5 The case markings of Hawaiian locative nouns and placenames

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1 Introduction[1]

In Hawaiian, placenames and locative nouns unite to form an interesting category with respect to case marking. To begin with, locative nouns, which are a strange breed of nouns that form the core of the so-called 'double prepositions', are case-marked like placenames, and then these two classes together are marked like personal names when they are subjects, objects, and stative agents, but they are marked like common nouns when they are locations, destinations and sources.

In this paper, I will first show how personal names and common nouns differ in case marking and then how placenames and locative nouns fit in between these two extremes. I will then attempt to explain why locative nouns are marked like placenames and why placenames are marked like personal names when they are coded as subjects, objects and stative agents, but not when they are coded as locations, destinations or sources.

2 Locative nouns

Of the noun types mentioned above, probably only the term 'locative noun' requires any introductory comments. Examples of locative nouns are given in Table 1.[2]

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[2] There are also a few temporal expressions such as *nehinei* 'yesterday' and *kinohi* 'beginning' which behave like the nominals in Table 1. *Muli* is also used in the expression of cause *ma muli o* 'because of'. See Elbert and Pukui (1979:120–123) for more details.

Table 1: Locative nouns

luna	'top, above'	*lalo*	'bottom, under'
loko	'inside'	*waho*	'outside'
uka	'inland'	*kai*	'sea, seaward'
mua	'before, front'	*hope*	'behind, after, back'
waena	'between'	*muli*	'behind, after'
'one'i	'here'	*laila*	'there' (anaphoric)
'ane'i	'here'	*'ō*	'there' (not anaphoric)
ha'i	'edge'	*kaha*	'place'
kahakai	'beach, seashore'	*kahaone*	'beach, seashore'
kauhale	'household, home'		

When locative nouns are used in their usual, relational sense, that is, in the so-called 'double prepositions', they are preceded by a preposition (but not an article) and followed by *o* 'of' plus a noun phrase. In this way, they behave like the word *top* in the English expression *on top of*. In example (1), for instance, *luna* 'top' is preceded by the preposition *ma* 'on' and followed by *o* 'of' plus the noun phrase *ke pākaukau* 'the table'.

(1) *Aia   ka   nūpepa   **ma   luna   o**   ka   pākaukau.*
       there   the   newspaper   on   top   of   the   table
       'The newspaper is on top of the table.'
       (Hopkins 1992:126)

If a locative noun is preceded by an article, it may have a special, lexicalised (possibly nonlocative) meaning. For example, *ka luna*, which literally means 'the top', refers to a foreman or boss (as of plantation workers). See Elbert and Pukui (1979:120–123) for more on this.

3 Personal names and common nouns

Personal names and common nouns are marked differently with respect to case. Table 2 shows what case markings these two noun types receive when they are encoded as subjects, objects, stative agents, locations, destinations and sources.

Table 2: The case-markings of personal and common nouns*

	SU	OB	SA	LO	DS	SR
personal names	*'o*	*iā*	*iā*	*iā*	*iā*	*maiā*
common nouns	*ø*	*i*	*i*	*i/ma*	*i*	*mai*

*Where SU=subject, OB=object, SA=stative agent, LO=location,
  DS=destination (goal of motion, indirect object), SR=source.[3]

The *ā* that appears in the nonsubject case markers in Table 2 is the historical reflex of what was a personal particle (Elbert & Pukui 1979:133). As we will see shortly, in contemporary

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[3] Other abbreviations used in the interlinear glosses are: IMP – imperfect or imperative, NEG – negative, NOM – nominaliser, PERF – perfect, PL – plural, PRS – present, VOC – vocative

Hawaiian, these nonsubject case markers, somewhat surprisingly, mark nouns other than human or animate nouns.

I will now illustrate the case markings in Table 2 with example sentences, moving across Table 2 from left to right, starting with the role of subject.

3.1 Subjects

There is a tendency in Hawaiian for subjects that are personal names to be marked *'o* and for common nouns to be unmarked. These markings are illustrated in examples (2a) and (2b). The opposite markings are possible, but less common. (I have put the phrases of interest in bold face.)

(2) a. *Makemake* **'o Lani** *i kēia lei.*   (personal name)
    want   SU Lani OB this lei
    'Lani wants this lei.'
    (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:66)

   b. *Kuke* **ka wahine** *i ka mea'ai.*   (common noun)
    cook the woman OB the food
    'The woman cooks the food.'
    (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:66)

As illustrated in example (3), the third person singular pronoun (but usually not the other personal pronouns) is also marked *'o* when it refers to a human and is in subject position. In the nonsubject roles, personal pronouns are marked the same as personal names.

(3)   *Heluhelu* **'o ia** *i nā puke.*   (3rd person singular)
    read   SU he OB the book
    'He reads the books.'
    (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:66)

3.2 Objects

Sentences (4a) and (4b) show that objects that are personal names are marked *iā*, while common nouns are marked *i*.

(4) a. *E aloha aku 'oe* **iā Nālei!**   (personal name)
    IMP greet forth you OB Nālei
    'Greet Nālei!'
    (Hopkins 1992:24)

   b. *Ua 'ike au* **i ke ka'a.**   (common noun)
    PERF see I OB the car
    'I saw the car.'
    (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:84)

3.3 Stative agents

A stative agent is an entity responsible for a state. For example, John is the entity responsible for Mary's state in 'Mary is pregnant by John'. When personal names are encoded as stative agents, they are marked *iā*. When common nouns are encoded as stative agents, they are marked *i*. These facts are illustrated in examples (5a) and (5b):[4]

(5) a. *'Eha 'o ia iā Miki*.   (personal name)
   hurt SU he SA Miki
   'He was hurt by Miki.'
   (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:152)

   b. *Ua make ka wahine i kāna kāne*.   (common noun)
   PERF die the woman SA her husband
   'The woman died due to her husband.'
   (Hopkins 1992:143)

3.4 Locations

Personal names as locations, that is, temporary possessors with whom possessed items reside, are marked *iā*. Common nouns, when coded as locations, are marked *i* or *ma*. Compare example (6a) with examples (6b) and (6c).

(6) a. *Aia ka puke a ke kumu iā 'Aulani*.   (personal name)
   there the book of the teacher at 'Aulani
   ''Aulani has the teacher's book.'
   (Literally the teacher's book is at 'Aulani.)
   (Hopkins 1992:214)

   b. *Aia ke kumu i ka hale*.   (common noun)
   there the teacher in the house
   'The teacher is at home.'
   (Cleeland 1994:88)

   c. *Aia 'o Kamaile ma ka pāka*.   (common noun)
   there SU Kamaile at the park
   'Kamaile is at the park.'
   (Cleeland 1994:88)

3.5 Destinations

The expression 'destination' is used in this paper as a cover term to include indirect objects and goals of motion. As can be seen in examples (7a) and (7b), when personal names are

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4 I use the term 'stative agent' here because it is the term used in the literature on Hawaiian and other Polynesian languages for this type of nominal. In Cook (1988:83) I used the term 'locus of responsibility or cognition', which I feel is a more accurate term. See Hooper (1984) for arguments that the so-called Polynesian 'stative verbs' which occur with this type of nominal do not exclusively nor primarily profile states.

indirect objects, they are marked *iā*, and when common nouns are goals of motion, they are marked *i*.

(7) a. *Ua ho'ouna 'o Nākoa i ka lole iā Luka.*   (personal name)
    PERF send   SU Nākoa OB the clothes to Luka
    'Nākoa sent the clothes to Luka.'
    (Hawkins 1982:56)

   b. *Ua hele 'o ia i ke kuahiwi.*   (common noun)
    PERF go SU he to the mountain
    'He went to the mountain.'
    (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:128)

3.6 Sources

The word *maiā* precedes personal names that are sources, while *mai* 'from' precedes common nouns. Compare examples (8a) and (8b). The second *mai* that appears in these sentences is the directional *mai*, which means 'hither'.

(8) a. *He mau makana kēia maiā Lilinoe mai.*   (personal name)
    a PL gift   this from Lilinoe hither
    'These are some gifts from Lilinoe.'
    (Hopkins 1992:67)

   b. *Mai ka lumi ho'okipa mai ka noho.*   (common noun)
    from the room entertain hither the chair
    'The chair is from the living room.'
    (Cleeland 1994:282)

4 Placenames and locative nouns

I will now expand Table 2 to include placenames and locative nouns. Table 3 shows that these two noun types have identical case markings and that when they are subjects, objects and stative agents, they are marked like personal names, but when they are locations, destinations and sources, they are marked like common nouns.

Table 3: The case-markings of noun types

	SU	OB	SA	LO	DS	SR
personal names	'o	iā	iā	iā	iā	mai
placenames	'o	iā	iā	i/ma	i	mai
locative nouns	'o	iā	iā	i/ma	i	mai
common nouns	ø	i	i	i/ma	i	mai

Before trying to explain the distribution of case markers in Table 3, let us look at some example sentences that illustrate the markings of placenames and locative nouns. Again, we will go through the roles in Table 3 from left to right.

4.1 Subjects

As can be seen in examples (9a) and (9b), both placenames and locative nouns are marked *'o* when they are subjects.

(9) a. *Nani   'o   Moloka'i.*   (placename)
   beautiful SU   Moloka'i
   'Moloka'i is beautiful.'
   (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:40)

   b. *Wela   'o   'ane'i   i   kēia lā.*   (locative noun)
   hot   SU   here   on   this day
   'It's hot here today.'
   (lit. Here is hot on this day.)
   (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:40)

4.2 Objects

Placenames and locative nouns are both marked *iā* when they are encoded as objects. See examples (10a) and (10b):

(10) a. *Ua   'ike 'o   ia   iā   Maui.*   (placename)
   PERF see   SU   he   OB   Maui
   'He saw Maui.'
   (Hawkins 1982:56)

   b. *Ua   holoi au   iā   loko   o   ke pola.*   (locative noun)
   PERF clean I   OB   inside of the bowl
   'I cleaned the inside of the bowl.'
   (Kamanā & Wilson 1990:133)

4.3 Stative agents

Examples (11a) and (11b) illustrate that placenames and locative nouns are also marked *iā* when they are encoded as stative agents.[5]

(11) a. *Kaulana   'o   Ko'olaupoko   iā   Kailua.*   (placename)
   famous   SU   Ko'olaupoko   SA   Kailua
   'Ko'olaupoko is famous because of Kailua.'
   (Hawkins 1982:56)

   b. *Kaulana   'o   Waikīkī   iā   kahakai.*   (locative noun)
   famous   SU   Waikiki   SA   beach
   'Waikiki is famous because of the beach.'

4.4 Locations

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(12) a. *Ke   noho*
   PRS   live
   'I'm living
   (Kahananu

   b. *Aia   ka*
   there   the
   'The hospi
   (Cleeland

4.5 Destinations

Examples (13a
they are destinatio

(13) a. *Ua   ho*
   PERF ser
   'Nākoa se
   (Hawkins

   b. *Hele   lāk*
   go   the
   'They go t
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4.6 Sources

Both placenar
(14a) and (14b):

(14) a. *Ua   he*
   PERF co
   'My cous
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   b. *Mai   la*
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[8] The sentence *H*
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4.4 Locations

In the sentences that we have seen so far, placenames and locative nouns have been marked like personal nouns. For locations, destinations, and sources, however, placenames and locative nouns are marked like common nouns. As can be seen in examples (12a) and (12b), both placenames and locative nouns are marked *i* and *ma* when they are locations.

(12) a. *Ke   noho   nei   au   i/ma   Mānoa*.   (placename)
PRS live PRS I in Mānoa
'I'm living in Mānoa.'
(Kahananui & Anthony 1974:111)

   b. *Aia   ka   haukapila   ma   'ō*.   (locative noun)
there the hospital at there
'The hospital is over there.'
(Cleeland 1994:86)

4.5 Destinations

Examples (13a) and (13b) show that placenames and locative nouns are marked *i* when they are destinations.[6]

(13) a. *Ua   ho'ouna   'o   Nākoa   i   ka lole   i   Lāna'i*.   (placename)
PERF send SU Nākoa OB the clothes to Lāna'i
'Nākoa sent the clothes to Lāna'i [an island].'
(Hawkins 1982:56)

   b. *Hele   lākou   i   laila   i   ka Po'aono*.   (locative noun)
go they to there on the Saturday
'They go there on Saturday.'
(Cleeland 1994:109)

4.6 Sources

Both placenames and locative nouns are marked *mai* when they are sources. See examples (14a) and (14b):

(14) a. *Ua   hele   mai   ko'u mau hoahānau   mai   Hilo   mai*.   (placename)
PERF come hither my PL cousin from Hilo hither
'My cousins came from Hilo.'
(Hopkins 1992:54)

   b. *Mai   laila   mai   'o ia*.   (locative noun)
from there hither SU he
'He is from there.'
(Elbert & Pukui 1979:122)

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[6] The sentence *Hele iā Maui* 'go to Maui', which appears in Pukui and Elbert (1986:93) does not conform to this description. Because Maui is a placename (specifically the name of an island), one would expect it to be marked *i* in this phrase. Emily 'Ioli'i Hawkins has pointed out that Hawaiian case markings are not always as clear-cut as implied by Table 3.

5 On why locative nouns are marked like placenames

Assuming that it is locative nouns that assimilate to placenames and not the other way around, let us turn to the question of why locative nouns should be case-marked like placenames. I think there are at least three reasons.

(i) Semantically, locative nouns are like placenames in that they have to do with locations. This is probably the principal (and most obvious) reason.

(ii) Structurally, the two noun classes are similar in that they both lack articles. It seems to me that the lack of articles, in and of itself, could also influence speakers to treat the two noun types as belonging to the same class.

(iii) Both locative nouns and placenames are used metonymically for the inhabitants of locations (Elbert & Pukui 1979:122).

In other words, the people who live in a particular place, for example 'Ewa or near the sea, can be referred to by the place in which they live (cf. using the White House to refer to the President of the United States). Elbert and Pukui (1979:122, 144, 165) point out that the people who live near the sea and those who live in the uplands are referred to, as illustrated in example (15a), with the expressions *kō kai* '(people) of the sea' and *kō uka* '(people) of the uplands'. (The words *kai* and *uka* are locative nouns.) Consider also examples (15b) and (15c).

(15) a. *kō   kai   (po'e) kō   uka   (po'e)*
       the.of sea   people the.of inland people
       '(people) of the coast' '(people) of the uplands'
       (Elbert & Pukui 1979:144)

   b. *Uwā   'o   uka.*
      shout SU   inland
      'Those inland shouted.'
      (Elbert 1959:259; cited in Pukui & Elbert 1986:365)

   c. *Inā lāua e   kāhea i   Waikīkī, ua   lohe 'o   'Ewa, ...*
      if   they IMP call at Waikiki PERF hear SU   Ewa
      'If they should call at Waikiki, the people of Ewa would hear, ...'
      (Elbert 1959:49; cited in Elbert & Pukui 1979:123)

In sum, locative nouns and placenames both refer to places, they both lack articles, and they are both used to refer to the people who inhabit those areas that they themselves refer to. These three facts, I would argue, contribute to the identical treatment of these two noun types with respect to case markings.

6 On why placenames are marked like personal nouns for certain roles but like common nouns for others

Let us now turn to the question of why placenames are marked like personal nouns when they are subjects, objects, and stative agents but like common nouns when they are locations, destinations and sources. If for half of the roles they are marked like personal nouns and for

the other half like common nouns, then they must, in some way or ways, be both similar to and different from these two other noun types.

One concept I believe necessary in order to explain this scenario is that of individuation, a concept previously employed by Hopper and Thompson in their classic article on transitivity (1980:252–253) and by Timberlake (1975, 1977). According to Hopper and Thompson, entities which have the properties listed on the left in Table 4 are more individuated than those with the properties on the right.[7]

Table 4: Parameters of individuation

	Individuated	Non-Individuated
a.	proper	common
b.	animate	inanimate
c.	concrete	abstract
d.	singular	plural
e.	count	mass
f.	definite	indefinite

The parameters in Table 4 which I believe are relevant for the present discussion are parameters a, b, and f. As for Hawaiian nouns, personal names are the most highly individuated in that they are proper, animate, and inherently definite. Common nouns are the least individuated in that they are (obviously) common and inherently indefinite, that is, they require a definite article in order to receive a definite reading. As for animacy, the common nouns that typically encode locations, destinations and sources are inanimate. I am referring to words like *hale* 'house', *kuahiwi* 'mountain' and *lumi ho'okipa* 'living room' that appeared in examples (6b), (7b) and (8b), respectively. Placenames are 'in between' personal names and these common nouns with respect to individuation in that, like personal names, they are proper and definite but like the common nouns that encode locations, they are inanimate.

Now that may explain why placenames are marked like personal nouns for some roles and like common nouns for others; however, it does not explain why they are marked like personal names for exactly the roles of subject, object and stative agent but like common nouns when they are encoded as locations, destinations and sources. For this aspect of the distribution of the case markers, I will appeal to the participant/setting distinction argued for by Langacker (1991:230–234).

Participants are the individuals and other entities that act or interact in an event, while facets of the setting include the time and location where the event takes place. In typical cases, participants are encoded as subjects or objects, while facets of the setting are encoded as adverbial modifiers. Languages, however, are flexible, and speakers can ignore norms and construe participants as settings and facets of settings as participants. To exemplify with English, sentence (16a) illustrates the norm, (16b) is a sentence in which an individual is construed as a facet of the setting, and (16c) encodes a location as a participant.

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7   Hopper and Thompson (1980:253) include human in (b) and referential and nonreferential in (f). I have omitted these for the sake of brevity. Referentiality may play a role in the fact that personal pronouns (except the 3rd person singular *ia* when it refers to humans) do not normally receive the subject marker *'o* when they are encoded as subjects. Since personal pronouns are deictic, their reference (unlike that of personal names) varies depending on the speech situation.

(16) a. George (participant) is sleeping on the beach (setting).

　　 b. Look, there's a fly on him (setting)! Whack it!

　　 c. This fly invasion is ruining Waikīkī (participant).

As for why placenames assimilate to personal nouns for exactly the grammatical relations of subject, object and stative agent (and not the other roles), I propose that those particular relations are the ones that typically encode participants, and participants are more clearly individuated than the facets of the settings in which they act. (In other words, participants could also be listed in the left column of Table 4 and facets of the setting in the right column.) Specifically, participants are individuated against the setting background in which they (inter)act. Thus, when placenames are encoded as participants, their individuation is heightened by the fact that they are encoded as participants rather than as facets of the setting. Their being marked like inherently highly individuated personal names is the result, I would claim, of their being encoded as (individuated) participants rather than (non-individuated) facets of the setting.

On the other hand, when placenames are encoded as locations, destinations, and sources, they are encoded as elements which are more setting-like. Such elements are less individuated than the participants in an event; hence, placenames under these circumstances do not merit the case markings of the more highly individuated personal names.

Earlier we saw that locative nouns assimilate to placenames in that they were both used metonymically to refer to the people who inhabit the places that they refer to. Notice that in that situation, we also have placenames referring to definite groups of people, in other words behaving like personal names. This could also reinforce a system in which personal and placenames are marked in similar ways.

6.1 The role of place in the Hawaiian culture

There are other factors which I believe reinforce the connection between placenames and personal names, and these have to do with the role of place in the Hawaiian culture as described by Kanahele (1986), who, not by chance I would say, devotes a whole chapter of his book on Hawaiian values to the role of place in the culture. Consider the following quotation:

> In the case of the traditional Hawaiian, … almost every significant activity of his life was fixed to a place. No genealogical chant was possible without the mention of personal geography; no myth could be conceived without reference to a place of some kind; no family could have any standing in the community unless it had a place; no place of any significance, even the smallest, went without a name; and no history could have been made or preserved without reference, directly or indirectly, to a place. (Kanahele 1986:176)

Kanahele (1986:178–180) also argues that territoriality was an 'important part of the Hawaiian's psychology of place and his own sense of individuality'. In speaking of 'roots of identity', Kanahele (1986:180–183) claims that since traditional Hawaiian commoners tended to stay in the same place for generation after generation, 'all the important events of [their] life … occurred in one place' to the extent that 'a sense of place was inseparably linked with self-identity and self-esteem'. People also valued places for their links with their ancestors.

Kanahele (1986:184–188) observes that land in the Hawaiian culture is not only sacred, but alive. The metaphors in Hawaiian myths represent earth as a 'sentient organism'. Land evolved out of the 'union of Papa (mother earth) and Wākea (sky father)'.

Kanahele (1986:183–184) also mentions previous authors who perceived the importance of place in the Hawaiian culture. For example, Luomala (1949) demonstrated the importance of placenames in Hawaiian poetry. Elbert, in Pukui, Elbert, and Mookini (1974:266–271), observes that Hawaiian proverbial sayings 'differ from Euro–American proverbial sayings in that they rely heavily on placenames'. In Pukui's (1983) frequently quoted *'Olelo No'eau: Hawaiian Proverbs and Poetical Sayings*, 1149 out of 2942 proverbs (that is, 39 per cent) mention placenames.

Kanahele (1986:183–184) also mentions that place is one of the important categories of Hawaiian songs, and on this point I would like to elaborate. I would add that while much of the world is singing about the affection between human lovers, Hawaiians are singing at least as much, if not more, about the love that they feel for certain places, be it their homesteads, native towns or other places in Hawai'i that are dear to them.[8] For example, on KINE-FM, the radio station that (compared to other FM stations in Honolulu) plays the greatest proportion of Hawaiian music, one of the most frequently played songs (at the time of the writing of this paper) is about the area on the island of Hawai'i called Kalapana. The title of the song is given in example (17).

(17) *E   Kalapana,   pehea 'oe?*
       VOC   Kalapana   how   you
       'Hey, Kalapana, how are you?'
       (title of song by Moses Kamealoha III)

The vocative marker *e* and the question *pehea 'oe?* in example (17) show that the singer is personifying the place. The only mainland songs in English that I can think of that have similar titles are *California, here I come* and *O little town of Bethlehem*, which I do not believe are representative of popular mainland songs today. Somewhat similar is *I left my heart in San Francisco*, but songs like these are outnumbered by the numerous Hawaiian placename songs that are played regularly on the aforementioned radio station, songs like *Kāne'ohe, Kaimuki Hula, Wai'ānae, He aloha nō 'o Honolulu, Hilo Hanakahi, Hanohano Hale'iwa, Moloka'i Nui a Hina*, and many more. My claim here is that Hawaiians treat placenames as personal names under certain conditions because they love their places of origin, and so on, in a manner similar to the way in which they love the people who are dear to them.[9]

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[8] At the American Anthropological Association presentation of an earlier version of this paper (see fn. 1), Penelope Brown pointed out that the Irish also sing frequently about places.

[9] Elbert and Mahoe (1970:3) collected 101 Hawaiian songs of which they categorised 29 as love songs, 16 as 'honoring places' and 12 as 'honoring persons'. At first glance, these figures may not seem to support my claim, but the authors admit that it is difficult to categorise the songs because of a 'plurality of motifs', and they also point out that what they classify as love songs make constant reference to nature. The authors purposely included 'examples of the most common types of songs' written between the mid-1850's and 1968. I do not believe that they had the intention of correctly representing the numerical proportion of each type of song at any particular point in Hawaiian history.

Note that it is placenames *per se* and not the names of winds, rains, and seas that assimilate to personal names. Winds, rains, and seas, which one might think of as animate-like and therefore similar to humans, are surprisingly treated as common nouns. Evidence of this is the fact that names of winds, rains, and seas are preceded by articles. This is illustrated in (i).

7 Future research

In order to discuss topics for future research, let us first consider example (18), the system of categorisation of Hawaiian nouns found in Kamanā and Wilson (1990, 1991).[10]

(18) a. *i'oama'uli*: 'proper names for things that have personalities like people, animals, and spirits' (1991:21)

    b. *i'oapaku*: 'proper names for things that do not have personalities such as places, trees, books, songs, etc.' (1991:21)

    c. *i'oahenua*: 'locatives' (1990:88, 1991:49)

    d. *kikino*: 'something that has some sort of body or shape, or is thought of in terms of having a form of some sort' (1990:148) [equivalent to 'common nouns'—K.C.]

With respect to examples (18a) and (18b), that is, *i'oama'uli* and *i'oapaku*, in this paper I have only dealt with representative subclasses of these two categories, namely personal names and placenames. Future research could focus on the other subclasses within those groups to see if their behaviour is consistent with that of personal names and placenames, or if they belong to more than one category.

With regard to the latter possibility, Gary Kahāho'omalu Kanada has pointed out to me that when words and phrases are spoken of metalinguistically, they are treated at times like the nouns in example (18b), that is, as *i'oapaku*, and at times like those in (18d), namely, as *kikino*. For example, in sentence (19a), the words *nei* and *ala* are treated like *i'oapaku* in that, as direct objects, they are marked *iā*, while in (19b), *i* (the last word in the sentence) is treated as a *kikino*. (The article *ka* in front of *i* indicates that it is a *kikino*.)[11]

(19) a. *Aia   iā   'oe   ke   koho   'ana   iā   nei   a   iā   ala   paha.*
       there   to   you   the   choose   NOM   OB   nei   and   OB   ala   perhaps
       'Choosing *nei* or *ala* is up to you.'
       (Kamanā & Wilson 1991:26)

(i) a. *He   Kuehu-lepo   ko   Ka-'ū*
     a   scatter-dirt/dust   the.of   Ka'ū
    'The [wind] of Ka'ū is a dirt or dust scattering [wind].'
    (Kahananui & Anthony 1974:107)

   b. *He   ua   loku   ko   Hanalei.*
     a   rain   drench   the.of   Hanalei
    'The [rain] of Hanalei is a drenching rain.'
    (Kahananui & Anthony 1974:108)

   c. *He   kai   'a'ai   ke   kai   o   Ka'a'awa   ma   O'ahu.*
     a   sea   erode   the   sea   of   Ka'a'awa   on   O'ahu
    'The sea of Ka'a'awa on O'ahu is an eroding sea.'
    (Kahananui & Anthony 1974:108)

[10] The non-English terms in example (18) are not traditional Hawaiian words but rather mnemonic expressions that the authors have borrowed from other Polynesian languages or invented based on Polynesian or Hawaiian roots. In Kamanā and Wilson (1990:iii), the authors write **i'oama'uli** and **i'oapaku** as compounds, while (1991:21) they write them as separate words (**i'oa ma'uli** and **i'oa paku**). Kamanā and Wilson (1990, 1991) do not define **kikino** as 'common nouns' but judging by the **kikino** words in their vocabulary lists, it is clear that that is what they are.

[11] The gloss I have given for example (19a) is my own. Kamanā and Wilson (1991:26) translate that sentence as 'The decision to use the *nei* form or the *ala* form in each case will be up to you'.

b. *Ma ka mana'o "become", a'ohe ka'i ma hope o ka i.*
on   the   meaning "become", NEG det. in   after of the i
'With the meaning "become", there is no determiner after the *i*.'
(Kamanā & Wilson 1991:12)

It is very likely that there are other noun classes that belong to more than one category. This aspect of this phenomenon also deserves future research.

A cross-Polynesian investigation of this phenomenon might turn up interesting observations. Churchward's (1953:88) description of locative nouns and placenames in Tongan makes them seem very similar to Hawaiian placenames and locative nouns with respect to case markings. In my own work on Samoan, the only thing I have noticed that is similar to the Hawaiian situation is that the names of the months are sometimes treated like personal names with respect to the alternation between the locative/directional case marker *i* for common nouns and *iā* for personal names.[12] These facts are surprising, given that Tongan and Samoan are Western Polynesian languages while Hawaiian belongs to the Eastern Polynesian subgroup. Future research could also involve an exploration among the cultures of the other Polynesian groups for phenomena that would support their case-marking patterns, phenomena such as, for example, the importance of place that Kanahele (1986) has argued for in the Hawaiian culture.

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[12] According to Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:98), the names of the months are preceded by *iā* in Biblical Samoan and 'sporadically in modern written texts'.

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