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Prenuclear elements in Hawaiian noun phrases

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A noun phrase in Hawaiian can be divided into three elements: (1) Prenuclear elements, (2) a nuclear noun, and (3) postnuclear elements, in sequential order. In the present paper, I attempt to give an inventory of all possible combinations of pre-nuclear elements. Word classes which occupy a pre-nuclear position in a noun phrase include prepositions, determiners, plural markers, a paucal marker, and preposed modifiers. The sequential order among pre-nuclear elements and a nuclear noun can be schematized as: \pm preposition \pm determiner \pm plural marker \pm paucal marker \pm preposed modifier + nuclear noun. I also show a few words which do not fit into a single word class, but can be analyzed into two word classes.

Keywords: Hawaiian, Noun Phrase, Prenuclear element

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Structure of a noun phrase

In Polynesian linguistics, the term 'noun phrase' is often used in a peculiar sense, in which the noun phrase and the prepositional phrase overlap. For example, Elbert and Pukui⁽¹⁾ interpreted the preposition as an optional element of a noun phrase. In the present paper, I do not intend to discuss the distinction between a noun phrase and a prepositional phrase, but I tentatively assume that the preposition is an optional element of a noun phrase.

I divide a noun phrase into three elements: (i) pre-nuclear elements, (ii) a nuclear noun, and (iii) post-nuclear elements, in sequential order. For example:

(1)...i 'ike nā kanaka i ke ala pololei...
 ASP see ART/PL person OBL the way right
 '...so that people could see the right way...' LH
 2/14/1834:1

The noun phrase *i ke ala pololei* has two pre-nuclear elements *i* and *ke*, a nuclear noun *ala*, and a post-nuclear element *pololei*. Some noun phrases have no post-nuclear element:

(2) ...e lawe mai i kāna mau wahi ukana.
 IMP bring DIR ACC his PL PAU luggage
 '(he) brought his luggage.' L 367

The noun phrase *kāna mau wahi ukana* in (2) has three pre-nuclear elements (i.e. *kāna*, *mau*, and *wahi*) and the nuclear noun *ukana*. It has no post-nuclear element. Other noun phrases have nothing but a nuclear noun:

(3) E aloha aku kākou iā Jehova
 IMP love DIR we ACC Jehovah
 'Let's love Jehovah.' MA 2

In (3), *kākou* is the nuclear noun and it is the only element in the noun phrase. The structure of a noun phrase is schematized as follows:

(4) \pm pre-nuclear element(s) + nuclear noun \pm post-nuclear element(s)

The symbol ' \pm ' indicates that the following element is an optional element, while the symbol '+' indicates that the following element is an obligatory element.

1.2 Purpose of this study

The goal of this study is to describe the internal structure of Hawaiian noun phrases, focusing on the pre-nuclear elements. In other words, I attempt to give an inventory of all possible combinations of pre-nuclear elements in Hawaiian noun phrases. In doing so, I intend to achieve three tasks: (i) to establish word classes which occupy a pre-nuclear position in a noun phrase, (ii) to give an inventory of each word class, and (iii) to show the sequential order of those word classes.

1.3 Previous works

In earlier works including Hale⁽²⁾, Andrews⁽³⁾, and Alexander⁽⁴⁾, the noun phrase was not a primary unit in the grammar. Although they discussed a number of words that can be placed before or after nouns, they did not show the overall structure of noun phrases. Most of them did not even mention the unit 'noun phrase'.

Elbert and Pukui⁽⁵⁾ gave the most comprehensive description of the internal structure of noun phrases. According to them, the sequential order of preposed elements is schematized as:

(5) \pm Prepositions \pm Determiners \pm Numerals \pm Particles \pm \emptyset -possessives \pm Plurals

*Common Subject Division

Although this generalization gives us the overall picture of the prenuclear elements in a noun phrase, a number of amendments are needed in order to obtain a more precise prediction. For example, it predicts a combination such as Preposition + Determiner + Numeral + Ø-possessive, which is not found in the data. I use this generalization as a starting point and attempt to advance a more precise generalization.

1.4 Sources of data

The sources of my data are Hawaiian texts written from the 1820s to the modern period, which include stories, laws, and newspapers.

The oldest source is a collection of short speeches titled *Manao o ke Alii*, which is dated 1827. The texts written in the 1830s include excerpts from the newspapers *Ke kumu Hawaii*, *Ke kumu kamalii*, and *Na holoholona wawae eha*. *Na holoholona wawae eha* (Mo'okini 1985) is a description of various animals which is originally from the articles in the newspaper *Ka lama Hawaii*. Some examples are from *Ka moolelo Hawaii* (Malo 1987), which was presumably written in the 1830s. The sources written in the 1840s include *Ao kiko*, *Na haiao*, *Hawaiian constitution and laws*, *He mau palapala aina a me na niele e pili ana*. Texts written in the 1850s and the 1860s include *The Hawaiian romance of Laieikawai* (Beckwith 1919) (which is originally published as *Ke kaao o Laieikawai* (Haleole 1863), *Moolelo no Kamapuaa* (Kahiolo 1978), *Kepelino's tradition of Hawaii* (Beckwith 1932), *Selection from Fornander* (Elbert 1959), and some excerpts from the newspaper *Kuokoa*. Texts written from the 1890s to the early 1900s include some excerpts from the newspaper *Kuokoa*, *Moolelo Hawaii no Kalapana* (Nakuina 1902), *Moolelo Hawaii o Pakaa a me KuaPakaa* (Nakuina 1990), and excerpts from the newspaper *Ka hoku o Hawaii*. The texts that belong to the later period include two collections of stories: *Folk tales of Hawaii* (Pukui and Green 1995), and *Lei Momi o 'Ewa* (Nakoa 1979).

The orthography in most of the texts I used does not mark the glottal stop (which is marked by ' in the modern orthography) and long vowels (which are marked by a macron in the modern orthography). I attempted to restore as many of those as possible.

2. INVENTORY OF PRENUCLEAR ELEMENTS

2.1 Outline

The optional elements which occur before a nuclear noun are prenuclear elements. They include: (i) prepositions, (ii) determiners, (iii) plural markers, (iv) a paucal marker, and (v) preposed modifiers. Two or more elements belonging to one of these four groups cannot be used together. If the nuclear noun is a pronoun or a locational noun, it cannot be preceded by a prenuclear element.

2.2 Prepositions

A preposition can occur at the beginning of a noun phrase. I do not intend to discuss the detailed function of prepositions in this paper. The purpose of this section is to give an inventory of prepositions. The prepositions include *a* 'of', *o* 'of', *ā* 'up to', *e* (agentive), *ē* (vocative), *i* (oblique), *iā* (accusative / oblique), *iō* (accusative/oblique), *ma* (locative), *mai* 'from', *me* 'with', *na* 'for / belonging to', *no* 'for / belonging to', and *'o* (neutral case marker).

Some prepositions combine with the personal pronoun *au* 'I', *'oe* 'you' or *ia* 'he/she' to form a combined form. Combined forms include *ia'u* (*i* + *au*), *io'u* (*iō* + *a'u*), *a'u* (*a* + *au*), *āu* (*a* + *'oe*), *āna* (*a* + *ia*), *o'u* (*o* + *au*), *ou* (*o* + *'oe*), *na'u* (*na* + *au*), *nau* (*na* + *'oe*), *nāna* (*na* + *ia*), *no'u* (*no* + *au*), *nou* (*no* + *'oe*) and *nona* (*no* + *ia*). Since these forms are equivalents for Preposition + Pronoun, they are considered as noun phrases.

I give a brief description of the neutral case marker *'o*, since it is peculiar to Polynesian languages. The neutral case marker *'o* is a preposition with no specific meaning. Although *'o* has no specific meaning, there are two uses of the neutral case marker *'o*, which include (i) a noun marker, and (ii) a substitute for a copula. As a noun marker, *'o* is used with a noun which is not preceded by any other preposition. If the nuclear noun is a proper name, it is mandatorily preceded by the neutral case marker *'o* as a noun marker.

- (6) Ua hele 'o Kehopu i Honuaua..
ASP go NC Kehopu OBL Honuaua
'Kehopu went to Honuaua...' AK 4/21/1870:1

In (6), the subject is a proper name *Kehopu*, which is not marked by any other preposition. Therefore, *'o* as the noun marker is used before *Kehopu*. If a proper name is the complement of the verb *kapa* 'call, name', it is preceded by *'o* as the noun marker.

- (7) ...a kapa iho la 'o Laieikawai.
and call DIR Po-DEM NC Laieikawai
'...and (they) called her Laieikawai.' L 349

Since there is no preposition which particularly marks the complement of the verb denoting calling or naming, the neutral case marker *'o*, as the noun marker, is used. The neutral case marker *'o* used with the third person singular pronoun *ia* is also an example of the use of *'o* as a noun marker.

- (8) Ua hānau 'ia 'o ia i ka lā 3
ASP give birth PAS NC he OBL the day 3
o Novemaba...
of November
'He was born on November 3rd...' NK 11/11/1893:1

Noun phrases that do not have other prepositions are occasionally preceded by *'o* as the noun marker.

- (9) 'A'ole puka moākāka 'o ka hua'ōlelo.
not come out clearly NC the word
'The word does not come out clearly.' FH 156

The use of *'o* as the noun marker before common nouns is optional. Common nouns do not need the noun marker, because they are usually preceded by a determiner, which indicates that a noun is following it. Among noncommon nouns, the proper noun is the only open class that contains an infinite number of members. That, probably, is the reason *'o* as the noun marker is necessary before proper nouns.

There is no copula in Hawaiian. In expressing an equation (A=B 'A is B'), the preposition *'o* is used as a substitute for a copula. As other prepositions can introduce a prepositional predicate, the neutral case marker *'o* can also do so. Therefore, a noun phrase can be changed into a predicate by adding *'o*.

- (10) 'O ka wai o ka lehua kāna 'ai.
NC the honey of the lehua its food
'Its food is the honey of the lehua flower.'
NK 6/6/1863:1

2.3 Determiners

2.3.1 Definite singular articles Definite singular articles include *ka* and *ke*. The article *ke* is used before nouns beginning with the sound *k*, *a*, *e*, or *o* (e.g. *ke kanaka* 'the person', *ke ao* 'the cloud', *ke ea* 'the sovereignty', *ke ola* 'the life'). The article *ka* is used otherwise. However, there are some exceptions which take *ke*, even though they do not begin with the sound *k*, *a*, *e*, or *o* (e.g. *ke po'o* 'the head', *ke 'ano* 'the kind'). When a numeral is used as a nuclear noun, the definite singular article seems to be the only possible choice from prenuclear elements.

- (11) ...i ka lua o ke kaikaina...
to the two of the (younger) sister
'... to the 2nd younger sister...' FH 108

I have found no instance of numerals used with any prenuclear element other than the article *ka/ke*. Occasionally, the article *ka/ke* is used with a nuclear noun referring to the plural entities.

- (12) ...ua pāpa'a ka 'uala i kapuahi...
ASP burned the potato OBL fire
'... the potatoes were burnt in the fire...' FH 152

Although *ka* 'uala in (12) refers to potatoes, not a single potato, the definite singular article *ka* is used. The indication of the plurality is not very strict.

2.3.2 Definite plural articles The definite plural article is *nā*, which is usually used not succeeded by a plural marker. The article *nā* is used only in the plural meaning, while the definite singular article *ka/ke* may be used in either the singular or plural meaning.

- (13) ...ua nui wale nā mana.
ASP many just ART/PL version
'... the versions are so many.' KT 9

Another definite plural article is *kau* 'some', which is often used with the noun *wahi* 'place', as in (14), or the paucal marker *wahi*, as in (15).

- (14) Ua ho'ā'o 'ia ke kamelo ma kau wahi o
ASP try PAS the camel OBL some place of
Europa.
Europe.
'The camel was tried at some places in Europe.' HW 29
(15) ...i kau mau wahi 'āina li'ili'i o Hilo.
OBL some PL PAU land small of Hilo
'... some small lands of Hilo.' PK 31

Note that *wahi* in (4) is a noun meaning 'place', while *wahi* in (5) is a paucal marker. There are a series of nouns which seem to contain *kau*. Since *kau* is a determiner, those nouns are often used without any determiner.

- (16) ...ka pūnohu ma luna o kaupoku hale.
the smoke OBL above of ridgepole house
'... the smoke above the ridgepole of house.' FH 144
(17) E nānā a'e nō 'oe i kauhale nei...
IMP look DIR INT you OBL house this
'You see this house...' FH 111

Although proper nouns are rarely preceded by an article, *nā* is occasionally used with a proper name if there is a group of partially identical proper names.

- (18) ...e noho ana nā Hi'iaka.
IMP stay Po-DEM ART/PL Hi'iaka
'... Hi'iakas are staying.'

In (18), *nā Hi'iaka* refers to three sisters whose names begin with *Hi'iaka* (i.e. *Hi'iaka*, *Hi'iakaikapuaaneane* and *Hi'iakaikapoliopole*.) Kalani Akana (p.c.) pointed out that *nā* can also be used with some place names; for example *nā Kona*, which refers to *Kona 'ākau* 'North Kona' and *Kona hema* 'South Kona' and *nā Hilo*, which refers to *Hilo 'ākau* 'North Hilo' and *Hilo hema* 'South Hilo'.

2.3.3 Demonstratives

There are two kinds of demonstratives: (1) deictic demonstratives and (2) anaphoric demonstratives. The deictic demonstratives include *kēia* 'this', *kēlā* 'that (far from the speaker and the addressee)', *kēnā* 'that (near the addressee)'. Since the demonstratives are determiners, they can be used with other prenuclear elements such as the plural marker, as in (19), or the paucal marker, as in (20).

- (19) ...na kēia mau akua pono'i nō i hana..
for this PL god proper INT ASP make
'...it is these proper gods who made ...' KT 11
(20) A e 'ike nō kākou ma kēia wahi mo'olelo..
and ASP see INT we OBL this PAU story
'And we actually see in this short story...' KT 9

There are some deictic demonstratives rarely used, which include *nā* 'that (near the addressee)', as shown in (21), *nei* 'this', as shown in (22), and *neia* 'this', as shown in (23).

- (21) No hea lā nā keiki?
from where INT that child
'Where is that child from?' SF 243

- (22) ...ma ka pō wale nō e kani ai nei mea kani
OBL the night INT ASP sound AP this instrument
'... it is only in the night when this instrument sounds.'
L 437

- (23) ...nā ali'i o neia mau 'āina.
ART/PL chief of these PL land
'...the chiefs of these lands.' MA 6

The anaphoric demonstratives include *ia* and *ua*, meaning 'that (aforementioned)'.

- (24) ...ua makau loa ia wahi elemakule...
ASP frightened very AD PAU old man
'...that (aforementioned) old man was very frightened...'
SF 147
(25) ...'i mai nei na'e 'o ua Poliahu iā māua...
say DIR Po-DEM INT NC AD Poliahu OBL us
'... that (aforementioned) Poliahu said to us...' L 475

Although proper names are usually used with no prenuclear element, the anaphoric demonstrative *ua* can be occasionally used with a proper name as shown in (25).

The demonstrative *ua* is often used with postnuclear demonstratives *nei* 'near' or *ala ~ la ~ lā* 'far'.

- (26) ...hea hou aku la nō 'o ia i ua
call again DIR Po-DEM INT NC he OBL AD
mau akua nei...
PL god this
'...he again called these (aforementioned) gods...' FH 106
(27) ua mau kanaka ala o Kauai mai
AD PL person DEM of Kauai DIR
'those people form Kauai' SF 49

(24)-(27) show that the anaphoric demonstratives can be used with other prenuclear elements such as the paucal marker *wahi*, as seen in (24), or the plural marker *mau*, as in (15)-(17).

2.3.4 kekahi and kahi "some, a certain, one" The word *kekahi* can occur as the determiner of a noun phrase.

- (28) 'O 'Ahikananā ka inoa o kekahi wahine...
NC 'Ahikananā the name of one woman
'One woman's name is 'Akahinanā.' FH 107

Similar to other determiners, *kekahi* can be used with other prenuclear elements such as the plural marker *mau* or the paucal marker *wahi*.

- (29) I ki'i mai nei au i kekahi mau
ASP fetch DIR DEM I OBL some PL
kiko'o pana 'iole a kaua...
rat shooting arrow of we
'I came to get some of our rat shooting arrow...' SF 59
(30) kekahi wahi mo'olelo akamai no ka hopu 'ana
some PAU story wise for the catch GER
'some short stories for catching' NK 2/7/1863:1

The word *kahi* can be also used as the determiner, although it is less common than *kekahi*.

- (31) Malia e loa'a ai kahi 'a'ama...
maybe ASP be gotten AP some crab
'Maybe (I) get some crabs...' FH 116

Similar to *kekahi*, *kahi* can be used with the plural marker *mau*.

- (32) ...ua koe nō paha kahi mau i'a...
ASP remain INT perhaps some PL fish
'...perhaps, some fish remained..' Malo 34

However, I have found no instance of *kahi* used with the paucal marker *wahi*.

2.3.5 Possessives There are two kinds of possessives used as determiners, which include (1) k-possessives and (2) ʻO-

possessives. The k-possessives can be formed by noun phrases preceded by *kā* or *kō* (e.g. *kā Malia* ‘Malia’s’).

- (33) ...‘o ia kā Olopana kahuna i ka wā...
NC he k-POS Olopana priest OBL the time
‘... he was Olopana’s priest at the time...’ SF 203

The k-possessives for ‘my, your, his/her/its’ have special forms: *ka’u*, *ko’u* or *ku’u* for ‘my’, *kāu*, *kou* or *kō* for ‘your’, and *kāna* or *kona* for ‘his/her/its’. The possessives *ku’u* and *kō* are sometimes used to express affection.

Possessives can be used with other prenuclear elements such as the plural marker, as in (34) or the paucal marker as in (35).

- (34) ... ho‘olale a‘e la ia i kāna mau
order DIR Po-DEM he OBL his PL
‘ā‘ipu‘upu‘u ‘elua.
steward two
‘... he ordered to his two of his steward.’ SF 91
(35) ...ke ha‘i aku nei au iā ‘oukou i ko‘u
ASP tell DIR Po-DEM I OBL you OBL my
wahi mana‘o...
PAU thought
‘... I’m telling you my small thoughts...’ MA 7

Possessives may also contain more complicated noun phrases.

- (36) Ko ke ali‘i ‘o Umi ka‘apuni ‘ana...
k-POS the king NC Umi go around GER
‘the chief Umi’s going around...’ SF 149

In (36), the possessive *ko ke ali‘i ‘o Umi* contains the noun phrase *ke ali‘i ‘o Umi*, which includes the determiner *ke*, the nuclear noun *ali‘i* and the modifying phrase ‘*o Umi*. A nuclear noun may be omitted after a possessive, if it is understood. In such cases, even longer noun phrases may make up possessives.

- (37) ... ma mua o ko nā lio ‘ē
OBL front of k-POS ART/PL horse different
apau i like ko lākou nui me kona..
all ASP like their size with his
‘... more than all other horses whose size are similar to his size...’ HW 61

In (37), the phrase *ko nā lio ‘ē apau i like ko lākou nui me kona* forms a long possessive, meaning ‘(the thing) of all other horses whose sizes are similar to his size’. The nuclear noun is omitted after it.

The Ø-possessives are prepositional phrases which are formed by a noun phrase preceded by the possessive preposition *a* or *o*, including the contracted forms listed in section 2.2. According to Elbert and Pukui⁽⁶⁾, the k-possessives have the features ‘definite’ and ‘singular’, while Ø-possessives do not have those features. The Ø-possessives occur as a determiner if the definiteness and singularity of the nuclear noun do not matter, such as: (i) with a subject noun phrase of a numeral in the predicate use or (ii) with a subject noun phrase of a verb ‘*a‘ohe* ‘there is no’.

- (38) He ‘elua āna mau kaikamahine nunui ikaika.
two his PL girl big strong
‘He has two big strong girls.’ FH 145
(39) ...‘a‘ohe a‘u keiki ‘ē a‘e...
there is no my child different DIR
‘... I have no other children.’ MK 151

However, the Ø-possessives for the first and second person singular may occasionally occur with nouns in the definite meaning, if they are used with nuclear nouns which refer to plural entities.

- (40) Ē o‘u mau kānaka...
VOC my PL people
‘Oh my people...’ FH 119
(41) ‘O ‘oe ka mea e loa‘a ai a‘u
NC you the thing ASP be gotten AP my

wahine...
wife

- ‘You are the one by which my wives are gotten...’ SF 229
(42) E nana mai i ou mau pōki‘i?
IMP look DIR OBL your PL sister
‘Look at your younger sisters’ L 423
(43) ...‘o au wahine wale nō kē noho me ‘oe...
NC you wife INT the one who stay with you
‘...the ones who stay with you are only your wives...’
SF 177

In (40)–(43), the Ø-possessives are used with nuclear nouns which refer to plural entities. I have found no instance of the similar use of the Ø-possessives in the singular meaning. If this use is limited to the plural noun, it suggests that the Ø-possessives can be also used to express the plurality.

2.3.6 Numerals Although a numeral is more often used as a verb or a modifier of a noun, it can also occur as a determiner.

- (44) Ua ka‘awale lākou i ‘eono mau papa.
ASP separate they OBL six PL class
‘They are separated into six classes.’ LH 2/14/1834:3

In (44), the numeral ‘*eono* in the noun phrase *i ‘eono mau papa* is used as a determiner, which is followed by the plural marker *mau* and the nuclear noun *papa*.

The numeral *ho‘okahi* ‘one’ is often used as a determiner.

- (45) ...i ho‘okahi kapuai paha.
OBL one feet perhaps
‘... perhaps to one foot.’ HW 11

2.4 Plural markers

The most common plural marker is *mau*. The plural marker *mau* can be used with demonstratives, as shown in section 2.3.3, with *kekahi* or *kahi*, as shown in section 2.3.4, with possessives, as shown in section 2.3.5.

The lesser used plural marker is *po‘e*. The plural marker *po‘e* can be used with various determiners, such as demonstratives, as seen in (46), k-possessives, as in (47), *kekahi* ‘some’, as in (48), *he* (which is equivalent to the combination of preposition + determiner), as in (49), or the definite singular article *ka*, as in (50).

- (46) kēia po‘e alii ho‘oluhi
this PL chief exhaust
‘these chiefs who exhaust (people)’ FH 133
(47) ... e malama i ko ‘oukou po‘e uhane.
IMP take care OBL k-POS you PL spirit
‘... take care of your spirits.’ H 3
(48) ...ua pau kekahi po‘e hale.
ASP finished some PL house
‘...some houses were finished.’ FH 114
(49) He po‘e lio lokomaikai loa lakou...
NC-INDEF PL horse kind very they
‘They are very kind horses...’ HW 37
(50) ‘I aku la ka po‘e kaikaina...
say DIR Po-DEM the PL younger brother
‘Younger brothers said...’ MK 57

As mentioned in section 2.3.2, the word *kau* is usually used as a determiner. It can rarely be used as a plural marker. If so, it is used with the definite singular article *ke*.

- (51) ...i ke kau wahi hapa o nā mea
OBL the some PAU portion of ART/PL thing
o ka wā kahiko...
of the time ancient
‘... some portion of the things of the ancient time...’
KT 9

In (51), *kau* is used as a plural marker. However, this is the only example of *kau* used with *ke* in my data. As seen in (49) and (50), the plural markers *po‘e* and *kau* can be preceded by the article *ka/ke*. Elbert and Pukui⁽⁷⁾ pointed out that the plural marker *mau* nullifies the singularity of the k-possessives. (49)

and (50) show that the plural marker *po'e* and *kau* can also nullify the singularity of *ka/ke*.

2.5 Paucal marker

The paucal marker is *wahi* which express a small amount or tininess, as in (52).

- (52) ...he wahi keiki 'u'uku 'o Iwa.
 NC-INDEF PAU child small NC Iwa
 '...Iwa is a tiny little kid' SF 21

The paucal marker can be also used to express humbleness.

- (53) ...ke ha'i aku nei au iā 'oukou
 ASP say DIR Po-DEM I to you
 i ko'u wahi mana'o...
 OBL my PAU thought
 '...I'm telling you my little thought...' MA 7

Elbert and Pukui⁽⁸⁾ pointed out that *wahi* is commonly used without *mau*, and that *wahi* is included in the plural markers together with *mau*. However, I have a number of example of *wahi* used with *mau*.

- (54) ...i aku ua mau wahi kanaka nei...
 say DIR AD PL PAU people this
 '... these (aforementioned) people said...' SF 51
 (55) ...i kāna mau wahi ukana...
 OBL his PL PAU luggage
 '...his little bit of luggage...' KKL 27
 (56) ...he ma'alea nō ho'i kona mau wahi wāwae...
 NC-INDEF skillful INT his PL PAU feet
 '...his tiny feet are indeed skillful...' NK 6/13/1863:1

As seen in (54)-(56), the plural marker *mau* always precedes the paucal marker *wahi*. Therefore, I assume that the paucal marker *wahi* forms an independent word class which occurs after the plural marker.

2.6 Preposed modifiers

In Hawaiian noun phrases, postposed modifiers are prevalent. Preposed modifiers are difficult to find. There are only a few examples in my data.

- (57) 'O ka iki makua ia 'o ka ulu.
 NC the short adult it NC the sphere
 'The short mature one is the sphere.' SF 183
 (58) ... e hapai mua a'e 'olua i kō wahi 'āpulu
 IMP carry before DIR you OBL your PAU worn out
 wa'a no ke keiki.
 canoe for the child
 '... carry first your worn out canoe for the child.' PK 9

Pukui and Elbert⁽⁹⁾ also gave an example.

- (59) he iki pua mau'u
 NC-INDEF small blade grass
 'a small blade of grass' Pukui and Elbert (1986:97)

Another possible example is one line from the song entitled 'Ku'u tūtū' composed by Mary K. Pukui:

- (60) Aloha ku'u tūtū i ka nui lokomaikai.
 beloved my grandma OBL the big kindness
 'My grandma is beloved because of great kindness'
 (60) can be interpreted in two ways: (i) *nui* is the preposed modifier 'great' which modifies the noun *lokomaikai* 'kindness', and (ii) *nui* is the noun 'greatness' which is modified by *lokomaikai* 'kind'. Although the given translation seems to suggest the interpretation (i), it is still controversial.

3 COMBINATION OF FUNCTIONS

3.1 Definition

Sometime, a prenuclear element does not fit into one of word classes advanced in Chapter 2, but it is equivalent to the combination of two word classes. I call it COMBINATION OF FUNCTIONS. These are similar to the examples called

PORTMANTEAU MORPHEME.

3.2 Preposition + determiner

3.2.1 he The word *he* is the combination of the neutral case preposition 'o and the indefinite article. Since 'o is one of prepositions which can form a prepositional predicate, the word *he* can also introduce a predicate.

- (61) He manu nui kēia e like me ka 'ō'ō,..
 NC-INDEF bird big this ASP like with the 'ō'ō
 'This is a big bird like the 'ō'ō bird,..' NK 6/13/1863:1

Since *he* is the combination of the preposition and the indefinite article, it cannot be used with another preposition nor another determiner. However, *he* can be used with other prenuclear elements which occur after determiners, such as the plural marker *mau*, as in (62), or the paucal marker *wahi*, as in (63)

- (62) He mau mea maikai nō na'e.
 NC-INDEF PL thing good INT but
 'But (it is) indeed good things.' KT 9
 (63) He wahi manu 'u'uku kēia,..
 NC-INDEF PAU bird small this
 'This is a small bird...' NK 6/13/1863:1

The word *he* cannot be preceded by another preposition. When an indefinite noun phrase is preceded by a preposition, there are three options. A definite noun phrase preceded by a preposition can be realized as: (i) Preposition + Noun phrase without a determiner (i.e., omitting *he*), (ii) Ø + Noun phrase preceded by *he* (i.e., omitting a preposition) or (iii) Preposition + Noun phrase preceded by the definite article (i.e., replacing *he* with the definite article). Options (i) and (ii) are illustrated by (64) and (65). When an indefinite noun phrase is the object of a verb, either *he* is omitted, as in (64), or the preposition *i* (oblique) is omitted, as in (65).

- (64) ...e imi i mea 'ai.
 to look for OBL thing eat
 '...to look for food.' HW 17
 (65) Ua hānau 'o Malaekahana he
 ASP give birth NC Malaekahana NC-INDEF
 kaikamahine.
 girl
 'Malaekahana gave birth to a girl.' L 345

In order to coordinate two or more noun phrases, they are coordinated by *ame* 'and'. It consists of the conjunction *a* 'and' and the preposition *me* 'with'. Since *he* cannot be preceded by another preposition, *ame* cannot be used before *he*. Therefore, *he* after *ame* is replaced by the definite article *ka/ke*. This is an example of the option (iii).

- (66) ..he mau i'a he kikakapu, he
 NC-INDEF PL fish NC-INDEF kikakapu NC-INDEF
 kapuahili, he oliepa ame ke kala.
 kapuahili NC-INDEF oliepa and the kala
 '... (there are) some fish, a kikakapu, a kapuahili, a oliepa and a kala.' KL 13

In (66), many varieties of fish are listed. The definite article occurs only after *ame*, while *he* occurs elsewhere.

3.2.2 mehe The word *mehe* '(look) like' is also equivalent to the combination of Preposition *me* + Indefinite article. Since *mehe* contains an article, it cannot be used with another article. *Mehe* is often used with a noun followed by the postnuclear demonstrative *la*.

- (67) ...ua halulu mehe hekili la
 ASP roar like thunder Po-DEM
 '(it) was roaring like a thunder.' SF 169

Many prepositions can introduce a prepositional predicate. The word *mehe*, which is an equivalent to the combination of Preposition + Article, can also introduce a prepositional predicate.

- (68) Mehe makuakāne la 'oe no'u.
like father Po-DEM you for me
'You are like a father for me.' SF 241

In (68), *mehe makuakāne la* is a prepositional predicate and 'oe is a subject.

3.3 Determiner + plural marker

Although there is no clear example of a word which is functionally equivalent to the combination of Determiner + Plural marker, one possible candidate is the definite plural article *nā*. If *nā* is equivalent to the combination of Determiner + Plural marker, *nā* cannot be used with other plural marker. My data contains no example of *nā* used with the plural marker *mau*. It supports that the assumption *nā* is the equivalent for the combination of Determiner + Plural marker. However, Elbert and Pukui⁽¹⁰⁾ claimed that "the sequence *nā mau* is heard, although it has not been noted in writing". If *nā* can be used with *mau*, *nā* is merely a determiner.

3.4 Determiner + Nuclear noun

The word *kahi* 'the place' cannot be used with any other prenuclear elements. This *kahi* is the equivalent for the article *kalke* + a nuclear noun *wahi* 'place'. Therefore, other prenuclear elements that have to occur between the determiner and the nuclear noun do not occur before or after *kahi*. Only postnuclear elements can be used with *kahi*.

- (69) Holo aku nei lākou i kahi 'ē loa.
run DIR Po-DEM they OBL place different very
'They ran to somewhere else.' FH 116

In (69) *kahi 'ē loa* is a noun phrase. The word *kahi* is equivalent to the combination of Prenuclear element + Nuclear noun, and 'ē loa is a postnuclear element. Note that *kahi* discussed in this section is semantically and syntactically different from *kahi* discussed in 2.3.4.

4 NOUN PHRASE WITHOUT ANY PRENUCLEAR ELEMENT

Personal pronouns and locational nouns are not used with the prenuclear elements.

The plural common nouns may occur without any prenuclear element.

- (70) Huki kānaka i ka 'ōhi'a...
pull people OBL the ohia tree
'People pulled the ohia trees...' FH 133
(71) ...he mea nui wale kēia mea i
NC-INDEF thing important INT this thing OBL
kamali'i o ko mākou wahi.
children of our place
'... this is a very important thing for children of this place.' SF 165

The noun *kānaka* 'persons' in (70) is the plural form of the noun *kanaka* 'person'. The noun *kamali'i* 'children' in (71) is semantically plural. Both of these occur without any prenuclear element in (70) and (71).

Occasionally, other common nouns may occur without prenuclear elements, if it is used in the plural meaning.

- (72) ... me kama'āina o laila...
with inhabitant of there
'... with people of that place...' FH 106
(73) ... ua moe kiai o ka lua.
ASP sleep guard of the cave
'... the guards of the cave slept.' SF 177

There are also a series of nouns referring to geographic features that are often used without any prenuclear element. Those nouns include *kahaone* 'beach', *kahakai* 'beach', *kahawai* 'stream', *ka'e* 'edge', *kapa* 'boundary' and *kapawai* 'bank'.

- (74) i kahakai o Laupahoe
OBL beach of Laupahoe
'at the beach of Laupahoe' SF 153
(75) ma ka'e o ka luawai
OBL edge of the pond
'at the edge of the pond' SF 351

Those nouns may be also used with articles.

- (76) ...ua hiki lākou i ke kahakai.
ASP reach they OBL the beach
'... they arrived at the beach.' FH 142
(77) ma ke ka'e o kēlā luawai
OBL the edge of that pond
'at the edge of that pond' SF 351

Although it is not clear when the articles are used and when they are not used, the contrast between (75) and (77) is suggestive. (77) is more specific than (75), since (77) refers to the edge of that (specific) pond. It seems the article *ke* is used when the referent of the noun is more specific or more definite.

5 SEQUENTIAL ORDER

The sequential order among prenuclear elements and a nuclear noun can be schematized as:

- (78) ± preposition ± determiner ± plural marker ± paucal marker ± preposed modifier + nuclear noun

This ordering, excluding the preposed modifier, is illustrated by (79).

- (79) ...e lawe mai i kana mau wahi ukana.
ASP bring DIR OBL his PL PAU luggage
'...and brought his small luggage.' L 367

In (79), *kāna* is a determiner, *mau* is a plural marker and *wahi* is a paucal marker. Although the preposed modifier is rarely seen, it sometimes occurs after the paucal marker.

- (80) ... e hapai mua a'e 'olua i ko wahi 'āpulu
IMP carry before DIR you OBL your PAU worn out
wa'a no ke keiki
canoe for the child
'... carry first your worn out canoe for the child.' PK 9

In (80), 'āpulu is a preposed modifier, which comes after a paucal marker *wahi*.

6. CONCLUSION

In the present paper, I showed a new version of the inventory of prenuclear elements together with the sequential order among them, which produces less exception than those advanced in previous works. I also advanced the notion COMBINATION OF FUNCTIONS, which makes it possible to take care of words which do not fit into a single word class.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Grammatical Terms

ACC:	accusative marker
AD:	anaphoric demonstrative
AP:	anaphoric particle
ART/PL:	plural article
ASP:	aspect marker
DIR:	directional
GER:	gerund marker
IMP:	imperative marker
INDEF:	indefinite article
INT:	intensifier
k-POS:	k-possessive
NC:	neutral case marker
OBL:	oblique marker
PAS:	passive marker

PAU: paucal marker
 PL: plural marker
 Po-DEM: postnuclear demonstrative
 VOC: vocative marker

Hawaiian texts

AK: Ao Kiko
 FH: Folktales of Hawaii
 HW: O na Holoholona Wawae Eha
 KKL: Ke Kaa o Laieikawai
 KL: Moolelo Hawaii no Kalapana
 KT: Kepelino's traditions of Hawaii
 L: The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai
 LH: Ka Lama Hawaii
 MA: Ka Manao o na Alii
 Malo: Ka moolelo Hawaii
 MK: Ka Moolelo o Kamapuaa
 NK: Nupepa Kuokoa
 PK: Pakaa ame KuaPakaa
 SF: Selection from Fornander

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ハワイ語名詞句における前中核要素

塩谷 亨

概要

ハワイ語の名詞句は前から順番に前中核要素、中核名詞、後中核要素の三つに分類できる。本稿では前中核要素の構造についての記述を目的とする。名詞句内の前中核要素の位置に現れる語類は、前置詞、限定辞、複数辞、指小辞、前置修飾語である。これらの語類及び中核名詞を併せた構造は {前置詞±限定辞±複数辞±指小辞±前置修飾語+中核名詞} のように示される。本稿ではまた、上記の語類の一つにうまくおさまらず、二つの語類の機能を合わせ持つ語の例も示す。

キーワード： ハワイ語、名詞句、前中核要素

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