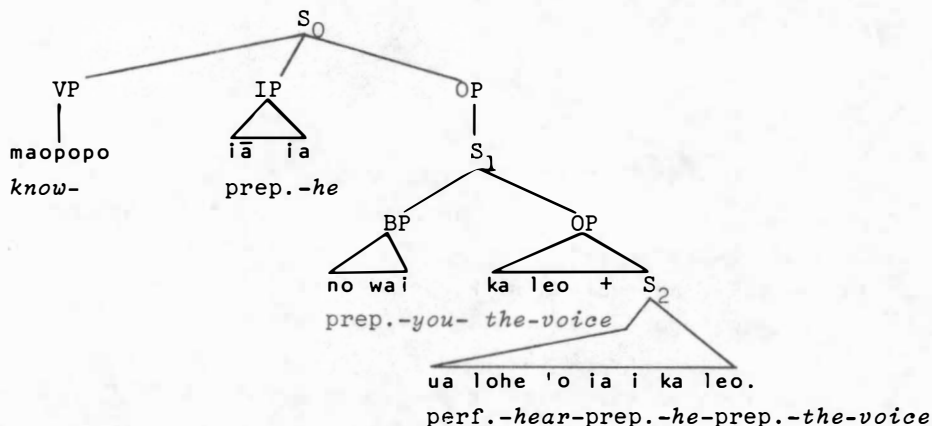
*'Ma'ilou is the reason we don't eat mālololo.'*







The following sentence involves an embedding within a sentential complement.



Topicalise subject of S<sub>2</sub>.

...a -na i lohe i ka leo.

Add ai, delete co-referent.

(267) Maopopo iā ia no wai ka leo a -na i lohe ai.

know-prep.-he-prep.-who-the-voice-poss.-he-perf.-hear  
[+I]                      [+B]

'He knew whose voice (it was that) he heard.'

#### 4.2.4. Instrument

The topicalisation of Instrument reveals restrictions regarding the use of *i* and *me* as the preposition. In topicalised sentences *i* is found only with non-transitive verbs and *me* is less acceptable than *i* in those environments.

The transitive verb 'ai 'eat' will occur with *me*.

(268) Me ka 'ō 'o-ia i 'ai ai i ka pipikaula.

prep.-the-fork-prep.-he-perf.-eat-an.-prep.-the-pipikaula

'He ate the pipikaula WITH THE FORK.'

\*i ka 'ō 'oia i 'ai ai i ka pipikaula.

The use of *i* as the preposition makes the sentence improbable sounding since the phrase is interpreted first as 'in the fork'. In the unmarked sentence, either *i* or *me* is acceptable.

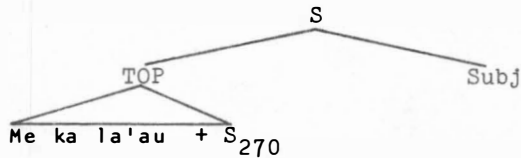
(269) Ua 'ai 'o-ia i ka pipi kaula i/me ka 'ō.

perf.-eat-prep.-he-prep.-the-pipikaula-prep.-the-fork

'He ate the pipi kaula with the fork.'

The following unmarked sentence with the verb *hahao* 'strike' functions similarly when topicalised.

- (270) Ua hahao ke keiki i ka puka aniani i/me ka lā'au.  
 perf.-strike-the-child-prep.-the-hole-glass-prep.-the-stick  
 'The child struck the window with the stick.'

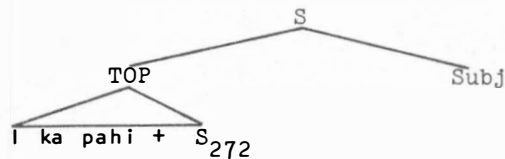


After ai addition, co-referent deletion, and subject raising, the topicalised sentence is:

- (271) Me ka lā'au ke keiki i hahao ai i ka puka aniani.  
 prep.-the-stick-the-child-perf.-stick-an.-prep.-the-door-glass  
 'The child struck the window WITH THE STICK.'

The non-transitive verb make 'die' can occur with either i or me, with i being the most preferred. Me is less acceptable in the unmarked sentence than in the topicalised sentence.

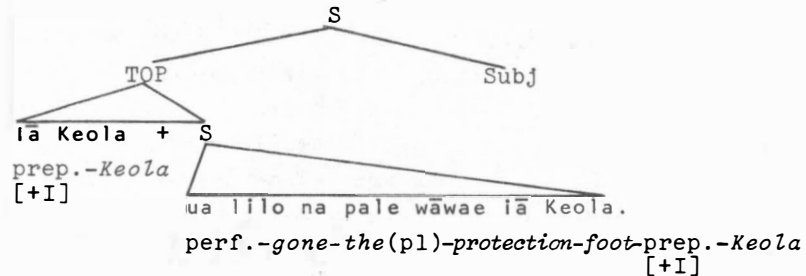
- (272) Ua make lākou i ka pahi.  
 perf.-die-they-prep.-the-knife  
 [+I]  
 'They died by the knife.'



With ai addition, co-referent deletion, and subject raising, the topicalised sentence is:

- (273) I ka pahi lākou i make ai.  
 prep.-the-knife-they-prep.-die-an.  
 'They died BY THE KNIFE.'

Another non-transitive verb lilo 'gone, taken' occurs in the following sentence.





- (277) 'O ka pahi ko lākou mea i make ai.  
 prep.-the-knife-poss.-they-thing-perf.-die-an.  
 'The knife is the thing that killed them.'

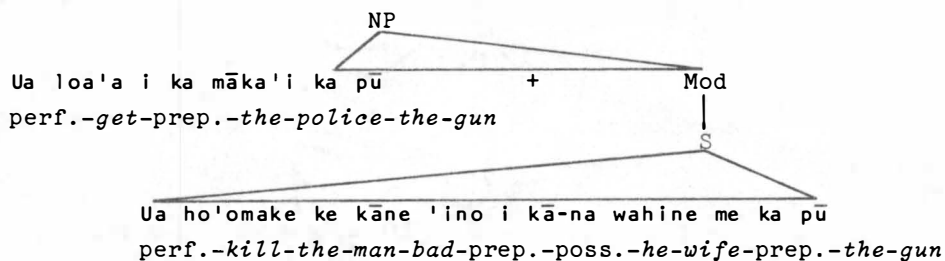
As with the transitive sentence, the internal topicalisation of the subject is optional.

- (278) 'O ka pahi ka mea i make ai lākou.  
 prep.-the-knife-the-thing-perf.-die-an.-they  
 'The knife is the thing that killed them.'

The distinction between the transitive verb and non-transitive verb is evident in the "possessive form" following mea.

ka mea a \_\_\_\_\_ with transitive verb  
 ka mea o \_\_\_\_\_ with non-transitive verb

This distinction continues in the embedding of sentences in which the co-referent in the embedded sentence is in the Instrument case.

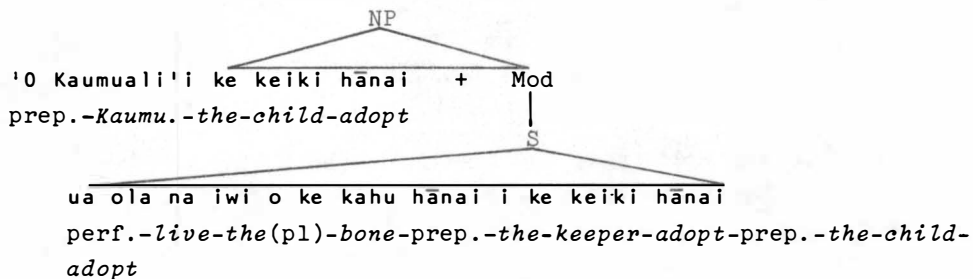


Add ai, delete co-referent:

- (279) Ua loa'a i ka māka'i ka pū i ho'omake ai ke kāne 'ino i kāna  
 wahine.

This is an acceptable surface string. Internal subject topicalisation yields:

- (280) Ua loa'a i ka māka'i ka pū a ke kāne 'ino i ho'omake ai i kā-na  
 perf.-get-prep.-the-police-the-gun-poss.-the-man-bad-perf.-kill-  
 wahine.  
 an.-prep.-poss.-he-wife  
 'The police obtained the gun with which the bad man killed his  
 wife.'





(283) I hea ka manu i 'ai ai i ka palaoa.

For the answer substitute ke kahua holoholona 'the zoo' for hea.

(284) I ke kahua holoholona ka manu i 'ai ai i ka palaoa.

prep.-the-place-animal-the-bird-perf.-eat-an.-prep.-the-bread  
'The bird ate the bread AT THE ZOO.'

Another typical question and answer are:

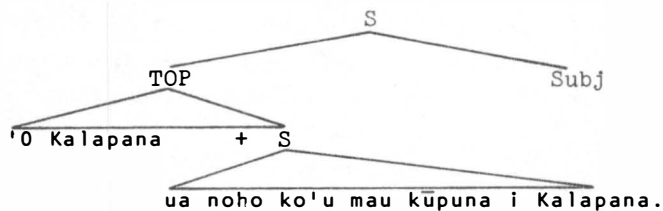
(285) I hea 'oe i hānau 'ia ai?

prep.-where-you-perf.-born-pass.-an.  
'Where were you born?'

(286) I Honolulu au i hānau 'ia ai.

prep.-Honolulu-I-perf.-born-pass.-an.  
'I was born in Honolulu.'

The caseless topicalisation construction is not typically used in questions and answers, but rather in descriptions of events. The designated representative for place locatives is wahi 'place'. When it is preceded by the definite determiner ka 'the', coalescence occurs forming kāhi (Pukui-Elbert 1965:104).



Add ai, delete the co-referent, and transpose kāhi.

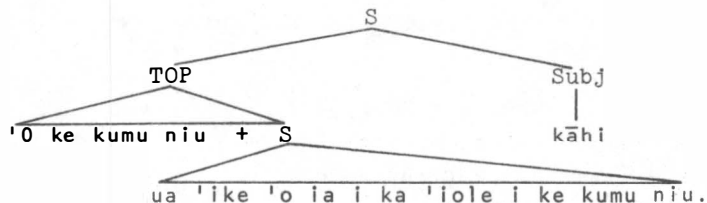
(287) 'O Kalapana kāhi i noho ai ko'u mau kūpuna.

prep.-Kalapana-place-perf.-live-an.-my-pl-grandparents  
'Kalapana is the place my grandparents lived.'

With the application of optional subject topicalisation, the sentence is:

(288) 'O Kalapana kāhi o ko'u mau kūpuna i noho ai.

In a sentence with a transitive verb, the variation between a and o, which was seen in §4.2.3. and which will be discussed in §4.3.1., is again found.



Add ai, delete co-referent.



Transpose kāhi.

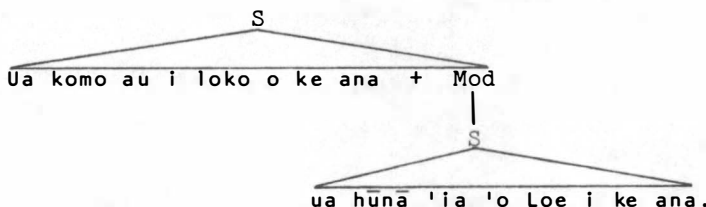
Topicalise internal subject.

- (289) 'O ke kumu niu kāhi a-na i 'like ai i ka 'iole  
 prep.-*the-tree-coconut-place*-prep.-*he-perf.-see-an.-prep.-the-rat*  
*'The coconut tree was where he saw the rat.'*

The speaker may decide to change kāhi a -na to kāhi o -na.

- (290) 'O ke kumu niu kāhi o -na i 'like ai i ka 'iole.

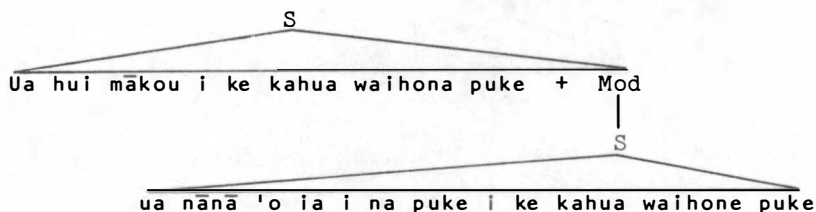
The embedding of a sentence to a locative phrase introduces a feature unique to place. The designated representative kāhi precedes the embedded sentence. It may subsequently be deleted. Each speaker I have consulted has made it a point to use kāhi, and add it if I didn't. Each also accepted the sentence without kāhi after first uttering it with it. This indicates to me that kāhi is not optionally added, but rather optionally deleted after compulsory addition.



Add ai, delete co-referent.

Precede the embedded sentence with kāhi.

- (291) Ua komo au i loko o ke ana kāhi i hūnā 'ia ai 'o Loe.  
 perf.-*enter-I-prep.-inside-prep.-the-cave-place-perf.-hide-pass-*  
*an-prep.-Loe*  
*'I entered the cave where Loe had hidden.'*



Add ai, delete co-referent.

Topicalise internal subject.

Add kāhi.

- (292) Ua hui mākou i ke kahua waihona puke kāhi a-na i nānā ai i na  
 perf.-*meet-we-prep.-the-place-leave-book-place-prep.-he-perf.-*  
*puke.*  
*look-an.-prep.-the(pl)-book*  
*'We met in the library where he had looked at the books.'*



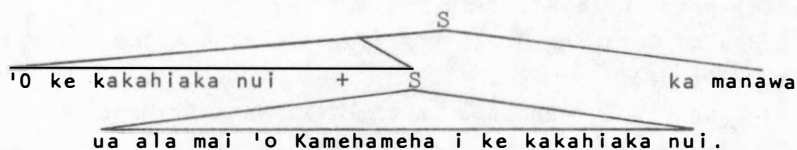
Add ai; delete co-referent.

- (297) Āhea e hele ai na haumāna i Kaleponi?  
*when-imp.-go-an.-the(pl)-student-prep.-California*  
*'When are the students going to California?'*

In the answer the preposition i returns.

- (298) I keia pule a'e e hele ai na haumāna i Kaleponi.  
*prep.-this-week-dir.-imp.-go-an.-the(pl)-student-prep.-California*  
*'The students are going to California next week.'*

The caseless topicalisation construction is similar to that of Location in Place. The designated representative for Locative of Time is manawa or wā 'time'.



After ai addition, co-referent deletion, and subject transposing, the sentence is:

- (299) 'O ke kakahiaka nui ka manawa i ala ai 'o Kamehameha.  
*prep.-the-morning-early-the-time-perf.-arise-an.-prep.-Kamehameha*  
*'Early morning was the time when Kamehameha arose.'*

If Kamehameha is replaced by ia 'he', internal subject topicalisation is obligatory; resulting in:

'O ke kakahiaka nui ka manawa o-na i ala mai ai.

The possessive and pronoun must be preposed to manawa.

- (300) 'O ke kakahiaka nui ko-na manawa i ala mai ai.  
*prep.-the-morning-early-poss.-he-time-perf.-arise-dir.-an.*  
*'Early morning was his time of arising.'*

Here is an example of the differences in structure and translation which occur when the Locative phrase is topicalised first in a case predicate and then in a caseless predicate.

#### The Simple Sentence

- (301) E noi aku 'o-ia i ke ali'i no kā-na huaka'i māka'ika'i i ka wā  
*imp.-ask-dir.-prep.-he-prep.-the-chief-prep.-poss.-he-trip-visit-*  
*kūpono.*  
*prep.-the-time-right*  
*'He will ask the chief about his travelling at the right time.'*

## Case Topicalisation

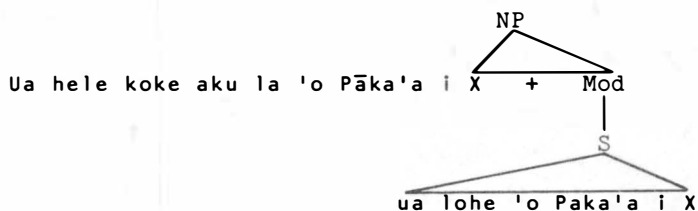
- (302) I ka wā kūpono 'o-ia e noi aku ai i ke ali'i no kā-na huaka'i  
 prep.-*the-time-right*-prep.-*he-imp.-ask-dir.-an.-prep.-the-chief-*  
 māka'ika'i.  
 prep.-poss.-*he-trip-visit*  
 'AT THE RIGHT TIME he will ask the chief about his travelling.'

## Caseless Topicalisation

- (303) 'O ka wā kūpono no ia a-na e noi aku ai i ke ali'i no kā-na  
 prep.-*the-time-right-int.-it-poss.-he-imp.-ask-dir.-an.-prep.-*  
 huaka'i māka'ika'i.  
*the-chief-prep.-poss.-he-trip-visit*  
 'It is/was/will be the right time for him to ask the chief about  
 his travelling.'

In the preceding sentence, since wā is the designated representative for time phrases, wā's presence in the topic phrase results in an undesirable redundancy, 'O ka wā kūpono no ka wā a -na... The subject ka wā is pronominalised to ia 'it'. The presence of no is in some way affected by the subject ia.

The embedding of Locative of Time phrases has several alternatives. By far the most common construction involves nominalisation of the verb of the embedded sentence. Nominalisation is discussed in §4.3.2. An example of a nominalisation follows.



After nominalisation.

- (304) Ua hele koke aku la 'o Pāka'a i ko-na lohe 'ana.  
 perf.-*go-quickly-dir.-rem.-prep.-Pāka'a-prep.-poss.-he-hear-nom.*  
 'Paka'a quickly went when he heard.'

This example is an instance of a generalised time defined by the events which took place at that time. (Generalised embedded time clauses most frequently precede the main part of the sentence followed by a pause.)

The same situation can also be expressed without nominalisation.

With ka manawa 'the time' as X, ai addition, and co-referent deletion, the preceding sentence will become:

Ua hele koke 'o Pāka'a i ka manawa i lohe ai 'oia.

Topicalise the internal pronoun subject.

Ua hele koke 'o Pāka'a i ka manawa a -na i lohe ai.

Prepose the possessive and pronoun.

Ua hele koke aku la 'o Pāka'a i kā-na manawa i lohe ai.

perf.-go-quickly-dir.-rem.-prep.-Pāka'a-prep.-poss.-he-time-perf.-hear-an.

*'Paka'a quickly went when he heard.'*

There is the possibility of surface adjustment of the possessive form from kāna to kona.

The preceding two sentences can be re-ordered.

(305) I kona lohe 'ana, ua hele koke aku la 'o Pāka'a.

(306) I kāna manawa i lohe ai, ua hele koke aku la 'o Pāka'a.

Time clauses undergo one unique process. The determiner, designated representative, and following preposition may be deleted. From i ka manawa a na i lohe ai comes iā ia i lohe ai. (When ka manawa a is deleted the preposition precedes a pronoun, thereby becoming iā. The form of the pronoun 'he' following iā is ia.) This shortened phrase is most often fronted.

(307) iā ia i lohe ai, ua hele koke 'o-ia.

prep.-he-perf.-hear-an.,-perf.-go-quickly-prep.-he

*'When he heard, he quickly went.'*

Most authors have not equated the shortened with the longer construction. In Chapin's discussion of the syntax of ai (1974:53), he distinguishes between ai as temporal anaphor (my longer form) and as a marker of adverbial subordinate clauses of time (my shortened form). However, the Hawaiian distribution of these forms indicates a single origin. The shortened form occurs only rarely with nouns. In all the texts consulted only one instance of the shortened form was found with a common noun.

(308) I ke kaikamahine me ka waimaka hehelei e iho nei ma kēlā 'ao'ao

prep.-the-girl-prep.-the-tear-falling-imp.-descend-prox.-prep.-

o ka pali, huli a'e la ia a nānā ma-'ō a ma-'ane'i.

that-side-prep.-the-cliff-turn-dir.-rem.-she-and-look-prep.-there-and-prep.-here

*'While the girl with falling tears was descending on the other side of the pali, she turned and looked there and here.'*

In order to compare this sentence with the others, an abbreviation and tense change are necessary.

(309) I ke kaikamahine i iho ai, huli a'e la ia.

prep.-the-girl-perf.-descend-an.-turn-dir.-rem.-she

*'When the girl descended, she turned.'*

This single instance contrasts with a high frequency of nouns found in the longer form.

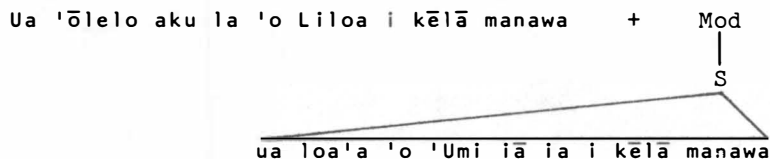
- (310) I ka manawa o ke ali'i i make ai, uwē na maka'āinana.  
 prep.-the-time-prep.-the-chief-perf.-die-an.-cry-the(pl)-commoner  
*'When the chief died, the commoners cried.'*
- (311) A i ka wā i 'ike ai 'o Pāpālua iā Ka'aiali'i, ua piha iho la  
 and-prep.-the-time-perf.-see-an.-prep.-Papalua-prep.-Ka'aiali'i,-  
 'o-ia me ka maka'u a me ka weliweli no ho'i.  
 perf.-full-dir.-rem.-prep.-he-prep.-the-fear-and-prep.-the-dread-  
 int.-int.  
*'And when Pāpālua saw Ka'aiali'i, he was filled with fear and  
 also dread.'*

On the other hand, pronouns and proper names are most frequently found in the short form.

- (312) Iā lāua i ka'a pono ai i luna o ka pali, ua kū iho la 'o Ka'ala  
 prep.-they-perf.-locate-exactly-an.-prep.-top-prep.-the-cliff-  
 a nānā hou.  
 perf.-stand-dir.-rem.-prep.-Ka'ala-and-look-again  
*'When they were situated right at the top of the cliff, Ka'ala  
 stood and looked again.'*
- (313) Iā Loe i nānā ai i ka tīwī, ua pani 'ia ka puka.  
 prep.-Loe-perf.-look-an.-prep.-the-T.V.-perf.-close-pass.-the-door  
*'While Loe watched T.V., the door was closed.'*

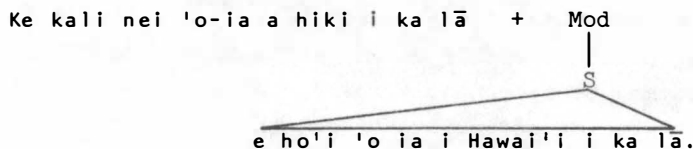
Pronouns and names have been found to act as a class opposing common nouns in several other processes, among them, internal subject topicalisation. If my analysis of the shortening process is correct, the difference in distribution can be seen as linked to the internal subject topicalisation process (ST). Without ST, the string, Det.<sup>DR</sup>Prep., does not occur, thereby making the rule inoperative. Nouns are the least subject to ST; therefore, they are the least involved in the deletion. Pronouns and names, most subject to ST, are ready candidates for deletion.

In addition to generalised time phrases, there are also specific time embeddings.



Add ai, delete co-referent; topicalise internal subject.

- (314) Ua 'ōlelo aku la 'o Liloa i kēlā manawa 'o 'Umi i loa'a ai iā ia.  
 perf.-speak-dir.-rem.-prep.-Liloa-prep.-that-time-prep.-'Umi-perf.-  
 get-an.-prep.-he  
*'Liloa told of that time(that) 'Umi was begotten by him.'*



Add ai, delete co-referent, topicalise internal subject, and prepose possessive.

- (315) Ke kali nei 'o ia a hiki i ko-na lā e ho'i ai i Hawai'i.  
 pres.-wait-prox.-prep.-he-until-arrive-prep.-poss.-he-day-imp.-  
 return-an.-prep.-Hawai'i  
 'He is waiting until the day he would return to Hawai'i.'

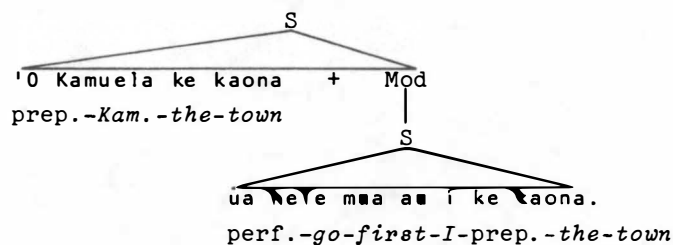
#### 4.2.5.3. Time and Place

Location in Time and Location in Place are quite unique in their complex structures. Perhaps these differences are sufficient cause for making a separation into two cases. They do share, however, an embedding which is not possible for the other cases, i.e., the subordination of one sentence to another in the environment of a shared location, the 'generalised' time and place.

#### 4.2.6. Goal

Goal is most typically [+human] or [+locative]. When it is [+locative] it closely resembles the Locative case in its patterning. As [+human] it overlaps with Object.

#### A [+loc] Goal



Internal subject topicalisation, ai addition and co-referent deletion yield:

- (316) 'O Kamuela ke kaona a 'u i hele mua ai.  
 prep.-Kamuela-the-town-prep.-I-perf.-go-first-an.  
 'Kamuela is the town I went to first.'

As with the embedding of Locative of Place phrases, kāhi may appear.

- (317) 'O Kamuela ke kaona kāhi a 'u i hele mua ai.

The difference between the occurrence of *kāhi* with Goal and Locative is that *kāhi* seems to be optionally added rather than optionally deleted with Goal. This may be accountable for by noting that Goal is a verb-classifying case for intradirective verbs, thereby making it less of a sentence modifier. The appearance of *kāhi* is also influenced by the type of noun in the co-referent. With the common noun *kaona* 'town', *kāhi* is less appropriate sounding. With a proper noun 'Honolulu', *kāhi* is most appropriate sounding.

Ua noho 'o Mahi'ai i Honolulu + Mod  
 perf.-live-prep.-Mahi'ai-prep.-Honolulu

|  
S

/ \

ua hele maua i Honolulu.  
 perf.-go-we-prep.-Honolulu

- (318) Ua noho 'o Mahi'ai i Honolulu *kāhi* a māua i hele ai.  
 perf.-live-prep.-Mahi'ai-prep.-Honolulu-where-prep.-we-perf.-go-an.  
 'Mahi'ai lived in Honolulu, the place where we went.'

It is also interesting to note that the sentence cannot be re-analysed, as in §4.3.1., resulting in:

- (319) \*'O Kamuela ke kaona o 'u i hele mua ai.

Within sentences containing intradirective verbs and embedded Goals, I have only one instance of the *o* possessive appearing, and that one involves a non-human, *manu* 'bird'.

...*kāhi* o/a na manu e ho'i ai.  
 place-prep.-the(pl)-bird-imp.-return-an.  
 '...place where the birds return.'

#### A [+hum] Goal

Nani ka wahine + Mod  
 pretty-the-woman

|  
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ua ha'awi 'o ia i ka mea 'ai i ka wahine.  
 perf.-give-prep.-he-prep.-the-thing-eat-prep.-the-  
 woman

Internal subject topicalisation, *ai* addition, and co-referent deletion yield:

- (320) Nani ka wahine a-na i ha'awi ai i ka mea 'ai.  
 pretty-the-woman-prep.-he-perf.-give-an.-prep.-the-thing-eat.  
 'The woman who he gave the food is beautiful.'

By looking at a sentence with both the Object and Goal topicalised in the caseless topic construction, we can see the overlap between the two.



- (321) Ua ha'awi au i ka pepa i ke keiki.  
 perf.-give-I-prep.-the-paper-prep.-the-child  
 'I gave the paper to the child.'

Object topicalisation:

- (322) 'O ka pepa ka 'u (mea) i ha'awi ai i ke keiki.  
 prep.-the-paper-poss.-I-thing-perf.-give-an.-prep.-the-child  
 'The paper is what I gave to the child.'

Goal topicalisation:

- (323) 'O ke keiki ka 'u (mea) i ha'awi ai i ka pepa.  
 prep.-the-child-poss.-I-thing-perf.-give-an.-prep.-the-paper  
 'The child is the one I gave the paper.'

The overwhelming feature in interpreting this sentence is the animate or humanness of one of the non-subject phrases. That is the one which is interpreted as Goal.

The distinctiveness of the two cases can be found in the case topic construction. Whereas, the Object case is not found in such a construction, Goal is. Consequently, there can be

- (324) I ke keiki au i ha'awi ai i ka pepa.  
 prep.-the-child-I-perf.-give-an.-prep.-the-paper  
 'I gave the paper TO THE CHILD.'

but not

- (325) \*I ka pepa au i ha'awi ai i ke keiki.

Other case topic sentences are:

- (326) Iā Haunani 'o ia i ho'oua ai i ka leka.  
 prep.-Haunani-prep.-he-perf.-send-an.-prep.-the-letter  
 'She sent the letter TO HAUNANI'.  
 (327) I Honolulu na kua'āina i hele ai.  
 prep.-Honolulu-the(pl)-country folk-perf.-go-an.  
 'The country folks went TO HONOLULU.'

Questions will contain wai if [+human] or hea if [+locative].

- (328) Iā wai 'oe i lawe ai i ka nūpepa?  
 prep.-who-you-perf.-take-an.-prep.-the-newspaper  
 'Who did you take the newspaper to?'  
 (329) I hea 'o Hau'oli i ho'i ai?  
 prep.-where-prep.-Hau'oli-perf.-return-an.  
 'Where did Hau'oli return?'

#### 4.2.7. Source

Source is the only case which is severely restricted. Although it is found in case topic constructions, it does not occur in any other

type of embedding.

(330) Mai Hawai'i i hele ai ka moku i O'ahu.

prep.-*Hawai'i*-perf.-*go*-an.-*the-boat*-prep.-*O'ahu*  
 [+So] [G]

*'The boat went FROM HAWAI'I to O'ahu.'*

(331) Mai ka hale waihona puke 'o ia i lawe ai i na puke.

prep.-*the-house-repository-book*-prep.-*he*-perf.-*take*-an.-prep.-  
 [+So] [O]

*the(pl)-book*

*'He took the books FROM THE LIBRARY.'*

If hea is the noun, the topicalisation is a question.

(332) Mai hea na haumāna i holo ai?

prep.-*where-the(pl)-student*-perf.-*run*-an.

*'Where are the students running from?'*

I think the limitations of mai in these complex structures, together with its similarity to the directional mai strongly indicate that its use as a case marker is a secondary function of what was historically a single form, even though both functions are found in Fijian. A possible source of the Source function of mai can be seen in the phrase

ma loko mai o ka pahu

prep.-*inside-dir.*-prep.-*the-box*  
 [+L] [L]

*'from inside the box'*

The directional follows a locative noun and preposition to indicate that the movement is away from that location. The locative preposition cannot be i in this phrase. Both ma\_\_mai and mai\_\_mai meaning 'from' are spoken and written in simple sentences. Could there be some relationship between ma and mai which makes them more compatible?

#### 4.3. THE POSSESSIVE FORMS IN EMBEDDED CONSTRUCTIONS

The possessive forms have been derived in the complex structures as a result of subject topicalisation within embeddings. A comes naturally from the topicalisation of an Agent subject; o, however, does not. If the preposition of Agent (n)a is retained in topicalisation, why is the preposition of Object i not found in Object subject topicalisation? I think the answer can be found in the history of subject topicalisation, which was discussed in §4.1.3. Object was and is not amenable to topicalisation unless it is subject, and then only if it is subject of an embedded sentence. The phrase being topicalised is, therefore, not Object in the mind of the speaker, but subject, and as subject there is no given preposition which it should carry forward. That o should be chosen as the form for filling the void seems a logical extension of its relationship to a in the simple verbless sentences. Of all the

prepositions (n)a and (n)o uniquely share n, indicating a historical link in their development. Also, these two prepositions function to differentiate all possessive relations in Hawaiian. When the speaker views the complex structure within which the Agent subject has been topicalised, he sees a possessive relationship. To provide for parallel non-Agent subject topicalisation a contrasting possessive construction is necessary. This contrast is found in o.

In the simple sentence o represents a broadly defined Benefactive case. In the complex structures, the function of o is broadened to include all non-Agentive possessive relationships. The determination of plus or minus Agentive in the relationship presents the biggest problem in a discussion of complex structures.

#### 4.3.1. A and O Alternation

All internal non-Agent subject topicalisation results in the o form. However, the opposite is not true. Agent subject topicalisation may result in o, in conjunction with certain cases (see sentences 258 and 289). The constituent string after embedding and internal subject topicalisation is  $NP[Det^N_S[a^NP^VP^X]_S]_{NP}$ . The typical order of sentences is  $V^S^O$ ; the typical order in attribution is  $N^attribute$ . When faced with the embedded constituent string the speaker is likely to associate  $[a^NP]$  more closely with its noun head than with the remainder of the sentence from which it originated. When this happens the nature of the immediate relationship between the noun head and its attribute becomes important. If the attribute is judged as having no agency toward the head, a will be changed to o. The noun heads of Locative phrases, both time (wā 'time' and lā 'day') and place (wahi 'place'), and Benefactive phrases (kumu 'reason') are especially likely to be judged un-affectable by their attributes. That is why it is these case phrases within which the alternation between a and o is most prevalent. The alternation is never seen within an expanded Object or Instrument phrase.

For phrases in the Locative and Benefactive cases, the decision as to retain or change the a is not highly predictable. Some people will almost always use o; others, a. Even for one speaker, the choices may be difficult to understand.

Following are variations which seem most puzzling. These were all spoken by one person, with the verb ho'i [<sub>A</sub>] 'return':

- |                                  |                                      |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ...kāhi a/o na manu e ho'i ai.   | '...where the birds return.'         |
| ...ka hola a (*o) 'u i ho'i ai.  | '...the time I returned.'            |
| ...ko-na lā i ho'i ai i Hawai'i. | '...the day he returned to Hawai'i.' |

with the verb holo [<sub>A</sub>] 'run, sail':

...kāhi a (\*o) na i'a e holo nui ai... '...where the fish often run.'

...ke alanui a (\*o) lākou i holo ai. '...the road where they ran.'

...ke manawa a/o na 'iole i holo ai. '...the time the rats ran.'

An observation can be made concerning this alternation with respect to the case frame of the verb. With verbs of the case frame [<sub>A</sub><sup>0</sup>] and [<sub>A</sub><sup>0</sup>G], the alternation is nearly always acceptable. Verbs with the case frame [<sub>A</sub>] present the area of unpredictability.

One restriction to the change from a to o is due to mea. When the designated representative is deleted there is no possibility of the possessive form being o.

ka mea a/o ke keiki 'the thing of the child'

ka a (\*o) ke keiki 'the thing of the child'

It is at a very shallow level that the change is made. The deletion of mea is significant in that its absence precludes the constituent structure required as environment for the change.

#### 4.3.2. Nominalisation

Although nominalisation is not dealt with at length in this work, its effect on possessive marking must be noted. If a sentence of the form V<sup>^</sup>subj<sup>^</sup>X is expressed as a nominal, the structure will be V<sup>^</sup>'ana<sup>^</sup>possessive<sup>^</sup>subj<sup>^</sup>X. Within a noun phrase possessive<sup>^</sup>subj<sup>^</sup> may be preposed to the determiner, resulting in ka<sup>^</sup>possessive<sup>^</sup>subj<sup>^</sup>V<sup>^</sup>'ana<sup>^</sup>X. 'Ana is the nominalising suffix. (Nominalisation and possessive marking for Polynesian are discussed at length in S. Chung (1973).)

(333) hele 'o ia i ke kula ko-na hele 'ana i ke kula  
go-prep.-he-prep.-the-school

(334) pau keia mau 'ōlelo ka pau 'ana o keia mau 'ōlelo  
finish-this-pl-word

(335) lohe na 'ōhua i keia lono ka lohe 'ana o na 'ōhua i keia lono  
hear-the(pl)-servant-prep.-this-news

(336) noho 'o Kuanu'uanu iā ko Kuanu'uanu noho 'ana iā Kaua'i  
live-prep.-Kuanu'uanu-  
Kaua'i  
prep.-Kaua'i

A complex system for describing the possessive form resulting from embedded sentences has been proposed by Wilson (1976:chp.4). This system, which differs from the preceding analysis, is based on a verb classification that separates transitive into deliberate transitive and spontaneous transitive. The latter, generally verbs of emotion and perception, show some shared features with statives, and take o with

Agent subjects rather than *a* as predicted above.

In my studies I have not found the consistency that his system predicts. In the written literature very few examples of *a*-marked possession were found, whereas *o* was common. This could possibly be due to a tendency for nominalisation not to occur with deliberate transitives. I do not think this is the primary reason. Informants invariably gave *o*-type constructions with all-type verbs. When asked about the possibility of *a*, all non-stative and non-passivised verbs were given with *a*.

pepehi ke keiki <i>hit-the-child</i> [_AO]	ka pepehi 'ana <i>o/a</i> ke keiki
'ike ke keiki <i>see-the-child</i> [_AO]	ka 'ike 'ana <i>o/a</i> ke keiki
hele ke keiki <i>go-the-child</i> [_A]	ka hele 'ana <i>o/a</i> ke keiki
ola ke keiki <i>live-the-child</i> [_O]	ke ola 'ana <i>o</i> (* <i>a</i> ) ke keiki
pepehi 'ia ke keiki <i>hit-pass.-the-child</i> [_AO]	ka pepehi 'ia 'ana <i>o</i> (* <i>a</i> ) ke keiki

I think this distribution bears witness to the theory that *a* is a phenomenon due to Agent subject, but that *o* has become the preferred form of the possessive for all subjects in topicalisation.

#### 4.4. A SUMMARY OF THE EMBEDDING PROCESSES

The embedding of a sentence basically involves deletion of the subordinate co-referent with pursuant *ai* attachment in the verb phrase. The embedding of Benefactive and Locative phrases is more complex, not allowing a simple deletion of the co-referent. Before the Locative phrase can be deleted, either *kāhi* '*the place*' or *ka manawa* '*the time*' must be inserted to initiate the embedded sentence. Rather than being deleted, the Benefactive co-referent is topicalised with subsequent pronominalisation of the co-referential noun in the phrase. Embedding of all cases may also include the topicalisation of the subject of the subordinate sentence.

Topicalisation of a phrase is seen as the embedding of a verbal sentence to the predicate of a verbless sentence where the predicate and topic phrase are co-referential. When the co-referential subordinate phrase is deleted, *ai* is attached to the verb phrase, unless the

deleted phrase was subject of the lower sentence. At this point case and caseless topicalisation separate in their derivation. With a case topic one additional process follows. The first classificatory case phrase following the verb of the subordinate sentence can be raised to fill the subject position of the higher sentence. The subject position of the caseless topic sentence is filled by a designated representative. Subsequently, the subject of the embedded sentence may be topicalised.

## CHAPTER 5

### OVERVIEW

#### 5.1. RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

This work has had two principal results. First, there have been specific findings in Hawaiian syntax. The structures involved in sentence formation have been formalised for the first time. Former statements concerning specific issues have been reanalysed in terms of the generative-case model used in this study. Among these are the function of *na*, *a*, *no*, and *o*, the process of embedding, and the definition of subject for the *loa'a*-verbs.

Second, on the basis of these findings, it is now possible to ask whether other Polynesian languages also share similar processes. In Polynesian languages in general, as in Hawaiian, the relationship between *a* and *o* possession has been a constant source of discussion. The analysis given here to that problem could lead to a new formalisation in the Eastern Polynesian languages. In addition, the findings which are formally stated here for the first time raise the question whether Polynesian languages, or a subgroup of Polynesian languages, share these properties.

##### 5.1.1. New Statements

The analysis of Hawaiian in this study has provided a framework within which fresh, insightful statements can be made about various facets of the language. These statements, which have occurred throughout the study, are summarised here in relation to existing statements concerning them.

1. The distribution of *a* and *o* possession is governed by the case relationship between the possessor and possesse. The *a* possessive

occurs when the possessor is in the Agent case, the *o* when the possessor is in the Benefactive case (§3.1.). This distinction is blurred in complex sentence embedding where *o* has come to represent all non-Agent subjects and some Agent subject (§4.3.).

2. Pronoun subjects follow the highest predicate governing them. In both negative (§2.5.2. and §3.5.) and topicalised (chp.4) structures, pronouns act as a class opposing common nouns. Proper nouns act as an intermediate class.
3. The occurrence of *k*-less possessive forms in possessive statements is more basic than the *k*-full forms which result when the disambiguating designated representative is added to the sentence (§3.5.).
4. The order of the subject and predicate in a verbless sentence is contingent on whether the subject is specific or non-specific. The unmarked sentence contains a specific subject which follows the predicate. A non-specific subject precedes its predicate (§3.2.0.).
5. Topicalisation for all cases follows one general process (§4.1.). This formulation puts the 'Agent-fronting' construction in perspective with topicalisation of other case phrases.
6. The occurrence of the preposition '*o*' in the topicalised structures (§4.1.2.2.), in appositives, and with subjects indicates that it is neutral with respect to case. All other prepositions have a case feature.
7. The previously unanalysed construct *iā* + pronoun/name translating as '*when*' is analysed as a shortened form of a locative of time topicalisation (§4.2.5.2.).

#### 5.1.2. Implications

This analysis has been able to show a constant function - case marking - for the prepositions whether they occur in verbal or verbless sentences. The presence of these case-marking prepositions in verbless sentences precludes the need for a verb to mediate the cases. Other case analyses should allow for an analysis of verbless sentences which does not require positing abstract verbs. Other Polynesian languages could be analysed as Hawaiian is here. This would allow for an investigation to reveal if the findings for Hawaiian, particularly 1, 2, and 3 above, are also true for the other Polynesian languages. It was found that the topic sentence formation could be analysed in terms of the verbless sentence structures. If someone were starting with topic sentences, the converse might be formulated - that is, that verbless sentences result from the same processes as those forming topicalised sentences. The importance that these two have in relation to each other in Hawaiian can be a valuable insight in analysing other Polynesian languages.



## 5.2. ASSESSMENT

Describing Hawaiian in a case framework seems a very natural way of discussing the noun complements of the verb since all are initiated by prepositions. These prepositions were easily assigned case-marking functions. In the analysis I found that the cases seemed most consistent in the verbless sentences. The relationship of verbs to their noun complements seems to introduce additional distinctions. A case analysis should probably define the cases in terms of verb classes, as well as general properties. For example, Agent's general property is as instigator of an action. With transitive verbs, the instigator affects some other thing, whereas, with intradirectives, the instigator is affecting himself.

In using the surface distinctions as the determining factor in assigning case, there were a few instances when it seems that the case relations were being strained. It is my opinion that when the majority of the phrases initiated by a single preposition can be found to fit nicely into the case category, the exceptions - those that seem to strain the definition - should also be included within that category as the straining may be due to the prejudice of the investigator. This insistence on being true to the surface distinctions does not totally coincide with Fillmore's concept of case grammar. However, he was primarily concerned with English which has a multiplicity of prepositions. If he had started with a Polynesian language he might have made the same kind of decision made in this research.

## 5.3. RESIDUAL PROBLEMS

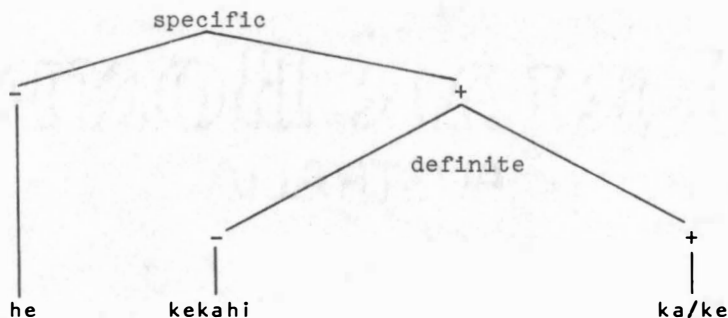
Whenever a linguistic analysis of a language is attempted, the linguist is forced to focus in on a particular aspect of that language. In doing so, it may seem that much of the vitality of the language is being missed. Research on Hawaiian is in such a state of infancy that much remains to be investigated. Between this work and Wilson's thesis, I think the topic of possession has been adequately covered; at least until we know more about other aspects of Hawaiian.

Problems which this study avoided are the full range of uses for *he* (the non-specific determiner), *'a'ole* versus *'a'ohe* and the effect of embedding of all kinds of the postverbal *ana* '*continuing*' and *nei* '*proximate*'. Other topics have been totally ignored.

Conjunction was excluded from this study for a number of reasons. Many of the prepositions which mark case also have conjunctive functions, and the question of the relationship between their case-marking and conjunctive functions is fraught with problems which I wished to avoid

here. Consequently, conjunction represents a prime area for research. In trying to cover all sentence structures other than conjoining, none of the structures have been fully investigated. Separate studies are still needed for the verb classes, sentential complements, the prefix ho'o, negation, equational verbless sentences, nominalisation, and various minor topics for a picture of the Hawaiian language to be complete.

APPENDIX A  
THE FEATURES OF THE DETERMINERS



he [-specific]

kekahi  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{specific} \\ -\text{definite} \end{array} \right.$

ka/ke [+definite]

Genericness is not marked by the determiners. A generic phrase in English can be translated either with the definite determiner *ka* or with no determiner. He cannot be preceded by any preposition except *me*. A string having a preposition followed by *he* loses either the preposition or the determiner on the surface.

...\*i he mea...

...he mea... rare

...i mea... common

A forthcoming paper "Is He Really a Determiner" by this author tries to explain the limited use of *he* in relationship to its English equivalent.

APPENDIX B  
THE TENSE/ASPECT MARKERS

ua/i	'perfective'	ua → i when embedded
e	'imperfective'	often with ana ' <i>continuing</i> '
ke	'present'	often with nei ' <i>proximate</i> '
mai	'negative imperative'	
o	'imperative'	

APPENDIX C  
ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS STUDY

A	Agent	pass.	passive particle
an.	anaphor particle	perf.	perfective aspect
ARG	argument	pl	plural
B	Benefactive	p.m.	personal marker
CM	case marker	poss.	possessive form (resulting from a combination of Det and prep.)
conj.	conjunction	PRED	predicate
cont.	continuative	prep.	preposition
CP	case phrase	pres.	present time
Det	determiner	PROP	proposition
dir.	directional (aku, mai, a'e, iho)	prox.	proximate (in time and/or location)
d1	dual	Q	question
DR	designated representative	rem.	remote (in time and/or location)
G	Goal	S	sentence
I	Instrumental	So	Source
imp.	imperfective aspect	SUBJ	subject
int.	intensifier	t/a	tense/aspect
L	Location	V	verb
MOD	modal	VP	verb phrase
Mod	modifier		
nm.	nominative phrase marker		
nom	nominalising particle		
NP	noun phrase		
O	Object		

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