On the Adequacy of Hawai‘i Creole English

Ryo E. Stanwood
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Abstract

Low prestige, non-standard speech varieties have been stigmatized by some psychologists and educators as a cognitive handicap responsible for the poor academic performance of minority children. This study investigates whether a particular non-standard variety, Hawai‘i Creole English (HCE), is equal to “real” languages (such as Standard English) in its expressive capacity. The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) specification is the only explicit hypothesis about the expressive apparatus underlying all natural languages. It therefore offers us the only empirical means to carry out our investigation. This investigation argues in exhaustive detail that all the primitives and all the primitive combinations of the NSM specification are present in HCE.
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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Concerning the present study

This study tests the hypothesis that Hawai‘i Creole English (HCE) (and presumably other creole languages as well) has an expressive capacity equivalent to “real” languages such as Standard English (SE). The prevailing assumption among linguists is that the expressive capacity of any two languages is the same, i.e., whatever can be said in language X can be said in language Y; there are no “superior” or “inferior” languages.

The Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) specification, formulated by Wierzbicka and her colleagues, offers the first empirical means to test this assumption. As far as I am aware, NSM offers the only explicit hypothesis as to what constitutes the expressive minimum that any human language must have. This study investigates, in particular, whether HCE contains all the primitives and primitive combinations specified in NSM.

This study is ground-breaking in at least three other respects. First of all, it is a semantic study of a creole language. There are precious few studies of this kind or perhaps even none, depending on your definition of semantic. Second, it is a lexical study of a creole language, also a relatively rare occurrence. Third, although there have been studies comparing semantic and combinatorial equivalents across languages, this is the first time such a comparison has been attempted for a creole language. We therefore have to address variation, code-switching, interference from the superstrate language, language attitudes, and other problems typical of creoles and develop a suitable methodology for this study.

1.2 Contents of chapters

The material in this study will be presented in the following order. In the remainder of this introduction, I explain in more detail exactly what the hypothesis is and how it is potentially falsifiable. Chapter 2 is devoted to familiarizing the reader with the relevant aspects of NSM theory. Chapter 3 relates the history of HCE to language attitudes. These attitudes manifest themselves in the current debates concerning language deficit theory. It is argued that the data provided by the present study has a direct bearing on this issue. Chapter 4 explains the language situation and attempts to deal with the associated methodological challenges. Chapter 5 introduces the primitives, describes the organization of the sections which follow, and presents and analyzes the evidence for the presence or absence of each of the NSM primitives in HCE. The final chapter summarizes the results of this study.

1.3 The hypothesis

Thus far, I have referred to the central hypothesis of this study informally as the proposition that “The expressive capacity of HCE is the same as any other language”. This statement does not mean that any word in a particular language has to have a simple one word equivalent in HCE. It does not mean that you can say the same thing in HCE using the same number of words. And finally, it does not mean that HCE will be equally elegant or concise as another language in expressing a given meaning. So what does it mean to say that “The expressive capacity of HCE is the same as any other language”? A little more concretely, it means that for any meaning expressible in language X, there exists some means (lexical or grammatical) to express that same meaning in HCE.

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1 The only study I am aware of is Frake 1971.
2 For that matter, we must avoid any arbitrary limit on the number of words our cross-linguistic equivalents may have. The point may seem obvious, but in practice, semanticists and lexicographers often abandon their search if an adequate two or, at most, three word equivalent is not immediately apparent.
However, the hypothesis must be reduced into a form amenable to empirical verification. Obviously, it is not possible to compare every expression in two languages. The few studies comparing the expressive capacity of two languages have been restricted to a single domain. For example, Forman et al. (1974) argues for the equality based on the existence of an elaborated grammar in HCE. Labov (1990) argues for the same thing based on the existence of an elaborated system of tense in HCE. Elsewhere, Labov argues for the equivalence of Black English and SE based on the equivalence of their logical systems (Labov 1969b) and their systems of negation (Labov 1969a). These studies, however, make no pretense of being exhaustive in their coverage and although we must gratefully acknowledge their value and significance, such restricted studies cannot bring this issue to a closure.

The only practical way to extend the coverage of this study to all domains of language is to demonstrate equivalence or nonequivalence from the bottom up. Although the set of possible expressions in any language is infinite, the set of terms and rules of combination is finite. If we are able to show that the terms and rules of combination are exactly the same at the primitive level for two languages, it would then follow that these two languages have exactly the same expressive capacity. What has been missing until recently however, is an explicit specification of these primitive terms and rules of combination for “real” languages. The NSM specification is exactly that.

1.4 The NSM specification

The NSM specification forms the basis for this study. It is divided up into two parts: a mini-lexicon and a mini-syntax. The lexicon contains the set of semantic primitives. The syntax specifies how these primitives may be combined with one another. The intent is to construct a complete and universal specification such that every language has exact lexical equivalents for each primitive, and every language allows all combinations specified in the syntax.

The primitives fall into two groups: the primitives covered in the preliminary study, Semantics and Lexical Universals (Goddard and W 1994, hereafter referred to as the ESTABLISHED primitives), and the recent additions found in Semantics, Primes and Universals (W 1996, hereafter referred to as the RECENT ADDITIONS).

There are 37 primitives in the ESTABLISHED set of primitives:

**ESTABLISHED PRIMITIVES**

| SUBSTANTIVES: | YOU, I, SOMEONE, SOMETHING, PEOPLE |
| DETERMINERS: | THIS, THE SAME, OTHER |
| QUANTIFIERS: | ONE, TWO, MANY (MUCH), ALL |
| MENTAL PREDICATES: | THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL |
| SPEECH: | SAY |
| ACTIONS, EVENTS: | DO, HAPPEN |
| EVALUATORS: | GOOD, BAD |
| DESCRIPTORS: | BIG, SMALL |
| TIME: | WHEN, AFTER, BEFORE |
| SPACE: | WHERE, UNDER, ABOVE |
| TAXONOMY, PARTONOMY: | KIND OF, PART OF |
| METAPREDICATES: | NOT, CAN, VER |
| INTERCLAUSAL LINKERS: | IF, BECAUSE, LIKE |

There are 18 additional primitives in the RECENT set of primitives:
**RECENT ADDITIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DETERMINERS/QUANTIFIERS:</th>
<th>SOME, MORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MENTAL PREDICATES:</td>
<td>SEE, HEAR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOVEMENT EXISTENCE, LIFE:</td>
<td>MOVE, THERE IS, LIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPACE:</td>
<td>FAR, NEAR, SIDE, INSIDE, HERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIME:</td>
<td>A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME, NOW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTERCLAUSAL LINKERS:</td>
<td>IF ... WOULD, MAYBE,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS: WORD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since Goddard and W's (1994) study covered some 17 languages, the primitives in the **ESTABLISHED** group are quite well attested. Although the **RECENT ADDITIONS** appear to be attested in a number of languages, they have not yet been subjected to the same rigorous scrutiny and must be regarded as less well established.

The stability of a group of primitives is an important consideration in our interpretation of the evidence. If I am missing a certain primitive in HCE, one could conclude either that HCE is an impoverished language or that NSM is an impoverished theory. NSM, after all, is still a hypothesis under construction.

A missing **RECENT ADDITIONS** primitive is likely to reflect problems with the NSM specification. On the other hand, a missing **ESTABLISHED** primitive, would be the strongest possible evidence against our hypothesis. So strong, in fact, that we would need to seriously consider what is generally regarded as linguistic heresy, that is, the possibility that HCE is indeed an impoverished and inferior language, at least in certain respects. Therefore, this **ESTABLISHED** group will be the subject of our study.

### 1.5 Falsification of hypothesis

If HCE truly lacked a primitive lexeme that was attested in a wide variety of languages, this would indeed mean that speakers of other languages have access to certain meanings that are inaccessible to HCE speakers. Why this is so needs further elaboration.

The **NSM** set is proposed as a set which is not only primitive and universal, but also complete. The implication is that the NSM set is sufficient to define (or if you prefer, generate) the entire lexicon and syntax of any natural language. If a language X is missing a non-primitive lexeme L that occurs in language Y, this of course, does not mean that the language X has no access to the meaning expressed by L. As a non-primitive lexeme, L can then be decomposed into primitives. This configuration of primitives can then be translated from language Y into language X by simple substitution. If, however, language X is missing a primitive P, and P is truly primitive, then not only is language X utterly without access to the meaning expressed by P, it also is without access to any concept which contains P. Speakers can neither express P nor use it in any way. I want to emphasize that point. There is simply no way to compensate for a missing primitive in a language.

### 1.6 Validity of results

**NSM** is still an imperfect specification. Since the NSM specification forms the basis for this study, we need need to consider how mistakes in NSM could affect our conclusions. Let us consider all of the possibilities:

If the NSM specification is missing primitives or syntactic combinations, and ...

(a) if this study found that certain primitives or syntactic combinations in NSM were missing in HCE, then further additions to NSM would be irrelevant to the study’s conclusion (i.e., HCE is impoverished).
(b) if this study found that all primitives and combinations of primitives present in NSM were also present in HCE, then further additions to NSM would not necessarily mean that our conclusion (i.e., HCE is equivalent) is wrong. It would mean that our proof of equivalence is incomplete. Still, this study would be a significant advance over previous efforts, proving equivalence for a larger segment of a language.

If the NSM specification contains lexemes or syntactic configurations which are not universal, and...

(a) if this study found that certain primitives or syntactic combinations were missing in HCE, then their absence from the NSM specification does indeed affect the validity of our conclusion (i.e., HCE is impoverished).

(b) if this study found all primitives or syntactic combinations in NSM present in HCE, then the removal of any members from the NSM specification is irrelevant to our conclusion (i.e., HCE is equivalent).

In any case, if equivalence is proved for individual primitives and syntactic combinations, then equivalence is also proved for all expressions derivable from them. This finding would not be invalidated by future changes in the NSM specification.
Chapter 2

An overview of Natural Semantic Metalanguage

Natural Semantic Metalanguage Theory (NSM) can be divided into two parts: a set of principles for semantic analysis developed by Wierzbicka and her associates, and a specification of the universal set of semantic primitives and principles of combination which has come out of their research. In this chapter, I will present a logical progression beginning with the former and leading up to the latter.

2.1 NSM as an approach to semantic analysis

Semantic analysis through reductive natural language paraphrase is the very heart of NSM theory. This simple, direct, and intuitively appealing approach to semantics has attracted surprisingly few serious followers. A notable exception to this rule was Leibniz. Kretzmann (1967:381) notes:

Leibniz observed that natural languages were in certain respects real characteristics [i.e., a suitable universal metalanguage for philosophical purposes]. It was on the basis of that observation that he became the first major philosopher after Epicurus to suggest an appeal to ordinary language as a philosophical technique. His general attitude is expressed in the Nouveaux Essais: “... I truly think that languages are the best mirror of the human mind and that an exact analysis of the signification of words would make known the operations of the understanding better than would anything else” (3.7.6).

In recent times, a handful of modern scholars, notably Andrez Boguslawski and Anna Wierzbicka, armed with the tools of modern linguistics, have launched large-scale systematic semantic investigations following Leibniz’s paradigm.1 W and her associates, in particular, have developed Natural Semantic Metalanguage Theory, a coherent method of semantic analysis using reductive natural language paraphrase.

The notion reductive natural-language paraphrase may be broken up into three separate constraints on definitions: naturalness, substitutability and directionality. Naturalness is the requirement that definitions be specified in natural language, not in artificial or abstract features. Substitutability means that one must be able to substitute a definition in place of its definiens in natural text. Finally, directionality is the restriction that all elements in a definition be semantically simpler than the definiens. In the following sections, I will discuss each of these constraints individually.

2.1.1 Naturalness

Formal semantic representations are definitions given in natural language. NSM theory is unique in its insistence that natural language is the medium best suited to represent the semantics of natural language. Artificial features or markers, abstract predicates, and the like are regarded as problematic descriptive devices at best, since they themselves carry no intrinsic meaning and require explanation in natural language. We always have direct access to the meaning of natural language explication but we never have direct access to the meaning of an artificial feature.

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1 The school of thought known as Ordinary Language philosophy (Chappell 1964) also sought to analyze the meaning of words through ordinary language. This school came out of the post-1930 works of Ludwig Wittgenstein. Their premise was that philosophical problems were the result of the philosopher’s misuse and misconstrual of language and that the understanding of philosophical discourse in terms of ordinary language would reveal these errors. Its focus was philosophical and its members were not linguists, although a few, most notably, Austin, Geach, Grice, Lewis, Fodor, Vendler, and Wittgenstein himself, have made their mark in linguistics.
To say that natural language is its own best descriptor is not to say that all parts of natural language are equally well-suited for the task. Not all words are equally useful in clarifying or simplifying meanings. NSM uses a subset of natural language, a maximally simple one, containing lexemes and combinations of lexemes common to all natural languages.

Since NSM works are generally published in English, NSM is generally specified in English. NSM is not however based on any particular language, but is abstracted from a variety of languages. To this limited extent then, NSM may be regarded as artificial. The elimination of polysemy, ambiguity, and language-specific features is, of course, a desirable trait for a metalanguage. Nevertheless, it is surprising how far NSM has been able to push the paradigm of natural language representation.

2.1.2 Substitutability

The Substitutability Constraint states that a definition must substitutable for its definiens in all contexts. This constraint transforms semantics from a philosophical exercise to an empirical science. Since both definition and definiens are specified in natural language, both can be verified against the intuitions of a native speaker. The father of this principle, is once again, Leibniz. As W (1980:20) acknowledges,

The crucial criterion of empirical validity in semantics was proposed by Leibniz. This criterion is substitutability (not the celebrated substitutability salva veritate, but the linguistically much more relevant substitutability salve significione).

In other words, substitution must not only preserve truth values, but also meanings.

All that is required to falsify a definition, then, is to find a context where definition and definiens are not substitutable. I have yet to explain, however, what is meant by substitutable.

2.1.2.1 Semantic equivalence in substitutability

The term substitutability however requires more explanation. In principle, definiens and definition should be interchangeable. However, obviously, definiens and definition are not interchangeable with respect to rhythm, rhyme, punning, alliteration, word play, and other linguistic phenomena which are closely linked to phonological form. Other external nonsemantic factors affect strict substitutability. Not surprisingly, for example, NSM definitions (at least the English ones) often sound like motherese, rendering them marked stylistically.

Pragmatic factors may also color intuitions about semantic equivalence. For example, the proposed Japanese exponents for YOU and I, ore and kimi, are primarily used in informal adult male peer interactions. W (1991c:12–14) argues that since references to I or You in Japanese are generally

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2 So for example, the NSM primitive THINK has many language-specific names: in English, it is think; in Japanese, it is omou.
3 The phrase salva veritate is frequently used in connection with Leibniz’s logical works: two equal terms may be substituted for one another in an expression if the result preserves truth-value of the expression. This version is popularly known as ‘Leibniz’s law’ in many semantic theories.
4 The awkwardness of NSM explications gives rise to the following interesting question: “How bad can an NSM explication sound before it is rejected as ungrammatical?” I will not give a definitive answer here, but will only point out what I believe is the right direction to answer that question.

First, at minimum, an NSM explication should be understandable, keeping in mind that understanding an NSM explication could easily involve a certain amount of effort.

Second, one needs to recognize that a semantically meaningful expression is not necessarily well-formed in all speech contexts. If a sentence sounds odd, but is understandable, I believe it is better to ask ourselves “Is there any context where it is good?” rather than “Is it bad enough to be ungrammatical?”. For example, NSM sentences often sound like how a mother might talk to her infant. That is to say, they sound odd in normal adult-to-adult speech, but they are acceptable in mother-to-infant speech. So if one cannot find a felicitous context for an NSM explication, it should be rejected as ungrammatical.
accompanied with expressions of deference or respect, the plain I or YOU are pragmatically marked. Likewise, there appears to be a semantic difference between HAPPEN and its proposed Mandarin counterpart (Chappell 1994) fāshèng. When used in a sentence such as something happened to someone, there is an implication that it was something bad that happened. W (1994:474–5) argues, however, that the difference is pragmatic in nature, since on closer inspection we find that this implication is neutralized with nonhuman or omitted patients. Needless to say, such pragmatic influences cannot be automatically assumed but must be argued on a case by case basis and justified on language internal grounds.5

Such pragmatic factors need to be factored out of our semantic calculations. 6

2.1.2.2 Using the principle of substitutivity

I would like to demonstrate the principle of substitutivity through a sample analysis of two predicates, satisfied and bitter. For readability, I am explicating these predicates in a first person, present tense frame.7

First of all, being satisfied assumes that there is some kind of a desire to satisfy:

(1) ?? I lost my appetite, but I was satisfied with dinner.
(2) ?? I was satisfied with his answer, although I really didn’t care. We can formulate this component as follows:

(3) a. Before now
   b. I wanted something

Secondly, I think it is relatively uncontroversial to assert that being satisfied is a good feeling and contains the component:

(4) this person feels something good

I believe it is also relatively uncontroversial to assert that the good feelings are the result of having obtained that which one desired:

---

5 This is a potentially confusing statement since Pragmatics and Semantics are often treated as a single domain in NSM. They are treated as a single domain because both kinds of knowledge may be represented in a uniform fashion using NSM. The above context however, contrasts the two. In this context, semantic differences are differences in word definitions and pragmatic differences are differences in the encyclopedic knowledge associated with a word. Encyclopedic knowledge is as much part of the linguistic system as definitions, and in certain complex domains, such as the names of species and human artifacts, the two overlap. It is easier, however, to distinguish between encyclopedic knowledge and definition for primitive or near-primitive words such as I than it is for words such as cat.

6 I suggest that there are at least two different ways in which one could “factor out outside influences from one’s semantic calculations”.

First of all, in comparing the substituted expression for the original, one could simply ask oneself whether the difference between these two expressions is only the result of the nonsemantic external factors which I have isolated. So, for example, one could ask oneself, “Is the pragmatically induced rudeness the only difference between ore kore ga hoshii and I want this?” . Secondly, one could attempt to nullify the pragmatic effects. So, if one was trying to verify a definition with a Japanese speaker, one could replace the occurrences of the vulgar ore and kimi with the nonprimitive, but more neutral (pragmatically speaking) terms watakushi and anata.

7 One can easily generalize this frame, by substituting the first occurrence of I with someone and subsequent occurrences of I with this person.
(5) because now I have\(^8\) this

At this point, note that the thing which one desires and the thing with which one is satisfied may be two different things, e.g., one may desire a steak but be satisfied with a hamburger. Our definition under construction can be easily modified to reflect this observation:

(6) a. Before now
   b. I wanted something like this
   c. feel something good
   d. because now I have this

There is an instructive contrast between being satisfied and being contented. While a retailer may sell an item with satisfaction guaranteed, he would never sell an item with *contentment guaranteed. Of course, it is not possible to guarantee contentment, but more importantly the contented customer is bad for business. Being satisfied and being contented are both positive experiences for the customer, but being contented is too positive from the standpoint of the retailer. The word contented contains the component (W 1992a):

(7) I don’t want other things

I propose that the word satisfied expresses a more limited kind of fulfillment:

(8) I don’t want more now

According to component 7, a contented customer does not feel a need for anything and despite his positive experience, he is less likely to patronize the retailer in the future. On the other hand, since component 8 contains no such implications about the customer’s other wants or desires, a satisfied customer is likely want to repeat his positive experience and patronize the retailer in the future.\(^9\)

Consider also, the contrast between satisfaction and gratification. Observe that we may have instant gratification, but not ??instant satisfaction. Instant gratification, of course, does not mean that the gratification lasts for an instant, but rather that one does not wait for a very long time before the gratification occurs. But why does instant seem particularly appropriate with gratification but not with satisfaction?

First of all, in a manner of speaking, gratification is a shallow kind of satisfaction, although clearly someone who has been gratified has necessarily not been satisfied. Gratification is, in fact, so shallow, that no one strives for gratification and we cannot use gratification without speaking ill of the person who receives it. It is therefore never a self-reported goal.\(^10\)

(11) ✓ I want satisfaction.
(12) ?? I want gratification.

---

\(^8\) Currently, have is not in the set of the NSM primitives. I am open to its inclusion because I am not happy with attempted paraphrases of have such as *this thing is like a part of me; I can do what I want with this thing.* In any case, have is sufficient for the purpose of this illustration.

\(^9\) In the same vein, one may be satisfied with an answer, but one is never *contented* with an answer because this would imply that having all of one’s questions answered.

\(^10\) Apparently some speakers (not myself) can use the phrase deeply gratified without any self-deprecation. I suspect that for these speakers this phrase is somewhat sarcastic and cannot be used in the absence of an antagonist who would find their pleasure distasteful. If so, then this gratify would be a separate but related sense containing the components:

(9) I know you will feel something bad if I feel something good
(10) I feel something good because of this
(13) ✓ Prove it to my satisfaction!
(14) * Prove it to my gratification!

Secondly, gratification implies the continuation of desire and not its cessation. One may be completely satisfied, but one cannot be *completely gratified.

These aspects of gratification suggest the presence of the following components:

(15) I will feel something good for a short time
(16) After this I will want more

*Instant is an especially appropriate companion to gratification because while one cannot achieve satisfaction (or for that matter contentment) in an instant, one can be *gratified in an instant.

Apparently, being satisfied involves some sort of specification of duration. While gratification deals with desires which may be quickly and temporarily sated, being satisfied seems to include an expectation of a longer term fulfillment.

Incorporating this component into the rest of the definition, we arrive at the following final result:

(17) I AM SATISFIED WITH THIS ⇔
    a. Before now
    b. I wanted something like this
    c. I feel something good
    d. because now I have this
    e. I don't want more now
    f. I think I will feel like this for some time after now

In the case of bitter, we start with the observation that one becomes bitter as the result of painful experiences. More specifically, we see that these are bad experiences brought on by others:

(18) ✓ I was bitter about being fired so quickly.
(19) ? I was bitter about the bad weather.
(20) ? I was bitter about that terrible sickness.
(21) ?? I was bitter about my own mistakes.

The fact that one can be bitter towards individuals further supports the contention that the negative experiences are brought about by a personal agent. This suggests the following component:

(22) someone did something very bad to me
     or possibly:
(23) something very bad happened to me because of someone

I will adopt the latter analysis since it seems to be compatible with both negligence and intentional hurt.

A person who is bitter has been deeply hurt. However, being deeply hurt is a necessary, but not a sufficient condition, for being bitter. One can be deeply hurt without becoming bitter. So apparently, one's response to the hurtful circumstances is important to the definition of bitter.

This response is primarily characterized by a certain attitude toward the offending person:
[(24) now I feel something bad toward this person at all times

This component would help to explain why being bitter is a longer term disposition than a reactive emotion. For example, it is possible to be bitter for long periods of time, but not angry or upset:

(25) √ I was bitter for years.
(26) ? I was angry for years.
(27) ?? I was upset for years.

Unlike the above emotions, it seems that bitterness cannot be formed abruptly. We are not bitter over painful situations we are currently experiencing:

(28) ?? I’m bitter over this bruise on my head

The question is: “What in the formation of bitterness requires a period of time?” I would like to suggest that a certain pattern of thinking gives rise to bitterness and that as certain thoughts are compulsively replayed over and over again in one’s mind over a period of time, one’s attitude gradually becomes affected. This suggests the following component:

(29) I thought something for some time

In particular, I propose that one becomes fixated on both the severity and the avoidability of the offense:

(30) a. this didn’t have to happen to me
    b. this is very bad
    c. I don’t want this

It is easy to indulge our self-pity through these deadly combinations of thoughts.

Compiling the above components into a single explication, we arrive at the following definition:

(31) I AM BITTER ABOUT THIS ⇔
    a. Before now
    b. something very bad happened to me because of someone
    c. after this I thought something like this for some time:
    d. this didn’t have to happen to me
    e. this is bad
    f. I don’t want this
    g. now I feel something bad towards this person at all times

2.1.3 How substitution works for articles

Can substitution work with elements such as particles, conjunctions, and bound forms where substitution in text could not possibly result in a coherent utterance?

The answer is that, technically speaking the unit of substitution is the clause, that is to say, an utterance which is complete and independent (relatively speaking).

Boguslawski (1970: quoted in W 1972:12) gives the following explanation:
The explication should be carried out of whole utterances that are actually used in quite
definite situations and contexts. We cannot start from words or other parts of utterances,
because they do not have any meaning in isolation, may have different meanings in different
sentences, and may have no meaning there.\footnote{I do not believe that Boguslawski’s intent is to deny the existence of lexical meaning. I think that he would agree that the word \textit{swam} makes an identical semantic contribution to the sentences \textit{The fish swam} and \textit{The boy swam}. In my understanding, he is saying that strictly speaking, sentences are meaningful in a different way than are isolated words or parts of utterances. The form \textit{mine} uttered with no qualifying context is meaningless. The form \textit{mine} uttered in the sentence \textit{The blame is all mine} is meaningful. The same form uttered by itself following the question \textit{Whose notebook is this?} is also meaningful and can be explicated. It is therefore easier to talk about the meaning of sentences, than the meanings of, say, NP’s, because sentences are complete utterances, but NP’s are usually not.}

Thus, when one explicates a particle, one would also decompose the entire clause which contains it. The containing clause may expand into several clauses, with the contribution of the particle itself corresponding to perhaps one or more of these expanded clauses.

By way of illustration, consider an explication of the article \textit{a} (adopted from Grimes 1987):

(32) \textit{a (person)} ⇔
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. I am thinking of (someone)
  \item b. I do not think you are thinking of (this person)
\end{itemize}

Obviously, one could not substitute this explication directly into the sentence \textit{I saw a bachelor}:

(33) \textit{I saw a bachelor} ⇔
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. I saw [I am thinking of; I do not think you are thinking of] bachelor
\end{itemize}

The substitution has rendered the utterance incomprehensible. One instead has to decompose the
entire sentence and the article \textit{a} at the same time:

(34) \textit{I saw a bachelor} ⇔
\begin{itemize}
  \item a. I saw someone
  \item b. I am thinking of this person
  \item c. I do not think you are thinking of this person
  \item d. this person has never been married
  \item e. this person is a man
  \item f. people think of this man like this:
  \item g. this person can marry someone if he wants to
\end{itemize}

In the above explication, 34b and 34c correspond to the semantic contribution of the article \textit{a}.

But it should be noted that often for expediency in presentation, the principle of whole-utterance explication is not strictly adhered to in the NSM literature.

\textbf{2.1.4 Substituting one level at a time}

The principle of substitutivity also requires one additional qualification. Some domains such as concrete vocabulary have very complex structures (W 1985) which cannot be directly decomposed into primitives
in a single step. The principle of substitution is still valid for such words, but all possible substitutions in such a definition cannot apply simultaneously.

W (1991d) illustrates this with the relatively simple concrete terms eyes, face and head:

(35) **A PERSON’S EYES ⇔**
   a. two parts of **A PERSON’S FACE**
   b. because of these parts, a person can see

(36) **A PERSON’S FACE ⇔**
   a. a part of **A PERSON’S HEAD**
   b. because of this part, one can know what a person thinks

(37) **A PERSON’S HEAD ⇔**
   a. a part of a person
   b. all other parts of a person are under this part
   c. because of this, a person can think

The definition for *a person’s eyes* contains the term *a person’s face*. Likewise, the definition for *a person’s face* contains the term *a person’s head*. The definition of *a person’s head*, unlike the others, is phrased completely in primitive terms.

Defining *a person’s eyes* in completely primitive terms, however, produces a completely unintelligible utterance. Since the definition for *a person’s eyes* contains a nonprimitive *a person’s face*, one would have to eliminate this nonprimitive term by replacing it with its definition (b1 and b2):

(38) **A PERSON’S EYES ⇔**
   a. two parts of
   b1. a part of **A PERSON’S HEAD**
   b2. because of this part, one can know what a person thinks
   c. because of these parts, a person can see

There is still a nonprimitive term in this definition. The term *a person’s head* must also be replaced by its definition (b1a — b1c):

(39) **A PERSON’S EYES ⇔**
   a. two parts of
   b1. a part of
   b1a. a part of a person
   b1b. all other parts of a person are under this part
   b1c. because of this, a person can think
   b2. because of this part, one can know what a person thinks
   c. because of these parts, a person can see

These substitutions have disrupted the definition’s topic structure and rendered the definition incomprehensible. W concludes therefore that in such cases, substitution can proceed only one step at a time.
2.2 Directionality

The principle of directionality requires that an expression be defined in terms simpler than itself. W (1980) credits Aristotle (Topica.141a, quoted in W 1980:13) with the formulation of this principle:

First of all, see if he has failed to make the definition through terms that are prior and more intelligible. For the reason why the definition is rendered is to make known the term stated, and we make things known by taking not any random terms, but such as are prior and more intelligible ... ; accordingly, it is clear that a man who does not define through terms of this kind has not defined at all.

Under this principle, circularity, rampant in popular dictionaries, is strictly forbidden. Consider the following dictionary definitions taken from Webster’s third collegiate dictionary (Merriam-Webster 1990):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACCUSE</td>
<td>to BLAME</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLAME</td>
<td>to ACCUSE of being at FAULT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DENOUNCE</td>
<td>to ACCUSE publicly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAULT (N.)</td>
<td>BLAME for something wrong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLAME (N.)</td>
<td>responsibility for a FAULT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPROVE</td>
<td>to REBUKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCOLD</td>
<td>to find FAULT with angrily; to REBUKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REPRIMAND</td>
<td>a severe or formal REBUKE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REBUKE</td>
<td>to SCOLD in a sharp way; REPRIMAND</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Definitions of this kind do not serve to clarify meanings. Unfortunately, as W (1980:13) points out, it is not just popular dictionaries which suffer from circularity:

Contemporary semantic analysis in terms of features and markers violate Aristotle’s crucial principle. A feature analyst feels free from the obligation of establishing the relative semantic simplicity of different expressions. He is not afraid of vicious circles, either: he thinks that since all his definitions are written in capital letters (and, possibly, decorated with pluses and minuses) they do not have to be compared with the definienda. Thus, to define “see” as “PERCEIVE VISUALLY” may be circular, but to define it as “PERCEIVE VISUALLY” is irreproachable.

It could be objected that circular definitions (at least, in popular dictionaries) do seem to serve some purpose. For example, it is not hard to imagine someone who does not know the meaning of the word accuse but does know the meaning of the word blame. By consulting a definition such as the one given above, he could learn accuse’s meaning. But in fact, this is my very point. If the above definitions are correct, one cannot know the meaning of accuse without also knowing the meaning of blame and vice versa. If someone has acquired the concept of blame without knowing the meaning accuse, then something must be wrong with the definition. As W (p.c.) asks, how it would be possible for the second language speaker to acquire the meanings of these English words if he had only definitions such as these to rely upon?

I might also point out the definitions quoted are just plain wrong. They overlook gross differences between blame, accuse, and the rest of the words, as is often the case when circular definitions are employed. They may be good enough for the linguistically unsophisticated lexicographer, but the semanticist has no excuse for uncritically accepting them. As W (1987:153–54) argues, one accuses someone of bad actions but blames someone or something for bad situations. Thus, we can say:

(40) They blamed Mary for the mess.
(41) The bad weather was blamed for the rise in grain prices.
but not:

(42) * They accused Mary of the mess.
(43) * The bad weather was accused of the rise in grain prices.

Again, one might object that perhaps I am using the most viciously circular definitions to make my point. Perhaps less viciously circular definitions might be acceptable. To some extent, I grant this. Perhaps it might be possible to introduce some kind of nondestructive circularity into NSM. In fact, one could say that NSM allows for a certain kind of circular definition. In NSM, primitives can have contextual variants called allolexes. I think it is possible to regard these as a limited kind of circular definition, i.e., I means the same as me; person means the same as someone and so forth. Presumably however, allolexes have a predictable distribution and can therefore be distinguished from ordinary circular terms. Allolexy aside then, circular definitions should be avoided at all costs.

As W (1980:12) points out, the act of defining is inherently reductionistic:

Replacing a word by its synonym or a number of more or less exact synonyms has nothing to do with defining. A definition is an act of analysis – it must replace one word with a group of words corresponding to particular components of its meaning.

NSM's reductionism might seem merciless to some, but it is really no more than reducing one's analysis into terms as simple as possible. Unlike many theories however, NSM puts a limit as to how far reduction can proceed. A difference in meaning must be statable in words. It does not allow for subatomic units of analysis. Primitives must be full-fledged lexemes which cannot be further defined without obscuring their meaning.

2.3 The search for semantic primitives

The existence of primitives follows logically from the paradigm of natural language paraphrase. As Leibniz noted (from Leibniz 1903:430 as quoted in W 1980, W's translation):

[I]f nothing could be comprehended in itself nothing at all could ever be comprehended.

If we applied this reductionistic paradigm to all expressions in a language, we would eventually reach a level where words can no longer be defined, i.e., the level of primitives.

Leibniz had, in fact, attempted this purely inductive approach but during the course of his investigation, he found it difficult to negotiate his way through the web of redundancy and synonymy in natural language. He soon came to the conclusion that the best solution was to approach the problem from the bottom up, that is, to first adopt a hypothetical set of primitives, test it in definitions, and continually refine that set. Ultimately a candidate can never be PROVEN to be primitive. It can be proven to be non-primitive simply by decomposing it. It is only after repeated failures to decompose a primitive candidate that it becomes relatively established as a primitive. In fact, some 17 years passed before GOOD was received into the NSM set.12


12 GOOD had not been included in the set of primitives because W believed it was closely related to the primitive WANT. After years of failing to produce a paraphrase for good in terms of want, it became recognized that although there is a relationship between these two words, this relationship was not compositional in nature. Other primitives which apparently related in non-compositional ways include YOU, I, SOMEONE and PEOPLE.
W and her colleagues have recently added an additional requirement to Leibniz’s program: a primitive must prove itself cross-linguistically. That is, these primitives must have exact lexical equivalents in a wide variety of unrelated languages. The potential primitives world and imagine were dropped from NSM because they were not found in a number of languages.

2.4 About the forms of primitives

An important part of establishing primitives cross-linguistically is learning how to recognize them. The first step in this process is understanding the ways in which a primitive’s form may differ across languages. The following list addresses a number of common misconceptions:

1. A primitive may appear to be formally complex. *Something* and *someone* appear to consist formally of *some* + *thing* and *some* + *one*. Likewise, Japanese *nanika* and *dareka* appear to contain a formative -*ka*. Semantically, however, *some* + *one* does not equal *someone*. *Someone* is a simple and irreducible concept.

2. A primitive may be composed of several (possibly noncontiguous) words/morphemes. The primitives *THERE IS*, *IS SOMEWHERE*, *IF ... WOULD*, and *KIND OF* are realized in SE as several words.

3. A primitive form may be polysemous, with both a primitive and a non-primitive sense. *Know* is polysemous between a non-primitive sense as in *we know John* and the primitive sense as in *we know John is a good boy*. In Yunkuntjara (Goddard 1994), the form for the primitive *WANT* can also mean *stomach*.

4. A primitive may have contextual variants (allolexes) such as *I* and *me* in English.

5. A primitive need not be realized as a free form; it may be realized as a bound-morpheme. One exponent for *WANT* in Japanese is the verbal suffix -*tai*.

6. A primitive in one language need not be in the same syntactic category as its English counterpart. The other exponent for *WANT* in Japanese is the adjectival *hoshii*. Neither -*tai* nor *hoshii* are verbs like English *want*. From NSM’s point of view, the primitive’s formal syntactic category is not as important as its semantic combinability. It does not matter whether NSM substantives such as *I* or *THIS* are realized as nouns or verbal inflections or whether NSM predicates such as *WANT* are realized as verbs or adjectives. What does matter is that there is a mechanism by which they may be combined to form a canonical sentence meaning *I WANT THIS*. Combinatorial operations are left unspecified in NSM and they may be accomplished through any means, whether syntactic or morphological.

7. Under the current strong lexicalization hypothesis, a primitive must have some kind of segmental content. It cannot be realized as an intonation or as a grammatical process (such as reduplication). This constraint may seem too strong to some, but for the time being, it is retained because it is the strongest and therefore the most interesting hypothesis.

2.5 Cross-linguistic equivalence

The second key step in establishing a primitive cross-linguistically is to verify that the cross-linguistic forms are in fact exact semantic equivalents.\(^\text{13}\) They are exact semantic equivalents if no semantic...
difference between the two can be found. Establishing semantic equivalence involves a deliberate attempt to find differences. One repeats the process of proposing differences and testing whether the differences actually exist. After exhausting all reasonable possibilities, two forms can be provisionally accepted as equivalent.

Probably the most helpful tools for isolating the relevant primitive senses of a word are canonical sentences. A canonical sentence contains a primitive in an elementary syntactic configuration. Often there is sufficient disambiguating context to eliminate incompatible non-primitive senses in polysemous words.

Consider the following canonical sentences:

I saw someone there.
If I do this, people will say bad things about me.
I think this is bad, but I don’t know.
When that happened, I felt something good.
I want you to do it.
There are many kinds of things.
These two people lived at the same time.
Some people can do this – some people can't.
Don’t say anything more about it!
Good people do not do things like this.
I live near here.
This thing is above this other thing.
John is now on this side of me.
There is something inside this.
I don’t know, maybe John knows.
This thing can move.
A very short time after that I heard something.
This thing has two parts.
He thought that someone like me could do it.

These sentences are composed entirely of primitives or near primitives and exemplify the elementary syntax of their respective primitive. They should have exact counterparts in all languages.

This use of canonical sentences reflects a new view of primitives in NSM. A primitive is no longer just an isolated lexeme, but a lexeme and its primitive combinatorial (syntactic) properties. Thus, it is just as legitimate to view canonical sentences as the true primitives of the system, since they exemplify the valid combinations of primitives. At the primitive level, the distinction between lexicon and syntax is blurred and one cannot be separated from the other.

2.6 The NSM specification

In its early days, NSM’s sparse treatment of the primitive syntax (W 1980) was the reason for legitimate concern among a few linguists, especially McCawley (1983). While W was well aware of the problem, she believed it premature to speculate about the primitive syntax until the set of primitives itself had matured. The first (and long-awaited) treatment of the syntax appeared in W 1991c. The syntax is simply a list specifying which primitives may combine with which primitives. At that time, the set had expanded from the original 13 to a set of 37 primitives. Goddard and W’s (1994) ground-breaking study tested this set against 17 languages and paved the way for the current set of 54 primitives (W 1996). For

The point is that since each word occupies a unique slot within a language’s system of paradigmatic relationships, we should not also expect its counterpart (i.e., its semantic equivalent) in another language to occupy an analogous slot. In NSM, one says that these words have different ‘resonances’, although they are exact equivalents semantically.
the purposes of this study, however, we will be focusing on the 37 primitives of the 1994 volume and their syntax.

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<td><strong>Space</strong></td>
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<td>WHERE</td>
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<td>UNDER</td>
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<td>ABOVE</td>
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<td><strong>Taxonomy, Partonomy</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>KIND OF</td>
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<td>PART OF</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Metapredicates</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>NOT</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAN</td>
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<td>VERY</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Interclausal Linkers</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>IF</td>
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<tr>
<td>BECAUSE</td>
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<tr>
<td>LIKE</td>
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</table>

For the convenience of the reader, I have compiled the following phrase structure grammar of NSM based on W's (1996) treatment. Her treatment is generally explicit, but is not always completely explicit. In several cases, it was necessary to make reasonable educated guesses about W's underlying intent.

In the rules which follow, square brackets disambiguate constituent grouping, parentheses mark optional constituents, italicized words are the SE markers identifying a given valence, and forward slashes separate possible fillers. The categories themselves have been chosen purely for the sake of representing the NSM syntax in an economical fashion. I adopt some category names from the NSM literature and I invent a few. In any case, the theoretical significance of these names is poorly understood at present and I have chosen them primarily for convenience. The numbers in category labels are used simply to differentiate one phrasal level from another.

Our first phrase structure rule defines the phrasal category of “modifier”:

\[ m_1 \Rightarrow \text{(VERY) BIG/SMALL/GOOD/BAD} \]

There are three “general determiners”:

\[ d_0 \Rightarrow [\text{THIS/ANOTHER/THE SAME}] \]

These “general determiners” may combine with other NSM determiners in the following fashion:

\[ d_1 \Rightarrow [(\text{THIS (OTHER/ONE/TWO/ALL)})/\text{THE SAME}/(\text{OTHER (than } d_0))] (m_1) \]
\[ d_1 \Rightarrow \text{ONE/TWO/MANY/ALL (of } d_0) (m_1) \]

LIKE also seems to function like a determiner in certain contexts:

\[ d_1 \Rightarrow \text{LIKE I/YOU}/[d_0 (m_1) s_1] \]

For LIKE, there is an additional requirement that the head substantive “agree” with the argument to LIKE:

(44) someone like you
(45) * someone like this thing
More precisely, the head substantive must be the indefinite “counterpart” of the argument of \textit{LIKE}.

I have divided the substantives into several groups. There is the lexical category of “pure” substantives:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $s_1 \sim \text{SOMEONE/PEOPLE/SOMETHING}$
\end{itemize}

There is a phrasal category based on the “pure” substantives:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $s_2 \sim [\text{I/YOU/[(d1) PERSON]/[(d1) PEOPLE]/[(d1) THING]/THIS}]$
\end{itemize}

There is a phrasal category based on the “personal” substantives:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $sp \sim [\text{I/YOU/[(d1) PERSON]/[(d1) PEOPLE]]}$
\end{itemize}

There is a stipulation which applies to the two above phrasal categories: the combination *ONE PEOPLE must be excluded from their output.

Finally, there is a phrasal category based on the “complemental” substantives:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $sc \sim ((\text{VERY}) \text{GOOD/BAD}) \text{THING/THIS/THESAME}$
\end{itemize}

The following list shows how “pure” predicates and these substantive phrases may combine to form simple clauses:

\begin{itemize}
  \item sp \text{THINK} [sc/about (s2/THE SAME)/sc about (s2/THE SAME)]
  \item sp \text{WANT} [sc]
  \item sp \text{KNOW} [sc/about (s2/THE SAME)/(sc/?MUCH/?ALL) about (s2/THE SAME)]
  \item sp \text{FEEL} [sc/SOMETHING LIKE THIS]
  \item sp \text{SAY} [sc/?MUCH] (about s2/THE SAME) (to sp)
  \item sp \text{DO} [sc] (to s2) (with s2) (in (d1) PLACE)
  \item sc \text{HAPPEN} (to s2) (in (d1) PLACE)
\end{itemize}

Question marks indicate tentatively proposed valences. In addition, the following has been proposed as an alternative frame for the primitive \textit{FEEL}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item sp \text{FEEL} [GOOD/BAD/THIS/LIKE THIS]
\end{itemize}

Substantive phrases may also combine with “attributive” predicates to form a clause:

\begin{itemize}
  \item s2 is m1
  \item s2 is (VERY) GOOD/BAD [for sp]
  \item s2 is a (VERY) GOOD/BAD s1
\end{itemize}

Again, there is a requirement the object must be the indefinite “counterpart” of the subject:

(46) you are a good person
(47) * I am a bad thing
Substantive phrases may also combine with “substantive” predicates to form a clause:

\[
s_2 \text{ is (d1) \text{PART/KIND} of } s_2
\]
\[
s_2 \text{ is in (d1) \text{PLACE}}
\]

Finally, substantive phrases may also combine with “relator” predicates to form a clause:

\[
s_2 \text{ is THE SAME KIND OF } s_1 \text{ as } s_2
\]
\[
s_2 \text{ is UNDER/ABOVE/LIKE } s_2
\]

For these frames, there is also a requirement of non-identity between subject and object.

(48) you are above this thing
(49) * I am like me

Temporal adjuncts are required only for the following kinds of clauses:

\[
at \text{ (BEFORE/AFTER) (d0) \text{TIME}, SAY-clause/DO-clause/HAPPEN-clause}
\]

They are optional in all other clauses.

There are clausal operators which combine with clauses to yield other clauses:

\[
\text{CAN THINK-clause/SAY-clause/DO-clause/HAPPEN/GOOD-for-clause/BAD-for-clause}
\]
\[
\text{NOT clause}
\]

The following predicates take clausal complements, forming complex clauses:

\[
\text{sp THINK/KNOW/WANT clause}
\]
\[
\text{sp SAY clause (to sp)}
\]

Finally, the following primitives conjoin two clauses together into a complex clause:

\[
\text{clause LIKE clause}
\]
\[
\text{IF clause, clause}
\]
\[
\text{BECAUSE clause, clause}
\]

Our grammar generates a finite number of possible clauses. Unfortunately, as it stands, it also generates only a finite number of clause combinations. The few primitives which can combine clauses together operate on a finite number of clauses. Fortunately, there are non-lexical means of combining clauses. It is these non-lexical combinatorial operations which gives NSM an infinite generative capacity.

Clauses may be linked together by indexical or iconic means, in the Peircean sense. By ‘indexical’, I refer to the use of the primitive \textit{THIS} in explications.

(50) John said something bad.
(51) this is not good.

\textit{THIS} maybe used either anaphorically or cataphorically; it may refer to either a substantive or a group of clauses.
The spatial arrangement of clauses on the printed page represents iconically the relationships between clauses. Indented lines represent iconically relations of subordination and vertically-aligned contiguous lines represent iconically linear order. Consider the explication of frustration:

(52) X feels \textsc{frustration} ⇔
   a. X feels something
   b. sometimes a person thinks something like this:
      c. I want to do something
      d. I can’t do this
      e. because of this, this person feels something bad
      f. X feels like this

The linear order of the clauses is significant. If, for example, we reversed the order of the two inner components:

(53) a. X feels something
   b. sometimes a person thinks something like this:
      c. I can’t do this (or something)
      d. I want to do something (or this)
      e. because of this, this person feels something bad
      f. X feels like this

The resulting explication does not sound quite the same as the original although the meaning components are exactly the same.

Iconic relationships between clauses are not so much an empirical statement as they are an observation. In natural language some clauses appear to be related to one another as PEERS whereas some clauses appear to be SUBORDINATED with respect to other clauses. The question is how does one mark this relationship? W (p.c.) does not believe that this is the sort of relationship which can be marked by lexical means, so she represents these relationships iconically through the spatial arrangement of clauses.

What is probably more important is the claim by NSM, that relationships such as this one (whatever one calls the relationship) can be marked by some linguistic means (whether by pauses, intonation, stress, or something else) in any language. To rephrase this somewhat, every language should have some way of marking this kind of relationship. Indentation of lines RESEMBLES the relationship of subordination, in that, the indented lines appear to be UNDER the unindented line and the unindented line appears to COVER the indented lines. There should be, in every language, some linguistic correlate to indentation and vertically-aligned contiguous lines on the printed page.

2.7 Concerns about NSM theory

After having presented a summary of NSM, it is important for me to point out areas of contention. I do not want be held responsible for things I disagree with.

My concerns about NSM theory fall into two major categories: General concerns about the mechanics of explications and specific concerns about the current proposal for the NSM lexicon and syntax inventory.
2.7.1 General concerns

Although one may dispute the urgency of the concerns mentioned here, I do not doubt that they must be addressed eventually.

2.7.1.1 Anaphora

Consider the following definition (W 1992a:549):

(54) DISAPPOINTMENT ⇔
   a. X feels something
   b. sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   c. something good will happen
   d. I want this
   e. after this, this person thinks something like this:
   f. I know now: this will not happen
   g. because of this, this person feels something bad
   h. X feels like this

The references for these THIS’s can be summarized in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference of THIS</th>
<th>line of THIS</th>
<th>line(s) THIS refers to</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>54b</td>
<td>54c and 54d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54d</td>
<td>54c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54ea</td>
<td>54b</td>
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<tr>
<td>54eb</td>
<td>54f</td>
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<tr>
<td>54f</td>
<td>54c</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54g</td>
<td>54e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54h</td>
<td>54g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In printed form, the some of the references to THIS are indicated iconically by indentation. Presumably, they correspond to things which occur in natural language, such as pauses, intonation, rhythm, prosodic features, or possibly other grammatical correlates, but this has never been spelled out. The question is: Are there sufficient linguistic means in spoken language for a speaker to correctly resolve anaphors with multiple possible references?

For example, could one use pauses to delimit the reference of the THIS in line 54b? If so, could one use the same means to delimit the reference of THIS in line 54e without over-using pauses?

Note also, that in this example, most referents to THIS are not overtly marked by any linguistic means. So, for example, how does language speaker know that the reference of THIS in line 54g is line 54e and not line 54f? There indeed may be a purely formal means of computing reference, but again the challenge is then to formulate a specific proposal which will work cross-linguistically in non-English NSM explications.
2.7.1.2 Discourse structure of definitions and substitution into text

As an example, suppose we took the two page definition of cup (W 1985:33-4) and substituted it directly into the sentence *John dropped his cup*. The resulting text would be difficult to follow, because substituting in this way disrupts the discourse structure of a text.

The problem is preserving a coherent discourse structure during the process of substitution. As previously mentioned, as part of the solution, W maintained (at least at one time) that the principle of substitution proceeds only at one step at a time. Another part of the solution is the practice of substituting entire clauses at one time.

Still, it is a challenge to work out in detail the mechanics of substitution. Consider the following definition from Goddard (1998:272):

(55) PERSON X MADE Y DO Z
    a. X wanted Y to do Z
    b. X knew if X did not do something to Y,
    c. Y would not do Z
    d. because of this, X did something to Y
    e. because of this, after this, Y thought ‘I have to do Z’
    f. because of this, Y did Z
    g. Y wouldn’t have done Z, if Y hadn’t thought this

In actuality, X, Y, and Z are not variables in the conventional sense, but stand for configurations of primitives. Presumably, X is an abbreviation for *THIS PERSON*, Y is an abbreviation for *THIS OTHER PERSON*, Z perhaps stands for *THIS THING*.

So, the question is what text is actually substituted for the sentence:

(56) John made Mary break the cup

A definition is substitutable for its definiens. So, if we are dealing with a single word, the mechanics of this operation are trivial. Since we are substituting an entire clause, the relationship between resulting clauses and parts of the original clause must be necessarily spelled out in the definitions of its parts.

Technically speaking, the above definition does not apply to the clause *John made Mary break the cup* but to rather the clause *this person made this other person do this thing*. These clauses are, of course, very similar, the latter can be seen as kind of frame for the former. NSM does not allow variables, but something corresponding to the assignment or resolution of variables is still needed to connect these two clauses.

I am not aware of any specific proposal, but I think the following derivations demonstrate how, in principle, this could be done.

Without being specific about the actual algorithm used, the following clauses would be derived from 56:

(57) a. Mary broke a cup
    b. I think of this person when I say ‘John’
    c. I think of this other person when I say ‘Mary’
    d. this person made this other person do this thing

The following clauses would be derived from 57d based on our definition of *made*:
(58) a. this person wanted this other person to do this thing
   b. this person knew if this person did not do something to this other person,
   c. this other person would not do this thing
   d. because of this, this person did something to this other person
   e. because of this, after this, this other person thought ‘I have to do this thing’
   f. because of this, this other person did this thing
   g. this other person wouldn’t have done this thing, if this other person hadn’t thought this

The following clauses would be derived from 57a using the same unknown assignment algorithm:

(59) a. I think of this person when I say ‘Mary’
   b. this thing is a cup
   c. this person broke this thing

The following clauses would be derived from 59c based on the definition of break Goddard (1998:272):

(60) a. this person did something to this thing
   b. because of this, something happened to this thing at this time
   c. because of this, after this, this thing was not one thing any more

The following clauses would be derived from 59b based on the definition of cup:

(61) a. this thing is a kind of thing made by people ...(two pages of text)...

Demonstrations of this kind help us to at least understand that each substitution constitutes its own separate self-contained discourse. It is usually not possible to combine discourses without confusing the reference of THIS, OTHER, and the expressions modified by them.

2.7.1.3 Explication structure does not reflect the intuitions of synonymy

Consider the following explications (in an earlier version of the metalanguage from W (1987:155-6,164-6):

(62) I CRITICIZE X FOR Y ⇔
   a. I am thinking about X’s Y
   b. I say: I think something bad can be said about it
   c. I think that I have good reasons to say this
   d. I think that something bad can be said because of that about something that person X did
   e. I say this because I want to cause people to know what I think of Y
   f. I imagine that someone could do something better because of what I say
(63) I ACCUSE X OF Y ☼

   a. I say: person X did Y
   b. I assume that everyone would say that doing Y is bad
   c. I assume that something bad should be said about person X because of that
   d. I feel something bad thinking about it
   e. I want someone to show that this is not true if they can
   f. I assume no one could
   g. I say this because I want to cause something to happen because of Y that will be bad for X

For myself, as an English speaker, there is a strong intuition that the words criticize and accuse are near-synonyms. However, if you look at their explications, they have very little in common, formally speaking. Apparently, not all parts of this explication are equally important for my intuitions about synonymy. Nothing in the structure of the NSM explications shows me what parts are important or unimportant.

2.7.1.4 Definitions and linguistic intuitions

Sometimes, lines in definitions are not as clearly related to linguistic intuitions as one would want. Consider the following example definitions (from Goddard (1998:94-95)):

(64) X FEELS SAD ☼

   a. sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   b. I know something bad happened
   c. if I could, I would do something
   d. I know I can’t do anything
   e. because of this, this person feels something bad
   f. X feels like this

(65) X FEELS DEPRESSED ☼

   a. sometimes a person thinks something like this:
   b. nothing good can happen to me
   c. I can’t do anything good
   d. because of this, this person feels something bad
   e. X feels like this
   f. it is not good for someone to feel something like this

Each line in the above definitions has some justification. At the same time, one may wonder if there might be an alternative analysis for a particular line. For example, one might wonder if the tokens I KNOW could be left out of line 64b or 64d. Likewise, one can wonder if it would suffice to use a less strong version of line 65b, like nothing good will happen to me.

In other words, it is not always clear that there is a unique single best analysis to account for a given set of linguistic intuitions. Although W has repeatedly demonstrated that it is possible to find ingenious ways of testing very subtle shades of meaning, one may still wonder if it is possible to find definitive tests in all cases.

Finally, consider line 65f. Is this proposition a part of the meaning depressed, expressed every time the word is used, or is it an inference derivable from the definition of depressed and encyclopedic knowledge, i.e., something which may be inferred by speakers of SE based on what they know about
what depressed means and what they believe about people who experience that feeling, and not strictly speaking part of its definition. My point is that sometimes, it is difficult to tell the difference.

2.7.2 Specific concerns about the current NSM proposal

While I am fairly confident about the 37 primitives of the Goddard and W (1994) study, I want to be careful about adopting the proposed inventory of syntactic combinations found in W (1996). In fact, I will argue, on the basis of SE alone, that some of these combinations should not be regarded as universal. Often simply asking this question will reveal problems in the syntactic specification: “What do the SE exponents of a certain NSM combination really mean?”

2.7.2.1 PEOPLE

Currently, the NSM specification allows the primitive PEOPLE to combine with the primitives THIS, THE SAME, ANOTHER, TWO, MANY, and ALL.

The main reason for questioning these combinations is the curious “neutralization” that takes place when the primitive PERSON and the primitive PEOPLE occur in combination with the above NSM determiners and quantifiers:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON verses PEOPLE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>these persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the same persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>two persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>many persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I am unable to find a semantic difference between the expressions in the left and right columns. Apparently, in these contexts, people is merely an allolex of the primitive PERSON.

But not all instances of people can be reduced to instances of PERSON. W (1996:40-1) asserts that people used in sentences such as, people would not want something like this to happen, people would say this is good, this is something made by people, or this is something used by people is not decomposable in terms of the primitive PERSON.

I do not wish to debate here the compositionality of PEOPLE as used in the above sentences, but I would like to point out, however, that in all of the above contexts, PEOPLE is used to talk about people in general (unlike the primitive PERSON), and if PEOPLE is used only to make general statements about people, why should it be quantifiable at all?

My proposal then, is that PEOPLE, if it is indeed a primitive, universally does not allow any combination of primitive determiners or quantifiers. If we accept this, it would help us to make sense of the curious asymmetry noted in W (1996:117) that PEOPLE does not combine with the primitive ONE. PEOPLE would therefore be the only “indefinite” NSM substantive (other members would include SOMEONE, SOMETHING, PLACE, TIME, PART, and possibly KIND) which does not combine with the full range of NSM determiners and quantifiers; i.e., the lone exception to the rule.

My proposal would place PEOPLE in an entirely separate category, with a closer affinity to the definite substantives YOU and I. Therefore in the two rules list below, PEOPLE no longer takes determiners:

\[s2 \rightarrow [I/YOU/PEOPLE/[(d1) PERSON]/[(d1) THING]/THIS]\]
\[sp \rightarrow [I/YOU/PEOPLE/[(d1) PERSON]]\]
2.7.2.2 NOT + WANT/THINK

It is commonly and perhaps universally assumed, within both NSM and formal semantics, that negation may be applied to any proposition without restriction. Problems with scope of negation, however, would seem to argue that there are at least two predicates in natural language which do not allow negation at the clause level.

In NSM’s early history, sentences such as I don’t want John to drive were cited as important evidence for the non-compositionality of the proposed primitive DON’T WANT, since they cannot be decomposed as meaning it is not the case that I want John to drive. Apparently however, DON’T WANT eventually proved inadequate for the treatment of negation and in W (1996) it was dropped in favor of the more mainstream negator NOT. It then became necessary to re-examine such sentences and under the revised framework. The sentence I don’t want John to drive was analyzed as meaning I want John not to drive. This analysis seems reasonable to me, but it also raises an interesting question about the negation of WANT. If in SE, don’t does not negate want (because it negates the embedded clause and not the matrix clause), how can one negate want in the matrix clause? What we would need in SE is a clause-level operator which, in combination with want, would express a meaning like it is not the case that I want John to drive. I can think of no such operator in SE; in fact, I find it difficult to imagine how such a meaning would be expressed in SE.

There is an analogous situation with the primitive THINK. It has been pointed out to me that I don’t think John is sick does not imply I don’t think. It seems that such a sentence can be analyzed along parallel lines as above:

(67) I don’t think John is sick ⇔ I think John is not sick

Here too, the same question arises. If don’t does not negate think at the clause level, how does one negate think at the clause level?

My conclusion is that the notion of an unrestricted NOT freely combining with the primitive predicates WANT and THINK has more to do with surface grammar of SE than with the universal properties of NOT.

2.7.2.3 ALL + KINDS

I am not convinced that the combination of ALL and KIND is found in SE. First of all, when we say there are all kinds of birds in this place, we generally mean something like there are many kinds of birds in this place.

The best candidate I can find for ALL in the context of kind is the form every:

(68) Every kind of knife has a handle

However, there are some problems with this kind of sentence This is a somewhat peculiar sentence in SE. One would rarely, if ever, hear such a sentence in spontaneous speech. A second question is, whether the meaning of such a sentence is distinct from sentences like:

(69) All knives have handles

or even (as noted in W (1972:180-1)):

(70) Knives have handles

Assuming that it is intuitive and reasonable to treat the bare unquantified plural noun knives as an abbreviated form of all knives, it is difficult to find a difference between these sentences, other than their conciseness or lack thereof. If these three sentences do indeed convey the same meaning (and I am uncertain of this), this would render the kind of in 68 superfluous. I would therefore be left with no
examples in SE of the combination of ALL and KIND. Perhaps there could be a reason for this. If the primitive KIND intrinsically separates objects into groupings and if the primitive ALL intrinsically links objects together as group, perhaps it does not make sense to refer to both of these at one time. Needless to say, I have not yet come to a definite conclusion on this matter.

2.7.2.4 A LONG TIME, A SHORT TIME

I am well aware of the dangers of using symmetry as a consideration in the formulation of an explanatory semantic theory. Nevertheless, I believe symmetry can be a useful tool for pointing out gaps in one's theory.

Consider the primitive TIME. TIME may combine with the full range of NSM determiners and quantifiers (THIS, THE SAME, OTHER, ONE, TWO, MANY, and ALL). It shares this combinability with other members of the so-called “indefinite” substantives (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, KIND, PART, and PLACE). Curiously, however, TIME does not combine attributively with the primitives BIG and SMALL, although all the other “indefinite” substantives do.

Recently, the expressions A SHORT TIME and A LONG TIME have emerged as possible universal primitives. From the standpoint of symmetry, the obvious question is, why could not short and long be considered as allolexes for BIG and SMALL in the context of the primitive TIME?

This would not only restore TIME to the community of well-behaved “indefinite” substantives and reduce the inventory of primitives, it would also allow us to make a generalization about temporal adjuncts: the role of a temporal adjunct would be determined purely by what modifies it. Temporal determiners such as THIS, THE SAME, ANOTHER, ALL, BEFORE, and AFTER in combination with TIME would mark ordinary tense. Quantifiers such as ONE, TWO, and MANY would mark repetition. Finally, the attributives BIG or SMALL would mark durative adjuncts.

Three seems to be the maximal number of temporal adjuncts in a canonical sentence:

(71) Some time before now, I did this for a long time two times.

This is what we would expect if we were to allow only one adjunct of each type into each clause.

2.7.2.5 SOMETHING

Currently, the primitives THIS, THE SAME, and SOMETHING are allowable complements to mental predicates. Consider, however, the following sentences:

(72) I thought the same
(73) I thought the same thing

A number of questions arise in connection with these sentences. Do they have the same meaning? If not, what is the difference? If so, is one form more basic than the other? That is, should we regard the same in 72 as having a deleted thing or should we regard the same thing in 73 as a phrasal lexeme meaning the same in this context?

The same questions arise when we consider the primitive THIS with the other mental predicates:

(74) I said this
(75) I said this thing

In this case, 74 sounds much better than 75. Nevertheless, 75 is acceptable to me. In these two examples, the point that I am trying to make is that it is difficult to determine introspectively a semantic difference between mental complements with the primitive SOMETHING and those with the bare determiners.
My proposal is that there should be a single mental complement *SOMETHING* which may take a determiner such as *THE SAME* or *THIS*, but from what I have argued so far, it would not be possible to choose between these two competing syntactic specifications.

I would like to bring in one additional piece of evidence to support my proposal. It seems to me that one should be able to say, in the metalanguage, sentences like:

(76) I said something else
(77) I wanted you to think something else
(78) I didn’t know anything else

Unlike the NSM determiners *THIS* and *THE SAME*, which may serve as substantives by themselves, the primitive *OTHER* occurs only in combination with a substantive. If we allow the combination *OTHER THING* (i.e., something else) as a mental complement, it would seem rather odd not to also allow the combinations *THIS THING* and *THE SAME THING*. If we allow these two combinations as mental complements, then we can reduce our inventory of mental complements by removing *THIS* and *THE SAME*. The resulting system would be more economical and symmetric.

2.7.3 Conclusion

In this overview of NSM theory, I have described the three constraints on definitions which form the basis of NSM semantic analysis. I next linked NSM theory to Leibniz’s search for universal semantic primitives and discussed how NSM has followed Leibniz’s original program and expanded it to include large-scale cross-linguistic verification. I presented a summary of the NSM specification as the tangible result of progress to date under this paradigm of semantic investigation. I concluded with a criticism of a few aspects of NSM, noting where my proposed changes affect my search for primitive combinations in HCE. We are now ready to proceed to the proper subject of this study.
Chapter 3

Hawai‘i Creole English

3.1 History

Roberts’ (1995) study divides Hawai‘i’s pre-HCE linguistic history into four stages:

Stage 1: (1790–1820) The emergence of pidginized Hawaiian (PH)

Stage 2: (1820–1850) The emergence of mixed varieties of PH
The emergence of English-based jargon
The establishment of PH in plantations

Stage 3: (1850–1876) The acquisition of PH by Chinese plantation workers

Stage 4: (1876–1900) The acquisition of PH by large numbers of immigrant workers from various linguistic backgrounds, especially Japanese, Portuguese, and Filipino
The gradual supplanting of PH by mixed PH and pidginized English

According to Roberts (p. c.), it is difficult to pinpoint an exact time for the emergence of HCE, but HCE was undoubtedly in vigorous use by 1910, at least in certain areas. Sato (1989:193) suggests that HCE usage reached its peak in the 1930’s. Consequently, one can extend Roberts’ time line in the following manner:

Stage 5: (1900–1930) The emergence and spread of HCE

Sato (1985:265–267) identifies several factors which have contributed to the relatively recent displacement of HCE with SE. At the onset of World War II, the Japanese, Hawai‘i’s largest group of immigrants, became particularly motivated to speak SE as a token of their loyalty to America. This, together with

the diversification of Hawai‘i’s economy, statehood\(^1\), the rise of the economic and political status of SE, and pressure from the educational establishment have conspired to bring about the decline of HCE in Hawai‘i. So, we can tentatively add yet another stage in Hawai‘i’s linguistic development:

Stage 6: (1940–present?) Widespread decreolization of HCE

Decreolization, however, does not appear to be the end of the story. As we shall see, the socioeconomic forces which gave rise to decreolization do not remain stationary.

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\(^1\) There is an amusing anecdote that following statehood, Lippy Espinda (a popular local personality and an informant for Labov (1990)) set up a sign at his place of business which read “Statehood – Congratulations, we all haoles now.” Haole is the vernacular, somewhat pejorative term, for mainland Caucasians.
3.2 Language attitudes

Negative attitudes towards HCE have persisted both within and without the HCE speaking community. For many 'haoles', HCE was that “unintelligible gibberish which passes for English” which is “born of pure laziness” (Perlman 1973:3).

It is estimated (Grimes 1992) that between 100,000 and 200,000 speakers of HCE have a limited command of Standard English (SE). It is therefore not surprising that HCE, like many nonstandard low-prestige languages, has not, in general, endeared itself to the well-intentioned members of the educational establishment. Consider the Department of Education’s (1943, quoted in Chang 1976:1) stand on HCE:

Pidgin [i.e. HCE] has NOTHING to offer for the future. Because it is a backward, degenerate, parasitic language, our community should disapprove its use by those who are dependent on it.

Students were required to “purge” (Perlman 1973:3) HCE from their speech, and prejudicial attitudes towards HCE became institutionalized in Hawai‘i’s school system (Sato 1985:264). Thus, HCE became stigmatized as the language of the poor, the low class, and the unintelligent (Sato 1989:197). In fact, many locals² have succumbed to the notion that HCE is nothing more than “bad English” (Sato 1985:267) and are ashamed of the language they speak.

Only fairly recently have attitudes begun to shift. Tourism, the wave of foreign investment, the inevitable skyrocketing real estate prices, and the resulting economic pressure on local families already stressed by Hawai‘i’s high cost of living have all contributed the growing perception of ‘haoles’ and foreigners as outside threats to local people. Local people, once again feel a need to assert their identity and solidarity. HCE is, of course, an indispensable part of local culture.

In 1987, Hawai‘i’s Board of Education’s attempt to ban HCE from the classroom actually served to solidify and mobilize the growing, albeit dormant, resentment against attacks aimed at local culture (Sato 1989:202). The public outcry forced the Board of Education to substantially moderate its intended policy while bringing the issue to the attention of the general public. The recent resurgence of literary readings in HCE and the remarkable success of local plays conducted in HCE also bear testimony to this shift in language attitudes.

Sato’s discussion (1989:209) suggests that perhaps there is justification for proposing yet another stage in Hawai‘i’s linguistic history:

Stage 7: (1987–present) Resurgence of Hawai‘i Creole

It is difficult to predict whether current economic and political trends will continue in the long run. It is therefore premature to conclude whether this will be yet another major phase in Hawai‘i’s linguistic history or not.

3.3 HCE and cognition

Language attitudes which have become embodied in some modern theories of cognition and officially sanctioned by the scholarly establishment are a much deadlier strain of language prejudice. The so-called “deficit model” of educational psychologists (also known as “culture/language/verbal deprivation”) places the blame for the minority child’s poor academic performance on the child’s language (and possibly

² The terms ‘locals’ or ‘local people’, as used locally, generally refer to local non-Caucasians who were born and raised in Hawai‘i. The Portuguese are an exception to this rule and are considered ‘locals’. ‘Haole’ and ‘local’ are essentially contrastive terms.
culture), which is claimed to inhibit his cognitive development. This was initially presented as a more politically acceptable alternative to the genetic deficit model. But Harkins (1994:110) warns us that both models essentially amount to the same thing: racial prejudice.

A restrictive or restricted code, according to Bernstein (1964:259), limits/undermines the speaker's ability to both to express himself and organize his thinking, by the considerably reduced inventory of linguistic options it makes available to its speakers.⁢

Hess and Shipman (1965:871) explain that “restrictive” codes are “stereotyped, limited, condensed, lacking in specificity and the exactness needed for precise conceptualization and differentiation”.

Bereiter and Siegfried (1966) refer to Black English as a restricted code and by implication the label also applies to other nonstandard varieties. In fact, Bierman et al. (1971:60) specifically apply the term to HCE, claiming:

It [i.e., HCE] has a primitive grammar and word structure, uses simple, concrete verb-noun, verb-pronoun combinations, is repetitive, and makes extensive use of expressive vocal features.

and furthermore:

Early and consistent exposure to this type of language can lead to less abstraction and more simple relational responses, ...

For Bierman et al. (1971:60), growing up in a HCE-speaking home is tantamount to language deprivation. Thus, they are in hearty agreement with Hess and Shipman's position (1965) that “the meaning of deprivation [i.e., language deprivation] is the deprivation of meaning”.

These are strong words. Their conclusion that is the semantically-challenged HCE speaker has no or limited access to complex, logical, or abstract sorts of meanings. The HCE speaker is thus deprived both verbally (the ability to express these meanings in words) and cognitively (the ability to think using these concepts).

### 3.4 Standard English and cognitive development

Perlman (1973:9) calls our attention to the “widely-held and persistent belief that learning standard English will somehow improve the thinking powers of Pidgin-speakers [i.e., HCE speakers].”

The following statement from local personality Sammy Amalu⁴ exemplifies this attitude: (quoted in Perlman 1973:19):

[A]ny damned fool can learn Pidgin; he does not have to go to school to learn it ... Still, English is not a difficult language to learn. Its syntax is intrinsically logical...

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⁢ Although the terms restrictive or restricted code are attributed to Bernstein, there seems to be some disagreement about how much blame Bernstein deserves for deficit theory. Gumperz and Hymes (1972:31) assert that others naively applied his idea of restricted codes to contexts he had never intended. Harkins (1994:109–19), however, insists that the application was correctly made and despite his attempts to cover up, Bernstein has not substantially modified his position.

⁴ The late Sammy Amalu was a colorful character, to say the least. He was a scam artist who posed as Hawaiian royalty. After serving time, he became a featured writer for a major Honolulu newspaper with his own regular column.
Labov (1990:1–3) identifies three separate claims of those favoring early training in Standard English. The third claim, what Labov calls its “logical claim”, should sound familiar to us. It asserts that (Labov 1990:2):

[S]tandard grammar [i.e., English grammar] is necessary or helpful in attaining the concepts of equality and inequality, assertion and negation, or for the logical analysis of complex propositions using primitives, or for the formation of other conjunctively defined concepts like animate, concrete, human, and so on.

It is this “logical claim” which the present study will challenge. Apart from its socioeconomic benefits, does Standard English indeed occupy a privileged position among languages?

3.5 Linguists on the equality of languages

Linguists have spoken with one voice on this issue. The idea of labeling a language inferior is reprehensible to the overwhelming majority of linguists. For linguists, the explicit study of language has inspired a profound respect and appreciation for the complexity and subtlety of all human languages. Prejudicial attitudes against HCE can only arise from either the lack of intimate knowledge of HCE in particular or the lack of knowledge about languages in general.

If a certain language lacks a particular grammatical category, a particular grammatical structure, or a particular word of English, this does not entail that the language has no means of expressing the same idea. It was Sapir (1931 cited from Mandelbaum 1960:48–9) who suggested that:

Perhaps the speakers of a national language are under profound illusions as to the logical character of its structure. Perhaps they confuse the comfort of habit with logical necessity.

Although Sapir hedges these statements with a noncommittal “perhaps”, it is evident from the remaining content of his article that these statements do, in fact, reflect his own convictions.

As linguists, we could point out that there is a vast range of mechanisms that languages could use to realize the same meaning. But, have we really proven the equality of languages? Labov (1990:3) warned us that “it is easy enough to reject the logical claim on an emotional or ideological basis.” The question is, however, do we have actual evidence to base our rejection of the “logical claim”? Do we linguists have nothing more to offer than, “we hold these truths to be self-evident, ... that all languages are created equal.”?

It is true the proponents of the “logical claim” can offer no positive evidence in their favor other than English-based tests (Labov 1972) and it would seem that they should bear the burden of proof in this matter, but if we can offer nothing more substantial than emotional or ideological appeals, despite our supposedly vast knowledge of language, we are no better. In fact, one might be tempted to regard our inability to produce concrete evidence as evidence for the contrary position. Old prejudices die hard. Without hard evidence, this issue will never be laid to rest. Surely, if anyone can introduce some concrete evidence into this debate, it should be the linguist.

Unfortunately, we linguists have done our share to undermine our own efforts. By implicitly accepting the terms of debate from the opposition, linguists have in effect put creoles and low-prestige languages on the defensive. That is, people argue about whether non-standard varieties are inferior or equal to “real” languages, but are never asked to consider the possibility that non-standard varieties could be superior to “real” languages, a possibility which is certainly at least as likely as the inferiority hypothesis. Strictly speaking, this study only proves that HCE has at least the same expressive capacity as
“real” languages. It leaves open the logical possibility that HCE could have meanings not accessible to “real” languages.5

3.6 Conclusion

NSM theory has great potential to contribute something substantial to the current debate. The claim of NSM is that its proposed set of primitives and primitive syntactic combinations is sufficient to define any concept of human language. Finding a shared set of primitives between two languages entails that both languages have equal access to all concepts definable through that set. On the other hand, if some NSM primitives are missing from HCE, this would be strong evidence favoring the “logical claim”, because HCE would have no means to construct any concept dependent on those missing primitives and would therefore have no access to those concepts.

5 I hope that it is clear to the reader that I am not arguing that HCE is superior to “real” languages. I am arguing that from a rhetorical standpoint linguists are too quick to concede the question non-standard superiority to the opposition. I am indebted to Greg Lee for this observation
Chapter 4
The Data

This chapter narrows the focus of our study to the appropriate segment of HCE and describes the actual sources of data used.

4.1 Variation

Variation is probably the single most difficult challenge faced by this study. The problem with studying HCE is that HCE is not any one thing. It is a collection of registers, some of which are fairly close to Standard English (SE), while others are only barely intelligible to the monolingual SE speaker.

4.1.1 Pattern of variation

How to best describe the pattern of variation has been a matter of discussion. In (Tsuzaki 1971:330), HCE is described as having four coexisting and overlapping systems: An English-based pidgin, an English-based creole, a standard and a nonstandard dialect of English. According to Day (1972:146) however, “we are not dealing with variation of a number of different forms between systems in the Hawaiian Post-Creole Continuum, but a single pattern of variation.” Perlman (1973) concurs with Day, adding however that HCE does not fit into a strictly LINEAR continuum model. Finally, Peet (1978:11) argues (unsuccessfully, I think) that both the coexisting systems model and the continuum model could be correct simultaneously.  

It seems to me that neither the coexistent systems hypothesis nor the continuum hypothesis make any obvious predictions. In lieu of any compelling evidence, in this study I simply adopt the terminology of the more popular of the two views, the continuum hypothesis.

Although the exact nature of the variation in HCE is debatable, the situation is clearer on some more relevant issues. It is generally agreed that decreolization has had a major disruptive effect on the HCE continuum; however, among those closest to the HCE situation (Labov, Grimes, and Forman p.c.), it is generally agreed that the language has, for the most part, stabilized.

4.1.2 What to study

If HCE is not any one thing, what then is the proper object of study for the purposes of this investigation? I believe the inescapable conclusion is that the basilect is the register of choice for our study. I want to emphasize that I do mean to describe the actual speech of individuals, rather than create

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1 According to Peet (1978:11), this is because Tsuzaki, a native speaker is perhaps giving the ‘emic’ (insider's) viewpoint while Day (also Perlman, Odo (incidentally, a native speaker), Bickerton, etc.) are adopting the ‘etic’ (outsider's) viewpoint. It is not clear exactly what point Peet is trying to make. He seems to be saying that the insider (Tsuzaki) sees the language as having four distinct systems, while the outside investigator (Day) sees a continuum with no non-arbitrary divisions. That is, Day (and the others) have provided us with the external objective view of HCE while Tsuzaki provided us with the internal subjective view of native HCE speakers.

It seems strange to evoke the dichotomy of ‘etic’ and ‘emic’ to contrast these two investigations. In my understanding, the ‘etic’ viewpoint is what the investigator brings with him to his investigation and the ‘emic’ viewpoint is what the investigator attempts to obtain during the course of his investigation. No researcher attempts to attain to the ‘etic’ view, since he already has it. It is doubtful that Day would have characterized his results in those terms. And if Day’s proposal was, in fact, taken from the ‘etic’ point of view, then it is most certainly wrong since if he had any particular viewpoint in mind, it would been the ‘emic’ viewpoint.
an artificial, idealized, and exaggerated system containing a conglomeration of the forms most deviant from SE, as some linguists have done.

Labov (1990:25) warns us against such descriptions characterizing them as “a kind of grammaire des fautes, a pedagogical caricature of the language rather than a portrait of it.” Such a system exists only in the minds of linguists rather than in the minds of ordinary speakers. Labov (ibid.) continues:

Whatever value such constructions have for teacher or learners, they cannot contribute anything to our study of the adequacy of languages. If such “pure” creoles are not used, they are not used for some good reason. We can only argue from grammars that are used for the serious purpose of communication in everyday life.

The selection of the basilect as the object of our study helps us deal with some of the problems associated with investigating a language closely related to SE. First of all, the basilect tends to be the most stable part of the continuum. Second, it should be obvious that the part of HCE which provides us with the most useful data is the part which differs most from SE. A study searching for the NSM primitives in SE would be a meaningless and redundant exercise since the NSM formulation is specified in SE.

Third, as Labov (1990:6) observes, closely related systems tend to interfere with each other more than distinct ones. In our study, a major concern is how having such closely related systems might affect speaker’s intuitions about sentences. As previously mentioned, decreolization is widespread in the continuum. Speakers are often competent in a range of registers. So, for example, it might be easy to mistake an SE sentence for an HCE sentence if it is pronounced with HCE phonology. HCE can be very tolerant of SE loan words, depending on the lexical domain. Furthermore, NSM clauses are simple, and NSM discourse structure bears a remarkable resemblance to HCE discourse structure.

A question naturally arises, “How does one know when one has good basilectal data?” I believe I should state outright that I am unaware of any objective criteria for determining what good basilectal data is. Currently, “you’ll know it when you hear it” is the only guide I have.

4.2 Data Sources

As previously mentioned, this study attempts to find exact semantic equivalents to the NSM primitives. Establishing a given HCE word as semantically equivalent to an NSM primitive requires data of a very high quality. It is not the sort of thing one can do by, say, browsing through a dictionary.

Since quality basilectal data is so important to this study, I will be accessing the basilect from two different angles: my own native intuitions and a corpus of text taken from several written/recorded sources.

4.2.1 About myself

I am a native speaker of HCE. I am a Caucasian-Japanese male. I was born and raised within a community of basilectal speakers on the island of Kaua‘i. Probably the most vigorous period of HCE usage in my life extended roughly from the 7th grade until my junior year in college, as I became more socially active. During college, I was also exposed to other neighbor island HCE variants, especially from Maui and the big island of Hawai‘i.
4.2.2 Written corpus

In compiling this written corpus, I have chosen to avoid completely the enormously complex and not directly relevant issue of transcription. Therefore, all citations appear as they do in the original.2

Oral histories make up the overwhelming majority of our corpus. An oral history is conducted as an interview. The interview situation is not an ideal environment, but neither is it a bad one. It tends to be more formal and less spontaneous than natural discourse. Furthermore, the interview is conducted to make certain information accessible to as wide an audience as possible. Thus, the interviewee may be feel compelled to use “proper” English. He may end up using “harder” words than he is accustomed to. Nonetheless, I believe that such interviews can provide us with some valuable data. The skilled interviewer specializes in minimizing his own contribution and maximizing the contribution of the interviewee. We often find that when an interviewee gets absorbed in his subject matter, he gets excited, loses himself, and forgets about all about “talking proper”.

The Center for Oral History at the University of Hawai‘i has made available to the general public both recorded and transcribed materials. I have found basilectal speech of a high quality in several of their interviews.

In the following list of speakers, I will include not only the source of the interview, but also the speaker’s name, the speaker’s code (used to identify the speaker in citations), ethnicity, age, level of education (if indicated), occupation, and the number of pages of text.

From the oral history of long-time Waikiki residents (Center for Oral History 1985):
Masayuki Yoshimura (MY), Japanese, 70, 12th grade, retired salesman. 33 pages.
Sam Uyehara (SU), Japanese, 76, retired restaurant owner. 55 pages.
From the oral history of Koloa, Kaua‘i (Center for Oral History 1987):
Mitsugi Muraoaka (MM), Japanese, 82, retired plantation worker. 60 pages.
From the oral history of Lana‘i ranch (Center for Oral History 1989):
Ernesto Richardson (ER), Hawaiian, 79, retired paniolo (the local term for a ‘cowboy’) and truck driver. 153 pages.
From the oral history of Waipi‘o Valley, Hawai‘i (Ethnic Studies Oral History Project 1978):
Albert Kalani (AK), Hawaiian, 70, retired Parks and Recreation employee and retired taro farmer. Bilingual Hawaiian and HCE. 82 pages.
Fannie Duldulao (FD), Hawaiian, 67, 8th grade, taro farmer. 58 pages.
George Farm (GF), Chinese, 69, 12th grade, taro farmer. 59 pages.
Nelson Chun (NC), Chinese, 78, 8th grade, taro, lotus, and water chestnut farmer. 124 pages.
Merrill Toledo (MT), Caucasian-Portuguese, 42, 12th grade, taro and sugar cane farmer. 36 pages.
Tom Araki (TA), Japanese, 70, taro farmer. 26 pages.
William Kaneokea (WK), Hawaiian, 62, 9th grade, taro farmer. 30 pages.
From an oral history of Kalahi, O‘ahu (Ethnic Studies Oral History Project 1984):
Yen Cheung Au (YA), Chinese, 90, 4th grade, retired Pearl Harbor Shipyard worker. 55 pages.
From an oral history of Kona, Hawai‘i (Ethnic Studies Oral History Project 1981):
Eugenio Bala (EB), Ilokano, 73, pool operator, former coffee picker, ranch hand, and janitor. 15 pages.
Katherine “Nina” Kalaiwa‘a (NK), Hawaiian, 70, taro farmer. 45 pages.

The Watumull Foundation Oral History project contains two important interviews (3 pages): one with On Char (OC) (Char 1976), a retired local Chinese man who owned a store in downtown Honolulu.

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2 The systems of transcription used by the Center for Oral History are designed to be readable to speakers of SE. The other transcription systems used in this corpus attempt to be more “faithful” to the distinctive features of HCE, but also reflect our tentative understanding of HCE phonology.

My own example sentences use a version of the Bickerton and Odo 1976 transcription system replacing medial and word final \( \frac{\text{\La{}}}{\text{\La{}}} \) with \( \text{\La{}} \). I would like to warn the reader that I myself have not done a substantive analysis of HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that HCE phonology and that
and one with John Kuakini Lindsey (JL) (Lindsey 1979), a retired part-Hawaiian paniolo with Parker ranch on the island of Hawai‘i.

In addition, I have obtained a private oral history (31 pages) of a Japanese man (BB, not his real initials), 78, who lived in an isolated rural part of the island of Hawai‘i before he moved to work in the pineapple plantations in Central O‘ahu. All names of individuals have been withheld at the request of the author.

The corpus also includes the appendix (43 pages) of Watson’s anthropological study (1972) which contains narratives of basilectal part-Hawaiian children. Their names and speaker codes are as follows: Ahi (AH), Hele (HE), Hipa (HI), Kaipo (KP), Kaleo (KL), Kali (LI), Keahi (KH), Keaka (KK), Kehi (KE), Keiki (KI), Kekoa (KO), Kiele (LE), Kina (KA), Kona (KN), Maile (MI), Malo (ML), Nakau (NU), Noela (NO), Paki (PA), and Peke (PE).

Finally, this study uses some data from the three texts found at the end of Bickerton and Odo’s 1976 study.

It took 2-3 man-weeks to scan the 908 pages of text and convert them into computer readable form. The processing, analysis, maintenance, editing, organization, and displaying of such a massive volume of data would not have been possible without a battery of fairly complex computer programs to assist in automating as much of the task as possible. In all, I spent about 4 man-months programming almost 4000 lines of emacs-lisp code, 3 flex programs, and 11 linked Makefiles.

The analysis chapter which follows will be structured around the corpus findings, but it will not be completely dependent on the corpus for its conclusions. Introspective judgements will be regarded as the final arbitrator of acceptability or non-acceptability of primitives and their combinations.

Nevertheless, this study benefits greatly from the confirmation of examples in actual speech. Having such a rich empirical base assures us that the findings of this study do not rest on any one person’s idiolect.
Chapter 5

Analysis sections

This chapter provides an introduction to the individual primitives, citing their importance in linguistic description and recounting their history. It then describes the organization of the individual sections devoted to each of the 37 primitives. The individual sections themselves immediately follow, presenting the HCE corpus evidence for each primitive and all of their syntactic valences.

5.1 The primitives

The following is the list of primitives to be covered:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PRIMITIVES COVERED IN THIS STUDY</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Substantives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental Predicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determiners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quantifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Actions, Events</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluators</td>
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<tr>
<td>Descriptors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxonomy, Partonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metapredicates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interclausal Linkers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

They will be studied in the order listed.

5.2 Importance of primitives

It is not possible fully justify, in our limited space, why every primitive in this set is needed. Nevertheless, I would like the reader to consider the number of linguistic domains where these primitives play a major descriptive role (cf. Goddard 1997):

Lexical: Moral concepts (GOOD, BAD, PEOPLE, DO, HAPPEN), Speech acts (SAY), Location (WHERE, ABOVE, BELOW), Emotions (FEEL), Prototypes (LIKE), Lifeforms (KIND OF), and Human artifacts (PEOPLE, SOMETHING, DO)

Syntactic phenomena: Intonation (I), Coordination (THE SAME), Negation (NOT), Modality (CAN), and Topicalization (THINK of)

Syntactic categories: Gender (SOMEONE, SOMETHING, PEOPLE), Animacy (SOMEONE, SOMETHING), Pronominals (I, YOU, SOMEONE), Evidentials (THINK, KNOW, SAY), Factivs (KNOW), Imperatives (I, WANT, YOU), Experiencer constructions (FEEL), Demonstratives (THIS), Reflexives (THE SAME, HAPPEN, TIME), Reciprocals (THE SAME, HAPPEN, OTHER, TIME), Obviatives (OTHER), Number (ONE, TWO, MANY), Benefactives (GOOD), Adversatives (BAD), Augmentatives (BIG), Diminutives (SMALL), Tense (WHEN, BEFORE, AFTER), Classifiers (KIND OF), Conditionals (IF), Interrogatives (NOT, KNOW, WANT), Superlatives (VERY), Causatives (BECAUSE), Semblatives (LIKE), Inalienable possession (PART OF), and Mass/count noun classes (KIND OF, PART OF, SOMETHING)
5.3 History and status of primitives

This chapter summarizes the history and status of all of the 37 primitives.

W's earliest work follows closely Leibniz’s “axe-like” (W 1980:3) application of Ockham’s razor. Any word, any grammatical category which was not absolutely necessary for expression of some meaning was mercilessly discarded, regardless of the cost in grammatical correctness or elegance. As one would expect, W’s early lists (W 1972 and W 1980) seem quite lean. These two lists are identical, except the latter omits the primitive FEEL. The following is taken from W 1972:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1972 Primitives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>WANT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THINK OF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DON’T WANT</td>
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A few of these primitives have remained unchanged throughout the history of NSM. These primitives are I, YOU, SOMEONE, SOMETHING, WANT, and THIS. They were strongly confirmed in the Goddard and W’s (1994) cross-linguistic study and may be considered the best established primitives of the entire NSM set.¹

Four of these primitives still remain in the current NSM set, but have been the subject of controversy.

THINK clause was originally explicated as a combination of the primitive THINK OF and SAY clause. As the inadequacies of this analysis became apparent, the THINK clause valency was added. In more recent work, the form THINK ABOUT is often used in preference to THINK OF. The syntax of THINK may not be a completely settled matter.

SAY has undergone some minor modifications. In particular, as of W (1996), two valency options have been added to its syntax.

FEEL has been characterized a kind of problem child for NSM. W observed in W (1980:29) that FEEL seems to be used exclusively in expressions involving emotions. This was suspicious since, primitives, being few in number, must each bear a heavy functional load. Furthermore, at that time, W (1980:123) was able to offer an explication for this word:

(79) I FEEL GUILTY ⇔
   a. wanting to say something
   b. because of what happens in me when I think about it
   c. I would say: I am GUILTY

Thus, FEEL remained unneeded and rejected as late as 1989 (W 1989:115). The growing body of crosslinguistic evidence (Goddard and W 1994) convinced W to acknowledge the inadequacy of the

¹ This is not to say that these primitives are not contested outside of NSM. For example, I or YOU are hardly accepted universally by linguists or philosophers as primitive. W has devoted an entire article (W 1976) to this question. Very briefly, alternative accounts usually attempt to define I and YOU as the speaker and the addressee, respectively. Such accounts fail because, first of all, I simply doesn’t mean the same thing as the speaker. The sentence I am the speaker does not mean the same thing as the sentence The speaker is the speaker. We make use the same argument for you and the addressee. Secondly, such accounts fail because I and YOU may be used without reference to speech (or for that matter, experiencing, as Russell attempts to argue).
above explication and welcome FEEL back into the NSM family once more. There is currently an unsettled question about whether the syntax of FEEL should be formulated as FEEL SOMETHING BAD/GOOD or FEEL GOOD/BAD. The primitive PART OF was also included in W’s first list, and is still in the current list of NSM primitives, but it has hardly been a smooth ride. PART was singled out (Goddard and W 1994:497) as the most problematic of the 37 primitives surveyed in the Semantics and Lexical Universals volume. There remains the question about whether the syntax should be framed as X IS A PART OF Y, or X HAS Y PARTS, or X PARTS OF Y, or a combination of the above. The four primitives DON’T WANT, IMAGINE, WORLD, and BECOME were the most controversial of W’s earliest proposals. All of these have either been dropped or transmogrified beyond recognition. The first relaxing of NSM’s exclusive membership policy appears as a footnote (W 1980:37) suggesting KNOW and PLACE as possible primitives. In W 1988:10, KNOW, TIME, and PLACE made their official debut as full-fledged primitives. Explications had been once proposed for each of these:

(80) X KNOWS SOMETHING ABOUT Y (W 1980:156) ⇔
   a. X can say something about Y

(81) TIME (W 1972:120) ⇔
   a. the world thought of as worlds one of which becomes the others

(82) PLACE (W 1972:95) ⇔
   a. part of the world that something can be thought of as being a part of

The explication KNOW is problematic since knowing is applicable to animals, but saying is not. TIME and all temporal notions were decomposed rather awkwardly in terms of the primitives WORLD and BECOME. Although hailed in McCawley 1983 as a brilliant non-temporal analysis of the domain, W was quite willing to abandon her earlier hypothesis. Likewise, it was conceded that the explications for PLACE were, in fact, “bizarre and unintelligible” (W 1989:114). These three primitives have since been subjected to large-scale cross-linguistic investigations and have become solidly established as universal primitives.

What began as a trickle, soon became a flood of new primitives. 1989 became an important transitional year for NSM.

Leibniz’s program, with its obsession with reductionism and callous disregard for grammatical correctness and elegance, often resulted in too great a loss in intelligibility. Following this period, reductive analysis became more tempered with linguistic sensitivity. Hence, many previous word explications came under question as the tools for NSM became more sophisticatedally linguistically. Consider the following list of previous attempts to explicate primitives:

(83) X1 IS BIG (W 1972:74) ⇔
   a. X1 is bigger than an X you would think of wanting to imagine X1

(84) X1 IS SMALL (W 1972:74) ⇔
   a. X1 is smaller than an X you would think of wanting to imagine X1

(85) X IS GOOD (W 1972:84) ⇔
   a. One can say about X what we could want to be able to say about any X
(86) **X IS VERY Y** (W 1972:86) ⇔
   a. X is Y
   b. I would say more than Y

(87) **MANY X’s** (W 1972:74) ⇔
   a. There are more X’s than you would think of wanting to imagine X’s

(88) **ALL dogs are faithful** (W 1980:186) ⇔
   a. one cannot say thinking of a dog:
   b. this dog is unfaithful

(89) **X played BEFORE Y** (W 1972:113) ⇔
   a. The world-of-which-the-playing-X-was-a-part was a world that the world-of-which-the-playing-Y-was-a-part was becoming

(90) **X played AFTER Y** (W 1972:113) ⇔
   a. The world-of-which-the-playing-X-was-a-part was a world that was becoming the world-of-which-the-playing-Y-was-a-part

(91) **UNDER** (W 1972:101) ⇔
   a. closer to the Earth

(92) **John is LIKE his father** (W 1972:223) ⇔
   a. I’m thinking of John
   b. I say: this could be John’s father
   c. (one could imagine this being John’s father)

(93) **S1 is P1 BECAUSE S2 is P2** (W 1972:199) ⇔
   a. I’m thinking of S1 being P1
   b. I say: if S2 were not P2, then S1 would not be P1

(94) **IF S1 is P1 then S2 is P2** (W 1972:192) ⇔
   a. I’m thinking of S1, S2
   b. I say: I don’t want to say: S1 is P1, S2 is not P2

(95) **X CAN do Y** (W 1972:154) ⇔
   a. If X wants to do Y, X will do Y

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2 This is actually a good definition for the can of “ability”. The primitive CAN is the can of “possibility”: bad things can happen to good people
(96) X DID something (W 1980:177) ⇔
   a. something became sayable about something
   b. because something became sayable about X
   c. because X wanted it

(97) something HAPPENED to X (W 1980:177) ⇔
   a. something became sayable about X
   b. because something became sayable about something else

   Presumably, BAD and ABOVE would have been explicated like their antithetical counterparts, GOOD and UNDER:

(98) X IS BAD ⇔
   a. One can say about X what we wouldn't want to be able to say about any X

(99) ABOVE (W 1972:101) ⇔
   a. further from the Earth

Although I cannot go into all of the reasons, all of these words are now regarded as primitive. The second major facet of this transition was the realization that primitives needed to prove themselves cross-linguistically.

The one-time primitives, BECOME, IMAGINE, and WORLD were dropped because of the lack of plausible equivalents in some languages. The primitives HAPPEN and DO took the place of BECOME; IMAGINE was eventually replaced by IF; WORLD was eliminated altogether.

All of the above primitives plus the primitives PEOPLE, OTHER, ONE, TWO, and KIND OF were subjected to Goddard and W (1994)'s large-scale cross-linguistic study of 17 languages. They are now regarded as well-established.

All of the primitives in Goddard and W 1994 remain in the current NSM inventory, with one possible exception. The one-time primitive DON'T WANT survived Goddard and W 1994 in the form of NO!. The rationale behind this primitive has always been to account for negation, since it was believed that the notion of rejection was more elementary than negation. Consider an early proposed explication of NOT:

(100) S1 IS NOT P1 (W 1972:191) ⇔
   a. I'm thinking of S1,
   b. I say: I don't want to say: it is P1

In W (1996:65), W finally assented to the more mainstream clausal NOT after a consideration of the evidence from child language acquisition.

5.4 Organization of following sections

I have attempted to avoid redundant treatment of syntactic valences. For example, the syntactic frame SOMEONE SAID (SOMETHING) could be considered part of the syntax of SOMEONE or part of the syntax of SAY. I have chosen to cover it as a part of the syntax of SOMEONE because SOMEONE may also serve as a mental subject to an entire family of predicates. On the other hand, I am treating the valence
(SOMEONE) SAID (SOMETHING) (TO) SOMEONE as part of the syntax of SAY (and not SOMEONE) because the addressee slot is peculiar to the predicate SAY. In other words, I will assign a valence to a lexeme if the overall result is a more general syntax.

1. Each section is subdivided in the following manner:
   (a) Information to disambiguate the primitive sense, if needed
   (b) A detailed listing of the primitive’s syntactic valences
   (c) A discussion of all potential HCE candidates
   (d) Example sentences from the corpus of all syntactic combinations found for each plausible HCE candidate
   (e) A conclusion

HCE forms are selected as potential candidates if they may serve as rough translation equivalents for the SE exponents of NSM primitives. An HCE candidate is deemed plausible if it is not possible to specify a semantic difference between the NSM primitive and itself. This process involves formulating hypothetical differences and evaluating these hypotheses against the corpus data and my own linguistic intuitions until either a valid hypothesis surfaces or all plausible hypotheses have been exhausted.

Illustrative examples are listed for each valence found for each plausible HCE candidate primitive. I have divided examples into three classifications:

Type 1. In a ‘canonical’ example, there is a primitive HCE exponent for each member of the syntactic pair. This type of example provides the strongest possible evidence for a particular NSM primitive syntactic configuration.

Type 2. In a ‘near-canonical’ example, there is a primitive HCE exponent for the primary primitive under investigation. There is a non-primitive HCE term corresponding to the second member of the NSM syntactic pair, which is decomposable in terms of the appropriate NSM primitive. This type of example provides good evidence for a particular NSM primitive syntactic configuration.

Type 3. A ‘non-canonical’ example contains only an HCE exponent of the NSM primitive under investigation. This kind of example only serves to exemplify the sense of a primitive. It can be used as evidence for the existence of an NSM primitive in HCE, but cannot be used to argue in favor of any syntactic configuration.

The conclusion identifies the most compelling HCE candidate (if there is one), summarizes the results of the search for primitive syntactic configurations, evaluates the strength of the evidence, and analyzes the significance of missing syntactic combinations. A missing syntactic combination will not necessarily lead to the conclusion that it does not exist in HCE. A missing combination which is part of an overall pattern is more significant than an incidental missing combination. Again, the introspective evidence is the final arbiter.

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3 “Canonical example” should not be confused with the standard NSM term “canonical sentence”. An NSM “canonical sentence” is a sentence containing only primitives (and, in some cases, near-primitives). In a “canonical example” however, one only considers the context relevant to the particular syntactic valence under investigation. For practical reasons, I investigate combinations of two lexical primitives at one time. This pair is usually all the context that is relevant.
5.5 I

5.5.1 Primitive Syntax

Universally I may serve as subject for the following predicates in NSM:

THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SAY, and DO

5.5.2 HCE candidates

The over-abundance of potential exponents is most frequently encountered problem with identifying the exponents for I and YOU cross-linguistically. HCE, however, roughly follows (with many exceptions) the pattern of SE with respect to I and YOU. I has two allolexes, ai in subject position and mi elsewhere.

It is generally dangerous to assume the semantic equivalence of similar forms in different languages, even between two closely related languages. However, I find no basis to argue for a semantic difference between SE I and HCE ai.

5.5.3 Examples of ai/mi

5.5.3.1 ai THINK

There are numerous canonical examples of ai and THINK:

(AK:607) Movies were cheap those days. I think was 60 cents or 50 cents don't know or less. Very cheap.

(AK:670) I think it’s good to leave as it is. You know, getting something else coming in. The only thing now is the bushes right around. That’s the thing that keeping the place down. Come like a jungle. If they do clean up the place and open up, where people can see. You come down, you look, all this, all vines, bushes, all that. That only good for only the back part of the valley. But other part of the valley, they should at least open it up. Like how Waipi'o was before.

(GF:326) Not so good. They always get misunderstanding. They hate one another, jealous of one another. But, for me, I don’t have anything against anybody. The only thing is with Toledo. His ways are not so good. I think he’s born like that. I don’t hate him. But he don’t understand that’s why. Some people, they are greedy, selfish, they care for themselves only, no care for anybody else. You know what I mean?

(JL:23) I don’t know. Dat part I don’t know. I think Carter got dese. No odda manager like Carter.

(MM:364) The car get in one long line. Sometime in one long line maybe get about fifty, sixty cars. And then, it’s not only one line. They get several more other lines. They get some more cars, too, eh? And the teamsters is always bringing cars in and then always taking out, see. So, my job is to see that no more no trouble in the field. They grab their car and then some of them, they tell, “Ey, I think my company no more, though.” If no more company, well, I go find. See, that’s my job.

(MT:1187) No. That’s the thing they was kind of afraid of. I don’t know why. I talked to Jeri, Wednesday again. But see, the UH, according to him, it says before they can check the water for any kind of, you have to know what we looking for in the water, before they can sample it. Which, we don’t know. I don’t know myself. But I think has something to do with the water. You have this guava seed problem coming out now. Which, I never did get it. I’m getting it this year. And what I mean is 30 to 35 percent guava seed, I get. Now, you get that pithium, another 50 percent. What we end up; 80 percent. We only going gain 20 percent? Cannot be done.
There are numerous canonical examples of *ai* in combination with *KNOW*:

(AK:630) They get lot of herbs, though. They got lot of plant, you know. But I don’t know if they got, because I never did try to whatever, get this thing to help any people that. Maybe I can, I know, but I don’t want to just tell you and then that’s not correct. I got to be sure before I go tell. But for certain medicine, maybe *I know* something. There were lot of herbs, Hawaiians. Really plenty. Like cold cough, alaala puloa they call ’em, is another good one. Uhaloa they call that, same thing. On Kawaihawai Road, on the other side of the island, they have those plants. They call that alaala puloa or uhaloa, can be two ways. See, you pull from the ground, and then you got to get the roots, you wash the roots; either you chew or you boil, same thing. Mountain apple bark, the same thing. The mountain apple bark good for cold. The lehua tree bark and all those. Or the lehua buds, the young shoots. The wild guava, that good for medicine. You know that guava, the young shoots, that, you get sore stomach, or something, you chew that.

(AK:661) Like we in Kona, *I know* my grandparents and my father work for the ranch, we get the poi from the ranch.

(AK:672) My wife’s great-grandfather. They been there, and they know all that. He says it’s a nice place to look. “*I know* far, but you have to. If you have to go, you go there spend the night.” Like they said, they go out, they spend the night.

(BB:010) Yea, because you know why, [name deleted] is behind our house – policeman yo. OK. He’s the guy he goin’ tell my father that the inspector goin’ come today. He get all the information. So no touch, all hide ’em some place where they don’ know. I goin’ take ’em away from your house. *I know* ALL the okolehau stay underneath your house. The bootleggers think my house is safe, so they stay bring under our house. Our underhouse was kin’ of high. Some of the kin’, wha-tyou-may call, my father stay dig underneath. The okolehau fill up till the neck, eh. When you dig ’em out and when you look, eh, you’ll be surprised – the darn thing stay down. So much already no mo’ – evaporate. The darn thing make good cork on top and everything but evaporate. You no believe, but my father used to tell me, “Ippai attaga kore dake hetta.”

(ER:844) Gee, horses we had plenty. Plenty young horses outside, never train. When Munro time, he had plenty young horses outside the pasture. Some no pau train yet when Vredenburg came. And they try sell ’em. Vredenburg try sell some out. I think Munro had plenty horses. *I know* was plenty young horses, plenty never pau train yet, and plenty trained. And then they get cowboy, they get about three–Bill, Abraham, Frank, Moke, I think about five guys, five or six guys, they train horse. But they train horse for Hawaiian Pine, for the luna. The horses they can ride already, they give ’em to the lunas.

(FD:245) Well, they used to burn firewood before. You know we have plenty wood down there. So they used firewood instead. Because *I know* my dad used to go there– fireman. He used to go help, eh? My father used to go up too because when he’s not busy he goes to help.

(GF:316) And *I know* there’s a place in Kohala mountains, Kawaihawai Uka. They have a place there. Hawaiians, they use that for burial ground. The skeleton of a average man is about 12 feet long, from head to toe. And that place, used to be noni, Kawaihawai Beach. Kawaihawai, Kawaihawai Uka, plenty noni. Noni is good medicine.

(JB:62) And you let the net stay below the ocean, way down in the bottom. Then about five or six of you, or whoever maybe down Waipio Valley goes with a stick and start poking into the river to send all the fish down. You be surprised, sometimes we catch lot of oopu. And I don’t know how to explain it in English what oopu mean. But *I know* it’s a fish now. And we do that and then we get Hawaiian salt-whatever salt that we could get.

(JB:67) Well, some of them were working men with Mr. Chun, Nelson Chun. Some of them had their own taro farm. They were using the Bishop Estate property to plant the taro. Like Chun has, I was working for Chun. And how I begin to learn the taro farm when my father and mother was in Waipio Valley. Not only my father and mother, I had this fellow too. That was Tommy Araki’s, I forget the father’s name but *I know* he’s Mr. Araki.
(MM:344) More often? No, no. I think about once a month. Because they had only the two guys for the whole plantation, you know. For Koloa side. The mill side, I don't know. But for Koloa side, I know it's only two guys because I only see got two guys. And then, on top of that, they used to get one guy go every day throw lime. Because some guys, after they use the toilet, they no throw lime. You got to throw lime, otherwise going come real stink, see. Get one fella go all around the toilets and throw lime.

(MY:1454) Oh, we had the Takashiges, the Murakamis, and Matsushiges, and the Hawaiian family was.... I forgot that Hawaiian family's name, now. I know used to live there, see, but I don't know what their name was already

(MY:1478) No, this regular. Little League regular. The one that all the Little League, get all the one–you know, Honolulu get all the Little League, eh? I was coaching the one in Kapahulu called, "Cardinals." We get practice in Kapi'olani Park. After that I coached a American Legion team league, couple years. That's how I know Richards good because his boy used to play for me.

(NC:121) Oh yeah, hand. Not foot machine, just with the hand kind. And she's good in sewing too. She made Hawaiian quilts. I forget how many she made but I know each child has one. So 10 of us in the family, get 10, eh?

(NC:152) I know Olepau used to grow rice. Old man Fred Olepau. That's the father of this boy here, the Olepau down here. He used to grow rice. He and who was the other one now? He and his brother. Two of them anyway. And Henry Olepau.

(TA:42) Oh, Honolulu Poi is one big outfit, you know. They don't make only poi. They make everything, even vegetables. They pack that. Tofu and all that kind stuff. Big outfit. Papayas. I think Kalihi, they only make poi, I think. That's about the only two poi shop in Honolulu, I think, now. I know Waiahole fold up.

(YA:1020) It was sure, after that. I know was sure.

5.5.3.3 ai WANT

There are numerous canonical examples of ai in combination with WANT:

(BB:006) At the end, eh, he had to poke 'em right through, eh. With the gauze go in and out like that my father say, “Eh, stop already. I no like get sore,” he say. “I no care you cut off my leg, but you know, no make like that already.” After that my father take care, eh. He came good. Ohh, my father sweat you know when they make like that.

(FD:290) No, we don’t. Only we have friends, they just come in and help. We rather work by ourself. That's why all my children say because we strong. That's why I say, “Well, my day is coming. Maybe some day I'll just work around the house.” You know, with all this kind plants now, I'm tempted by the plants, I want to go on more with the plants. I'm tempted, I told the guy, “I'm coming back, maybe two weeks from now, when I get my money.” He said, “What you doing?” I said, “Raise taro.” “How old are you?” “Sixty-seven.” “Sixty-seven, you still go raise taro, dry land?” “No, wet land.” “Ai,” he tells me that.


(JL:21) No, I don't smoke. But I didn't like stay up dere, see. I no wanna stay. Only me da Hawaiian boy, might catch hell wid da odda men.

(MM:336) Well, I had a Portuguese friend and he had bees. Oh, he had maybe about half a dozen boxes. And he asked me if I like. I tell 'em, “Ah, I don't know how to raise this thing.” “No, it's only easy. You wen look. You wen look how I take the honey.” “Yeah, yeah, I wen look, but I kinda scared. I no wanna get sting from the bee.” “No, after a while, you not going get scared.” So, what you need is only the smoker and the mask, see. You know, the mask cover your head. It's made of screen wire, eh? You
know, for the bee no come and sting your face. So I tell him, “Yeah, okay then. You give me one box then.” That’s how I got started.

(MT:1188) That’s my theory. That’s what I’m thinking about. So I want to get something going on it, but Jeri told me he’ll contact me later. See, what I wanted to do was, I had a guy from Brewer came out, from Brewer Chemical Company. And I wanted to put blue copper stone, I don’t know if you folks kind of familiar of it, that’s to purify the water.

(OC:9) So those people say, “Well, when you want to sell,” sell to them. I tell them I keep it for souvenir. They want to slap me. They say, “Why you want to keep it a souvenir? You get the money and go buy something else.” I say in my heart, “If good for you, must be good for me,” So I keep. I hang on. So I keep on telling that, “Well, I get the children. I want to keep that for souvenir.”

(TA:52) I don’t have ’em in my patch yet. That’s why when I get seed, when I go borrow seed, or buy seed, I look where the taro, the seed come from. I no like bring ’em over here. Sometime I leave my patch empty for four, five months, until I get the good seed. I no like bring the disease this side.

(YA:1024) Some of them taro patches on the hillside belong to the Hawaiians. The Hawaiians stay there. Get one house in the valley, you know. And then, they own their taro patch there. They go pull their taro, they make their own taro. Sometime, one day, I watching them Hawaiians how to make poi. And I no like eat poi no more, you know.

5.5.3.4 ai FEEL

Although FEEL is relatively rare in our corpus, there is a respectable number of examples of ai in combination with FEEL. There are a substantial number of canonical examples found in our corpus:

(FD:263) I guess she didn’t tell me those things because I didn’t have nobody with us. Until I left them and I come home, that’s when I got to meet this man. To tell you the truth. We had friends but not the kind go and sleep together. You know what I mean? That’s why she didn’t have to tell me those things. Because I’m always with them. We were happy. I tell you the truth, I was happy with them. Honest. Tell you the truth. I was happier with them than when I got married. I felt so sorry I got married. I told my dad, “I hoped I was still with them.” I was more happy living with them than my husband. “I wished I didn’t get married.” I told him that. But they felt sorry, too. They said, well, for me to get married, maybe stop me from working. That was his plan. He look. I work so hard and then he didn’t want me to work. And I was too young to work. I said, “Aren’t you happy that what you doing I can do?” And I tells him that. He said, “I know, but it’s a man’s job. It’s not for a girl like you.” And then I used to come back, come back, come back. And he felt sorry. He took me back in the house. That’s why I stayed with my dad until he died. When my husband got a job up here, that’s how we moved up here. And I had my oldest daughter. I had three of them, my son, four of them down there.

(FD:263) Well, he used to work taro patch. And the poi factory for the Mock Chew. Because they have a poi shop too, eh? I didn’t like the way. So my dad, I think my dad felt so sorry. You know? For forcing me to get married. Even my aunty, Harrison’s mother, knows about it. Come in the afternoon. I wait and wait, he doesn’t come back. I feel lost. I rather go back to my parents when I’m happier with them than being with him like that.

(GF:312) I lived with him. Then, you see, he lived there, his daughter-in-law and his son live there, I lived there, and he get some children not married live there. Big house, plenty room, but I rather stay by myself. You know why? I feel more free. Because I’m an outsider. My wife is free with the family but I’m not free with them. You know what I mean? Maybe working time, we can be together, but if you be together every day and night, not so good. So, you know my old house in Waipio?

(GF:345) Before the hippies came. The hippies, when they come ask me, they come begging for job. “Please. I need money to buy food. I need things, I cannot buy.” They have pants, big holes in the back. You can see through. In the front. What you going do? You can turn them down and no give them job? I go home, I go get clothes for them, my own clothes. I tell them, “You try fit this pants on, if fit you.”
get brand new shorts. “You try put this shorts on, if fit you.” “Oh just right.” “Good.” I feel good. Some of them still working for William Kanekoa.

(GF:348) Took me behind there. He baptize me behind there. I surrender to God. Everything. I told Him everything. They tell me, “Don’t confess to me, I’m not God. You confess to God what you do.” I go behind there, they baptize me in the stream. When I came out, you know, my whole body was tingling. Just like electric. From head to toe. When I came out, I went home. I tell, “Gee, I feel funny, I feel so good.” So light, you know. Different. Gee, I go swim in there everytime, but I no feel like that. When I went home, I felt so good. I change my clothes, put on dry clothes. And about 1 o’clock we had lunch. They told me, “George, I want you to eat anything on the table.” Well, we had fish, we had chicken, we had pork, we had meat. Anything you can think of. These guys, when they came from Hilo, they bought lot of food. And, like, we get plenty chicken and ducks. Pork, meat. All the time down there. Fish.

(MM:377) Well, I feel sorry if the sugar close up. But if the president do something, if they keep up the same way, what, eighteen cents a pound. If eighteen cents a pound, they can barely make ’em.

(NC:161) So all that money was gone. I gave them all back, you know. Who, oh, Frank Frazier was the banker up here, Sheriff Rickard, Dr. Carter. I think Dr. Carter is still living down Honolulu. They told me, “You don’t have to pay what tidal wave takes away. Because that’s Act of God. That’s not your fault.” I said, “Gee, how would I feel if one of them hangs himself? I’ll be just like a murderer.” I told them. They said, “No, it’s not your fault.” I said, “I know it’s not, but it’s easier for me to pay them than keep me worried.”

(SU:1527) And then, sometimes, I used to get lazy. I used to get sister go school together with me. I told her to go ahead and carry my kappa, and my book, and everything. Me, I go through the cane. Now, when I feel that, oh, I feel sorry, but too late already, eh? But she was a husky girl, see. And then, we chew the cane, four or five boys, eh? We go right inside the cane field. We chew the cane, we come out. We don’t want to throw the trash away on the road because the bosses, plantation, going to find out, eh? Yeah, that’s what we used to do.

5.5.3.5 ai SAY

There are numerous canonical examples of ai in combination with SAY.

(AK:609) With my father-in-law. I wanted to move because after we got married, I told my wife, “We might as well go.” But she said she pity the father, Ted was small yet, those days. They were very young, Ted, the other brother over here and one more sister, they were the three last ones in the house. So she asked me, “well, you might as well stay here, help the father take care the brothers and sister.” I said, “okay.” So we stayed back.

(AK:657) They spray on the bank. And then, in the bank, if they have lot of grass, then they go spray in the grass, in the bank. You see, the poison, the acid can go down with the dirt. Me, for sure it’s poison, the one causing the trouble. Everytime you dry one patch, you poison that patch. Then you put the water in there. For time being, got to hold the water in that one there. And then, after that, you let the water go and then going flow down to the other patch. And that patch going get the disease from there. From there continue. But then, they say it’s not the poison. But it’s the poison. Me, I say it’s the poison. Right now, they talking about the marijuana plants. Plantation, they spray Paraquat. And then, the guys who smoking all that, they going get sick, they going get cancer, eh. Like Paraquat, anything, like sugar cane, you spray, never affect the cane. But the weeds, they going fade away more fast than the cane. Paraquat very strong poison. To me, I think they should stop using poison down Waipio, where everybody go back their old days. Sickle.

(AK:667) Yeah. The rock stay move. When the waves hit, the rock stay move. I never did believe that, you know. I said, “Eh, how you think the rock can move in the water like this?” Going broke, eh? So I went down, I was curious. That’s right.

(ER:760) I tell them, “This Big Mac.” They tell, “Nah, not Big Mac.” Bumbai I get one big mango, I leave ’em over there, eh, somebody take my mango. I tell them, “Eh, who ate my mango?” “Me, I make
Big Mac.” “Oh, you like my Big Mac.” Now all the kids around here, every time they eat mango, they tell me Uncle Ernest say that's Big Mac. Put mango inside, put 'em, I eat 'em. They watch me, bumbai they eating all like that. Eating the mango, the banana, I put 'em inside the bread, I eat 'em.

(ER:775) I no say nothing.

(ER:886) He wen tell my name. I come back in the station, “Eh, cowboy, what happened? How come you bang?” I tell, “I no go bang. The driver wen.” They no believe, eh. They figure the driver no bang, gotta be the new man.

(JB:69) Yeah, the Filipinos, they goes with the Chinese and with the Hawaiian people too. They mingle together. And they don't have any trouble with it. Because, some of the Filipinos were working with the Chinese people, Mr. Ah Wo, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Ginji Araki. And... did I say about Chun?

(JL:13) Kau. Where Fred Rice staying now. So Mr. Carter send me owa deah – take care. Riding horse. Took me three days go. Doze days one horse. An’ we were drivin’ or walking’ all about forty – no, sixty-six, I tink – ride on da land. We all goin owa deah – me, Uncle Jim, Dick Kauai, Waiau, and one moah – Japanese – and Sam Kailua. All go deah. We got deah. Dese boys, dey don’t know I had dat money in heah, dat $100,000. I no tell nobody got. Doze days no moah – what you call mail carrier, doze day, eh? Gotta keep quiet. I no tell dem I gotta $100,000 heah. First night, we sleep Kealakakua. Second night, we sleep Kalahi. Da terd night, I arrive Kau. When I arrive, I met Charlie Macomber: “Heah, I pau piliokia now, huh? I hand owa to you dis $100,000.”


(MT:1192) I deliver my own to Hilo. So every Monday, I say I going to Hilo after I pau. Everything is loaded, I'm going direct to Hilo.

(NC:190) Keamalu, the wife own that Umi section. And the wife, she say, “Hey, look at that Filipino.” He’s on top the hill, eh? He look down. “Look at that Filipino, he cutting all the taro. He must be crazy.” That’s how he tell. Then I happen to cross over there. He tell, “Nelson, look that Filipino. He cutting all the taro. He must be crazy, or what.” I said, “He not crazy. The taro is sick, that’s why he cut ‘em.” He said, “How did he get the idea to cut ‘em.” I said, “He asked me what’s the best thing. I said chop ‘em down and plant again.” He said, “You’re another one.” That’s what he told me, you know.

There are numerous canonical examples of *ai* in combination with *DO*:

(AK:631) But in Kona, I know there's lot of kahunas in Kona. Kona is a place famous for kahunas. Really kahuna. For instance, if I get mad with you, or something like that, I do something to you. I just go over there and you just pray like that, and you dead. That's it, you go.


(ER:764) Yeah. That kind bunch, they only catch akule. That's only their job, akule. Then if no more fish, then you go help them go dry their net, eh. You go help them dry all their net. They look and then take your name bumbai if they get money, they give you some money. That's what I do before I came over here. Every time I run away from school, more better go get fish, eh. 'Cause my uncle, they get plenty children, eh, for take care. So, I go help go get fish. My aunty see me, when I bring fish, then she no scold me. I bring back fish, eh. I give the bag, “Here,” I tell my aunty.

(ER:877) That company. But good though, the boss, that luna, I wen work for him two night. but he look the way I work, just like I know all this kind job, like rope kind job, eh, little more same cowboy
kind job, eh, any kind thing, I hook up. He look me from on top, just like I know what I doing, what I work, I know. Bumbai he ask me, “You drink? We go drink beer.” I tell, “No, I no drink.” That’s how come the boss more he like. More he like because I no drink. I said, “No, I no drink. I only drink soda water and milk.” He tell me, “You sure, you no like beer?” “No, no, no. I no drink beer.” And that’s da kine the boss like. That kind guys no moemoe. He tell me, “You going get our kind pay, you know, the way you work over here.”

That’s why, I was just talking to him last night. Let’s travel. Get rid of all the pigs, I tell him, and let’s go travel. Good was, we sit down, we started to talk. We better go enjoy when our feet is still strong. I do this to all; like him, he just work is work. My husband, to tell you folks the truth, he don’t talk much, but what he care is work. That’s why I tell you folks, I’m lucky, I don’t have to bother him.

If you do things by your own self, you know the value of things, that is going to help you too. There’s so much things, that when you-raise taro, there’s so much things that you can think that, that taro would help you. I know for myself. Like, if you have some bills to pay. You have not enough like now, we get our income. Everything is so high. Like us, our foodstuff is very expensive to have, everything when you buy. Is not enough. So we have taro like that; we can put away something, some of our savings and some we can spend for our own use. Taro is important to me.

See, people over here is funny. They figure, when you do something, they figure that you going to gain, not them. So, as I say, it’s kind of family thing over here, so if they had one of their relatives in there being president or something, then things might be different. They figure that I was running the thing for my benefit, which, in general, was for everybody. Everybody is going to benefit. But they just couldn’t see that point at that time. Really hard.

This guy, he said—Monkawa was there, too. All the Waikiki bunch. And Mr. Yasumatsu was there. This guy was telling bad about me. “This ‘Mahjong’ is no good beach boy. He’s no good boy.” Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki.” He said, “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki people.” He tell, “How come?” That’s the truth, that’s why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That’s why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.” The guy, he look sick. That’s why, even today, all the Japanese old ladies, they like me. They know me because always I go to their funerals and everything, I go.

Yeah. Nowdays, you have this kind variety. That’s most people keep. Because they rather have more coffee than less. But taking care, about the same. But before, they never used to fertilize the coffee. All they do is to clean all the grass. Ho hana– or pull the grass. Leave ’em inside the field, like that, dry. And sometime, you have to hulihuli the grass so dry. If you just going to leave like that, they going grow up again. Even today, you do the same thing. If you pull the grass, you just leave like that, they going grow up again. So, if you go, you hulihuli around there and dry.

So Mr. Murakawa asked me, “Who teach you how to do this?” “Well,” I say, “I go home. I do it over, and over, and over. And after you folks go home, sometimes I used to go down the working place and then see all you folks’ tools, how you folks fix up.” Because those days, they leave all the tools in one place, nobody steal everything. So I go down there. I go open up, I look, and file. And then, come home, and I do the same thing, the way how they do it. Then Mr. Murakawa say, “Well, you do this.” So, okay, I do it. And then, after I go home, I do the same thing again. I took my square measure, I measure everything, and I write ’em down. And then he assigned me with a Mr. Shimizu to go to all different camps to repair. Repair the steps, and then kitchen sink, everything. Most of the...

Nothing I can do. All I have to do is to pick up the cash, close up the place. Nothing you can do. And some of the stuff that we have in the icebox, I have to go down there, use at home. Because going be rotten. No matter how long you put in the icebox. If the freezer, all right. But ordinary icebox, you cannot keep too long. Yeah, that time. So, I used to go in the morning, about couple hours, and fix up things, all this, everything. So I said, “I cannot do like this all the time.” So I have to go get the permit to reopen the place. So Christmas time, we open. When we open, big sign down there, we open, ho. Big mob came in. I have to tell all the girls, “Ey, certain-certain day we going open, so come work.”
Oh, boy, I'm telling you, boy, not even funny. Not even funny, boy, I'm telling you. Everybody work hard.

(SU:1566) So I told those guys. See, those guys, nobody want to work. They want money. I said, “You can't do that. You have to go volunteer to go out and hustle everything.” See, when kick-off time, they have a party. But instead of calling the radio and newspaper, they just ignore that. That's why they don't get no publicity. Well, my time is different. The first thing I do is call the radio and newspaper guys, to ho'omalimali them, eh? Then you get all the publicity you want. And end of the year, you do the same thing again. That's why I get picture after picture. Like Star-Bulletin, Advertiser, Nippu Jiji, Hawaii Hochi, all that. But today, young kids, no, they don't do those things.

(TA:50) I tell him just work. And then I do something else. So I don't know how many hours he work. The faster he finish, the faster he get the money.

5.5.4 Summary

Our corpus provides us with conclusive evidence for the following NSM syntactic combinations in HCE:

I THINK X
I KNOW X
I WANT X
I FEEL X
I SAY X
I DO X

5.6 YOU

5.6.1 Primitive Syntax

The universal syntax of the primitive YOU is the same as I.

YOU may serve as subject for the following predicates:

THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SAY, and DO

5.6.2 HCE Candidates

HCE yu is the single plausible candidate for NSM YOU.

5.6.3 Examples of yu

5.6.3.1 yu THINK

There are a fair number of canonical examples of YOU in combination with THINK:

(AK:614) Before time, that's the most things they told me about. That playing cards, swimming, high dive. Not they never have any others, but that the most sports they have. And the only other way they said, like you have a taro patch to clean, then you have to prepare, make a food. You have to make, whatever you think you can prepare. Then, they call those to go over there and clean all the patches. They clean the whole thing one day. After that, they eat.
Oh, yeah. People interested. Those days, people lot of interest. Why you think they have Republicans and Democrats? They back their party up.

Hawaiian canoe. Koa canoe. Maybe, if somebody would try to bring 'em out, maybe could. But nobody would ever try bring out. Maybe they have something else in there, but I don’t know. Most likely, every heiau, everything like that they have lot of stuff in there. All kind of stuff in there. I don’t care to touch things. Only now, I say, whatever those things you touch, all those things, you going get into trouble. Sometimes, when you think it’s superstitious, the way they tell you. But it comes out true. It’s good to have those things when you can go in. Everybody can go and visit, eh. Could see, something to look at that. Too bad. Anybody can see.

Yeah. The rock stay move. When the waves hit, the rock stay move. I never did believe that, you know. I said, “Eh, how you think the rock can move in the water like this?” Going broke, eh? So I went down, I was curious. That’s right.

Well, you young boy time, eh. Down there, every time you look, no more nobody, and people used to talk story, eh. They talk story sometime in the evening, or early in the morning, plenty mynah birds make plenty noise. Certain place, plenty mynah bird. So when you think da kine, you think ghost, eh, obake. The way they.... Tell how come the bird all make noise like that. They tell maybe get da kine, eh. So you come scared. When single boy you stay here, all nighttime, they talk story, eh, the old people talking story, you go listen. Sometime you think too spooky, ah, more better go home for sleep. You no like listen, bumbai you come scared, eh.

Because she was kind of dark, eh, they think that Filipino baby, that. Only account that girl, that’s how our marriage broke up. My ex-husband thought I was going with this man before, that’s how she look different. But when she grew up, he went to tell my family, he wants me back. That’s how these things all came up. I said, “Once you dirty my body, I wouldn’t go back to you no more.” I might as well go with the man you think this baby belong to. That’s how. Now, when you look at her, doesn’t look like my second family. My second family all look different. They all look like Filipino, and some of them you look, them just like Chinese looks, eh. You look them, they get Chinese looks. The Clarice mom is cute, but. She look more on, I don’t know, really just like she get Oriental.

I don’t know. I want something better. With the high school education, I don’t know if I can do paper work. So, might as well do all kinds of work. Try what you think is good, the way to make money, way to get ahead in life, that’s all.

You think I was going $1600? Gee, I would go broke.

Yeah. I do good public relations for them. The contractor like that. They buy from us, I bring orchid for them, the secretary, eh? Like Secretary Week, I used to bring, before. Secretary, I bring flower for them. The boss know all those things. He don’t know? He knows, you know. The guys don’t know.

What can you do? Just drop tears, that’s all. You can’t do anything. Nature work. And you think the one who finance you is going to pity you? You pay for what you borrow.

Chinese. All Chinese. Hawaiians, they don’t get too much taro. They only plant enough to eat. Very few get taro for sale, you know. Only afterwards, recently they get more Hawaiians plant taro for market. Taro is a lot easier than rice. I wouldn’t go into rice again-never! If I had to, I don’t, because I know I cannot take it because you had to worry so much. You worry when the heavy rain come. You worry when wind come, especially these kine winds, strong wind like day time. When the rice is ripe, you think how much grain going to drop down. I wouldn’t grow rice again. And when heavy rain comes down, the rice all going to drop down and it’s funny, the rice come lighter. They’re not so heavy, plus hard to harvest. Instead of picking two at one time, you have to pick one at a time and plus, it is hard, too, on the back.

No. I think a farmer has to rely on nature. That’s what my policy. Nature not with you, you just out of luck. One disease can sweep you clean, one flood can sweep you clean. Cannot help. Even you think you get this, stunt your taro and then you don’t get even half the amount.

Otherwise, you think a young girl will marry an old man? Could be her grandfather.
I think people should take care more tourists, though, I think. They should take care. I think Honolulu can improve some more other places where tourists can go, though. Like Hanauma Bay, and Blowhole, and where is the place down there they get dancing? Way up down the countryside? La'ie. And Nu'uanu Pali. I think they can improve the places, though. Where else can you think of it?

The job, the work. You just got to work in the water and all that. If you work on dry land, not so bad. When it’s raining, you pulling taro, oh my. What a miserable life, eh. Get water underneath, water on top. Even kids, they graduate high school, they get little brains, you think they want to go in the taro patch? They rather work in the office or something.

There are numerous canonical examples of YOU in combination with KNOW:

(AK:628) Oh, lot of medicine. Us Hawaiians, some medicines you just can go and pick now. But some medicine you cannot. You just not can go get, you have to go in the night, during the night, just by yourself going to where to get the medicine. And nobody else. For instance, this is the tree. You know already that’s the plant. In the night you going get that plant. After you pick this plant, we Hawaiians, before we go there we going ask. More like we ask God give us the power of that medicine to cure the sickness or something. We thank Him, we thank God for it.

(BB:013) My father was over there already. The brother, he is a priest and he kin’ a’ way high and he know what was goin’ on. He told my father, “You better go back quick and you know you get two sons; you better expatriate them, otherwise when Japan call ’em and you no come and when you come over there and they catch you, your leg, they hang you up, you know.”

(ER:757) No. Me by myself. I no go with other guys. I run away by myself. Yeah, by myself every time. Sometime I go inside the cane field get mango, eh. Go in there, climb, you get. So long you can eat, no hungry, eh. Go inside the cane field, climb mango, stay on the mango tree, eat. Then get enough, you go down. Those days you know where all the mango stay, eh, then you climb on top. And then sometime da kine guys on the road, they take mango, they sell. But they no can go. I pass by, “Boy, you can climb mango?” “Yeah.” So I go climb for them. Pick up for them, eh. They give me quarter. Quarter, that’s plenty money, eh. So I can go movies, sometime. Get quarter. Only ten cents, eh, down the theater. Bumbai the guys on the road, every time they see me they know I can climb mango. Bumbai tell, “You come Saturday. You go climb mango?” “Okay.”

(ER:786) Then the chief cowboy, he go look. He look, he look. If he think okay, he tell you, “Okay you get ’em all, good.” But if he think this one no good, then he call you come. He tell, “You look this one, you compare this one to this.” So I look what’s the difference. Then he tell you what the difference. You look, but you tell him, “Shee, I don’t know the difference. To me, look like the same.” “No, this one narrow, this one heavy build, bull, short, heavy. This one long, no more.” He tell you all this kind, and you gotta think every time, eh, how they tell you. What kind big, what kind this one. And then, he tell you, “This one how many pound, you think?” So, like me, just like I guess, yeah. I tell ’em, maybe this one 500 pound, and he tell you how you know if 500 pound. How you know? Then you tell, “Oh, because he look bigger than this guy.” No. He tell, “No, you wrong. You look by the weight. You figure out how much weight this guy. You no guess.” You gotta come close, eh, when you figure out. They tell you how the meat look like, in front, the back, the back hip, how the broad for this kind. That’s where get the weight. But you look this guy, he narrow, this guy, they get no more weight. Now, you keep this one two year. This kind, not supposed go butcher already.

(ER:840) Then, some, you feed. Before that, they no feed. Morning time, you gotta go catch your own horse inside the pen. The first time I come, you gotta catch your horse, bring and saddle up and go. Then bumbai later, they build da kine stall. Then the horse, morning time, you gotta go feed. You go over there, you bring ’em all inside the pen. Before that, in the evening, you know you going go work, going be your chance. In the evening, you go fill up all the barley...
Well, you go Maunalei way, yeah, I can, I know where. But maybe go from ridge to ridge, come up, maybe now the kiawe and the lantana hana pa'a all the road and hard for find. Maybe you know where you supposed to go, but maybe too thick now. No can make the trail go up. Maybe the deer can go through, eh, they puka through. But they make small puka eh, and the branches maybe all big, maybe...

Yeah. We have Mock Chew, and we have Akioka, and then we have one more Chinese man, Akona. That one, after he left the poi shop, my family took over another daughter, they took over the poi shop. That's the family now. I don't know if you know them. Like Rachel Thomas, her step-sister, the one in Kalaupapa. her two brothers, they used to take over the poi shop. We used to sell to them.

You know wen yi git da ticket?

Really, it's pretty hard to say. Maybe yes, in a sense. Why, is this: because the ditch system has their own intakes at the top of the valley. Which is State property, now. Let me get this thing straight. If you know about it's State property. All right. Let me start you folks before that. The ditch company built that, I don't know, was way back so many years; 1909 or nineteensomething. Anyway, they taking State water to put into the plantation ditches, which in return, the plantation supposed to pay the State X amount of cents for X number of gallons of water they taking. At present, the State is not collecting even 5 cents from it. The reason why I'm telling you this is because, when we had our water shortage, when Kukuihaele Stream went dry, they pumped water from the irrigation ditch up there. Oh, I think about month and a half. And they charge us the water. So I made a fuss on that. I figure, gee, that's my water, just like the plantation's. So I went in, I talk to Mrs. Yamamoto, Land Board in Hilo. So I told her, “Let's see the books on Honokaa Sugar paying the State, X number of gallons for X number of dollars.” She said, “I'm sorry, we don't have nothing on record.” So now, coming back to that flooding situation, that's why I say, the intakes that they have at the top of the valley, where they taking the intake through their pumps, when that thing gets plugged, the amount the excess water, that's what's happening to us in Waipio Valley. The overflow comes over.

There are numerous canonical examples of yu in combination with WANT:

Shrimp, that gori, oopu and all those things. Of course, that's good, they fry but sometime the family wants to eat those things raw, eh? And I cannot. I taste but, not bad. After I try, all right, it was good. Because Waipio, you have the warabi there, you know that warabi. They had lot of wild watercress. Oh, never let get anything starve there, you get. You want to go down the beach, the beaches are near. Always there. I always tell everybody, “Waipio is the best place to live.”

Yeah, they work around. You like go Waimanu, you get horse. Something like that. You have to get horse to go Waimanu. Majority, I had my animals only for home use. Come up to Kukuihaele, go back for pack all the freight, whatever you have, eh. You cannot beat animal.

For our own use. You like ride the horse, get horses to ride around. Whatever.

That's why I say, he might sell some fish, but most time lot of people would just help themselves. Go over there and give him one bottle okolehao and then talk story. He tell us, “You like fish for eat, get fish.” We want, we go help ourself. He get the fish.

Well, they come. If you like work, you go work. If you no like, that's all right. Somebody else can work.

Yeah. Then I can go movies Saturday night, eh. Can make money. And sometime go buy maybe soda or something. Maybe two or three guys tell me go climb mango. But each time they like only so much so they can sell, eh. They no like plenty bumbai waste, yeah. They give you quarter. I go pass the other side, then bumbai I kinda know, eh. I look all this kind table, eh, I go over there. “You like I go climb mango for you?” Bumbai he tell, “Why, you can climb?” “Yeah, I can.” I tell, “But you gotta give me quarter, eh.” “Oh, okay, okay.”
Yeah, heavy, heavy, you go down. And sometime us kids, we go ride boat, they make us jump inside the water. And when you jump in the water, you scared, you think about the shark, you jump inside the water you hold the stick. Ho, every time you look down, you like climb up.

Workers, and passenger go, come back. If you like go, come back or you like stay till Saturday, then they can go, come back.

Oh, the electricity about '35, when Vredenburg came, then him the one make this kind. You know, Munro time only lantern, see. Thirty-five, between '37 and '38. Because when he start building this house from down, Miki, put 'em on the truck, bring 'em. About that time. Maybe by '39, we had light already. We had light, then we had toilet in the house. Before we get toilet all outside. That's why early in the morning you like go toilet, you got to knock on the door, all the door full. The guy knocking inside too. Get about four door, four toilet. side lady, one side man.

Was the apii. Apii and the, what you call that already. Most, that eating taro. They used to have that haakea, something like the the white one. And they used to take the pololu, the one Araki has. Well, I tell them, “That, we have that in Waipio, but we don't use that for poi.” But Mr. Kaneshiro used to mix his taro before with some. And that thing, you cannot put in the machine when it's cold. That thing is so tough, solid eh, the taro. So he's not using anymore, I think. So, I tell them, “Well, we use that for luau.” But good eating taro. I said, “If you want to cook, you can cook for your home use.” I like it, when we used to cook. And the taro is dry, but real solid.

Oh, I stayed with the Mock Chews. I stayed with the Mock Chews little while. Then I worked there. Those days, the payment was very low; dollar a day. They give you three meals to eat and house to live in. You can eat all what you want for dollar a day.

In Waipio Valley. Then the mother came see me. She say, “Eh, what happened to you? Why did you make that kind trouble with my daughter with her father? The father want to shoot her, you know that?” “No, I don't mean to make trouble for them. Just for the fun. Maybe I was drunk, I talk all kinds of things.” And you know, my father-in-law is a wild guy, you know. He wouldn't take his daughter back since she ran away, went with the mother. If she ran away and went with the grandmother, would be different. But no parent know their children more than the mother. Nobody else would know their children more than the mother. And no children know anybody else more than their parents. So, that's how. And I never had girlfriends, but. “If you like marry me, well, let's get married then.” That's how. That's how we started.

Yeah. And we hire somebody harvest. William Kanekoa used to harvest for me. William Kanekoa, he was Waipio boy but, you know, when you young, you like see the world. Go and come back, go and come back. When you come back you get nothing, well, you want to earn few dollars. Just like that.

Well, I don't think transfer. I think his own will, he came over here, see. It's not like some jobs that when they get transferred, the company, where you going to, they furnish all your expenses and everything. But no, in those days, if you like move from one place to another, well, you gotta see your own transportation, everything. So it's hard. And then, not only that. They never get truck or anything. You know, the small little carriage? So, big family, how many trips you gotta go back and forth. And it's not near from Lawai'i Stable to here.

Yeah, I used to get along. Because they used to like me. I not boasting, but they used to like me. Because why? Because I try to work hard. I try to work hard. Because now days, the old people, they not living already. Even I go kalai, I stay ahead of them so they mad me, you know. Yeah, they mad me. They say, “Why you want to work so hard for?”

No, no. Nothing. He just looks at the taro when it comes to his shop and stuff. Other than that, he doesn't bother. He cannot tell me how to raise the crop. I'm the farmer, he's just the manufacturer. But the prices vary. As the disease problem arises, he can expect to get something; you know, if you going to pay a good price, you want to get something good. That's how it goes, see. But so far, it's been really fair all these years. I never did get my price cut or anything. So far, so good.

I know the newspaper and I know the value of that land they get there, the big building – the Advertiser. When come to business, good – better; they sold that – I think their stock went up to
seventeen, eighteen dollars and all my friends sold it to somebody else. They didn’t tell me, see, but I
told them before, “If you want to sell, tell me so I can get the money. I know how to go and borrow
money from the bank.”

(SU:1528) There’s no such thing as baseball field. Of course, in Pepe’ekoe Mill Camp, they have a
field. They have nice field, see. If we want to play in the field, we used to go school and play. But from
Maukalao to school, you have to walk and come back, oh, what a time wasted. So we play at the pasture.
If you want Mill Camp guys to come, we tell ’em, “Ey, you guys want to play ball with us? Come our
place certain-certain time.” And we go down his place, back and forth. And then, the baseball bat, there’s
no such thing as that bat we buy. You know the big hoe, hah?

(SU:1569) Old stadium, yeah. Because they get enough room on Makahiki side way, see? You push
’em back, and then on the Isenberg side, if you want to build the bleachers, you can build.

(TA:43) I used to come down here, off and on, before that. Then I subleased from Mock Chew. Even
you plant one crop, that’s it. You know already. Then you go ask people how to run the water in there,
when to stop the water. As long as you don’t get smart, you ask question, they tell you everything. But if
you trying to get smart with them, well, they just be quiet. You want to learn, well ask.

(TA:58) Just like what I was telling you. Nobody like cooperate. I used to tell, when you form Taro
Planters Association or something, that’s just like a union. See, when you want the taro price to come
up, okay, everybody hold the taro. No sell. But lot of those farmers couldn’t stand watching their taro rot
in the field. So they start selling. I see you selling, I go sell too. First thing you know, the association
broke.

(WK:717) He told me, “Well if you want to raise taro, you listen to what I tell you. You listen to
what I teach you how to raise taro. All right? First of all, when you want to raise taro, you got to have
your field all clear.” You get to have your seedling, what they call before pula pula, you know, your huli,
they call that. Your seedling all taken care of. You no can cut. But I no can explain to you guys, but you
have to cut the seedling certain way that they won’t die; all that kind stuff, he told me.

(YA:1026) Yeah, I don't know what they call that. And later on, they build 'em for garage, eh? My
father build. One go this way, one go that way, eh? That's the roof, see? And then, when you like make
the house more big, from over here you add out, you know. Add out on the outside, make room for
sleep. Or cooking, or anything.

(YA:1027) He sell. He sell to the rice mill. People grinding the rice, see? You know, one company
that grind the rice and go sell, eh. That’s only one–just like one store, anyway, the business. Only rice
mill, they buy the rice. They buy ’em cheap from you, then they charge so much for grind the rice for
you. If you like grind ten bag, they grind for you, they charge you only small money. You take the rice
home, you stack ’em up in your house, you use ’em for your food. The rest, you no can eat all, you sell
’em to the people who grind the rice, the mill.

(YA:1066) No, I forget already. You mean to say, I don’t care for go, eh? Well, no more another place
I don’t care. Only thing, I go down to the salt pond over here, by Sand Island. They get one salt pond. I
go over there; and stay around over there, go hunt, you know, da kine plover. You know, plover. Sand
da kine bird or dove. That’s all I can go. No other place can go, see. But those days are good days. You
want to go over there, buy one bag salt. Only about half a dollar, I think. And you buy one bag, 100
pounds, you bring ’em home with a wheelbarrow. Then you no have to worry go buy any more salt. Or
you go to store buy, see?

5.6.3.4 yu FEEL

There are several canonical examples of yu occurring with FEEL in our corpus, although not many.

(MM:347) Yeah, looks better, no? You feel better, too.

(MM:358) You know, the day before, you all sweat and sticky and everything, eh? You know, it's
hard to wear that thing, you know. Yeah, but if you warm ’em up, you feel little bit better.
Well, some people help the old folks make the wall, bring the stone, and everything. You feel really sorry for them, boy. But I made good with the Sergeant Anderson. So, when the time come, he goes away. He gives the signal, eh? He goes away, that's when we used to go and give 'em. He knew what's going on, but he pretend he don't know, see.

Hawaiian salt, yeah. So I did, I pound everything, I squeeze the juice from the medicine and I told them, “Either way they want.” They want only the juice, can use only or, if they want, with all the fibers everything. That would be good too. When you put and then you bandage. Then they tell me what they want to do. I told them, “If you put with the fiber and everything, this when you pound, with everything you pound, then you put on wherever it place. Then when you feel little bit itchy, that's going heal. No take that, just leave 'em there, he going heal.” I did for them. They offered me money but I said, “No.”

5.6.3.5 yu SAY

There are numerous canonical examples of yu as subject to the primitive SAY:

Yeah, just give. Waipio, all the people in Waipio, if I go fishing, you come by, I have the fish there, you can help yourself to the fish. You go home, with fish. Everyone in Waipio same, you know. Because they don't want to sell. You tell 'em you give the money, he tell, “No, no, no, no, you take the fish.” Even when we used to go out on the canoe, when they come back, you reach there, you just hold the canoe come back, you get lot of fish. He doesn't buy the fish.

The one who want to go help. They call that limalau, to get together and work. They had, those days, that one. But, like today, with this younger generation, you tell them, “Oi, come help me clean my side.” They no like you come help clean. Well, those days, they told me that they always have the barrel of sour potato. They ferment the potato, that's what they drink. They say, they have one barrel of potato or they buy a salt salmon. All the family, they come help, everyone in the family going work and eat. But the older guys drink potato but the other family eat. They help them clean the place, that's what they do. But I didn't see when I was down there, but they told me that's what they used to do before.

I know your mother, but now if you tell me this your mother, I cannot recognize. Your mother was a beautiful lady. She was really. She was tall. She was a, the kin', barber.

Yeah, everybody. They take turn. Maybe if you no like go, eh, you tell you no like go. I go take your place, I go work Sunday.

So us guys every Sunday, we go down there. Lunchtime we go follow them, we go eat, take our plate follow the line go. But the cook, they don't know from what boarding you come, eh. That's why every time the boys and I, if they ask you what boarding you come, you tell 'em Block Eleven. Because at Eleven, most all the single boys stay. So they no ask. We go inside there, go get plate and go over there, eat.

He tell me, “Eh, you bluffing, you joking.” “No, wait. Before the game start, come on, we go.” He think maybe I joking. Because he no see her, her stay by the church eh. He no see her. I tell, “No, come on, come on, we go.” So me and him go, we go in the church. “You sure you going get married?” “Yeah, going get married.” “Where your girlfriend?” “Inside that church. That's why the minister talk Japanese to me, I don't know, maybe you can understand, and you tell me, eh.” He tell, “Oh, okay, okay.” We go in there, he see her, he tell, “Okay, for sure I believe you going get married.” So we go inside. So the Japanese talk with him, then he tell me, eh. And he tell me, I think when he be talking Japanese to him, then he tell me, because Japanese style, one year behind, eh?

Anything. I tell him, “Anything what you make the paper, we make the paper is okay already. You tell him, okay. We go so we can finish this.” So just pau marry, I go play basketball already. Go inside there, almost game start.

“Kekoa, /æ/?, oh ya ya ya ya ya, ya ya ya. Wat? Wat did you say? You said you a’ go get your heya cut.”
5.6.3.6 yu DO

There are numerous canonical examples of yu in combination with DO:

(AK:595) Hard, no more work. Like no more money to buy anything so they had to weave hat. I almost start weaving hat, you know. When we were going school, a friend of mine smokes, wanted to go school, and he has no money, he asked me for money so I lend him some money. And then one time he didn’t tell me that he was learning how. The sister showed him how to weave hat. So one night I went over the house without him knowing. I caught him weaving hat. So I asked him, “What you doing this for?” “You know I get no money, I like buy cigarette. I sell one hat, I can get cigarette.” So he asked me better I might as well learn. I said, “Yeah, too hard this job.” So, I didn’t try it. I never learn how to make hat.

(AK:598) After steamed, we bring the taro out, we wash in the tub, wash with the water. And then after that, we peel the taro. After you peel the taro, then you grind, put in the machine, grind. Then, after that, the poi come out; those days, we have flour sack bag, we put in there. Twenty-two pound, or 20 pound. Those days, the poi was cheap you know. And then we have a ti leaf, we set the ti leaf this way. You know the ti leaf, bigger ones, one leaf each, one, maybe get about 12 leaves. Then you put the sack on, then you wrap ’em up, then you tie that up for keep it fresh. Then your 50 cents, you do the same thing but you wrap something like you wrap package. That’s what we do.

(AK:634) You know, in Waipio those days, they had lot of horses. Lot of people have horses. And then, some of them, they like go out catch the horses. You see horse are here and there, they hanging. A rope on the tree. Make one loop on the tree. Then you drive the horse. While they all go through that, he choke on the rope. That thing come back, eh. That’s only way they can catch the horse. Or sometimes, they catch somebody’s horse. They catch wild horse too. You know, sometimes you do that, you hurt somebody’s horse, see. But those days down there, had lot of boys, they go out catch horse. They harm somebody’s horse. I know, I had some horses, I lost horses from like that.

(ER:788) Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, “Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta be good to all the people. No come mad.” Like me, I wen go school, eh. I no learn in school. But I learn all from work. What I work, I learn from the old people, I try pick up from them.

(FD:263) I work so hard and then he didn’t want me to work. And I was too young to work. I said, “Aren’t you happy that what you doing I can do?” And I tells him that. He said, “I know, but it’s a man’s job. It’s not for a girl like you.” And then I used to come back, come back, come back. And he felt sorry. He took me back in the house. That’s why I stayed with my dad until he died. When my husband got a job up here, that’s how we moved up here. And I had my oldest daughter. I had three of them, my son, four of them down there.

(MT:1196) That’s why I said, if this disease problem was licked, lot of these farmers, they’re part-time farmers, their children won’t go out to work, they would work on their own farms. Would be better income than working outside. That’s one thing I can say. Because you your own boss, you do what you want. You work what you want, when you want. This other way, you have to work for somebody eight hours a day. Take all what the people has to say; the person you working for.
And then, Mrs. King, she get big ruler. You do something no good, bang, she whack you. I used to be the rascal one. You know, the kamani leaf, you know how big, eh? Kamani leaf, eh? When I see dog shit, I cover the kamani leaf on top there. The guy come pick ’em up, he got to pick ’em up, eh? He don’t know. But when he pick ’em, he mad like hell. “Who wen do that?”

When he goes out, he don’t come back till about maybe nine o’clock, ten o’clock. So meantime, who going sell the meat? So, I got to sell the meat. I know how much a pound cost. So I cut the meat. I seen how he cut the meat. So I cut the meat, you know. But he grumble because I no cut the meat so straight. The boss tell me, “That’s all right. So you sell is the main thing.” Then, crack seed, you know, those days, plenty people eat crack seed. We buy crack seed and it come in the five-gallon can, square kind can. The thing is sour. So I asked the boss, “Ibaraki-san, can I make the crack seed more ‘ono?” He said, “Up to you. You do what you like. You running the store. You do.” So, I bought one big bowl of syrup, and I throw ’em inside the crack seed. I mazeru, eh? I pour ’em on. Oh, the thing go out hot cakes. That’s why, after that, I quit the store. Then my dad wen buy some stock inside Home Run Bakery. Kapi’olani had one bakery called Home Run Bakery between Pensacola and Kapi’olani. That place had one piano, big piano store, eh?

Plane. So he teach me how to fix everything and sharp everything. And then, finally, I bought the toishi. Then I learn. I come home from work, I learn. Every day, I do. Same, over and over. I practice. Finally, I catch on better than the ordinary people who go inside there and then learn. So Mr. Murakawa asked me, “Who teach you how to do this?” “Well,” I say, “I go home. I do it over, and over, and over. And after you folks go home, sometimes I used to go down the working place and then see all you folks’ tools, how you folks fix up.” Because those days, they leave all the tools in one place, nobody steal everything. So I go down there. I open up, I look, and file. And then, come home, and I do the same thing, the way how they do it. Then Mr. Murakawa say, “Well, you do this.” So, okay, I do it. And then, after I go home, I do the same thing again. I took my square measure, I measure everything, and I write ’em down. And then he assigned me with a Mr. Shimizu to go to all different camps to repair. Repair the steps, and then kitchen sink, everything. Most of the...

Yeah, outside. And washing is same thing, too. Everybody wash. But you have to take a chance, eh? Bathroom, furo, everybody go. And then, they give everybody chance to operate the place. You do this one month, you do this one month, we do this one month, and then everybody pay fifty cents one month. Fifty cents to just go inside there.

Actually, when the taro is about that big already, then you start putting water. The more water you give, the more grow. When he come about 8, 9, 10 months.... well, everybody get their own ways. Then you start gradually shutting the water down. You don’t let the water run in and out, in and out, too much. If you do that, the taro, they call ’em “Moliloli”. Come watery. That’s when the taro start maturing. That’s when you got to kind of warm up the water.

So, I rather have Army, see. But they have to draft me in the Army, I got to go in the Army. But I no like stay in any outfit that somebody control me. You know, just like if you go in the Army, they get somebody control you. You go in the Navy, they get somebody higher than you that control you. You go your own, you free. That’s why, I like, see? You do what you want. If now, I like go downtown, I just catch the bus. If I no like go downtown, I leave ’em alone. I no go, see? That’s the kind place I like. But when I moved over here, I satisfied, you know. But the best place is Judd Street. Liliha Street below Judd Street is a better place, but no can help. When I had a place already, I sell ’em. I think I making money. So, I no make money. I live there long enough, eh? Yeah, that’s about all I can tell you any more.

5.6.4 Summary

Based on the corpus evidence alone, we can safely conclude the existence of the following NSM syntactic frames in HCE:
YOU THINK X
YOU KNOW X
YOU WANT X
YOU FEEL X
YOU SAY X
YOU DO X

5.7 SOMEONE

5.7.1 Primitive Syntax

SOMEONE shares much of the syntax of YOU and I. Like I and YOU, SOMEONE may serve as subject for the following predicates:

THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SAY, and DO

5.7.2 HCE candidates

As often the case, the main problem for SOMEONE in HCE, is choosing among the many candidates available: samwan, prsn, sambadi, and gai. As I argued earlier (in section 2.7.2.1), I am treating the form pipo as an allolex of SOMEONE if it is quantified.

There may not be a single correct exponent for SOMEONE in HCE which covers everybody. Nevertheless, I think it is fairly safe to conclude that SOMEONE exists in one form or another in HCE.

The two best candidates are either sambadi or gai. Both are basilectal and are apparently semantically simple. Sambadi is the less frequent of the two with only 136 examples in our entire corpus. The main problem with sambadi is the absence of examples in combination with the NSM determiners, with the lone exception of sambadi eos which may be regarded as a combination of SOMEONE and ANOTHER.

Gai on the other hand, occurs frequently (512 examples) and readily combines with the NSM determiners. The main problem with gai is that it appears to be far from gender neutral, and therefore not semantically primitive. Proof is needed to establish that gai can be used in a gender neutral way and I believe it is possible to make some kind of argument along those lines.

On the onset, I think it is important to point out that the marking of gender does not work the same way in HCE as it does in SE. Consider the following uses of hi:

(ER:767) You know you tie the fat, eh, little bit, you throw 'em inside while you stay making all the thing smell, the crab he eat, he going go eat.

(ER:828) Well, you go over there, the cowboys teach you. How to hold the leg, and how to go carry in the back. How to hold and follow the horse, and how to make the shoe. Sometime you hold 'em under here, and you file it, you no can hold 'em good, the feet bounce, eh, and you file, you no can make 'em level. So they tell you squeeze 'em together and you try push the file. Push 'em. So the more hard you push, the more he bite, because the thing get big teeth, eh. He bite, he pull more on the feet, then you gotta make little bit light.

In the above sentences, hi does not refer to either crabs or horses of a particular gender. In these contexts, hi is probably best regarded simply as a subject marker.

In the same way, gai may have non-human referents. In the following examples, gai refers to cattle:

(ER:786) I tell 'em, maybe this one 500 pound, and he tell you how you know if 500 pound. How you know? Then you tell, “Oh, because he look bigger than this guy.” No. He tell, “No, you wrong. You
look by the weight. You figure out how much weight this guy. You no guess.” You gotta come close, eh, when you figure out. They tell you how the meat look like, in front, the back, the back hip, how the broad for this kind. That’s where get the weight. But you look this guy, he narrow, this guy, they get no more weight. Now, you keep this one two year.

(ER:787) Then you tell him, “Ah, this two about the same.” Bumbai, he look, he tell you no. This guy, you get about 100 pound different from this. This one you make money, this you no make money. About the same family, you raise ’em up, and this one no make money. This one you make money. And so you like kill the two now, you can leave this one for another six month, this guy weight can bring inside for double of this. This one you kill ’em, you leave ’em this for another six month. So this two, the weight almost going come even when you kill this other one. Then you no lose, you see. Like us guys we think, ah, only you kill. But he say no. You have to make profit for the ranch. You pick up this two, if this two no come even, then you lose on this one. But this one you keep another six month, this guy weight can come back on here.

(ER:791) Yeah, bumbai after that, they make chute. They make chute down there. Then the boat come right on the side, then from on top here, the thing go inside the chute. The guy, he slide right down, eh, because they make ’em down. No make ’em straight. Make ’em go. See, when they come inside there, they like turn back, but as soon as they go inside there, they slide down. There are even a very few, unambiguous examples of gai referring to both male and female humans:

(ER:753) “yeah. Then bumbai, I don’t know, them two guys divorce. And my sister marry one different guy, and she died. She marry, I don’t know, no more one year, and then she died. Then my second sister stayed Lahaina. Then she went school. I don’t know what school she went. But she wen go follow my sister little while. She went Konawaena, too. When she died, then they wen come back Lahaina, stay with my uncle. And my uncle take care them. And then when I wen come about sixteen I came Lana’i.”

(ER:817) Yeah, just like the minister, they judge. Then bumbai they figure out who get the nice song, who sing good, who you see, all this kind. No use paper or all da kine. Then they make you the winner, and these guys, maybe number two or number three. So, every three months, yeah, they do that. So every three months, you get same group, you like win this guy, win this guy, everybody like go sing eh, you know what I mean? Before days, that’s how they go. But now days, the young guys, not too much like that. Before the young girls and boys, eh, they figure next three months they like beat you. Then some church, they come from outside island, too. Maybe from Hawaii, from Maui, they come, then they all sing together. But if you come win, ho, you feel good, eh. The young guys they feel happy eh, because they study...

(SU:1531) Yeah. If you don’t want to pay.... Because those days, no more money. But the guy used to make money. Because everybody come. They used to get one church down there, Christian church. Can hold about, oh, about a hundred guys, maybe more. Put ’em outside, the yard. Oh, big tent, you know. Da kine tent, when the wind blow, fly away kind tent, eh? We used to do that. And then, on shogatsu, you get sumo. Kids, eh? And then, what else we get? Tenchosetsu, the birthday of the emperor, eh? Celebrate.

In the first sentence, gai clearly refers to both husband and wife. Likewise, in the last two sentences, gai is used collectively for a group of people, both male and female.

Despite a concerted effort to find evidence for the contrary position, it must be conceded that gai overwhelmingly leans toward the masculine gender. The rare instances of gai with female referents are always references to groups of mixed gender. The sheer number of unambiguous masculine references forces us to acknowledge that gai with female referents is unusual at best. My own intuition is that gai may be used in cases where the gender of the referent is not known, although there is no supporting evidence in the corpus.

Therefore, it seems that our best (or at least, most defensible) candidate for SOMEONE is sambadi.
5.7.3 Examples of samwan

The least plausible candidate for SOMEONE in HCE is samwan. There are only two examples in our entire corpus, from the same speaker.

(MT:1165) So I'm trying to get a grading permit, actually, to go in and restore the bank again, which was lost. I had lawyers and everything out here already. Honestly. Which, other people are squawking because they say I'm diverting the water, which I'm not. I'm just trying to keep my banks in line. Because the gravel goes down and plugs somebody else's, fault is not my fault; that's act of God thing, now. The floods come in and take that material down to someone else's place, and if they don't do nothing about it, well that's their fault. But they trying to but the blame on me, right now. So I'm applying for the permit actually.

(MT:1170) They was in a cooperative, or something. I really do not know myself too good on it. There was some kind of co-op with taro and stuff. That, I really not too sure. You can ask someone else, they have more information.

5.7.4 Examples of prsn

Prsn is somewhat more widespread. Although there are few instances (14), nine speakers manifest this token. All examples are consistent with the semantics of SOMEONE. It is likely that for these speakers, prsn is valid allolex for SOMEONE.

5.7.4.1 prsn

There is a single good example of a rare valence using prsn:

(YA:1022) Well, I believe, I think so, but they no tell me yes or no. You know, could be, eh? I don’t think about they no believe me, but when they heard, they say that to me. One man tell me–one fella that I told him, I don't know, when I was kinda old man already. Forty, fifty years old already. He tell me, “You sure you saw a menehune?” “Yeah.” I say yeah, you know. Then, they say it's all menehune, they never see. But no, they see Indian only, you know. So, bumbai, they tell me menehune is a small, little man, see? They just like a person, but they small, little man, you know. Just like some kind of a people that you cannot see, eh? But so small, eh?

The remainder of examples of prsn occur in non-canonical frames.

(AK:634) Well, only the original, only the form, the saddle itself, without the hide. Those days, he was charging about $10, I think, the saddle. Whatever person he wants to give cheap, it’s up to him. I know, I bought mines was $21. He made the saddle for me. Then, for putting the hide on, I have to buy the hide. Then, Nelson Chun put the hide on for me. Well, they learn the trade, eh.

(AK:670) Waipio is not so bad. My ghost experience in Waipio is not very bad. It was down the beach, yeah, I saw ’em. When I go out fishing, I see another man poling up in front of me. Just when you get near, you lose ’em. That’s all. But in the Kona one, really, that I did see that. Kona, I seen ’em with my own eye, and I talk to the person. That darn thing wen disappear right in front me, like this. That terrible, no. That thing came out as a human being, like you and I. And I did see it with my own eyes. And I follow, right behind, right next to ’em. I can touch, you. But my hand never touch the guy. Just come just around the corner, it disappear right in front of me. “Where you?” Not there no more. Oh boy, my hair went up that way. And then it come dark, I run. I run.

(FD:265) Yeah, from having no children. But I didn't want. I say, “I take what God give me.” So I did. I'm the healthiest person. I didn't have to go for operation with any of my 14 children.

(MM:319) No, no. His job was outside, taking care the kalai and hanawai people. They have a stable where they get what they call stable men. They get about three, four guys, all depending how big the stable is, you know. The bigger the stable, well, they got to get more hands, see. But I don't know. I was small kid, so I don't know how many men was working at the stable. But actually, I know a person was
a stable man there because one of his sons was my classmate and we played together. In fact, the father used to go fishing, and once in a while, his son and me, we used to go down the beach. The father used to throw net there, and we the bag boys, see?

(MT:1195) Well, yes, in a way. But you cannot give something up overnight. I’m thinking about going into the prawn business, slowly. How effective it will be, I really do not know. If something, just as I told you about, that person in Kauai and stuff; Brewer has 300 acres in Kauai. Honokaa Sugar going get 100 acres right by here in Honokaa here someplace. So that’s another industry is good to think about it; but main thing is the market.

(MT:1196) Well, not right now at present. If things get bad, well, I might. Might. Where I might go, where I will go, I really do not know. Well, my age is creeping up, that’s the thing I’m worried about. When you get at 50, nobody wants to hire a old person already, see. That’s the thing I’m kind of worried thinking about. As I say, I’m a tractor operator, truck operator, I’m a mechanic, I’m a welder, I do all around, so I think I can get a job someplace, if I have to.... I hope.

(MY:1456) Then right back of that came the Waikiki Japanese-Language School. And across from that you had, this end, across Bishaw, you had the Manu family. Then, after the Manu family, you had the Akaka family. Then, across Akaka, you had the DeReggo and Pacheco family. Next to that, you have the Harakawa family. Then after Harakawa, then you had the Purdy family. Then you have the Parker family. Across the Parker family you had the Yamamura. Yamamura, yeah. Then, after that, you had the corner there, the you have the– what’s the family there now? Parker, then you have the Punohu family, eh? “Kaiser,” one. Punohu. And then, the next one, I don’t know what the–I think you had the name of the person that...

(NC:161) Well, certain things, worthless kine. The good things, like money and all those, were all gone. You know, I just brought back $2,000 from the bank to pay off the taro growers. That’s all gone. I have money in the ledger and I keep money for the old people where, that’s their life savings already. They expect to go back China with that money. Three persons. One has 800 so much, the second one 400 so much, and the other one 200 so much.

(NC:200) I met her several times only. In fact, Chinese style, you cannot take ’em out. Those days, until you get married. It’s not like nowadays. Nowadays, you can go with a girl any time. And get married any time without a consent of the parents. Before, no. The parents tell you what to do and the girl’s side is worse. The girl’s side, they cannot get out. After they get certain age, they not allowed to go movie or anything until really get fellow responsible for her. Those days, very strict. They have to know the character of the person and all those kine. They study the person first. It’s not like nowadays.

(WK:710) Kahuna is a guy, a person that really had power. But his power is evil power. The power is with Satan. That’s why they call kahuna. Yeah. The evil. That’s what kahuna means, you know. They like to kill a person for just, oh, “I want that guy to be killed.” They have power but that’s all evil power, Satan’s power that.

5.7.4.2 pipo DO

(TA:45) You know, you pulling taro, I say, “Hey, I like huli. I help you pull.” See, what I pull, that’s my huli. I make. But I helping you pull taro. I no get paid or nothing. So I take your huli. That’s how I got all my huli. And then even today, lot of people do that. See, they want huli. You pulling taro, he go help you pull. Then, since I helping you pull, you go help me make huli too.

5.7.4.3 pipo FEEL

There is a single canonical sentence with fio and SOMEONE:

(FD:298) They were surprised, they said nobody told them. Only had one rock over there and we used to put our name and they call that place is Waipio-loa. Really, I don’t know how other people
feel. I do feel, I say, “I wish I can buy a piece of land down there.” I wouldn’t stay here, I would sell this place. I would get me a home down there.

5.7.5 Examples of *sambadi*

There are substantially more examples of *sambadi* represented in our corpus than the previous candidates. The following examples illustrate the NSM valences found.

5.7.5.1 *sambadi* THINK

(MM:370) Yeah. They make it solid, too, because they no want that thing replace all the time, eh? And then, even on the trucking, was the same way. Even when we went trucking, was the same way. They got to pile it on a sling and load ’em up. And then, later on, *somebody wen start to think* about that push rake. The machine come and push the cane, pile ’em up, eh, in one long line. And then they had the crane. They had the grabber, yo.

5.7.5.2 *sambadi* WANT

(AK:663) I know, like us, we pound Thursday. Well, that’s why, before Thursday come, we got to get ready. Maybe, we have some still left before the day we pound. Like my father-in-law, he like have some of the little sour poi to mix with this new one. Now, we pound the new poi. Too fresh to eat. *Somebody likes* real fresh poi, *somebody doesn’t want* fresh poi. They like one day old, or little older poi. Or, whatever you have rest, mix ’em with that, the other poi. But you don’t mix the whole thing because only whatever need, you take little portion for mix. The rest you leave. Because the poi you pound today, tomorrow it’s already fermenting eh. When it’s start getting sour, the longer you leave it, going to be what you call, sour poi.

(ER:857) Every time we like make kalua. Every time we go down there, we can kalua. Maybe *somebody no like* go fishing, eh, *somebody like* go shoot goat, so they go shoot goat. And when they come home, they see the fire get going, oh, the goat put inside the imu, too. Put the goat in the imu with the turtle.

(GF:351) I started to plant because I had some haole boys, they want to sharecrop. Then, there’s some other places here, *somebody wants* to take over. Toledo, he say he’s going to take over the place. So I waited about six months for him to take over. Then I went see the owner of the place. I asked him, “Say, this place here, I hear Toledo going take over.” “Who told you that?” “Toledo. He told the people that he’s going to come and take over the place.” “No, I cannot give him the place. That place never worth anything before. You improve the whole thing.” Used to be 72 patches. I made ’em into four patches. “I cannot take away from you.” That’s what he told me.

(NK:957) From Bishop, and then you lease to somebody else. Yeah. Because if I get 20-years’ lease, that’s my place, eh? So, it’s up to me to Bishop. If I not going pay, well, Bishop going huki from me. So, if I no work on the place, *somebody else like*, I can sell my lease to them. Not sell, but I can lease. Maybe, if I lease 20 years...

5.7.5.3 *sambadi* SAY

(AK:655) I never did plant that, certain day. *Somebody said* you plant Thursday, you get oha going come up plenty. But I never did try that.

(KE:139) A-an *somebody said*... “Dad, Dad–Dad, Dad,” an nobody said it now.
5.7.6 Examples of gai

An old candidate for SOMEONE is likely to be relatively simple semantically and uncontroversially decomposable in terms of SOMEONE. Our search of examples of gai in our corpus yields a few of the missing NSM frames.

5.7.6.1 gai KNOW

We have the following near-canonical examples of gai in combination with KNOW:

(ER:856) Yeah, we go fishing, sometime we go catch turtle. We come home, maybe we get about four or five, we kalua. In the night, as soon as we go out and we catch one turtle, we get one paddle, we put 'em out, we tie the shirt on top. Every time the home **guys know** we get turtle, they go make fire.

(ER:885) But the behind truck guy, the one the fault. You know, he wen see us backing up, 'cause we no can see, over there get one hill. He was backing up, he still coming down. He still coming down and he wen bang up. Bang the radiator and puka the radiator. Then the picking machine, they get radio, eh. They call the station, what number truck wen bang. Then the **guys, they know**, eh, what truck I went on top because they know me, too, eh. Ah, they tell the cowboy wen bang 'em.

(TA:40) Because every bag had tags, see. On the back, said from who to who and the other side now, you going put Vivien Lee, your name. So when it goes over there, the check come direct to you. But some people, they rather see the check come to my father to deliver. Some, they want the check come direct to you. Come directly in your name. But most of the check, they send one lump sum check in one envelope and my father deliver the check. Mostly about the 15th of the month the check comes. So most of the **guys know** so they going down there divide the check.

5.7.6.2 gai FEEL

We have the following near-canonical sentences with gai and the primitive FEEL:

(ER:884) Then sometime when no busy like that, then we gotta go picking, too. If the season slack off, too much driver, they send so much driver one day. The next day, other driver, he go drive. Then sometime you gotta go ho hana and you gotta go hemo slip. That time I go hemo slip, I don’t know how to hemo slip. I hemo any kind. Sometime the guys, they look by how he grow, they know about the weight. But some **guys, they can feel**, hemo one, they feel that’s the size, they broke all and they put in. You gotta know what the ounce and the weight so that all go one place, yeah, the plant. So when they going plant in the fields, they say, no can this, small one and big one. Bumbai the pineapple no grow right.

(MY:1483) But my wife tell me, “Like you, you go in time, once you get inside, you no can come home already because you get your customers, you going to take care.” You know, any business salesman, when you get your customer, you got to take care. And me, that’s one guy, I no like the **guy feel** bad. I got to take care until he's satisfied. I said, “The only thing I can do, I take the order from my house. My home office, and I do for you. Is that all right?” He said, “Well, no can help, eh?” I say, “You no have to pay me.”

5.7.7 Summary

Based on our corpus data, we can safely confirm the presence of the following patterns in HCE:

SOMEONE THINK(S) X
SOMEONE KNOW(S) X
SOMEONE WANT(S) X
5.8 PEOPLE

5.8.1 Primitive syntax

PEOPLE also shares much of the syntax of YOU, I, and SOMEONE. Like them, it may serve as subject for the following predicates:

THINK, KNOW, WANT, FEEL, SAY, and DO

5.8.2 HCE Candidates

The only plausible candidate in HCE for PEOPLE is pipo.

5.8.3 Examples of pipo

5.8.3.1 pipo THINK

We have a few canonical examples of pipo in combination with THINK:

(FD:296) Not only money. And then you can live on taro too. Like poi, you can cook it for your own home use. That's what I figure. That's why I tell my husband that. Nowadays, people don't think of Waipio. Some, they have children, is over here just moving around, that not doing nothing. They don't urge the kids to go down Waipio. But if me, I still have in Kukuihaele, I would recommend them to go back Waipio.

(MT:1194) As you was saying, the sugar standpoint, the manufacturer takes 49 percent to manufacture the sugar and we get 51 percent to cultivate our cane. When I talk about cultivation, is preparation, seed planting, fertilizer, harvesting. What I mean is, harvesting, is loaders, cutters liliko machines, liliko tractors, labor. We have to get 51 percent out of that. So it's not as rosy as people think. Actually, at the present cost today, for you to make a few bucks, only make at least $100. If you can make $100 per ton sugar, roughly, per acre, you lucky.

5.8.3.2 pipo KNOW

We have a single canonical example of pipo in combination with KNOW:

(MY:1463) They had, but people don't know. Because like us, we know because we go there, look. The other kind people, the gaijin like that, they don't go look. They don't know what's going in the camp. Like us, anything is something different, we go there and look. Fighting chicken.

5.8.3.3 pipo WANT

We have a single canonical example of pipo in combination with WANT:

(BB:008) My mother, my mother tell — go buy for him the machine. He bought 'em the machine. Ho every time I stay over there I can hear the machine humming, boy. My mother used to with that, he make the raincoat. And my father, wha-tyou-call, he told my mother to put button over here, button, eh... button and button and put one belt and make one big pocket over here with a flat covering, eh, rain
‘a’s why. And put one more pocket o’ here, inside for put the cigarette. The other guys they use linseed oil so – linseed oil when you put sticky, he stuck together. So people no like. So my father, you know, he know about chemical, so he made the kin’ no stuck and he sell. Boy, you know, Hilo guys, Kona guys all come and buy. Every time they come they buy about one dozen they go home.

5.8.3.4 pipo SAY

We find good evidence for the combination of PEOPLE and SAY:

(ER:859) Then bumbai I make one more net, I make one more net. I go throw fish, I catch, catch fish. Yeah, you know, catch, catch fish with my net. Them guys tell me, “Eh, your net good luck.” “No, you guys tell me my net manini. You guys, I no believe this kind. I no believe what you guys tell me. I no believe.” Then they tell me, “No believe anything you make. You no believe what people tell you. You believe your own self what you think your net get.”

(NC:126) All this way planting. Because you get six, and then you get to make the space the cord come right straight down. Then this one plant one, two, three, four, five, six. You hit in the middle here. And this fella, he hit in the middle, then he come this side. Of course, the fast fella do more than half, the slow one. Not every fella same you know. And then it’s back breaking if you don’t know. But if you know how it’s easy. That’s why people say, “How come you don’t get backache?” You have to know how. Like us, we pull taro, we don’t get backache. George Farm say, “Ho, I don’t see how you can stand, I get backache.” I say, “You standing wrong.” He say, “Why?” I say, “You stand square to the taro. You put one leg in front, one leg behind, you get more leverage,” I told him. I don’t know if he do it now or not.

(SU:1527) Raining time, it’s. ... You know what people say? Even though you forget your lunch, don’t forget your raincoat and kappa. That much was rain, you know. And then, my mother make me a kappa, and then pants with leggings style with all the abura, everything on so don’t leak, and with the hat and everything. There’s no such thing, umbrella, because umbrella doesn’t last too long.

(YA:1021) No. Was, was, was. Gotta be. Only small little man, just like black, and then no more clothes on. All, you know, small. Just like a small baby, eh? So, after that, lately, I went all the way to the other side, Kahaluu. Then, people tell me, “You know what is that? That’s the menehunes.” Then I believe was menehunes. Bumbai, I ask ‘em, “What is menehune mean,” you know. They tell me, “Menehune, that means a small Indian, baby Indian.” That’s all I know, see?

5.8.3.5 pipo DO

We have a several canonical examples of pipo in combination with DO:

(ER:752) Well, I learn from the way I work. I learn from people, what they do, I watch what they do, then I learn from them when I work.

(FD:291) He said for keep him moving, and then he don’t have to suffer. He knows that when he doesn’t work one day in the taro patch, the next day he can feel his arms just like heavy. Every day, just like every day you got to exercise. That’s why, you look what people are doing, going running, jogging. What for? What for no sense; you go jogging, you eat plenty, no sense.

(MT:1187) Leave your land idle for one year. Now, what I mean idle is dried for one year and till your soil. People done it, they still have the problem. Like, for me, I’m a full time farmer. I cannot afford leave my land idle. I have to get production every month. That’s my income. Like lot of these guys, they only part-time, so no problem. You can leave the land idle. But like, for me, I can’t. But some of them did it and they still have the problem. The problem still comes back.

(NC:173) Yeah, asking and watching how people do. I used to go watch how they plant taro, how they....

(MT:1166) Well, at the certain point. I’m on the Agriculture Board on the County Committee, and when we had our last flood, way back two or three years ago, the County came in and help us fix our
water heads and stuff with County money. Really, I got $3,000. So everything was all really damaged up. People couldn’t do with labor, they had to get machinery. I was on Agriculture Board, so I got $3,000 for Agriculture Committee to go in and do it. Till then, well, everything holds pretty good.

5.8.4 Summary

Based on our corpus data, we can confirm the existence of the following NSM syntactic configurations:

PEOPLE THINK X
PEOPLE KNOW X
PEOPLE WANT X
PEOPLE SAY X
PEOPLE DO X

The following combinations of primitives are missing from our corpus:

PEOPLE FEEL X

5.9 SOMETHING

5.9.1 Primitive Syntax

SOMETHING may serve as a psychological complement to the mental predicates:

THINK, WANT, KNOW, FEEL, SAY

It may serve as subject to HAPPEN and as a complement to DO.

5.9.2 HCE candidates

There seems to be three major allolexes for SOMETHING in HCE: ting, wat, and samting. A possible candidate for generic “things” is staff. Staff, however, involves some semantic complexity roughly speaking:

(101) staff ⇔

a. different kinds of things
   b. I don’t say what kinds
   c. I say these things are like one thing

5.9.3 Examples of samting

5.9.3.1 WANT samting

There are three canonical examples of samting occurring with WANT:
(ER:788) Yeah, some, the old guys good, but the chief cowboy good. He good to me. Every time he like something, he call on me. Because me, when I young time, I like this kind. You know I like every time go inside. I like steal somebody job just like.

(GF:306) I don’t know, I want something better. With the high school education, I don’t know if I can do paper work. So, might as well do all kinds of work. Try what you think is good, the way to make money, way to get ahead in life, that’s all.

(SU:1533) That’s how we used to do, see? Because no money transaction. But chicken, yes. Chicken. How much one chicken cost? I don’t know how much, but egg—one dozen eggs, what? Maybe quarter or less. We used to even raise rabbit. Yeah. The chicken that we used to raise for our food is that Rhode Island chicken, that red one—meat chicken. So, if the neighbor—you want to eat chicken, they say, “Okay. Take ‘em from us. You eat.” And when we want something, we get from them.

5.9.3.2 KNOW samthing

There are three canonical examples of samting occuring with KNOW:

(AK:630) They get lot of herbs, though. They got lot of plant, you know. But I don’t know if they got, because I never did try to whatever, get this thing to help any people that. Maybe I can, I know, but I don’t want to just tell you and then that’s not correct. I got to be sure before I go tell. But for certain medicine, maybe I know something. There were lot of herbs, Hawaiians. Really plenty. Like cold cough, alaala puloa they call ’em, is another good one. Uhaloa they call that, same thing. On Kawaihae Road, on the other side of the island, they have those plants. They call that alaala puloa or uhaloa, can be two ways. See, you pull from the ground, and then you got to get the roots, you wash the roots; either you chew or you boil, same thing. Mountain apple bark, the same thing. The mountain apple bark good for cold. The lehua tree bark and all those. Or the lehua buds, the young shoots. The wild guava, that good for medicine. You know that guava, the young shoots, that, you get sore stomach, or something, you chew that.

(AK:672) I know something else. I never did see, but they said they have that, those thing over there. I think till today, though. But it’s good to have somebody who knows the place, eh, you go. But I never did go there.

(JB:65) Oh yeah. Filipino. See, my father was a Spanish-Filipino. My mother was a Hawaiian. My mother has a royal blood. We had the ali'i blood, you ever heard of ali'i? But I don’t know how to explain what is ali'i mean. Ali'i is some kind of legend that the Hawaiian people, I don’t know how to explain it, but I can try, though. Because my family, we are from the ali'i family. Ali'i means .... that’s why I wanted my wife to come back. Because she knows the Hawaiian most. She doesn’t speak like me but at least she knows something. I have the ali'i blood, I have Hawaiian blood, I have Filipino blood, I have the Spanish blood. Oh, my mother is not pure Chinese, only partly I think.

5.9.3.3 SAY samting

There is a single canonical example of samting occuring with SAY:

(FD:289) Yeah. That’s the one on the patch’s bank now. He was the first to go in. But I told him, “I seen that already, but I didn’t want to tell your uncle. I told him when the leaves is yellow, is showing that some kind of disease is attacking the taro.” But he doesn’t believe. He just go pull the grass, and then just no think nothing. I say, “Well, I have to pray harder.” For put something in his head to think, “Oh, I think my wife is telling me something different so I better try.” He doesn’t want anybody to tell him what to do.

5.9.3.4 DO samting

There are numerous canonical examples of samting occuring with DO:
(AK:622) No. Only I know those years when I was living down there, and no such thing as that. Was just what I say, the Filipinos, they were good. You know, most time, Filipinos, they try to do something, but no. Even if they drunk, they always really good. We all share together. We never did hear anybody stealing.

(BB:031) Something like that. Too long 'a's why they bin cut.... You know the first [name deleted]? They call 'im the [name deleted]. He did something wrong in Japan, so they wen put 'im in a boat and the kin' American ship wen get 'im and they brought 'im over here. They changed the name to [name deleted]. 'At's what I heard.

(GF:311) Mock Chew's boys, they got married. So they moved out. One of them married Honolulu girl so he got to live in Honolulu. And the old man, he wanted his daughter anyhow. That's his favorite girl, eh, that Matilda. So that's how. I stayed back. I was in Kohala. came over several times to come and get me, come back help them work. So, came back, came to Kohala. And I asked the plantation to relieve me, you know, from the plantation. I want to do something else, working something else. The manager don't want to relieve me. Then, when I was working in the mill, I didn't know anything about sugar cane or anything.

(KL:125) Bot he–he said so. Wat's 'is name? Kailoa. Kailoa was... doing something. He–da kine.

(MK:1134) How about any other times you folks get together and do something?

(MM:377) Well, I feel sorry if the sugar close up. But if the president do something, if they keep up the same way, what, eighteen cents a pound. If eighteen cents a pound, they can barely make 'em. Some plantations, they make a profit. But if they go down to twelve, the one they talking about, twelve, they no can broke even even. Any business, if you no can run the business. So, I hope Spark and Dan, and Akaka can do something. Now, even Waialua going close down. O'ahu going get plenty unemployment, no?

(MT:1183) Even the University. They know about it. We had Al Martinez, Jeri Ooka over here. Oh, you name it, up here. They know the problem. But they ain't doing nothing. That's what I mean, that's why I told Jeri Ooka on Wednesday, “You guys have to do something.” I said. He tell, “Well, you know, this is something new,” he said. I tell, “Not new, for five years.” See, at that time, we had the Association.

(SU:1541) Yeah. Because he get experience in cooking, everything. Him and another Teruya is the co-owners of this Hibiscus Cafe on Bethel Street. He tell me, “You folks, instead of loafing, you better do something.” So he just help me out and do everything for me, see. I was young boy that time.

(TA:42) Yeah, that's what I was telling you. Because he took a stand for the farmers instead of for the poi shop. That's how the poi shop got angry with him. Especially the Honolulu Poi get angry with him. And then Honolulu Poi, they done something that he couldn't take it. I think I better not put that in the tapes. You see, bumbai, those Honolulu Poi or some other of those poi shops in Honolulu might go over there and read that and say, “Oh, what the heck this guy saying?”

(TA:50) I tell him just work. And then I do something else. So I don't know how many hours he work. The faster he finish, the faster he get the money.

(WK:706) My mother is there, they always come, they pray for her, and they help whatever they can. But aside that, you got to paddle your own. That's only the people that going to recognize your problem. You the only think about your problem when you get that hard time. The church people know. They always see that. Say I'm a member of the church and you getting your hardship, no. So, they would realize that you need help. Then they do something to try to solve your problem, whatever you have. They come ask you what kind, what you need. Beside that, I don't know.

5.9.3.5 samting HAPPENED

There is handful of canonical examples of samting occuring with HAPPEN:

(AK:671) For blessing. Like, Hawaiians today, I don't see they do that. Hawaiians, if you have little bit trouble, something is in your home here, or something happened. They come back, you get a glass
of water. They put little Hawaiian salt. They say word of prayer. Then you sprinkle in the house, every room. Then the rest, you throw on the top the house. That clears out all the devils, or something like that. Hawaiians used to do that. And then, whatever funeral you go, then when you come back, they do that to you too. Take away all the bad. Cleaned away all the stuff. Majority of old Hawaiians do that. But today, they don’t do that.

(ER:873) Yeah. After that something happen, I don’t know.

(TA:39) Yeah, he became an agent. Until he got old and John Loo taking over his place now. That’s from Honolulu Poi. Well, that’s something happened that, well, I think I better not talk about that. Maybe if you don’t put ’em in the tape I talk to you, but.... it’s something, it really happened that my father get away. And then, even Kalihi, now Kawashima taking care that. My father was getting old already.

5.9.4 Examples of ting

5.9.4.1 THINK ting

There is a single example of ting occuring with THINK:

(FD:296) If you do things by your own self, you know the value of things, that is going to help you too. There’s so much things, that when you-raise taro, there’s so much things that you can think that, that taro would help you. I know for myself. Like, if you have some bills to pay. You have not enough like now, we get our income. Everything is so high. Like us, our foodstuff is very expensive to have, everything when you buy. Is not enough. So we have taro like that; we can put away something, some of our savings and some we can spend for our own use. Taro is important to me.

5.9.4.2 FEEL ting

This is the closest example we have in our corpus to the frame FEEL SOMETHING. This FEEL is obviously used to refer to tactile feeling and not emotional feeling.

(FD:274) Yeah, that thing just like the tea leaves. Small leaves. And then have the small little pokeys. Sometime, if only one loose in the pants like this, you can feel that thing. Oh, you can feel ’em, eh? That plant.

5.9.4.3 WANT ting

Here is an canonical example of ting and WANT where ting refers to a situation.

(MT:1196) Well, the road is there, the County’s improving it right now, as far as that goes. They going to maintain it, they have to, they know. So they fixing it slowly. They getting it done. Everything, as I say, takes time. But the thing I want, if they want to do anything, get that cattail out of the valley, to begin with. And get the State or whoever can maintain our rivers for us so the farmers won’t have too much of a problem.

5.9.5 Examples of wat

5.9.5.1 THINK wat

There are a few canonical examples of wat in combination with THINK:

(ER:822) I stay with my uncle. So I no miss them when I came over here. I no think about home. I never think about home when I go. I only think where I’m going live, where I going try help my uncle. That’s only what I think, for help him.
So if they use that kind water most for the housing, the cesspool water, maybe okay. But they use all the good water, I don’t know. Over here, is the water system, how they take care the water. That's what I think, but I don’t know.

I told them they get eleven children and I like to help them out because I don’t have to pay them cash anyway so the bank can give them that money to help their children. So that way there I thought what my father and mother say, “Always be honest with yourself.”

5.9.6 Summary

Based on the corpus evidence we can safely conclude the presence of the following NSM syntactic patterns in HCE:

X WANT SOMETHING
X KNOW SOMETHING
X SAY SOMETHING
X DO SOMETHING
X THINK SOMETHING

The following syntactic frame is missing from our corpus:

X FEEL SOMETHING

5.10 THINK

5.10.1 Primitive Syntax

THINK may combine directly with a clause:

THINK [clause]

THINK may also combine with one or more of the following complements:

THINK
(SOMETHING (GOOD/BAD)/THIS/THE SAME)
(ABOUT ME/YOU/PEOPLE/(D1) PERSON/ (D1) THING/THIS/THE SAME)

The first complement is the psychological complement and refers to a proposition. The second optional complement is the topical complement.

5.10.2 HCE candidates

There are three candidates for THINK in HCE: figa, tink, and tink so.

Figa is the least plausible of the three. Although it is a good basilectal form, it is doubtful that figa is semantically simple. In the following contexts, THINK is roughly interchangeable with figa:

“Shoo, why you never wait little bit longer.” I figured kin’ of good, so I wen buy ‘em. I no like mess my mother, like that, everytime move, move, move; eh. Pack up and go, eh. Tired so, I cannot.
Yeah, by the horse. Sometime I take two horse. I lead one down, till reach, Maunalei. Maunalei, the one I wen ride, I tie 'em. Then I used, the one I lead, I used 'em go Keomuku. Go Keomuku. Then I come back reach over here, I jump on top this horse, then I come home. Because before for me young time, I scared, yeah. Coming dark, eh, gotta go hurry up. So the boss tell me, “You gotta take this mail, and you come back.” Ho, I no like only one horse, eh. I figure if one horse going go, tired. So I ask him, “I can take two horses?” He tell, “Up to you.” So I take two horse.

Well, if that is not your line, you don't want to stay there. Just for fool around, to kill time. Those were Depression days. So many years, we had depression, hard time days. Looking around for job, spending the time. You figure, “Well, I'm still young yet. Plenty time.”

I didn't, I never did ask for price. I figure a sure market is better than you looking for price. Of course, I could sell outside and make more money, but what is the sense? When you make the money now and next crop you lose it, it doesn't make sense. I would rather have a steady market.

Then, hammer, we don't know. So I just bought the hammer. I figure, well, light hammer is better. No, light hammer is no good. Medium-size hammer is good. So every time when you near, you smash your finger, see. Then, same time, when you use the kanna, you don't know how to use the kanna. You know, Japan kanna.

No, no job, those days, Waipio. At plantation, they was paying worse; 75 cents a day, plantation. So I decided to go Honolulu and my oldest brother call me, “You better come down.” So I went. They got a job for me. He used to work for Hawaiian Dredging. He used to be Dillingham Corporation. We was superintendent over there, my brother, the oldest boy. Dillingham. I figure you guys must heard about Dillingham Corp, eh? Hawaiian Dredging. That's how I went to Honolulu.

I don't know. Because he figure I had the veteran's privilege, I think, you know. While figa takes a clausal complement like THINK, this “thought” complement is a kind of conclusion, the result of other thoughts, and never an isolated thought. Roughly, figa could be explicated in the following way:

(102) I figa X ⇔

a. I thought about something

b. because I wanted to know something

c. now I think this

Tink so is a much more probable candidate than figa. Consider the following examples:

Some comes up to the school. I don’t think so they go, because they no care to go to the church. Some, they go, once in a while, when we have something going on they come. They have Catholic church, but the building not so good. Then, they don’t want to hold any service down there too.

No. I don’t think so everybody had newspaper. Nobody bring newspaper. Everybody had the Hawaiian paper. But later, no more, eh? We never see. They don’t publish anymore, I think, over there.

Uha o Hopoe. Uha means this part. Hopoe, that's the name of the lady, Hopoe. I don’t think so lot of people don’t see that, because it's in the private property. But you could see if you going go get a permit from the shipmens. It's the legend, it's long legend, it's the story. But really, I did see that.

Yeah. Hauola, I no think so get water.

I think would affect everybody. Because the situation is, then they might go into their own processing plant. Why they doing that with some of their ginger farm. They have their own processing plant in everything. Well, if they don't go locally, it's all right. If they go in the foreign market, that's good for us. But if they go locally, I think even for them it's not profitable. I don’t think so it would be profitable. Because they have a labor cost which is on a union scale. Then it’s a different situation. But it would affect us, I think it would.

73
(SU:1561) I don’t think so they lose. Maybe few feet or something like that, I think. Behind part, eh? The behind. Maybe few feet, I mean. Nice. The place down there now really worth money, you know, on the ma uka side. Ma uka side get the what? Get one restaurant down there, eh?

(SU:1568) Let’s see, Angel Maehara quit. I think right now, used to be Columbia Inn, but Columbia Inn I don’t think so they go that far, I think. Because my customers went to Columbia Inn, you know, most of them.

One problem with tink so is its mysterious distribution. Another problem is that (tink so) does not readily participate in the common paradigms of tense/aspect marking:

(103) a. * ai go/stei tink so
(104) a. ai ??wen/?neva tink so
(105) a. * ai tinking/tat so

It is therefore likely that tink so, when it occurs, is a restricted allolex of tink. There are, however two texts where tink and tink so occur in close proximity to one another:

(ER:833) Oh, saimin, yeah saimin. Only over here get saimin, no more da kine restaurant already, we gotta eat saimin. Yeah, I think so we wen go eat saimin. So the boys stay over there, I go treat them go eat saimin. We go eat saimin. All the basketball player. I think about eight guys had.

(ER:901) No, no. I no think so he wen walk inside there. I think me and one Filipino boy. Because he like go hunting. I never go with cowboy inside there. I think one Filipino boy from Maui someplace. I forget already. I know him and him going walk, was way inside there.

In the above sentences, there is no obvious conditioning environment which could account for the shift between tink and tink so. This is the only possible counter-evidence to the claim of allolexy that I am aware of.

Tink seems to be the best choice for THINK. It is well-attested throughout the continuum, at all levels, acrolectal, mesolectal, and basilectal. So far as I am aware, there is only a single non-primitive sense associated with the HCE form:

(AK:600) That time, I think to myself, “How come they do that? They have the bag, why don’t they put in the bag?” But they said, “No, it’s lot of more waste more time.” To me, it’s just about the same but when we reach there, we got to broke the taro and put in the cooker.

(ER:873) He going, I don’t know, certain place by the yard or someplace. So he tell me, “Gee, I like help you, but I no can, I don’t know how.” Ah, I think to myself, more better I stay on top the boat. Maybe if I stay on the boat, that’s the only safe place for me. So I stay over there on the boat. I no go.

(MM:330) So this boy wen slide. You know, slippery, see. The reservoir all mud, eh? Slippery. He wen slide inside there. And he go like this, like this, like this, yeah? And then, I don’t know, I scared, too, because I might slide in there, too. So I don’t know what to do. Ah, then, quick, I wen think to myself, “Ey, that ditchman must be home now.” Was around lunchtime, see. So I run to that house. And good thing, he was home. And I told him, and we ran, come back.

(MY:1480) I ask the owner, Mr. Lum, “Can I put some of my cracker?” He said, “No can. Because I get Love’s Bakery and I get Diamond Bakery. And that’s too much.” I think to myself, “I get you. I sell my cracker.” So, I get lot of friends in Kapahulu, see. I go all to them “When you guys go to the store, you tell the lady you like Home Run cracker.”

This sense can probably be explicated along the following lines:

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4 The data that I have is quite sketchy. I have personal friends from Kaimuki High School that attest to its vigorous usage and use it themselves. Forman (p.c) reports its use in Moloka‘i. Roberts (p.c) identifies it as a feature of Chinese pidgin. In our corpus, we have found it present in the speech of people from Hawai‘i (Waipi’o), O‘ahu (Waikiki), and Lana‘i.
a. I thought something
   b. I said QUOTE to myself

5.10.3 Examples of tink

5.10.3.1 tink Clause

As expected, tink occurs with sentential complements:

(AK:669) Well, maybe the future is going to be different. But I think it’s going to be good, still good. Even now, they like leave Waipio how it is, but it will be all right.

(ER:758) I think they make five or six, eh. Maybe half a dozen, then they sell. I don’t know how much like that. I don’t know if ten cents or fifteen cents one bundle.

(GF:344) Then he told me one time, “Gee, you get good lehua. Some nice lehua.” “I don’t know. I never harvested the taro. The lehua good?” “Oh, good taro. You should raise plenty more like that.” “How much more you give me, for one bag? I like you talk price with me, now. If you think my lehua is good.” “Well, I give you $2, $3 more on one bag.” “Oh, that’s plenty money. But what I going do with that extra money? Poho if I let you have it. You going make big profit.”

(JL:9) I don’t know if my sista stay home. I tink she still home yet. She gotta— I lend her but she never return, huh. I neva know dis ting would be happen like dis.

(MM:341) Yeah, my family. That’s why, we get firewood, we get kerosene. I think we had two can kerosene. Two can, what I mean is two five-gallon can.

(My:1464) Those days, I don’t think they had names. They just call ‘em, telephone number, that’s all. They just call. Because they know already.

(NC:120) Shees, the pay is real small. I think it’s $1.00 a day or something like that. Of course, they give you three meals. Harvesting time, four meals a day. Harvesting is hard work. You start in the morning. Half an hour after that you get soaked wet. All the clothes wet. And that clothes won’t dry until after work because I don’t think they get one hours time, including lunch. After they eat the lunch and everything, they have to go work already. About an hours time. Sometime rush time, only half an hour and they have to work already.

(Oc:10) I think I was looking for something the other day. Let’s see, where’s that thing. We have a letter here. The Hawaiian Trust is very, very nice to me, 1959 when business was very bad and here’s what my son wrote to the Hawaiian Trust to do a favor.

(Su:1521) Then finally, he teach me how to sharp the saw and everything. I catch on right away. Then I sharp my own saw. The new saw that I bought, I sharp that. But doesn’t go straight because don’t know how to use the file, see. So I asked him, “How come?” He tell me, “How much did you file?” “So and so, and so.” “No, you should count. Every time when you go on the teeth, four times, you got to go four, four. Every one, four. And then turn around, you go four, four, four. Then you get. Then after you sharp, you get the needle and put the needle. If the needle slice right away, it’s okay.” That was that. Then before that, I think I spoiled couple of my saws, you know, at the plantation.

(Ta:42) Yeah, that’s what I was telling you. Because he took a stand for the farmers instead of for the poi shop. That’s how the poi shop got angry with him. Especially the Honolulu Poi get angry with him. And then Honolulu Poi, they done something that he couldn’t take it. I think I better not put that in the tapes. You see, bumbai, those Honolulu Poi or some other of those poi shops in Honolulu might go over there and read that and say, “Oh, what the heck this guy saying?”

(Wk:702) Most of the time. I hardly eat rice, only most poi. Yeah. That’s why I couldn’t forget my poi. Look, this afternoon I go down the store, take two bags of poi and go home. I mix ’em eat. I think you saw me buying the poi, eh?
(YA:1057) Yeah, yeah. Then I sell the other one to that old man, the painter. He asked me, “You like sell this lot to me, I build one house for my boy. My boy going get married.” At that time, he was only about sixteen, seventeen years old. I was so kind, you know. I said, “All right. I sell ‘em to you.” I sell ’em to him with the net price was only $750. I buy ’em $500, I get one house. I sell the other one for $750, I think I making little bit money already. So, if I never sell ’em to him, I build one house for rent, oh, more good, you know. The housing in front of my eye all the time. But no, I sell ’em to him. When I sell ’em to him, what he do? He put two houses in the lot for rent. He catch me. All kind tricks, anyway. People are like that. No can help, eh?5

5 There are a couple of very interesting examples of an addressee frame for tink in HCE:

(BO:336) So ai tink tu maiself, wai da hell da bugga no cam in?
    ‘So I thought to myself, why the hell hasn’t that bugger come in?’

(ER:873) I come home, pau hana, I don’t know where I going, I lost. I don’t know where I going. All the guys going on the truck, but where I going? So one guy he tell me, “You know where you live?” I tell, “Yeah, Kalihi someplace, but I don’t know how I going.” Gee, the boy, he look me, he tell me, “See, this bus, they no going Kalihi, you know.” He going, I don’t know, certain place by the yard or someplace. So he tell me, “Gee, I like help you, but I no can, I don’t know how.” Ah, I think to myself, more better I stay on top the boat. Maybe if I stay on the boat, that’s the only safe place for me. So I stay over there on the boat. I no go. And when we was working under, I go under there. I go under there, I work. Bumbai, he get the foreman, eh. He get the foreman for that gang. He ask me, “How come you stay over here? I never bring you.” I tell him, “No, I was over here from the daytime, but I new man inside here. I don’t know how to go home.” He tell me, “Where you stay?” “I only know I stay Kalihi, but what place, I don’t know. But I know Kalihi.”

(MM:330) It’s kinda ditch-like because every reservoir, they have to get some inlet that water come in. And some places kinda deep. So this boy wen slide. You know, slippery, see. The reservoir all mud, eh? Slippery. He wen slide inside there. And he go like this, like this, like this, yeah? And then, I don’t know, I scared, too, because I might slide in there, too. So I don’t know what to do. Ah, then, quick, I wen think to myself, “Ey, that ditchman must be home now.” Was around lunchtime, see. I run to that house. And good thing, he was home. And I tell him, and we ran, come back. Well, the ditch wasn’t so deep. But the man pulled the boy out. And he kinda lift up the leg, and then shake ‘em. The boy wen throw plenty water out. But good thing, was soon enough. And he was all right. Never need to bring hospital or anything.

(MM:348) Sit down, and you coach ‘em, coach ‘em, eh? Then he start to stand up and start to walk. You can see ‘em already, knock out, you know. He just go slow walk, eh? I think to myself, “This is no good already. More better we go home.”

(MY:1480) I got to go da kine small kind. And there was a store in Kapahulu, right out here, Lum’s Store, Chinese store. Lum’s Store. I go by there. I ask the owner, Mr. Lum, “Can I put some of my cracker?” He said, “No can. Because I get Love’s Bakery and I get Diamond Bakery. And that’s too much.” I think to myself, “Okay. We no buy cracker, then. We no like cracker. We like buy Home Run cracker.” They all go inside. So, this guy–Davies and Company–there was one Chinese guy that sells Ibaraki, all the stores that, wholesale, he sells. Davies Dry Goods, he sell. He asked me one day, “Mahjong,’ how did you get into that Chinese store? Chee, boy, I see your cracker inside there already.” I say, “Yeah. Technique.” He tell me, “Why?” “I use my technique. I got ’em in.” He said, “But how did you do it?” “I tell my customers, they like Home Run cracker. That’s why, they get.” So, he told me, “Boy, you smart. You smart how to get on.” I said, “Well, that’s only way. That’s the only way.”
5.10.3.2 tink *SOMETHING*

We also have a few canonical examples of this frame:

(ER:777) Well, I don’t know. That time, I no think nothing. I only think for go work. I only think work. And when I come over here work, I only start with eighty cents a day. For eight hour, you know, only eighty cents.

(FD:289) Yeah. That’s the one on the patch’s bank now. he was the first to go in. But I told him, “I seen that already, but I didn’t want to tell your uncle. I told him when the leaves is yellow, is showing that some kind of disease is attacking the taro.” But he doesn’t believe. He just go pull the grass, and then just no think nothing. I say, “Well, I have to pray harder.” For put *something* in his head to think, “Oh, I think my wife is telling me something different so I better try.” He doesn’t want anybody to tell him what to do.

(FD:296) If you do things by your own self, you know the value of things, that is going to help you too. There’s so much things, that when you-raise taro, there’s so much *things* that you can think that, that taro would help you. I know for myself. Like, if you have some bills to pay. You have not enough like now, we get our income. Everything is so high. Like us, our foodstuff is very expensive to have, everything when you buy. Is not enough. So we have taro like that; we can put away something, some of our savings and some we can spend for our own use. Taro is important to me.


I assume that nating is an allolex of *SOMETHING*.

5.10.3.3 tink *THIS*

The following examples are near-canonical sentences of this valence, assuming that daet is decomposable into the NSM configuration *THIS OTHER*.

(ER:788) You gotta kill 'em. If not, he going lose weight already. If two year old, and you can get that weight, about there, about 500 to 600 pounds, between there, you can get the meat, you gain, making profit. See, every time, you gotta think that. So every time the chief cowboy, he call me. “You come. Okay, over here you look, you pick up.” So I start pick up. And afterward, all ten inside, then he go look. Sometime they take about five, half and half. He tell me, this one little bit long. No 'nough feeling. Some, the steer is all right, but they no 'nough grassy, no 'nough full. Smart, the old man, Kaulila.

(NC:154) No, no. That temple, my father was the one started that. It used to be one way the outside. So that one all broke down and everything. So nobody think that, my father said, “Ah, let me start.” So he get the people together to make one book for donations, eh. Everybody dig up so much, put down. I think all our brothers get our name in there too because each of us give so much, eh.

5.10.3.4 tink (ABOUT) *SOMETHING*

We have a substantial number of examples of the valency *THINK ABOUT SOMETHING*. There is a single canonical example of tink about:

(MT:1196) Well, not right now at present. If things get bad, well, I might. Might. Where I might go, where I will go, I really do not know. Well, my age is creeping up, that’s the thing I’m worried about. When you get at 50, nobody wants to hire a old person already, see. That’s the thing I’m kind of worried *thinking about*. As I say, I’m a tractor operator, truck operator, I’m a mechanic, I’m a welder, I do all around, so I think I can get a job someplace, if I have to.... I hope.

The following frames are a very simple near-canonical frames:

(ER:754) No, I never think about that. I only think about work. I gotta take care two brothers. I never think about school.
(YA:1067) I don’t know. But I never thought of how many get die or no die. I no think about that, see? Somebody get killed, but, you know, we no pay no attention. That’s small stuff. We only care for ourself. In case our house no push away, we lucky, that’s all. Over here, you know, across the street where that house over there standing now? Get one pond like, and they raise cattle. Raise cow and horses. The pond full. The water overflowed, see? Come way over on my place, but the water only can come over here. No can go no more. Come back over here, it go back the other way, eh? It go back to the Dillingham, see? Of course, this side high; this side high. The water no can go this way, see? In the back no can go. They come over here, they fill up over here just like one pond, eh? That’s all we can do.

The following are more complex near-canonical examples:

(ER:765) Yeah, heavy, heavy, you go down. And sometime us kids, we go ride boat, they make us jump inside the water. And when you jump in the water, you scared, you think about the shark, you jump inside the water you hold the stick. Ho, every time you look down, you like climb up.

(ER:766) I know when I go down, I scared bumbai I no like go. Every time when he get good luck, plenty, plenty fish and the boat too heavy, he make you jump all inside the water. He tell you jump inside the water, you hold the boat. Ho, you think about shark, boy. And you know me, I scared like that.

(ER:822) I stay with my uncle. So I no miss them when I came over here. I no think about home. I never think about home when I go. I only think where I’m going live, where I going try help my uncle. That’s only what I think, for help him.

(FD:264) My ex-husband, he made some kind story that I went with this Filipino man, that’s how I got my last daughter. Then when she was born and compare with the family I had with him, he went back and he told my family for get me back. I wouldn’t go back after I was all, you know. After dirty part of my life was already told to everybody and for me to go back, I wouldn’t like. That’s how I had her over here. And she loves this father more than her own. When I think about those days I cry, you know. Even until today. Nobody, I think, would ever have my life when I left my parents. I was happy, I had everything. I didn’t have to worry. I never go out begging. Some of my family, oh they had hard time. Didn’t have things to eat, they was starving, and all that kind. I said, “No, I happy.” I had everything.

(MM:370) Yeah. They make it solid, too, because they no want that thing replace all the time, eh? And then, even on the trucking, was the same way. Even when we went trucking, was the same way. They got to pile it on a sling and load ‘em up. And then, later on, somebody wen start to think about that push rake. The machine come and push the cane, pile ‘em up, eh, in one long line. And then they had the crane. They had the grabber, yo.

(MT:1188) That’s my theory. That’s what I’m thinking about. So I want to get something going on it, but Jeri told me he’ll contact me later. See, what I wanted to do was, I had a guy from Brewer came out, from Brewer Chemical Company. And I wanted to put blue copper stone, I don’t know if you folks kind of familiar of it, that’s to purify the water.

(NK:945) Yeah. Took care of my father. So, that’s why, he had the land, so when he die, he said that’s his land. So, when he died, my father was–I don’t know how old he was–but he never.... He know, he heard the tutu tell he own the land. But he don’t know. After that, he came big boy and he never think about land. So, Kalokuokamahele...

(SU:1529) Yeah. My father was mule gang, but different gang, that. He used to pull the small mule, you know. They call it “pack mule.” Load up the fertilizer, lumber, everything, and then one, he rides and go around, all around the places. So, all the work is done by the mules that he pull, eh? So he just ride and go. That’s why he get chance to go, after the work, his own place. And then, clean up the place, hole hole the place, hoe the grass, and everything, see. Otherwise, cannot. But you got to give him credit, though, because he really work hard, tsk. But it’s too late for me to go ahead and think about it now.

(WK:707) Just because he get angry with the next guy. The first thing, they think about the knife, eh? They not more of the, you know, friendly type, eh?

(YA:1057) No. That’s the only place we think about. My wife like move Kalihi, quiet place. Nobody live around. You know, lonely place, see?
5.10.3.5 tink (OF) SOMETHING

For purposes of thoroughness, we should consider the possibility that the HCE form tink ov is an alternative realization of the NSM frame THINK ABOUT.

There are two canonical examples of tink av taking a primitive as its complement:

(MT:1188) So it has to be something in the water, because everybody has it, has the rot problem. I'm at the top of the valley, way in the top, I get the State land. Nobody is above me. I have the rot. How come? And right below me is Roy Toko, George Farm, everybody gets it. I think is something to do in the water, I don't know. That's only the last thing I can think of. It's not the land; well, certain areas, maybe the land. But like my land is not that, you know, hasn't been in production for so long.

In the second example, we must assume that eniting is an allolex of SOMETHING in the context of negation:

(AK:645) Oh, yeah. They said when they get elected, they can help us in all those ways. Before, nobody plan to make a big thing like now. Like before, those people in Waipio never thinking of anything going be happen, they can make good. They never know that cars can go down. I think, if they only know that car could go down, maybe they ask for something big, eh. But they never know. They were thinking that they was all. No more nothing, no more car, no nothing go down.

There are numerous examples of this valence which occur in near-canonical frames:

(FD:278) Duldulao, Romualdo; supposed to be M-U-A-L-D-0. But I usually pronounce Romaldo, A-L-D-0, sounds like that. But supposed to be U-A-L-D-0. But the Filipinos, they know how to pronounce. So, Duldulao. So, when I stayed with him, when I was lucky. Not like my first husband, Fannie's daddy. We had hard life, though, down Waipio. But good thing my parents, I didn't have to worry. They have everything I can think of. I didn't have to move out from there, but I thought he forced me to go home and stay with his stepmother. That wasn't his real mother. When we got married and I moved in with him. You must know where that Yubon's place.

(FD:284) Well, those days we had no choice because the rice was cheap, the taro was cheap, everything was cheap. And we get everything we can think of. The taro was like that too. That's why rice, we didn't have to buy. We used to work for the Chinese, who used to have rice field. Chun folks, they used to have. We used to go work for them. Those days, you know, Waipio was, we never care for food at that time.

(FD:286) But for make poi, my mom, I don't even remember that they ever made poi with that. We had so much of everything I can think of. The life we had before, I tell you, you cannot compare with today. Food, so much. We raise our own chicken, and then ducks, and pigs, and everything you can think of. Raise everything. We had our own eggs. Chicken, we want to kill, every week, almost every other day if we want to. Especially when we get family come. Oh, just call the chicken, and all the chicken come and we just grab 'em. Yeah, that's true. You try ask Olepau. He know that. Everybody know. We have everything you can think of.

(FD:297) I have time to do my work. After school, when the older ones come back, I just leave the younger one with them, there goes the taro patch. That's why I tell Deb, I do that. And today, I'm thankful that God had give us this strength and provide us with everything that I can think of. I'm thankful. We don't go begging to anybody. “Oh, we get hard time, we need this.” I don't.

(FD:297) So I told Papa, “Well, I don't know them.” And they were resting right, you know the first sign way up, before you come down. They were over there, and they were facing out towards the ocean. Well, that's what my feelings are of Waipio. And then it's a valley of aloha and then full of love. And when I was born and raised there, I had everything that I can think of without spending money. Everything was really from the land, what we raised. The valley. Like taro and everything.

(MT:1187) Yes, and I did away with it. I did Captan, still get the rot. I leave the seed one week idle on the bank, I still get the rot. I still select my seed, I still get the rot. What you going to think of? That's why I don't get no hair on my head. I'm going crazy. It's a problem. That's why lot of these farmers are really disgusted or what. I'm disgusted, too.

There are a number of near-canonical examples:
(FD:287) So I tells them like this. Something must have been wrong, maybe I neglect God, maybe I owe Him. But in my way of thinking, I don't. Whatever I had I used to keep, and keep, and I'm good and ready, I hand over to Roy. That's just like my gift, there's a time that you have to give. What I do with my hands, with the strength of my God, what it says, I **think** of God. Well, if I fall on the wayside, the only thing I got to do, ask God, “What is this?” Everybody is suffering. You know, there's a saying in the Bible says, “Everybody suffer.”

(FD:296) Nowdays, people don't **think of** Waipio. Some, they have children, is over here just moving around, that not doing nothing. They don't urge the kids to go down Waipio. But if me, I still have in Kukuihaele, I would recommend them to go back Waipio. But I still have my oldest son over here. He wants to, but sometime it takes on the wife too. But I always tell my daughter-in-law. I always force her. You know, weekend, there's two days, Saturday, Sunday. Well, if you go to church, well, you go half a day.

(GF:337) No, they don't have. Those that are single, they stayed single. And then, I don't think they care very much for ladies. They **think of** good times.

(NK:954) Yeah. Only for the family for eat. And they never **think of** selling. But when the Japanese people came in, well, they find out. Well, they go out, they contact to other people where they can sell. Hawaiians, where they going contact? They don't know nobody in the Mainland, nobody in Japan. Like Japanese, they come Hawaii, they can write to their family. See? What they making here and all that. And then, contact, they send.

(SU:1572) I think people should take care more tourists, though, I think. They should take care. I think Honolulu can improve some more other places where tourists can go, though. Like Hanauma Bay, and Blowhole, and where is the place down there they get dancing? Way up down the countryside? La'ie. And Nu'uanu Pali. I think they can improve the places, though. Where else can you **think of** it?

5.10.3.6 tink **SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING**

So far, there is only a single possible canonical examples of the valence **THINK SOMETHING ABOUT SOMEONE/SOMETHING.** I assume here that nating can be considered an allolex of **SOMETHING** in the context of negation.

(ER:824) You gotta watch out the mynah bird, plenty spook stuff around there. You know when I go down there, plenty mynah bird yelling, yelling, eh, but I no think nothing about. I figure, well, all the bird all maybe making noise themselves, eh. So I just pass. But when I pass da kine place, I no walk. I dig, so I reach the other side quick. I give ’em the gas.

5.10.4 Summary

This study has found examples of all the major complement types for **THINK.** Based on the corpus, we can safely conclude that the following valences are found in HCE:

**THINK Clause**

**THINK SOMETHING THINK THIS**

**THINK (ABOUT) SOMETHING**

**THINK SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING**

Missing in our data are examples of the following syntactic frames:

**THINK THE SAME**

**THINK (ABOUT) ME**
THINK (ABOUT) YOU
THINK (ABOUT) PEOPLE
THINK (ABOUT) THIS

5.11 KNOW

5.11.1 Primitive Syntax

First of all, KNOW may take a clause as a psychological complement:

KNOW [clause]

Secondarily, KNOW may take the following lexical combinations (which refer to propositions) as a psychological complement or topic complement.

KNOW
(SOMETHING (GOOD/BAD)/THIS/THE SAME)
(ABOUT ME/YOU/(d1) PERSON/PEOPLE/(d1)THING/THIS/THE SAME)

Obviously, KNOW requires at least one of these complements.

5.11.2 HCE Candidates

No is the only plausible candidate for KNOW. However, HCE no has a complicated pattern of polysemy similar to SE know.

5.11.2.1 NON-PRIMITIVE POLYSEMY

The primitive sense of SE know which is the subject of this section is different from the SE know of acquaintance. So the sentence Mary knows John contains the non-primitive SE know, whereas the sentence Mary knows John is a twit does contain the primitive KNOW.

Likewise, there is non-primitive polysemy of no in HCE. Tentatively, I propose there are at least two senses of no NP:

There is a no of acquaintance:
(ER:748) I only know James, James Napaepae. I don’t know...
(ER:755) Well, I know some, but I don’t know most all. Get some Haole from Mainland. And some Japanese from over there. Some Hawaiian teacher. Get Hawaiian kind teacher there. I know some Hawaiian teacher, when us school, they strict, though. They take bamboo, they whack ’em on top here. If the guy, he stay like this, then whack you with the bamboo.
(ER:794) They move out, but some cowboy was still yet. Some I know, like John Kane. I know John Kane was cowboy for them guys. Gee, I forget the other guy’s name. I know his brother, too, but the name, I don’t know the brother, I forget.
(ER:847) Yeah, Cockett, Nina, the sister, that’s Charlie’s wife. I think they came holoholo over here, then Vredenburg ask him if he like go work for him. Then that’s how the two guys wen go work, because they know them from Hawaii. Yeah, I think so, the boy wen come over here for holoholo Lloyd’s house, then they work.

Roughly, I would suggest an explication along the following lines:
(107) \( X \text{ noz} Y \)

a. X knows something about Y
b. X can say this about someone/something:
c. this person/thing is Y

There is also a no of familiarity:

(ER:786) So I look what's the difference. Then he tell you what the difference. You look, but you tell him, “Shee, I don't know the difference. To me, look like the same.” “No, this one narrow, this one heavy build, bull, short, heavy. This one long, no more.”

(ER:877) But good though, the boss, that luna, I wen work for him two night. but he look the way I work, just like I know all this kind job, like rope kind job, eh, little more same cowboy kind job, eh, any kind thing, I hook up.

I would also propose this following rough explication for the second sense:

(108) \( X \text{ noz} Y \)

a. X knows something about Y
b. X knows what X should know about Y

5.11.3 Examples of no

5.11.3.1 no Clause

There are many canonical examples of no occurring with a clausal complement:

(AK:593) I like to go out. I know my father doesn't want me to leave the ranch but I made up my mind, if I going to stay work on the ranch all my lifetime, I got to go out and seek something. Maybe I can get something. Well, I think I enjoyed too, when I left the ranch and I go out and seek myself. I struggled and all that, see. Then learn how.

(AK:595) Hard, no more work. Like no more money to buy anything so they had to weave hat. I almost start weaving hat, you know. When we were going school, a friend of mines smokes, wanted to go school, and he has no money, he asked me for money so I lend him some money. And then one time he didn't tell me that he was learning how. The sister showed him how to weave hat. So one night I went over the house without him knowing, I caught him weaving hat. So I asked him, “What you doing this for?” “You know I get no money, I like buy cigarette. I sell one hat, I can get cigarette.” So he asked me better I might as well learn. I said, “Yeah, too hard this job.” So, I didn't try it. I never learn how to make hat.


(BB:027) No, but I know [name deleted] was watchmaker or something.

(ER:757) Sometime go inside the cane field get mango, eh. Go in there, climb, you get. So long you can eat, no hungry, eh. Go inside the cane field, climb mango, stay on the mango tree, eat. Then get enough, you go down. Those days you know where all the mango stay, eh, then you climb on top. And then sometime da kine guys on the road, they take mango, they sell. But they no can go. I pass by, “Boy, you can climb mango?” “Yeah.” So I go climb for them. Pick up for them, eh. They give me quarter. Quarter, that's plenty money, eh. So I can go movies, sometime. Get quarter. Only ten cents, eh, down
the theater. Bumbai the guys on the road, every time they see me they know I can climb mango. Bumbai
tell, “You come Saturday. You go climb mango?” “Okay.”

(ER:811) And you let him go. The goat, you no can whitewash. Us guys, that time I go start hunting,
no can whitewash. That time I know my gun, no can white wash. And every time me and my brother-in-
law, we go down there, we shoot two each. We take ‘em down for the mother and the father. And
sometimes I take for my girlfriend.

(ER:844) Gee, horses we had plenty. Plenty young horses outside, never train. When Munro time, he
had plenty young horses outside the pasture. Some no pau train yet when Vredenburg came. And they
try sell ‘em. Vredenburg try sell some out. I think Munro had plenty horses. I know was plenty young
horses, plenty never pau train yet, and plenty trained.

(GF:316) And I know there’s a place in Kohala mountains, Kawaihae Uka. They have a place there.
Hawaiians, they use that for burial ground. The skeleton of a average man is about 12 feet long, from
head to toe. And that place, used to be noni, Kawaihae Beach. Kawaihae, Kawaihae Uka, plenty noni.
Noni is good medicine.

(JB:67) Well, some of them were working men with Mr. Chun, Nelson Chun. Some of them had their
own taro farm. They were using the Bishop Estate property to plant the taro. Like Chun has, I was
working for Chun. And how I begin to learn the taro farm when my father and mother was in Waipio
Valley. Not only my father and mother, I had this fellow too. That was Tommy Araki’s, I forget the
father’s name but I know he’s Mr. Araki.

(JL:13) Kau. Where Fred Rice staying now. So Mr. Carter send me owa deah – take care. Riding
horse. Took me three days go. Doze days one horse. An’ we were drivin’ or walking’ all about forty – no,
sixty-six, I tink – ride on da land. We all goin owa deah – me, Uncle Jim, Dick Kauai, Waiau, and one
moah – Japanese – and Sam Kailua. All go deah. We got deah. Dese boys, dey don’t know I had dat
money in heah, dat $100,000. I no tell nobody got. Doze days no moah– what you call mail carrier, doze
day, eh? Gotta keep quiet. I no tell dem I gotta $100,000 heah. First night, we sleep Kealakakua. Second
night, we sleep Kalahi. Da terd night, I arrive Kau. When I arrive, I met Charlie Macomber: “Heah, I pau
pilikia now, huh? I hand owa to you dis $100,000.”

(KK:123) Kehi said, “Peke I knew, I knew you was my honey.”

(KO:110) She said, “Aw, my gosh! I din know I had ten babies.”

(NC:121) Oh yeah, hand. Not foot machine, just with the hand kind. And she’s good in sewing too.
She made Hawaiian quilts. I forget how many she made but I know each child has one. So 10 of us in
the family, get 10, eh?

(TA:44) Oh, I don’t know. Maybe he start using about late part of 1930’s. I think. Because he came
down here in about 1935 or 1936. I know he had a big row with Chun one time. Because we get a ditch,
run my father’s land and then go to Chun’s and all those places over there. And then Chun folks, they
using that water for home use, eh?

(WK:695) No, not exactly. My father died when I was only 11 years old, and I know my mother told
me he came from Fukuoka, Japan. I don’t know where is that place. Maybe I go now, I going see, eh?
We going, eh?

(YA:1046) Yeah, somewhere around like that. I know, I only know he tell me I born 1894, that’s all I
know. I no can see whether I born that day. He tell me that, see. He report to the Board of Health about
what day I born, what month, like that, that’s all. That’s all I know.

5.11.3.2 no SOMETHING

There are a substantial number of canonical examples of no occurring with a lexical SOMETHING:

(AK:630) They get lot of herbs, though. They got lot of plant, you know. But I don’t know if they got,
because I never did try to whatever, get this thing to help any people that. Maybe I can, I know, but I
don’t want to just tell you and then that’s not correct. I got to be sure before I go tell. But for certain
medicine, maybe I know something. There were lot of herbs, Hawaiians. Really plenty.
I know something else. I never did see, but they said they have that, those things over there. I think till today, though. But it's good to have somebody who knows the place, eh, you go. But I never did go there.

Ah, that, I don't know too much. But, I only know when I go Keomuku, my mother-in-law make Hawaiian medicine. She and the father make Hawaiian medicine. Every time when I go down there, they make. Even me sometime I get sick, they make. Sometime I no like take sour, huh, but I take. They give me Hawaiian medicine. Even my sister, my half-sister.

Yeah, my half-sister. Because my father had two wife. Like me, I was in the second, second mother one. And them guys in the first. Had one girl and one boy from his first wife. I get half-brother, too. Then from my second mother, we had six of us. Two girl and four boys. And the first wife had two. One girl and one boy. So the boy, I think he wen make long time because I don't know too much.

Yeah, Jerry. Him was the other. But he don't know too much basketball. The one that most, only the seven guys. But when Sunday, ah, let 'em play. Any kind. We had pretty good team. Lana'i Pine was strong but we lick 'em. But one year they lick us. One year they lick us, the rest, they no lick us. That time we had strong, strong team, though.

Yeah. And now you seen how plenty Haoles, yeah, around here. Before not that much. Now get plenty. Even plenty Haoles, they buy houses, yeah. So this, I don't know too much, but, only in me, I think. 'Cause I see the old people before, how they go, yeah, with the water, they take care the water.

Oh yeah. Filipino. See, my father was a Spanish-Filipino. My mother was a Hawaiian. My mother has a royal blood. We had the ali'i blood, you ever heard of ali'i? But I don't know how to explain what is ali'i mean. Ali'i is some kind of legend that the Hawaiian people, I don't know how to explain it, but I can try, though. Because my family, we are from the ali'i family. Ali'i means... that's why I wanted my wife to come back. Because she knows the Hawaiian most. She doesn't speak like me but at least she knows something.

Well, Mr. Ciberu Ventura was a married fellow. And Domingo, he was a single fellow. Dorico was a single fellow. But they all died now. They not living. Pedro was a partly married. In other words, he was just shacking around. And there're many more. Who else? There were so many Filipinos. I kind of forget, but. I don't know how much.

Yeah. I remember he hoist the Japanese flag up with a big round moon, eh? Oh, yeah. I still remember. I forget what holidays he celebrate. The flag was up with the fish. They get some fish, no? Yeah, I still remember. I was small yet. I remember that. Yeah. My mother, she knows everything.

There are two canonical examples in our corpus of no occurring with dis. It is clear from the context, that dis is used to refer to propositions.

Yeah, it's wet. Try look way up. I think I had, I used to get plenty. Lot of people ask me and I give. Like medicine, I know a little bit of medicine, Hawaiian herbs. Why I know this, when I was in Kona, I used to go to see old Hawaiian man. He's good on these Hawaiian herbs. But he used to call me moopuna. Moopuna is grandson in Hawaiian. Every time he see me, he tell, “Come, moopuna.” So I go up, talk stories, I ask him. So he was going down there, something like that see. Then he tell me about the medicine. He has one, was about this size book, like that you know. All kind of medicine. All kind Hawaiian herbs, for colds or broke leg or sprain.

Hmm, He didn’t have to. I learned by myself. I do it by myself. You know, to tell you the truth, I used to. We have plenty animals. In the afternoon, wen come about 4 o’clock, I pick up all the animals, one by one, lead ’em home. We had coffee field above the house. You ask my sister-in-law, she knows that. When my brother was still living, they had bulldozer the place. I bring all the animals in. We had about four mules and horses, we have lot of horses. But we keep the tame one. But the wild ones we cannot catch ’em, see. We let them turn loose. I think we had about 10 animals ready for pack the taro. I bring them in. We used to go the taro bank behind. You ask my sister-in-law, she know this. I used to
cut grass and make the bundle like this and tie ‘em with the rope. You know, we used to, like this, the bottom and you know the top. We used to make half and a half. And then we tie ‘em with the rope. And then we used to poke with the stick. You know the stick for turn the taro, we used to poke the two bundles. You see how the Chinese used to bundle the rice? The rice bundles? That’s how I used to do with my dad. Poke the stick in and then carry on the back, the shoulder part. I take ‘em home. One animal would take a bundle we feed ‘em.

There are two additional sentences, containing it and daet respectively. It could probably be treated as an allolex of THIS in this context while daet could probably be treated as a semantically related composition of THIS and OTHER. In both cases, they are used to refer to propositions like dis.

(FD:247) Well, lunch, well they have. You know Chinese, they cook lunch for the workers. Yeah? And in the back of the poi shop used to have plenty of watercress. And you know before get so much food. Better than today. Plenty to eat. And, you know, they had near the poi shop, the ones who own the poi shop, they have that oven, you know? Made out of cement like. The used to roast the pig in there, Chinese. You ask that to Chang’s daddy; he knows about it. Leslie Chang.

(SU:1539) Yeah, yeah. He’s a pioneer, though. Yeah. He taught lot of these young boys. And Hibiscus Cafe, that’s where all the University guys used to hang around, I know that.

5.11.3.4 no (ABOUT) SOMEONE

There are two near-canonical examples involving HCE terms derivable from SOMEONE and KNOW

(FD:260) We just, like maybe some kind.... you don’t have to use your hand more or move your body. I used to go with them. But my other cousins, they took. They took hula lessons from her. She’s a good hula instructor. And then, maybe you probably know about this man, Almeida, Johnny Almeida. He’s popular, too. He used to come with my uncle from Kalapana. And he live at our place. And then, he’s blind, eh? And then he has a girlfriend, that she works for the telephone company in Hilo. And if, like next week they going to have the concert down there, then they come. They stay with us. Used to be up-to-date, you know. Not way behind. We were up-to-date, too. We had all those things down there. But only when come to movie or we got to walk up here if we want to. I never did. I didn’t care for those things. I rather stay home.

(MY:1452) Well, she came from Japan at a young age and got married to my father. She worked as a cook, you know, a maid at the Brown family in Waikiki. They were located where Royal Hawaiian Hotel is today. Let’s see, now, that’s all, I think, I know about her.

5.11.3.5 no (ABOUT) SOMETHING

There is a substantial number of near-canonical examples using this valence. I assume that all of them are decomposable in terms of SOMETHING. I assume that all of them are decomposable in terms of SOMETHING. I admit, however, many of these NP’s are quite complex.

(AK:622) No, I never did write songs. We had one old man, he’s a good composer. Sammy Lia, yeah, he’s a good composer. He writes songs. You know about this Hiilawe song, that song of Hiilawe, he wrote that, the father wrote that.

(BB:008) The other guys they use linseed oil so – linseed oil when you put sticky, he stuck together. So people no like. So my father, you know, he know about chemical, so he made the kin’ no stuck and he sell. Boy, you know, Hilo guys, Kona guys all come and buy. Every time they come they buy about one dozen they go home.

(ER:750) Oh, that I don’t know. When I small time, I never hear what he work. I don’t know what kind job he get. ’Cause that time, us born time, he old man already, all white hair. See, I don’t know about his story.

(ER:884) Then sometime you gotta go ho hana and you gotta go hemo slip. That time I go hemo slip, I don’t know how to hemo slip. I hemo any kind. Sometime the guys, they look by how he grow, they know about the weight. But some guys, they can feel, hemo one, they feel that’s the size, they broke all
and they put in. You gotta know what the ounce and the weight so that all go one place, yeah, the plant. So when they going plant in the fields, they say, no can this, small one and big one. Bumbai the pineapple no grow right. Sometime they give you scale, small scale. If you doubt, you go scale 'em. If too low, then you no pick da kine. You leave 'em for next time. Maybe grow bigger, eh. First time, I don't know. I pick any kind. Bumbai the luna, he come. “Ah, this one no good, this one no good.” He stay all throw away, too young yet, no 'nough weight. Like them, they only look, they know, eh. They just look. And some, sometime, too big, overweight, you gotta throw away.

(ER:893) Yeah, up–right up there. I think they going use plenty water, eh, this hotel. Use plenty water. So, I don’t know about the water system, how they going. Right now, they coming from Manele come up. That's only the main water, yeah, come up. But now, they get plenty hole, eh, digging. Palawai get one, up there get one. Over here get one, over here get one. Maybe if they use all this kind water, I don't know, they say some, just like half brackish. If they use this kind water for us for the toilet, maybe for the yard, maybe the good water, they keep 'em for drinking water. But if they use all da kine water over here, I don't know. I don't know what happen bumbai. The problem this island is the water.

(FD:256) She does all the salting eggs for us. Salt eggs. And you know how expensive, eh? We used to have so much, I tell you. Used to get by the buckets. You know the chicken. By the hundreds, I tell you. You try ask that to Fannie's daddy, my ex-husband. You ask him that. He know the living over here before. And he tell you the story. He might know the story too. Yeah. I never used to sit on my okole. I used to be a hardworking lady, to tell you the truth. He knows about it because we were living up there when my dad was still living, when I married to him. He stayed with us.

(FD:263) Well, he used to work taro patch. And the poi factory for the Mock Chew. Because they have a poi shop too, eh? I didn’t like the way. So my dad, I think my dad felt so sorry. You know? For forcing me to get married. Even my aunty, Harrison’s mother, knows about it. Come in the afternoon. I wait and wait, he doesn’t come back. I feel lost. I rather go back to my parents when I’m happier with them than being with him like that.

(FD:264) Nobody, I think, would ever have my life when I left my parents. I was happy, I had everything. I didn’t have to worry. I never go out begging. Some of my family, oh they had hard time. Didn’t have things to eat, they was starving, and all that kind. I said, “No, I happy.” I had everything. Somebody used to sew my dresses for go to school. I didn’t have to worry because my father had everything I can think of. That’s why I tells everybody. And everybody know. Even Harrison. You tell him that he knows about the way I live. And I didn’t care. I didn’t care to get married. I was thinking to leave.

(GF:311) Haoles, the bosses. I went to see them. I say, “I want to learn everything about sugar. I want to put my life in sugar. Learn every thing what the processing of sugar.” “Oh, you want to learn? Oh, okay, okay.” So he told me, “Well, if you want to learn everything about sugar, you cannot load sugar every day.” I said, “How about after sacking up the sugar and put it aways, piling it up, I can go learn about sugar upstairs where they make the sugar?” “Sure, you come along with me.” So when I wen follow him go along with him, he tell everybody, “This is.” He introduce me to them. They already know me. “Everything you know about crystallizing, you show him. You know anything about drying, everything, you show him. You know about boiling sugar, you show him.” Then, at lunch time, they get together and say, “Hey, I think we going lose our job.” “No, not that. I just want to learn.” Then, one time, the plantation, they sold out.

(JB:62) That’s right. Sometimes we got to take warabi with rice and shoyu and so forth. And the reason why we have to take this, because my father didn’t have a steady job. And Mother was a pretty drunkard woman. I’m the one have to keep all my brothers and sisters. And I stayed with my father. The life that I had gone through was a pitiful life, a life that nobody knows. I’m the only son that’s still living now, the older son. From the rest of my brothers I’m the only oldest one. I still living. As I said at the early beginning, if I wouldn't go away in the Waipio Valley, I would be 56 years old down in Waipio Valley now. But because I have to, of this rough life that we have, and I have to quit school to take care of my poor brothers and, I didn't have sisters at the time. I only had my brother. And to be honest, I didn’t know about changing baby diapers and sewing clothes. The reason I don't want to say it much,
because I felt so sorry of how we used to live. Pretty rough. Sometimes, I talk to people and they see me having a tears out. They know that I went through that rough life that nobody did go through the rough life.

(MM:348) Yeah, only pheasant. And I used to get good hunting dog, too. Yeah, when you go hunting, I don’t know about goats and... Pig, you need dog. I hear, pig, you need about three, four dogs. But like pheasant, you get one dog, that’s plenty. But the dog knock out too, you know. You go in the morning, and then you go in the afternoon, ah, pau. The dog, he no go in front. He go little bit, he sit down, yo.

(MT:1183) Some patches—well, losses, I didn’t know until actually last year when my accountant told me I had to go back and give one figure. Last year, I lost 500 bags only last year. But before, it was worse. Some patches, a 100-bag patches, they get only 10 bags. And people out there today yet. You’d be surprised. So you look, lot of land idle. Even the University. They know about it. We had Al Martinez, Jeri Ooka over here. Oh, you name it, up here. They know the problem.

(MY:1469) Yeah, stores. But all depend what store, too, you know. Certain stores, we cannot. They strict. Like camp, that’s why, good. Like the camp, they had their own gathering, lot of time. But beside that, shee, I don’t know about... Like boys, not so bad because, see, when the tourist come inside, we go down. The boys some of them, they know how to make coconut hat. They make coconut hat and they stay Kalakaua Avenue, sell ‘em to the tourists. Coconut hat, eh? Twenty–five cents, one hat.

(TA:45) That’s how they know how easy it is to herbicide the bank. Instead of with the sickle. Then everybody started using. Because he know about herbicide because he was planting cane. That’s all they use for cane now. Outside. Instead of hoe-hana, you just shoot herbicide. But those days, they use all that Penite, that’s all arsenic. Till lately, the Board of Health wen stop that. You cannot use arsenic now. You see, arsenic don’t melt. Stays in the ground for years and years. You cannot use arsenic in any place now. Any kind of farm or any place.

5.11.3.6 no SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING

There are a significant number of examples of this “double-barreled” valency. Examples with primitive or semantically simple fillers for these slots are a little more rare.

If we accept nating and eniting as allolexes of SOMETHING in the these contexts, then the following sentences qualify as canonical examples of KNOW SOMETHING ABOUT x:

(AK:595) No, no. Waipio never even saw this till today. Waipio is very, very good place to live. They have everything. And, of course, the first beginning I came Waipio, I didn’t know about anything of Waipio. You know, the food, the kind of eating all these things that get me there for awhile.

(GF:310) Then, that night, after he left the store, he said, “Tomorrow, you come down the mill. I give you job.” I thought he was kidding. One week later, he came to the store again. “I waited for you, what’s the matter with you?” “Oh, I don’t know anything about sugar. Don’t know anything. I don’t want to work in the mill.” I ask him, “How many hours you work in the mill?” “Oh, 12, 14, 16, 18 hours.” “Ho, that’s crazy. That’s not for me.” If I’m working for myself, I still yet don’t work that many hours. But anyway, those days, plantation time was six to six.

(GF:339) I don’t know anything about it. They always been fighting. Fighting among themselves. I never attended one meeting.

(SU:1545) But those days, everything was cheap. T-bone steak only dollar and a quarter. Really, take big man to eat big T-bone steak, you know. Porterhouse steak is worse, bigger. Of course, get little bit more bone, but. Most of the time we used to sell sirloin steak and rib steak. Rib steak, it really tastes good because of the little bit fat in, eh? But we don’t know nothing about New York cut, filet mignon. We don’t know those things. But as you keep on going, you learn. And then, filet mignon, you know tenderloin, we used to cut, and then we put bacon around on the side. Yeah, that’s how we learning.

(YA:1038) Nineteen fifteen, I come Honolulu, they call me “country jack.” Because me, only me. You know, the other kind stay Honolulu already long time, eh? They say, “You country jack.” Those days, we
come Honolulu, we don't know nothing about Honolulu yet, 1915. We only move over there. We only know one place, see? So, we walk down Liliha Street, only no more street, yet. Liliha no more street. Get one trail, eh? Go as far as King Street. On this side King Street, where the housing now, is one swamp. Go down, drop down, all the way down.

There is a single canonical example of a primitive THIS occurring as a psychological topic in the syntactic frame:

(ER:894) Yeah. And now you seen how plenty Haoles, yeah, around here. Before not that much. Now get plenty. Even plenty Haoles, they buy houses, yeah. So this, I don't know too much, but, only in me, I think. 'Cause I see the old people before, how they go, yeah, with the water, they take care the water.

If we accept that daet, is a relatively simple configuration consisting of THIS and OTHER, then the following examples qualify as near-canonical examples of psychological topics:

(ER:768) I don't know too much about that. But us guy, like me, we cook the meat, put salt inside, and we hang 'em up. Put 'em in the bag and we hang 'em up, 'cause no more icebox. We hang 'em up. Then when we like eat 'em, we go get 'em and warm 'em up. Warm up, eat 'em, put 'em in the fry pan. Or if you like make gravy kind, you make gravy kind. If you like fry pan kind, only with the oil. Then when cook 'em pau, we hang 'em up.

(ER:768) I don't know too much about that. But us guy, like me, we cook the meat, put salt inside, and we hang 'em up.

(ER:821) Ah, that, I don't know too much. But, I only know when I go Keomuku, my mother-in-law make Hawaiian medicine. She and the father make Hawaiian medicine. Every time when I go down there, they make. Even me sometime I get sick, they make. Sometime I no like take sour, huh, but I take.

(GF:339) Yeah. I don't know so much about that. I wasn't in that co-op. I don't want to be bound to nobody. I wanted to be free.

The remainder of the examples, are near-canonical sentences and also illustrate this same valency:

(ER:752) Kamehameha III School. I went up to fifth grade, that's all. I no go school until now. That's why I no more, no more smart now. Don't know too much pencil and paper.

(ER:794) Moke Kane, yeah. And John Kane, the two brothers. The Gay cowboys, I don't know too much. When I come here, they all broke already. The Gay go away. Only the boys and the girls some I know the name only but, I don't know by face. Only the name they tell you, this guy Lawrence, and this guy who was up there. Only the old cowboys talk, but I never see them too much. I don't know the sisters, too, all.

(ER:835) Yeah, Jerry. Him was the other. But he don't know too much basketball.

(ER:892) I don't know too much about because I don't go around. I only stay home inside here. Sometime I go down there by the hotel, by the old house, go look what I like, pick up sometime, bring home. Bumbai I know they going broke the house.

(ER:894) Yeah, sometime guys go up the pump, if they no take care the water good. Because the water, only dripping, eh, only dripping. Then he fall down, fall down, the water run plenty. And the water from the mountain, just like only dripping, dripping. I don't know too much about the water. But I know they digging plenty well all around the place. They getting water but some maybe brackish water. So if they use that kind water most for the housing, the cesspool water, maybe okay. But they use all the good water, I don't know. Over here, is the water system, how they take care the water.

(MM:372) And the cane, every place you cut, you going to lose some amount of juice. You know, when you cut the cane, maybe two, three drop fall down. That's that much you losing. But now, when the cutter go, we not talking about one cane or two cane or what. Thousands and thousands of cane, eh? And every one get damage, you going to lose that much juice. That's quite a bit, you know. That's why in the mill, well, I don't know too much about mill. But in the mill, they say, the recovery is—you know, in the end where they make the sugar like that—if they get 90 so many percent, 96 percent or 97 percent, they like to see that thing go more, 98 percent. If they go 98 percent, that means you only losing 2 percent, you know.

(SU:1556) Me, I don't know those guys, you know. I don't know them, but they came. So, I told 'em, “What is the proposition?” “The proposition is this and this.” “Okay, I'll take it. But it's going to cost me
“Anything, though?” I said. “No. All you do is supply the manpower and the food.” Food, I can buy from their commissary for Ford Island. What a bargain. So I told my brother Masaji. And couple days, I went down there. I told Masaji to go. He doesn’t know about too much cooking. So he went down there. Of course, we hire a experienced cook.

5.12 Summary

Our corpus has provided convincing evidence for the following NSM syntactic configurations:

KNOW Clause
KNOW SOMETHING
KNOW THIS
KNOW (ABOUT) SOMEONE
KNOW (ABOUT) SOMETHING
KNOW SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING

The following syntactic configurations were missing from our corpus:

KNOW THE SAME
KNOW (ABOUT) YOU
KNOW (ABOUT) ME
KNOW (ABOUT) PEOPLE
KNOW (ABOUT) THIS
KNOW (ABOUT) THE SAME

5.13 SAY

5.13.1 Primitive Syntax

First of all, the primitive SAY may combine directly with a clause:

SAY [clause]

A second frame for SAY also has one obligatory complement which refers to a proposition. There are also two optional complements, a topic and an addressee complement:

SAY

[SOMETHING (GOOD/BAD)/THIS/THE SAME]
(ABOUT ME/YOU/(d1)PERSON/PEOPLE/ (D1) THING/THIS/THE SAME)
(TO ME/YOU/PEOPLE/((d1) PERSON)

5.13.2 HCE Candidates

For SAY in HCE, there are two serious candidates to consider: sei and tel.
5.13.2.1 Non-primitive polysemy

Of the two, tel exhibits the most polysemy. As one would expect, HCE *tel* has a number of senses which follow SE *tell*:

(AK:650) Then, you grow the taro. Let’s say, when the taro come out to three leaf, you know, about three. I don’t know, that’s about one month, two months, like that. Then I push the water little bit more. When the taro is little bit more strong, I let the water come in plenty and go out plenty. Get about seven, eight months, I slow down the water. Then, you get about 8, 9, 10 months, I shut the water. Now, the water come down regular only just to go inside. Kind of getting down to warm. By 11, 12 months, you can *tell* ready to harvest. But somebody, they get their own way of keeping.

(MM:348) You know why I tell my dog was good? When the bird come up, lot of time, he stand up with his hind leg, you know. And he watch where the go. And then, you go like that, pom! pom! When he see the bird fall down, chee, the dog happy, though. Yeah. You can see how he wiggle his tail and go. Yeah, you can *tell*, you know. But when you miss ‘em, he turn back. He turn back at you, you good-for-nothing.

(MM:372) They push from one side, they go so many feet, and then they come back and they push from the other side. What we tell them, try and push right clean underneath. You not going to push and then from this way, inside here, not push, eh? And if inside here not push, the loaders, they grumble, yo. “Ey, that guys, they kapulu. You see the cane, eh? Inside here, no stay push.” And how you can tell that is when they grab and load, this center part, the cane stay all sticking out like this, see. Because you can *tell* already, they never push.

(MY:1463) Yeah, they lived there. They lived there. You can *tell*. They get long pipe and they sitting down, high, eh? But like us, we don’t bother. No bother. That’s their business.

(NC:118) It’s really not easy work, you know. See, you get the high place where floods doesn’t catch. Of course, Waipio floods our section always catch. Get real big water. But my father is pretty smart man, I think. He just can *tell* when it’s going to be raining. He can plant rice so that he meets certain parts of the year that doesn’t have storm. That’s how lucky he is. Of course, maybe he can foretell more or less the climate.

(NK:953) Some, you look, they green, you know, when they grow. That’s good coffee. So, they sell by grade. They grade the coffee. Even like today, they grade the coffee, even the cherry we send. Your cherry small, you get small pay. Your cherry all big, oh, that’s good price, that. You no can *tell* you going get $30 one bag or $40 one bag. Because they going send ‘em down the mill, and then they going check up what kind of coffee you get, big or small.

(YA:1021) No, no can *tell* which is female or male, they all run alike, just like one small, little baby, you know.

I would like to propose that this tel can be decomposed roughly along the following lines:
(109) X can tell Y \iff

a. X knows Y about something
   b. because X knows something else about this

One can tel someone to do something (cf. W 1987:41-2):

(BB:011) Oh, [name deleted] he know because, already wha-you-call, one guy wen tell 'im go make something and he see my father make eh, that's why he tell me, “Eh, you can make this kin’?” Yea, he can. “Over there go try make.” Oh, he make the kin’ with the glass. And that time just then he made the kin’, one Filipino guy died. Ohh, he got that, he said, first time he get that kin’ coffin. He said, “You make coffin now. No, no you make. I like your coffin.”

(EB:1144) Yeah, janitor. Not in the office, though. Yeah, janitor. Once, before, I work inside the bank, clean around. The best thing, they tell me go clean the safe. So, I go. They watch me, they watch me. But from that on, they trust me. They no watch me when I go clean inside there. In the safe, where the money is.

(ER:760) Yeah, the soft meat. You make 'em big until the puka, your hand can go inside, eh. Scoop with your hand. Then when you pau, just throw down, and you go down. And you know over there get one good bunch, eh. Every day you going climb up, you eat one, drink the water. Sometime no can drink all the water, eh, throw 'em down. Throw away. Bumbai the people see me every time climb, they like, eh. Tell me go climb, eh, they give me money, I go.

(FD:281) I don't remember. I don't remember what year. So, didn't take one month, and then they told us for come over and check the house. Because was nobody in the house, they moved all the single boys out. “They don't need a house like this.” That's how we moved here.

(MY:1467) So, they come to talk story. My dad, what we have, maybe I have ogo today, he tell 'em, “Oh, no go home because we get plenty.” Or if I catch menpachi, plenty menpachi, then she tell me go in the back. On the washboard, get the laundry place. Put all the fish on top there so they can take home the fish.

(YA:1022) I only know he plant rice. That's all he do, he do ricing. And then, he plant plenty rice. When small time, the rice growing up, ready for cut, eh? And then, he tell us go chase the birds away. They give us one da kine kerosene can. You see a bird over there, you whack. Banging. Hit the can, the bird fly away. See? No more guns, those days, you know.

Furthermore, there is a sense of tel takes a clausal complement as well as NP's such as stories and lies:

(BO:344) ai neva wen tel yu da stawri.
   ‘Didn't I tell you the story?’

This sense contains an additional semantic component along the lines I say this because I want you to know it (cf. W 1987:286-8). The presence of this sense of tel helps to obscure the picture because it is compatible with a large number of contexts shared by the primitive sense of tel which is object of this study.

Here SE and HCE diverge. In SE, there is no sense of tell which is compatible with direct quotations. In HCE, however, there is a sense of tel which may take a direct quotation as a complement, like the NSM primitive SAY:

(BO:336) a tel am, ei, wilson, waets goin an in puhli?...
   ‘I told him, “hey Wilson, Whats going on in Puhli?”’

(AK:611) Yeah, just give. Waipio, all the people in Waipio, if I go fishing, you come by, I have the fish there, you can help yourself to the fish. You go home, with fish. Everyone in Waipio same, you know. Because they don't want to sell. You tell 'em you give the money, he tell, “No, no, no, you take the fish.” Even when we used to go out on the canoe, when they come back, you reach there, you just hold the canoe come back, you get lot of fish. He doesn't buy the fish. We had one old Japanese man, he collects the fish because he had to make little money for himself, eh? So he gets the fish from the fishermen, then he come up peddle around the village.
Yeah, I sell to other markets too. When I sell to other markets, they want more. I tell, “Well, that’s all I get.” Then they tell me, “Damn good taro.” But my father-in-law say, “No, your taro no good, no good.”

No, no, no. He only handles frogs. He sells out here. He buys from me and then he take ‘em out and sell to the restaurants. To any fella who like buy. See, he owe me so much. Then he cannot pay, eh. Few hundred dollars anyway. I think about $600, $700. About $600, $700 before is more like so many thousand now, eh. So, he tell, “Gee, I cannot pay you everything.” Which I don’t attach him. So, what he has one lousy, junk Ford pickup. That’s all he get. Not even worth $100. So it’s not worth the attorney’s fee. Why should I? Just write it off.

So, we have established that along with HCE sei, there is a sense of tel which is also a good candidate for the NSM primitive SAY. Since we currently have no evidence of a semantic difference between these two, our working assumption will be that these two are allolexes for the primitive SAY.

5.13.3 Examples of sei

5.13.3.1 sei Direct Quote

There are numerous canonical examples of sei occurring with a direct quote:

Den her w say, “I’m going da get some... gi’e dis to my gra-ma.”

(an) I got”—anna Lidred Ridin Hood say dat, “Wat sha’p teet you got.”

Den da monsta said, “I going eat you.”

Every farmers help. Like the sections, we all have sections. The other sections have lot of farmers. And we on this side section we have lot of farmers. Now, when the main stream comes here, sometimes too much water go down this way. Then we all go. Maybe you the first or way up, your patch need water. They say, “Oh, the waterhead broke, you know. Better go up fix the waterhead. And he say, “okay we come, what day we going work? We all go up, work.” Every farmers just get to clean out.

‘A’s why they told ‘em like that. The brother get plenty land under his name but no mo’ nothing under your name. But ‘a’s all my money, I send him and all he wen buy this and this, so I came to check today. Big fight I hear. The kinjo, the neighbors all gotta come and help and stop the fight. So my father said, “Eh, bullshit this darn thing. We go to your mother’s side.” So they wen pack up the suitcase. They had miyage, but they never give nothing. They wen go to my mother’s side. The miyage all went to my mother’s side. That’s what happened, I hear.

No, no, no. Nobody watch me. So long my boss, he say, “Go do this,” I go do it. Not da kine people, they watch your ass every time, no. When my boss wen go Honolulu, I take care everything. Only myself in the house and only myself in the ranch. He told me, “I will go Honolulu with my wife. So, you take care everything.” See? That’s how it goes.

Everybody run outside, go make ah, ah,. One guy he push that thing, he think that’s when the taro come get da kine lump, maybe we no strain ‘em good, eh. Bumbai he push away, he see the tail, he say, “Ey, we eating rat!” “Where?” “Look the tail!” “Eeeeeee.” Everybody run outside, go ah, ah, no can. Tell, “No sense, you eat already.” Bumbai some other boys tell, “Ey, we no say nothing. Leave ‘em go the other guys go eat.” “Nah, no good, throw away. No eat ‘em, throw away!”

Yeah, they cute. But only I had ehu hair. They said, “Funny, pure Hawaiians, they no more ehu hair.” I said, “Maybe the far back family,” you know. Maybe today pure Hawaiian now all mix, eh? I used to have real ehu hair; me and my sister, two of us, the one in Honolulu. My sister is prettier than me, the oldest sister.

Yes. I had a friend, he had a butcher shop. Then, he buys cattle from Waipio. From Mock Chew. He bought lot of steers from Mock Chew and then his son told me one day, “Say, my father buying lot of cattle from Mock Chew in Waipio Valley. You been to Waipio Valley?” “No, I haven’t been there yet.” He said, “My father going Waipio Valley. If you can help me take my father there. I don’t
have to go.” So I just took the place of his son, brought his father down to Waipio. Up the top over here, Lookout.


(KE:139) Uhm, da mother said, “You are uggaly.”

(KH:116) An nhu... Zulu da kine Zulu say, “G’el it, give it to me!”

(KK:118) An afta she said, “You neva going na sew you big fat coolie again before I heet em, you betta look at em now, tha’s you na go see em befo-a.”

(KL:126) Da town say, “Don’ you mine for fish un pen.”


(KO:119) Den Hale said, “Pono, c-come on, we’re going to fight.”


(ML:138) An Makani say, uhm, “I know wat, I know wat. Da crooks stay me, da crooks stay me. I know wat.”

(MM:362) Yeah. “Sixty-five, then.” So, I tell him, “I won’t give you answer now. Let me think it over.” He said, “Okay.” So one day, a few days later, I was inside the furo, you know. And then, hey, who this guy? I don’t know if you know this guy. Orme. We used to call him “Bunghole, Bunghole.” He come inside there inside the furoba, you know. I tell, “What you want?”

(MT:1182) He tell me, “You crazy.” I say, “That’s all right.” Sure, I was crazy. The thing got rotten because the water was too warm. But I made enough money. When I harvest that crop, was one year. He had to go another four months more if he going harvest his. So I gained. I didn’t lose.

(MY:1467) The man, he let him charge any amount because he know my father and my brother. So, he say, “Oh, yeah, Yoshimura. Good. No scared. Charge, up to you.” And the manapua man, too. My kid brother go take plenty manapua, he go give everybody. And he think the manapua man don’t know.

(NC:134) Because Chinese real good carpenter you know. For build up house like that. In no time they put ‘em up. You’d be surprised, when they build house, the scaffold. You see how they put the scaffold up? But I wouldn’t dare go on top though. But they go. I said, “Ho, when we build house and we make scaffold, we make sure he solid.” But theirs, only bamboo only. Just tie them up and they put up the house.

(NC:144) “Takeo, how many you catch?” He say, “Oh, little more, one dozen.” I say, “What? You come over here first and we go after.” He say, “How many you catch?” I say, “Fourteen dozens.” He said, “What?” I say, “Oh, 14 dozen.” And he was catching over there I went behind after that. I caught more than him.

(NK:932) Yeah. They say, “Oh, our days, the best. Good fun. We get something to remember.” We good friends, we fight, we fight, and then now, we all good friends.

(NK:942) Eighty-four. Well, anyway, she said, if she not going to do nothing as she used to be like before, she no can live longer.

(OC:6) So Mr. Hubert say, “Well, you know the friend and you know how much that thing there, you think what it’s worth to you.”

(SU:1534) And then, he used to pick up lot of balls, loose kind balls, eh? When they hit the ball, they lose the ball. He used to pick up. He used to bring home all of the... Boy, I used to get plenty balls from him. And then, I say, “Well, I better try golf.” Got to go out and buy the golf set.

(TA:45) You know, you pulling taro, I say, “Hey, I like huli. I help you pull.” See, what I pull, that’s my huli. I make. But I helping you pull taro. I no get paid or nothing. So I take your huli. That’s how I got all my huli. And then even today, lot of people do that. See, they want huli. You pulling taro, he go help you pull. Then, since I helping you pull, you go help me make huli too.

(WK:711) Well, they get sick, and sicker, and sicker, and sicker, and then the guys go hooponopono, they go try to heal them. They say, “Eh, you get terrible sick, you get terrible sick.” They tell ‘em. Yeah.
(WK:713) No, they like. That's why they like wahines, they tell, “Eh, that wahine like you, and you no like 'em.” “Gee I scared the bugga.” They tell, “The wahine like you, you know.” I say, “Nah I scared wahine.” I tell 'em.

(YA:1030) They selling mullet, about six like that, long, for twenty-five cents. Nobody buy, you know. So, we go look again. And you walk from one table to another table. They say, “Oh, buy fish, buy fish, buy fish.” And, “Nah, no like. About how much?” “Oh, twenty-five cents.” Bumbai, I look at 'em, get six fish. Bumbai, “Oh, I give you two more for twenty-five cents.” Nobody buy, see? Bumbai we buy some for home make salt cabbage eh? I don't know those days, simply anything for nothing you can get, you know.

5.13.3.2 sei Indirect Quote

There are also numerous canonical examples of sei occuring with indirect quotes as complements:

(BO:336) so a sei wen yu go get am fo mi.
‘So I said “when are you going to get it for me ?”.’

(BO:338) dis gai hia sed daet hi gon get mai vainil,
‘This guy here said that he was going to get my vinyl,’

(AH:152) He say he get two speyas and poke your eybahs outta ya eayas.

(AK:672) I know something else. I never did see, but they said they have that, those thing over there. I think till today, though. But it's good to have somebody who knows the place, eh, you go. But I never did go there.

(BB:004) You go make this kin’, eh – big kin’. They say they like 20 gallon kin’, my father make the 20 gallon. Ten gallon kin’, they like, mostly was 10 gallon kin’.

(ER:869) Get some guys every time stay in the office. They like know what happened down there, what get or light. They said two time one week in the night, we gotta come up, what we see gotta come make report, yeah.

(FD:290) That's why, I always tell Roy. He said, “Oh, mine too.” I like to see what he says because he's the pastor of the church, he supposed to know more. But funny, I have that kind feeling. Sometime, if you neglect God, that's what. I don't go to church, that's why I tell you two girls, but I have just a church in my own heart.

(GF:330) They never reached China. Because they live in the interior—way up in Chungking, or way up. When they reach Hong Kong, they say they got to go by train and by boat to reach home. Like me, I'm fortunate, my place right in Kowloon. But I never been there, too. I heard so much stories about these people that own lands, or has money coming back to China from Hawaii, or United States. They never reached home. So, we actually gave the land away to the family in China. We never wanted to go back.

(JB:62) I'm the one have to keep all my brothers and sisters. And I stayed with my father. The life that I had gone through was a pitiful life, a life that nobody knows. I'm the only son that's still living now, the older son. From the rest of my brothers I'm the only oldest one. I still living. As I said at the early beginning, if I wouldn't go away in the Waipio Valley, I would be 56 years old down in Waipio Valley now.

(JL:18) Bymby we came home, my daughtah Irene she already cook. We told Penhallow, “How about having lunch with us?” And he said, “No, He gotta go home.” And he tell me, “You know why I came up here for?” “No, I dunno.” “I want you come back. After I pau pension, I want you come back.” I tole him, “Let me tink it owa first. All right, I let you know one week time.”

(MM:372) Thousands and thousands of cane, eh? And every one get damage, you going to lose that much juice. That's quite a bit, you know. That's why in the mill, well, I don't know much about mill. But in the mill, they say, the recovery is—you know, in the end where they make the sugar like that—if they get 90 so many percent, 96 percent or 97 percent, they like to see that thing go more, 98 percent. If they go 98 percent, that means you only losing 2 percent, you know.
Well, it's hard to say. At present, it's very hard to say. Everything is all closed up, enclosed already. Manpower is out of the question. Manpower maybe only can cut the trees on the sides. But what about that material in the stream. Which is, you know, the gravel is piled up to meet the banks, the original taro patch banks. You know, it's gradually coming up. Some people say the State supposed to own the rivers. I really do not know if they really interested about it.

They all like come my house nighttime. When I was there, they all like come my house. Because I bring all the goodies for my grandfather. Oh, my grandfather, give him all kind. Bring cracker, coffee, chocolate, anything, for him. So, every night, all these people like–he said, they like come see me. Not me, they like come eat. 'Cause he got to make coffee and all, eh?

They take 'em home. Eat 'em. You know, sometimes I think it's superstitious. After you take 'em home, then they offer like that. They say that thing already eat and everything. How can you tell if they eat or not? That's one thing I cannot see. They say they eat. How can you tell me they eat?

They say never so that before, so I told them “Well, I sell and I bring all the money that I make and then they give me what I'm supposed to have.”

Well, maybe you don't believe it, but she say, if anybody would hurt us and we just give 'em the aumakua. You know aumakua is our god, eh? And if we on the right part of that, you know. And it's going to hurt them plenty. You know, the next party. So the thing going fall on them. That's what I mean our ali. What they call that?

I don't know. He said he too old. He no like work already. He figure, 'nough already. Now all the big boy, they working. You know, go out and find job, and working for somebody else. So, he no like go work. That time, he was old already, you know. Maybe eighty or seventy-five, somewhere around like that. Kinda old, eh? He working hard, you know. Day and night, he work. And he brought up all da kine children, so many. He must be satisfied more than enough.

If we regard the lexeme nating and eniting as an allolexes of SOMETHING in the following contexts, then the following are canonical examples of sei combining with SOMETHING:

No. I no think so because nobody bother me that time. Maybe they tell my father, but my father he no bother me. He no say nothing, eh. Only he tell me, “You gotta go school tomorrow.” That's only what they tell me, but that time, I never like go school. I like ride horse. Every time I like follow.

I no say nothing.

Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, “Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta be good to all the people. No come mad.” Like me, I wen go school, eh. I no learn in school. But I learn all from work. What I work, I learn from the old people, I try pick up from them.

That's the kind, you know, that. So, with my mom and my dad, they do believe because my daddy is a Catholic and my mom is something like Protestant. Just like Roy, and the LDS. All that kind. They do believe that God above is our healer. Because God is every where, if you do believe there's such thing as God above to help. And then man made, you know, this knowledge to these people that they can heal too. But my mom never say nothing.

They just go by the bags. They get paid by the bags. But the shop will know, more or less. They have scales down there. If it's not enough, they going let you know, don't forget about it. But if it's over, they won't say nothing. That's how they do it. That's one thing, the present right now, things look favorable, but not that good yet.

Well, how much can we do? But just kill the time, we go down there. And then when it come to lunch hour, there's no such thing, half an hour. We go place where they get some guava, we go down there pick up guava. Place where they get, what they call, you know the mountain poha, eh?
Maybe one hour. The boss doesn’t say anything to us because he knows it, eh? But he told us, he said, “Make sure the big boss no catch you.” That’s what I did.

5.13.3.4 sei THIS

There is a single canonical example of sei occurring with HCE dis.

(MT:1169) Well, I hate to say this, but people actually, in Kukuihale, doesn’t like me, and I was the president. To be honest about it. That’s the only reason why.

The following may be considered near-canonical examples of the same valence:

(GF:321) Quick I stop. I say, “No, no good. I might call the wrong name and get the guy in hot water.” You see, I didn’t want to continue. So these people, they wanted to lend me money. “If Jim doesn’t want to lend you the money, I lend you the money.” “What does he do?” “Well, he’s the president for Bank of Hawaii.” He tell me that. “Oh, I didn’t know that. You folks never introduce yourselves to me. You know my name, but I don’t know your names. I don’t know what you do. Your position.”

(KE:139) Uh, nobody not going to say it to Kali, an nobody not going say to a little girl. (KK:117) Afta da kine say, “Oh deya you honey bun, of deya you say dat to me.” (KK:117) An Kekoa say, “Oh ya? I can say dat to you again.”

(YA:1022) I don’t think about they no believe me, but when they heard, they say that to me. One man tell me—one fella that I told him, I don’t know, when I was kinda old man already. Forty, fifty years old already. He tell me, “You sure you saw a menehune?” “Yeah.” I say yeah, you know. Then, they say it’s all menehune, they never see.

In the above all cases daet and it refer to propositions. It is possible that they could be allolexes of THIS. Likewise, it is very possible that they are decomposable into some configuration containing THIS.

5.13.3.5 sei X (TO) ME

There are three canonical examples of sei with a ME addressee:

(BB:013) No. Already my father said, “As soon as you graduate,” wha-you-call, “we goin’ Japan. You goin’ make lots of houses over there.” That year my father and mother went to Japan and they wen see the place already. They came back from the kin’. And then they wen send me one letter. I remember those days was bon odori time. My brother went over there — get — “Eh, this is from dad, you know, for you.” “OK I read.” He said me, “Catch the first plane,” not plane but boat, eh, “and come down Pier 13. I go be waiting for you.” So, I wen catch the first boat and went down there.

(KK:117) Afta da kine say, “Oh deya you honey bun, of deya you say dat to me.”

(YA:1022) I don’t think about they no believe me, but when they heard, they say that to me. One man tell me—one fella that I told him, I don’t know, when I was kinda old man already. Forty, fifty years old already. He tell me, “You sure you saw a menehune?” “Yeah.” I say yeah, you know. Then, they say it’s all menehune, they never see. But no, they see Indian only, you know.

The following may be considered near-canonical examples of sei and ME assuming that as is explicable in terms of ME.

(MM:328) Well, in a way, I’m glad that my father moved. I don’t know what made him move because he never say us why he moved or anything. But he moved here. Why I say I’m glad he moved because, you know, Koloa is a bigger place than where we was. Where we was is one small, little camp. Of course, Koloa is not so big town, too, but then compared with where we was, yeah. (SU:1525) Yeah. You know, the cane field, eh? Well, how much can we do? But just kill the time, we go down there. And then when it come to lunch hour, there’s no such thing, half an hour. We go place where they get some guava, we go down there pick up guava. Place where they get, what they call, you know the mountain poha, eh? Maybe one hour. The boss doesn’t say anything to us because he knows it, eh? But he told us, he said, “Make sure the big boss no catch you.” That’s what I did.
5.13.3.6 sei X (TO) YOU

There is a single canonical example of sei with a YOU addressee:
(KK:117) An Kekoa say, “Oh ya? I can say dat to you again.”

5.13.3.7 sei X (TO) SOMEONE

The following are near-canonical examples of sei with a SOMEONE addressee, assuming that maen and proper names are decomposable in terms of SOMEONE:
(KA:127) Kapua wen go say to da booga man-an den Kapua said, “I gonna take a’ your clothes,” /ae/? (KE:139) Uh, nobody not going to say it to Kali, an nobody not going say to a liddle gir’.
(KK:123) She said to Kehi, “He, couldin be, could.” (KK:123) Ummm. She said to Kehi, “Kehi, you my muther.”
(KL:125) He said to Pono, “Pono, wo you put on da racka again?”

5.13.3.8 sei X (ABOUT) SOMEONE

There is a single near-canonical example of sei combining with a topic complement:
(JB:69) Yeah, the Filipinos, they goes with the Chinese and with the Hawaiian people too. They mingle together. And they don’t have any trouble with it. Because, some of the Filipinos were working with the Chinese people, Mr. Ah Wo, Mr. Thomas and Mr. Ginji Araki. And.... did I say about Chun?
I assume here that CHUN may be explicated as:
(J110) Chun: the person I think of when I say ‘chun’

5.13.4 Examples of tel

5.13.4.1 tel Direct Quote

There are many canonical examples of tel with direct quote complements:
(BO:340) a tel, ei, toni, hauz abaut, a, spansa da kidz, boi.
‘I said, “Hey, Tony, how about, uh, sponsoring the kids, huh?”’
(BO:340) a tel, aes ful av bul-oni, den. waet yu min?
‘I said, “that's full of baloney, then. What do you mean?”’
(AK:610) Yeah, to the store, yeah. Because the store owner, Awong. Alfred Awong, sometimes he come down, he see. He tell, “You bring this up to my store.” So I bring up to the store.
(ER:886) He wen tell my name. I come back in the station, “Eh, cowboy, what happened? How come you bang?” I tell, “I no go bang. The driver wen.” They no believe, eh. They figure the driver no bang, gotta be the new man.
(GF:309) Yeah, she said okay. And I tell okay, too. We went in front of the judge and the Judge married us. Judge Forbes of Waimea married us. I never had five cents with me when I got married. Never had nothing.
(MM:326) One thing my dad do, and I still remember that. Maybe I was about seven or eight years old, I think. When the first plane came over here, they used to tell, “Tom Gunn, Tom Gunn.” And McBryde was good enough to take out the train, you know, and bring those from Wahiawa, Lawa'i, Kuku'i'ula, all those people over there who was interested in coming to come see the plane. And the plane landed up here.
(MY:1479) This guy was telling bad about me. “This ‘Mahjong’ is no good beach boy. He's no good boy.” Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki. or ” he said. “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki
people.” He tell, “How come?” That’s the truth, that’s why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That’s why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.” The guy, he look sick. That’s why, even today, all the Japanese old ladies, they like me. They know me because always I go to their funerals and everything, I go.

(SU:1542) So he tell me, “Ey, Sam, I think you might as well put ‘Smile Cafe,’ though.” I says, “Okay.” That’s how we started, see. Put “Smile Cafe.” And then, when I put Smile Cafe, everybody tell, “Ey, you got to smile every time.”

(YA:1063) Make fried chicken. Cook everything. Then, I tell ’em, “You come my place, eat.” They come. The wife and him say, “Oh, we don’t want to eat the rabbit.” They no eat rabbit. Bumbai, when my wife cook all the rabbit, just like tempura stuff. Put in he oil and fry ’em crispy. The rabbit and the chicken, two bowls. Separate, see? So, when they come eat, we tell ’em, “This is rabbit, this is chicken.” Everybody pick up one for try. They come back. Everybody eat rabbit, no like the chicken.

5.13.4.2 tel *Indirect Quote*

There are also numerous canonical examples of tel occuring with indirect quotes:

(AK:613) Baseball or volleyball, softball, whatever game. They all enjoy that. When we had that, they used to tell me, the older ones used to tell me, before they have sports, they used to go play cards. They challenge, you know each section, he playing cards. And after that, they make party. Or, they go swim. Jump – you know they get high place, they jump in the water and challenge each other.

(AK:655) No. He *told* me that’s the way to plant that.

(AK:668) By the time we got up to the hospital, almost 4 o’clock. I think I get out, the pall, about 9 o’clock. Start all the way and reach hospital 4 o’clock. And she was suffering. So the doctor came look. He tell me, “Eh, bad case emergency. She had rupture.” The appendix had bust already. So the doctor *told* me that’s only about 50-50 chance, whether she going pull through or not. My wife and I stayed two months in the hospital.

(ER:751) Yeah, they put ’em on top. And they bring ’em down slaughterhouse. Every time I used to go follow them, eh. Sometime pau school, then they go up, I go, too, I ride. But sometime come dark, I scared because bumbai I get lost, eh. But every time he *tell* me if I no can find them, go by the track. Stay by the track, so they can find me on the track, eh.

(ER:766) Aku, kwakawaka. That’s da kine Lahaina guys more. But that time ‘opelu and akule cheap. You can buy fifteen cents, maybe forty, forty they tell that’s one ka’au, eh. I don’t know what one ka’au means. But they count forty, and they sell you. They tell fifteen cents or quarter. Sometime when you go over there, you like buy fish too, eh. Then when the fish come inside, you just go with them. You *tell* you like buy fish. How much? A quarter or half dollar.

(ER:773) Yeah, Munro. He wen go see Munro in the morning because every morning they go by the office, go get their job for outside. So he ask. So the boss *tell*, yeah, he need some young boy. So he come home and he tell me, “Ey, get up. Go drink coffee. Go make sandwich.” He tell my aunty, “Make sandwich for him. He going work.”

(ER:799) Yeah, everybody. They take turn. Maybe if you no like go, eh, you *tell* you no like go. I go take your place, I go work Sunday.

(MM:355) Yeah, yeah. Because all the money going to you. You know, today people, they *tell* they work hard. They make you laugh.

(TA:44) Yeah. And then he didn’t have enough men work for him so that land was idle. He *told* me if I take the land, he’ll plow for me and everything. So I told him, “Okay.” So he put his men over there, he plow for me. Then I just fill ’em tip with water. Everytime I come down I clean the land. Only two days I can work. Sunday I have to go back and go work Monday. I usually come down about Friday evening, Friday afternoon or Saturday morning.
5.13.4.3 tel *SOMETHING*

There are four canonical examples of tel combining directly with a lexical *SOMETHING* (assuming that *wat*, *ting*, and *nating* are allolexes of *SOMETHING*):

(ER:622) Well, well, you see. I go out with her. Then she had big stomach, but she Keomuku. But the father no like *tell me nothing*. So he tell the uncle, the uncle tell me, “EH, boy, I think you gotta marry this girl.” He tell, “You make ’em big stomach, eh?” So I no say nothing. So I come home. I ask my brother them, because I going get married. But they know, eh, which girl going get married, they tell, “Up to you. You going get married.”

(ER:882) No, no. They never *tell nothing*, no, no. They no bother us. But they know the ranch, yeah, just about being supposed pau too, eh. The ranch was kind of pau already, going down, eh. And that time we stay up here, that time was strike time, only we stay go help for find the leftover kind cow. We try go catch. Then the Hawaiian Pine guys, da kine guys no work, they strike, they go help. They go ride. Us, we give ’em horse, they go help us. They like go drive cattle, eh, go find.

(FD:289) Yeah. That’s the one on the patch’s bank now. he was the first to go in. But I told him, “I seen that already, but I didn’t want to tell your uncle. I told him when the leaves is yellow, is showing that some kind of disease is attacking the taro.” But he doesn’t believe. He just go pull the grass, and then just no think nothing. I say, “Well, I have to pray harder.” For put something in his head to think, “Oh, I think my wife is telling me something different so I better try.” He doesn’t want anybody to *tell him what* to do.

(NC:155) And yet the folks said, for instance, that party you go sacrifice grave, eh. He said that they ate their thing already. What happened? The food is same thing. The taste and everything is still there. I don’t see any change. I don’t know if they really are there or not. You believe they are there? I don’t think so. I don’t know though. But I *tell you one thing*. My mother, one time. You know, one old man died. Mock Chew’s place. Old man Batalona died, eh. Passed away. Andoi, he was the one I saw took ’em up and buried. So he buried right next to my father. You see, my father’s grave go like this, eh. All the graves go like this. I don’t know why he bury like this. Slant like that. He bust the corner of my....My father get double box, eh, the coffin. Then one outside coffin. He bust the outside coffin. And then my mother say, “Gee.” She call me by my Chinese name, Ah Hoy. Then she said, “Last night I dreamed father came back. He says somebody wen rob him. Broke his house. You try go up the grave, if there’s anything wrong over there.”

There is a single near-canonical example of tel combining with *SOMETHING*:

(NC:200) Oh, just one fellow tell so-and-so’s girl, he think. He said, “I’ll ask for you.” So one day, go down, he ask and then make Then they *tell me certain thing*. I went down. My uncle was down Honolulu. I was down there staying with my uncle. One day, I just get the taxi, take a look how she look like. Then come back.

5.13.4.4 tel *THIS*

There are several canonical examples of *tell* and *THIS*:

(AK:593) Well, the first time I saw Waipi o, I think nice place to live, you know. Good place. And then you have to do work in order to know what is the life in Waipio. You just only stay, you don’t know, eh? You got to learn how to get by. As for myself I know I get by because I always associate with people. I mingle around with anybody, you know. Ask them questions and *tell me this* and that. That’s how I learn lot, you know. Especially like Sundays, like that, we get along some old people, you know. They come by and we talk Hawaiian and I like talk Hawaiian to them, see. I approach them in Hawaiian. We all sit down and talk Hawaiian.

(FD:283) They play around the taro patch. Go in the stream. And I had my oldest boy, he worked with that, with my husband. They pull taro, the three of them, Adloph, and then the one in Honolulu, and then one up the Mainland. I had the three boys. And my oldest daughter, my grand daughter’s mom,
she’s a hard working girl. Those kids, you never hear them asking money, they want to go movie, or they want to go carnival. They are like his own son. I was lucky, I had good children. You can tell Fannie this. Didn’t bother nobody until they grow up. Even I had Catherine, that was the baby of the first family. Well, she loved this father more than her own.

(FD:287) I guess maybe the water, or whatever. They take the water, nothing shows the water. The dirt, nothing. I say that’s the only one thing I do believe. That’s why I tell, “You folks don’t remember that? That’s saying in the Bible said, “There’s a day will come, day of starvation.” And they all look at me. I think Roy, he’s a minister of this church. I don’t think he will tell you folks this.

(GF:321) Then they ask me, “Gee, to rebuild this place again, take you quite a bit of money. How much would you think it cost you?” “Oh, couple thousand dollars.” “So you think you going to continue raise taro?” “Oh, yeah, I’m going to continue.” “Why?” “Because taro going be better each time.” “You sure it’s going to be better?” I said, “Yeah, she’s going to be better.” “What makes you think so?” “Well, less people raising taro. The young people, they go to school, they go to high school, they go to college, they never come back again. The old people dying out. Maybe I’m telling you this now but pretty soon I’m dying too. I don’t know if any young people going to continue.”

5.13.4.5 tel X (TO) ME

There are numerous examples of tel occurring with ME:

(AK:593) Well, the first time I saw Waipio, I think nice place to live, you know. Good place. And then you have to do work in order to know what is the life in Waipio. You just only stay, you don’t know, eh? You got to learn how to get by. As for myself I know I get by because I always associate with people. I mingle around with anybody, you know. Ask them questions and tell me this and that. That’s how I learn lot, you know. Especially like Sundays, like that, we get along some old people, you know. They come by and we talk Hawaiian and I like talk Hawaiian to them, see. I approach them in Hawaiian. We all sit down and talk Hawaiian.

(AK:612) Well, an old man gave me. See, this man, he belonged to Laupahoehoe; he was living Laupahoehoe, Waipio and Kona. He used to live in Kona. So when I came Waipio, he said that when I was a little boy, he used to keep me. But I don’t remember. Then, one time, I get a chance, I went back and I asked my father if that was true. He said, “Yeah, that was true.” I asked who was the name of the man. He said, “Yeah, when you was a little boy, he take care of you.” And then another lady, the same thing as that. She tell me when I was a little boy she was taking care of me. I not going believe that, but I ask my father, and he say it’s true.

(AK:613) Baseball or volleyball, softball, whatever game. They all enjoy that. When we had that, they used to tell me, the older ones used to tell me, before they have sports, they used to go play cards. They challenge, you know each section, he playing cards. And after that, they make party. Or, they go swim. Jump – you know they get high place, they jump in the water and challenge each other.

(AK:614) Before time, that’s the most things they told me about. That playing cards, swimming, high dive. Not they never have any others, but that the most sports they have. And the only other way they said, like you have a taro patch to clean, then you have to prepare, make a food. You have to make, whatever you think you can prepare. Then, they call those to go over there and clean all the patches. They clean the whole thing one day. After that, they eat.

(BB:003) Yea, right behind – stone kin’ eh. Every time, you know, I used to saw the wood and I used to chop the wood. Every time she call me, she tell me, you can help me saw the wood and the kin’ chop ‘em? No need make ‘em small; cut ‘em long so they can just throw ‘em inside. I used to cut ‘em and chop ‘em. I was pretty good with the ax, you know.

(EB:1137) Then, he told me, “We better go home.” No, he write to me. He said, “Better you and I go home.” “No, you go. I follow you bumbai. When I’m ready to go home, I go home.”

(ER:757) The cowboys most they talk Hawaiian. Then I learn from them. I learn from them what they talk. Most the Hawaiian word, they talk Hawaiian. All the cowboy. They no talk English too much.
Sometime I no understand, you know, the Hawaiian. You no understand but you listen, bumbai sometimes you ask. You ask them, they tell you what. Then, when I marry my wife, I asked her any kind Hawaiian word, she know plenty, then she **tell me** most about the Hawaiian word. So now, yeah, I can understand Hawaiian, but I no can talk too much. If the people talk, I know what they talking about. but for me answer them, sometime too hard for me. The easy kind, I can, you know the regular common kind, but the hard one sometime I don’t know.

(ER:773) Yeah, Munro. He wen go see Munro in the morning because every morning they go by the office, go get their job for outside. So he ask. So the boss tell, yeah, he need some young boy. So he come home and he tell me, “Ey, get up. Go drink coffee. Go make sandwich.” He tell my aunty, “Make sandwich for him. He going work.” So I came down there. The boss **tell me**, “Oh, okay, you go with one,” get one Hawaiian man, eh, and two young boys, just like my age, about my age...

(ER:861) Yeah, pour ‘em inside. Easy that one. So I tell my brother, “Me, I get stone but stay home, but over here no more.” Bumbai he **tell me** he know somebody get, he go borrow, he get.

(FD:282) Well, have lots of that. I don’t know. And they have to Pick me, the stupid one, cannot drive. That’s true. You know, if I know how to drive, I could have worked a outside kine job. I don’t want to be home, housemaid like this. Even till now, they even **tell me**, they like me for I go clean up like that. I said, “No, I have worked enough already. I retired now, I stay home.” I still go tell yet, I tell them. It’s just waste of time for me to go out and work, no sense.

(GF:305) They want me to go to college but shee, boy, I rather go work. Lot of fun, you know. So my brother **told me**, “Well, try two years, then.” And he say, “Well, you still too young. You got to be 18 before you can enter college. You still too young. You go stay back two years work.” After you stay back two years work, you don’t want to continue school already.

(GF:318) So we got first crop. I pay Andrade off. Then Andrade **tell me**, “Say, you get some more job? Any time you like work, call me. I come help you. I make for you.” But Andrade, he doesn’t charge you only for the working time, he charging for maintenance time too. He double the charge on everything. That’s why lot of people bought their own tractors. That’s why, even me, I bought one small tractor.

(JL:14) Yeh, yeh. Dey call him Aht – Aht Smith. Yeh, he make somersalt. But Mr. Carter **tell me**, he tell Hawaiian – he smaht talk hawaiian, you know Mr. Carter: “Oh, Haole pupule. Bybby fall down makeh.” He make upside down, eh? Mr. Carter say, “Haole pupule.” I went...

(JL:18) Bybmy we came home, my daughtah Irene she already cook. We told Penhallow, “How about having lunch with us?” And he said , “No, He gotta go home.” And he **tell me**, “You know why I came up here for?” “No, I dunno.” “I want you come back. After I pau pension, I want you come back.” I tole him, “Let me tink it owa first. All right, I let you know one week time.” He said, “Too long. About three days.” So, all right tree days. So I went inside. My daughter tole me – Irene – “Boy, Penhallow came up,” “oh, we went look the pipi. He know I know all this cattle, eh?” I tole Irene, “He want me come back on da ranch.” “After you pension already?” “Leggo da pension. I go back. Help him.” So in tree days I let him know. I tole him, “I come back.” I work with him till today.

(MM:329) His gun, “Pom! Pom!” He had double-barrel, see. “Pom! Pom!” Oh, the mynah bird, poor thing. And then, I think he get, oh, maybe about ten, I think. He **tell me**, “Okay. You like eat, come. We go my house. I go clean, I go cook.” So I went. The damn thing was tough, you know. Tough, but no, the way he fixed up–he put wild tomato. You know da kine wild tomato, and cook ‘em. Oh, been taste all right, though. I still kind of remember. It taste all right.

(MT:1184) Department heads. We had no money, zero. They never did no research, no nothing on it. Now, Bill Furtick just gave us $25,000 to get this taro research going. Jeri Ooka brought down couple of machines from, brought from the Mainland to take water temperature. I think he **told me** he spent, was $12,000 already.

(MY:1465) Me? Well, I’m going school, so I cannot work too hard, eh? So I help ‘em maybe deliver. That’s why, we’re lucky because they had that business. So we can go school with good clothes. That’s why, guys in school used to **tell me**, “How come you come school with nice clothes every time?” “Well, cleaning business, you can wear nice clothes.”
So, when we work there, two or three boys, they went quit. They went to Lewers & Cooke, see. They ask me, “Why you no go? You get the first preference.” So when I told the president that I cannot take that job, boy, he shake my hand, boy. He said, “You real good man. You loyal to one boss. That’s what I like. That’s a good man.” He no tell me no good. He tell me, “You good. That’s very, very good. You are very loyal to your boss. That’s what’s good.”

Yeah. And then, I couldn’t get retired. ‘Cause the boss don’t want to let me go. He tell me, “No. You come one week, only two weeks, all right, you work for me. You come half day all right.” All conditions, he gave me. But my wife tell me, “Like you, you go inside one time, once you get inside, you no can come home already because you get your customers, you going to take care.” You know, any business salesman, when you get your customer, you got to take care. And me, that’s one guy, I no like the guy feel bad. I got to take care until he’s satisfied. I said, “The only thing I can do, I take the order from my house. My home office, and I do for you. Is that all right?” He said, “Well, no can help, eh?” I say, “You no have to pay me.”

It’s not luck so much as... well, it could be. But, how can be every fellow get hard luck. When the flood comes, he sweeps everybody. It affects everybody. You cannot tell everybody get hard luck. It’s just nature’s work. That’s one thing you cannot stop. If a flood coming down, how you going stop? It’s just impossible to stop. They ask me one time, “What if was human being do that?” I said, “I shoot that fellow down.”

Oh, just one fellow tell so-and-so’s girl, he think. He said, “I’ll ask for you.” So one day, go down, he ask and then make Then they tell me certain thing. I went down. My uncle was down Honolulu. I was down there staying with my uncle. One day, I just get the taxi, take a look how she look like. Then come back.

So instead that, when go down the Hawaiian boys tell me, “We go buy paper and sell.” When come to Saturday, this man tell me, “you go buy some food”

(SU:1537) Right across. Right behind Smile Cafe, amusement park. That’s where Mr. Hosoi—I think younger brother than the one that used to operate the funeral parlor, yeah—used to run gambling joint after four o’clock. He used to order me sandwiches. He tell me, “Make any kind of sandwich.” So I used to make cheese, tomato, egg—the cheap kind, eh? Those days, only ten cents, eh? So, I used to make about four, five dozen. Deliver down his place. He pay me cash.

Yeah. Because he get experience in cooking, everything. Him and another Teruya is the co-owners of this Hibiscus Cafe on Bethel Street. He tell me, “You folks, instead of loafing, you better do something.” So he just help me out and do everything for me, see. I was young boy that time.

(TA:36) I know she used to tell me when she seen the Hawaiian, that’s a biggest people they ever saw. Big Hawaiians, eh? You see, when they come on the boat, they have to come on the rowboat, eh? To the landing. The big ship won’t land, see? That’s when she seen the first Hawaiian, they row out.

(WK:695) No, not exactly. My father died when I was only 11 years old, and I know my mother told me he came from Fukuoka, Japan. I don’t know where is that place. Maybe I go now, I going see, eh? We going, eh?

(WK:700) Our assignment is. My grandfather used to tell me, “Eh, after school you come back, eh. Go do your job, you know. Before you go play, you do your job.” And they very strict about it. “And then, if you don’t do ’em, you won’t have no supper, you know.”

(WK:717) He tell me, “Well if you want to raise taro, you listen to what I tell you. You listen to what I teach you how to raise taro. All right? First of all, when you want to raise taro, you got to have your field all clear.” You get to have your seedling, what they call before pula pula, you know, your huli, they call that. Your seedling all taken care of. You no can cut. But I no can explain to you guys, but you have to cut the seedling certain way that they won’t die; all that kind stuff, he told me.

Yeah. And then they tell me, “Eh, come dig. You want huli, you come dig.”

(YA:1048) Just, what do you call da kine classified labor. Classified labor, that’s a higher pay labor, see. That’s what Mr. Cooper—he’s the manager of the labor board—he tell me that, see. “They cannot give you no job as any other job because we have machinist union here.” Those days, they have machinist union. Come from the Mainland. So, they not allow anybody work on the machine shop to run the
machine. Only the union, machinist union, can run, see? So, Mr. Cooper tell me, “Well, I tell you. You was a veteran. You have the veteran’s privilege. I put you in there for work as a classified labor. You do labor work under them, but you are a better kind labor, little bit higher labor.” You know, $3.20 one day, now.

(YA:1055) Then, after that, we find out – the house was very cheap before, you know. You rent one house for ten, twelve dollar, one month, you know. Bumbai, my wife say, “Well, we got to go find our own house. twelve dollars one month we pay, but we no going get nowhere else.” My wife tell me, “We go up Kalihi.” Look around over here, see? We come over here, no more house, only bushes. Only one road and all nothing but bushes.

(YA:1056) And then, I figure, well, more better we raise the house. We get a basement, see, to stay. Only $500. We get a contractor. He raise the house up, put stone wall all around for $500. Now, $1,000, no can make that, I think. And jack the house up together for $500, you know. So, we raise this house up. One Japanese man contractor tell me, “Why not I jack the house up for you. Instead of one-and-a-half story, two-story high? And I build one big shack in the back for you can do all the laundry work for you.” Chee, $700 or something. Seven hundred fifty dollars, or what. I was so foolish. I never like to build. I didn’t want to.

5.13.4.6 tel X (TO) YOU

There are several canonical examples of YOU as the addressee of tel:

(AK:616) Yeah. Maybe, for instance, flood coming down or road need repairing or something like that. Then we go out, “How about giving us some money to clean certain, certain place.” And they tell you, “What part of the valley?” “Oh we have lot of bushes and all that.” Then they send overseers, or whatever. Engineers come down there to see.

(AK:649) But today, you get hard time get seed from all these other farmers, they no give you seeds, you know. Unless they finish with their place, they think they all right. Then they give you. Before, you help yourself. So I said, before is really different than now. Now, maybe even they tell you they sell you, 15 cents one seed. Well, you had to pay. Before, you never do that. You don’t pay anything. Before you get ’em, and nothing. You help, you ask, “You using your seed?” I said, “No.” Because sometime we pull we no use the seed.

(EB:1138) Well, I no can tell you that. Because I heard the story, I think, most Ilocano come in, than Visaya, I think.


(ER:808) And his brother, Tsuneo, but stay Moloka‘i, the brother. All about our age. Some maybe one or two year older than us. Some little bit young. Only us young boys every time one bunch. But sometime the old kind guys, when they like look cowboy show, they sit with us. They tell you, oh, they going inside show. Then when come home time, they tell, “Where you guys go?” “We going show.” “Ah, I no bring money.” “Oh, I get, here, we go.”

(GF:352) When they came, well, “You try. From November to December, January. If the job no good, you can go back where you came from. Go find other jobs.” I think he came in October, you know. Then I told him, “All right. You sure like the business now?” “Oh, I love to raise taro. That’s good. That’s easy. Easy. That’s nothing to it.” Then.... It’s all right I tell you like that, how they started? Or you don’t want.

(NC:167) Never. He called me two times. After that, he still called me. I said, “No, I cannot do such business. if I sell to you and I take the taro and sell to the other fellow, you don’t like that, too.” And then he said, “Oh, yeah. It’s hard. You cannot find some for me?” I said, “I told you that I don’t do business for the other fellow. I do my business for my own only.” So he came up, he scout Waipio. He went try to look for dry land taro. I don’t know if he got any or not.
(TA:46) I see what they plant. And then they tell you, “Oh, you go up. Where the water cool, you plant "lehua. Where the water warm, you plant this and this.”

(WK:717) He told me, “Well if you want to raise taro, you listen to what I tell you. You listen to what I teach you how to raise taro. All right? First of all, when you want to raise taro, you got to have your field all clear.” You get to have your seedling, what they call before pula pula, you know, your huli, they call that. Your seedling all taken care of. You no can cut. But I no can explain to you guys, but you have to cut the seedling certain way that they won’t die; all that kind stuff, he told me.

5.13.4.7 tel X (TO) SOMEONE

There are two canonical examples of tel and SOMEONE:

(AK:628) I don’t know. I think he must put that himself. So he told me I can have the book, he was almost going to die. He like give me so one time I went back there. He gave me the book and I told somebody I get one book about medicine. Then he asked me, “Let me barrow.” They no return until today. Oh, lot of medicine. Us Hawaiians, some medicines you just can go and pick now. But some medicine you cannot. You just not can go get, you have to go in the night, during the night, just by yourself going to where to get the medicine. And nobody else.

(AK:628) I don’t know. I think he must put that himself. So he told me I can have the book, he was almost going to die. He like give me so one time I went back there. He gave me the book and I told somebody I get one book about medicine. Then he asked me, “Let me barrow.” They no return until today.

5.13.4.8 tel X (TO) PEOPLE

There is a single canonical example of tel and PEOPLE:

(FD:287) We didn’t have all this kind trouble like nowadays. That’s why I always tell to people, “Well, there’s a saying in the Bible say, ’There’s a day will come, there’s this day of starvation, when everybody is going to suffer.’” And it is already now, it’s starting. When the wind come blow everything we don’t have fruits. And then now, the rotting taro, rot in the taro patch now, everybody is suffering. So everybody today’s knowledge, they try to use all kind chemical, everything to mix with the soil, to better themself. But I don’t. I tell my husband, ”You know, I always remember this saying, ’There is a day come, the day of starvation, it happens when the land so all over the place.’”

5.13.4.9 tel X (ABOUT) ME

There is a single canonical example of tel with ME as a topic complement:

(MY:1479) This guy from Manoa was talking about Waikiki people. All the Waikiki people get together, old people and all. And this guy, he said—Monkawa was there, too. All the Waikiki bunch. And Mr. Yasumatsu was there. This guy was telling bad about me. “This ‘Mahjong’ is no good beach boy. He’s no good boy.” Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki. or ” he said. “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban i koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki people.” He tell, “How come?” That’s the truth, that’s why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That’s why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.”

5.13.4.10 tel SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING

In a previous paper (Stanwood 1997), I was able to find only the following example to confirm the presence of this valence in HCE:
Japanese peddler. But, you know, regular da kine food peddler, Japanese peddler. And then, there was only one Chinese peddler. The manapua man carry with a stick, eh? He carry. Balance one in the front and one in the back. Yeah, he was the only one, Chinese, in Waikiki, he was. Then, they **told you about the Chinese house** back of the Sasaki? There was a Chinese, old Chinese, religious-looking house. They used to smoke opium. But nobody bother them because they old people.

I am pleased that further investigation has provided further confirmation of the presence of this valence in HCE. We now have a handful of canonical examples:

(GF:321) “Why, you have family not working, not continuing?” “Oh, yeah, I have in-laws. They have lot of lands down here, they kind of giving up and some old people taking over and they already giving up.” I **told them lot of things about Waipio** without realizing that they were trying to lend me money to rehabilitate my place. Then they talk to me. “Well, if you want to buy a tractor, we can lend you the money. Can get someplace to lend you the money.” I said, “Nah, I don’t think anybody lend me money. I think Waipio, that’s the last place anybody want to lend money. ...”

(AK:614) Before time, that’s the most **things** they **told me about**. That playing cards, swimming, high dive. Not they never have any others, but that the most sports they have. And the only other way they said, like you have a taro patch to clean, then you have to prepare, make a food. You have to make, whatever you think you can prepare. Then, they call those to go over there and clean all the patches. They clean the whole thing one day. After that, they eat.

There are also numerous near-canonical examples:

(AK:627) Why I know this, when I was in Kona, I used to go to see old Hawaiian man. He’s good on these Hawaiian herbs. But he used to call me moopuna. Moopuna is grandson in Hawaiian. Every time he see me, he tell, “Come, moopuna.” So I go up, talk stories, I ask him. So he was going down there, something like that see. Then he **tell me about the medicine**. He has one, was about this size book, like that you know. All kind of medicine. All kind Hawaiian herbs, for colds or broke leg or sprain.

(AK:631) None of that I know. I know might be some of these old people, might be they do, but I don’t know. I’m not sure. I don’t just want to **tell about it**. Like, my wife’s uncle, the wife is something is like that too, but I don’t know how they do it. I not going just tell they’re kahuna, or what. But in Kona, I know there’s lot of kahunas in Kona. Kona is a place famous for kahunas.

(ER:757) Then, when I marry my wife, I asked her any kind Hawaiian word, she know plenty, then she **tell me most about the Hawaiian word**. So now, yeah, I can understand Hawaiian, but I no can talk too much. If the people talk, I know what they talking about. But for me answer them, sometime too hard for me. The easy kind, I can, you know the regular common kind, but the hard one sometime I don’t know.

(ER:789) Yeah, for that side. He was Cockett. So that’s how I learn how to cowboy. I learn how to look the meat, **tell you about the meat**, this kind. Sometime inside the meat, sometime when you kill too, the meat get da kine TB. So I ask him, “How come you know if the meat get TB?” He said you look by the liver. The liver, you know, when you kill, just like small little puss. Sometime you press ’em, all bust. That’s mean they...

(FD:262) Well, she **tells me about it** when.... when after, if like when you have a boy friend, if you do have your period, that’s how you can have your family. You know, when you have a boy friend. That’s how she got us. She tells me that. ’Cause I was the only one in the house. And then, I didn’t care. I didn’t care. I would have a boy friend. Chinese. But I didn’t care.

(YA:1042) We stationed Schofield Barracks. And then, the captain like me. Put me go teach ’em. Every morning, teach the people how to clean the gun for one hour. Little while, and then we had trouble with the mess sergeant. You know, they no feed the people enough food, see? I go bring the captain down. Tell the captain, “The people hungry. Get enough food. The mess sergeant get plenty left over, they don’t want to feed ’em.” Then the captain tell, “No. I tell you what I do now. If you not enough food, you stay down on the bench and wait for the food. But if you get enough food, you go. You no get enough, you stay and wait.” Then, they tell the mess sergeant that they got to feed us until we get enough food. That’s how we get the story come out, see. Otherwise, I never complain about that. I wen just only bring ’em down to the mess hall and tell ’em about it, see.
5.13.5 Summary

We have found solid evidence in the corpus for the following NSM frames in HCE:

SAY Clause
SAY SOMETHING
SAY THIS
SAY SOMETHING (TO) ME
SAY SOMETHING (TO) YOU
SAY SOMETHING (TO) SOMEONE
SAY SOMETHING (TO) PEOPLE
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) ME
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING

We have no evidence in the corpus for the following NSM frames:

SAY THE SAME
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) YOU
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) PEOPLE

5.14 WANT

5.14.1 Semantics

5.14.2 Primitive Syntax

The primitive WANT occurs in two configurations, one which combines directly with a clause:

WANT [clause]

And the other which combines with mental complement referring to a proposition:

[I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1) PERSON/] WANT [something (good/bad)/this/the same]

W is somewhat ambivalent about the valid fillers of the clause saying no more than (W 1996:118) “the most likely candidate takes the form of an equi-clause”.

5.14.3 HCE candidates

Consider the following two sentences using SE want:

(111) Uncle Sam wants you
(112) Uncle Sam wants you to join the Marines
Although the first sense (WANT + NP) may very well be widespread among the world’s languages, it is the second sense which is the subject of our investigation.

The two primary candidates in HCE for the primitive WANT are wan and laik. One would expect laik to be the most basilectal of the two, but wan is surprisingly well represented in the basilect as well. Nearly all speakers used both forms. There are a few significant exceptions to this rule. JB appears to use only wan. EB, ER, and NK appear to use only laik. Since JB’s entire text runs only 12 pages, we might want to be careful about jumping to conclusions. Likewise, EB’s 14 pages of text which might not be a sufficiently large sample. We can be more confident about our last two speakers, however. NK’s text runs for 44 pages and ER’s text is a huge 153 pages long.

To summarize, we have some evidence showing that perhaps a few speakers use wan exclusively. We have very good evidence that some speakers use laik exclusively. Finally, we have very good evidence that the overwhelming majority of speakers use both wan and laik (14 out of 18 texts).

If one had to choose a single exponent as the primary exponent for WANT, laik might be the better choice. Given, however, the overwhelming evidence from the majority of speakers, I believe it is safer to conclude that both wan and laik are legitimate reflexes of WANT. Since I am unable to find a semantic difference between the two, that will be my working assumption.

In the case of laik, there is an obvious case of non-primitive polysemy which we need to pay attention to. This sense of laik follows SE like quite closely and appears to contain the component FEEL SOMETHING GOOD TOWARDS SOMETHING. In many contexts it is easy to see that laik could be ambiguous between this sense and WANT. In the following contexts however, laik clearly cannot mean to want:

(AK:608) The father wasn’t so good to me but the mother was good to me. The mother was very kind to me. She like me very much, you know, the mother.


(BB:007) Nice guy your father, taxi driver. Oh, he do good to the. 'A's why everybody like him. The town, eh — you say [name deleted]..... You know, one thing he good, eh. You know over there, you know, by [name deleted] over there, [name deleted] over there, and then [name deleted] and [name deleted] over there – the bakery. You know, your father is so good, eh. — plenty mango tree, you know, over there. He go pick the mango, eh and he go give everybody. 'A's why I was thinking, chee this man, you know, chee he no eat and give EVERYBODY like that.

(ER:782) Yeah. Bumbai I go with them, I like da kine cowboy kind job. So after I go with them, then bumbai the chief cowboy, he like me because I little bit lively, little bit quick. Then the other two first guys, the two Sam, they kinda leave back go plant tree. Then me, every time, I go with them. That’s how I learn cowboy. Every time I go with my cousin, he like take me, too, eh. I follow him, Bill, Bill...

(ER:806) In the gym. That time get the new gym eh, that time, what this Haole name now. I forget his name now. Good guy, he take care the gym. Then we go there. Bumbai he like our team, too, because we use da kine name, the golf ball name. Proflite, yeah, golf, the name of the ball.

(GF:346) Yeah, they got to have company to work together. One of them very good boy. His name is William Petersen. And then, he works very good. I like him. He don’t know how to cut trees with the chain saw, I show him how to cut trees. And then, he don’t know how to till, I show him how to till. He don’t know how to plant, I show him how to plant. But only thing, after they plant, they forget about the taro. They don’t want to clean. Weeding time, I got to be there with him. Otherwise, he won’t weed the grass. He can plant very well. He raises nice taro. Good, green thumb, that boy.

(KH:129) I like Kono.

(KH:130) Uh, now you like da par when da gir’ had da straight suit on?

Well, I hate to say this, but people actually, in Kukuihaele, doesn’t like me, and I was the president. To be honest about it. That’s the only reason why.

Oh, just like an open house. Everybody is her friend. She’s so liked by people, my mother.

I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That’s why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.” The guy, he look sick. That’s why, even today, all the Japanese old ladies, they like me. They know me because always I go to their funerals and everything, I go.

Yeah. Feed the pig, and then feed the chickens. And then, go to school. And then after we come back from school, me, I like sports, see. Everybody come home, so I run and come home. I run and come home to finish all the detail that I have to do. You got to feed the pig again, see, and chickens. Then, after I get time, I go in the pasture with all the boys, go play baseball. I do the same thing over and over, day after day, day after day, to help him out.

Well, nothing. Only just they draft me in the Army, that’s all. And then, I talk to — too much talking with the captain. The captain like me, see. He promoted me to noncommissioned officer, corporal.

5.14.4 Examples of laik

5.14.4.1 laik Clause

There are many canonical examples of laik occuring with a clause:

And then, when you get inside, then you can stand up. You walk quite a ways inside. When I went in there, I had see a canoe was in there. I saw a canoe. I never like go more in. Kind of get scared. I never did touch nothing. I just look and I come out.

“Shoo, why you never wait little bit longer.” I figured kin’ of good, so I wen buy ’em. I no like mess my mother, like that, everytime move, move, move; eh. Pack up and go, eh. Tired so, I cannot.

Well, I am unhappy because I like go school, but I no can go. I help because about our living. That’s why I bin quit.

Yeah, most buy. My uncle them buy. Only the fish, make free fish, I go. And sometime, the ‘opelu kind boat eh, sometime I hang around there. They tell me, “You like go ride boat?” Okay, I go. Go inside the canoe, go catch ‘opelu.

Well, I get funny feelings. Cleaning house. I tell my mom, “Eh, funny, you know.” My back start aching, eh? And every time I like go use the bathroom but I don’t, eh? And then I tell my mom, “How come?” And then I still clean the house.

If they were to live here, I would leave them the whole thing. But only take little time, you know. I don’t want to give anybody “Oh, you come, and I give you this.” Not like giving one apple. Because I got to go through some to get those lands. Hard time days. When you go to the bank, you like borrow money, they don’t want to lend you. You go to certain place, any place, nobody lend you money. You know what I mean? So, just like that. So I figure, if the husband can stay here five years, and learn about taro, and really interested, I make deed. I give ‘em all.

Gettin too mucha dat purebred cattle, eh? Mr. Carter no like keep no mo record. He say, “You move down Waimea with two thousand head of purebred cattle. Turn em out all. Only keep fifty.”

An-an dead man on da riverbank didn’t like to go to bed.

Check if everything is going all right, because as much as possible, they no like shut down, eh? So, as long they can go, well, keep going. And then today overseers, they lucky, too. Every extra hour they put, they get ’em either in pay or they get ’em in extra holiday, see. But my days, no.

I had my own method. I wanted to try to see— I’m working on different type of fertilizer, the reason is this; to see what fertilizer will become effective if the disease hits it. I’m putting zinc, copper, potash and put all different types. Types on different patches to see what the rot would be. And
the growth is different again, I can see on different patches. But now I like to see when I harvest it, what the outcome will be.

(MY:1483) You know, any business salesman, when you get your customer, you got to take care. And me, that's one guy, I no like the guy feel bad. I got to take care until he's satisfied. I said, “The only thing I can do, I take the order from my house. My home office, and I do for you. Is that all right?” He said, “Well, no can help, eh?” I say, “You no have to pay me.”

(NC:144) We used to ship 'em Honolulu. See. And when we like eat–I used to get the small, little frog house, eh. And outside he get the screen up and get a pond, eh. They can go in the house and come out like that.

(NK:933) I like. Because I like ride horse, that's why, back and forth.

(OC:7) I told them they get eleven children and I like to help them out because I don't have to pay them cash anyway so the bank can give them that money to help their children. So that way there I thought what my father and mother say, “Always be honest with yourself.”

(SU:1537) Well, right behind us, they used to have a duck. Toma-san used to feed. You know, whatever they get, they throw 'em inside the water. All the ducks used to come around. And then, when we like to eat duck, we just grab 'em, clean 'em up, and do it, see. And then, duck, here and there, lay the egg, eh? We used to go out there, look for the egg inside the water, you know.

(TA:52) I don't have 'em in my patch yet. That's why when I get seed, when I go borrow seed, or buy seed, I look where the taro, the seed come from. I no like bring 'em over here. Sometime I leave my patch empty for four, five months, until I get the good seed. I no like bring the disease this side.

(WK:707) Because... maybe, something they do you don't want, you get angry, eh? Actually what I say is anger. When you angry, you like fight. Those young days, no? Any young blood, they like fight. Today, I no can fight, I go sleep.

(YA:1038) Yeah. After that, I went downtown again, Honolulu again, with my brother, see? Then my brother see all da kine ghost stuff on the papaya tree. The horse no like go, eh? You remember? The horse don't want to go, you know.

(YA:1057) No. That's the only place we think about. My wife like move Kalihi, quiet place. Nobody live around. You know, lonely place, see?

5.14.4.2 laik SOMETHING

There is a single canonical example of laik occurring with a lexical SOMETHING:

(ER:788) Yeah, some, the old guys good, but the chief cowboy good. He good to me. Every time he like something, he call on me. Because me, when I young time, I like this kind. You know I like every time go inside. I like steal somebody job just like.

5.14.5 Examples of wan

5.14.5.1 wan Clause

There are many canonical examples of wan occurring with clauses:

(AK:602) Yeah, Wednesday we go to the poi shop. Nobody to work taro patch for pull taro, whatever it is. Sometime the boss tell, “You go this way.” But most time we go to the taro patch. Sometime, something else the boss want you to go, you go do that.

(BB:009) Everytime they stay send the money to the brother to buy property. Buy mountain like that. My father like plenty mountain with plenty trees. He can cut the kaki no ki, kuri no ki and all the good kin’ lumber, eh. He make into shoji like that – nice kin’, eh. He buy the kin’ and plenty the kin’ rice patch. 'A’s why he wanted to go take a look how many land he get with the money. So when they wen reach Japan, Japan guys say, “How come you folks came back?” “We came to see our property.” “What
property?” We send money to the brother for go buy the yama and the rice patch. He say, “You no mo’ money. Your brother get PLENTY land. . .”

(FD:289) But I told him, “I seen that already, but I didn’t want to tell your uncle. I told him when the leaves is yellow, is showing that some kind of disease is attacking the taro.” But he doesn’t believe. He just go pull the grass, and then just no think nothing. I say, “Well, I have to pray harder.” For put something in his head to think, “Oh, I think my wife is telling me something different so I better try.” He doesn’t want anybody to tell him what to do.

(GF:305) Yeah, he tells me what to do. He tells me what he wants me to do. He’s the boss. He tells everybody what to do. Those days, the old man doesn’t work. He’s the boss. All the Chinese just like kings down there.

(JB:65) But I don’t know how to explain what ali is mean. Ali is some kind of legend that the Hawaiian people, I don’t know how to explain it, but I can try, though. Because my family, we are from the ali family. Alii means…. that’s why I wanted my wife to come back. Because she knows the Hawaiian most. She doesn’t speak like me but at least she knows something.

(JL:18) So I went inside. My daughter tole me – Irene – “Boy, Penhallow came up.” “oh, we went look the pipi. He know I know all this cattle, eh?” I tole Irene, “He want me come back on da ranch.” “After you pension already?” “Leggo da pension. I go back. Help him.”


(LI:142) an den Peke, he wanted make doo-doo.

(MM:370) Yeah. They make it solid, too, because they no want that thing replace all the time, eh? And then, even on the trucking, was the same way. Even when we went trucking, was the same way. They got to pile it on a sling and load ’em up. And then, later on, somebody wen start to think about that push rake. The machine come and push the cane, pile ’em up, eh, in one long line. And then they had the crane. They had the grabber, yo.

(MT:1196) Well, not right now at present. If things get bad, well, I might. Might. Where I might go, where I will go, I really do not know. Well, my age is creeping up, that’s the thing I’m worried about. When you get at 50, nobody wants to hire a old person already, see. That’s the thing I’m kind of worried thinking about. As I say, I’m a tractor operator, truck operator, I’m a mechanic, I’m a welder, I do all around, so I think I can get a job someplace, if I have to…. I hope.

(MY:1483) Yeah. And then, I couldn’t get retired. ’Cause the boss don’t want to let me go. He tell me, “No. You come one week, only two weeks, all right, you work for me. You come half day all right.” All conditions, he gave me.

(NC:193) We plant everything. The big one, the small ones and all. Like now, we only plant the small ones. Because the big ones we market. We market some of the small ones because the markets rather have the small ones than the big ones, because the Japanese say when they make certain things, they want the thing round. They said, the big ones, you have to cut ’em in pieces, they don’t look so good. After all, food has to have looks too, eh? You believe in that?

(OC:6) They want to know how many years. “Well,” he say “get over forty years” They combed their hair and then, you know, they’re not interested. Nobody want to buy.

(SU:1571) I was going to buy the piece of property toward to Downtown side, 14,000 square foot, two lots down there, with all holes and everything, kiawe and everything. So my mother told me, “For what you want to buy that kind of junk place? Going to cost you money.” I tell, “No, that’s okay. We can cut down the kiawe tree and then put sign down there, Fill in. Throw rubbish.” She didn’t like it but afterwards, she say, “Yeah, might as well buy.” But too late.

(TA:58) I think so. Even this new one, I think the poi shop give the squeeze, going be same thing like the other one. Nobody like see, after you take care your taro for year and a half, you don’t want to see ’em rot in the field. It’s not like plantation union go on strike. You get nothing to rot. Only you lose your paycheck. Inside there get the instruction, “Don’t go off the track?” “Bring ’em back to the track again.”

(WK:699) Then, after work I couldn’t make it because financial problems, you know what I mean, eh? No more father, eh? No father. I wanted to go school, really, I wanted to go school, but when you get hard time, what you going do? No can go school, eh? My mother couldn’t keep us. So I figure I got to
stay home and keep my mother and my kid brother. I had one more other brother, Joe, they call ’em, Joseph. I had to stay home, work for them.

(YA:1038) Yeah. After that, I went downtown again, Honolulu again, with my brother, see? Then my brother see all da kine ghost stuff on the papaya tree. The horse no like go, eh? You remember? The horse don’t want to go, you know.

(YA:1056) Yeah. “You want to buy the two lots?” I said, “No, the place is too low down. How much you want?” “Five hundred dollars for two lot.” I told him, “If you fill ’em up, road level, I buy.” So he fill ’em up road level. I buy $500. And I build one house next to the lot for $1,500, I think, the price. They build one house for $1,500. I sold for $3,000. Chee, I think I was a millionaire man. Foolish, you know.

5.14.5.2 wan THIS

There is a single possible example of wan occurring with THIS:

(YA:1029) And then, they no worry nothing. If they like rice, they just go up by the plantation warehouse, say, “I like one bag rice” or “I want cabbage, I want this, I want that, one can good,” and any kind. They bring ’em to your house. You don’t have to go and buy and carry home.

In this example, however, dis does not refer to a proposition, but an object.

5.14.5.3 wan SOMETHING

There are two possible examples of wan combining with lexical SOMETHING. In the first example, samting almost certainly refers to an object:

(SU:1533) But chicken, yes. Chicken. How much one chicken cost? I don’t know how much, but egg—one dozen eggs, what? Maybe quarter or less. We used to even raise rabbit. Yeah. The chicken that we used to raise for our food is that Rhode Island chicken, that red one—meat chicken. So, if the neighbor—you want to eat chicken, they say, “Okay. Take ’em from us. You eat.” And when we want something, we get from them.

The second example is canonical, since samting clearly refers to a situation:

(GF:306) I don’t know. I want something better. With the high school education, I don’t know if I can do paper work. So, might as well do all kinds of work. Try what you think is good, the way to make money, way to get ahead in life, that’s all.

5.14.6 Summary

Based on the corpus evidence, we can safely conclude that the following NSM syntactic combinations occur in HCE:

WANT Clause

WANT SOMETHING

We did not find any substantial evidence for the following NSM syntactic combinations in our corpus:

WANT THIS

WANT THE SAME
5.15 FEEL

5.15.1 Primitive Syntax

The universal syntax of FEEL is still an unsettled matter. Two frames have been proposed:

[I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1) PERSON/] FEEL[(something (good/bad)/like this)/this/the same]
? [I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1) PERSON/] FEEL [good/bad/this/like this/the same]

The first is the standing NSM proposal; the latter is often discussed as a possible alternative (e.g., W 1996, 120). For the purposes of our analysis, however, it does not matter which frame we adopt. Should the HCE exponent not conform formally to whatever universal frame is ultimately adopted, it is a simple matter to re-analyze the HCE component as either a portmanteau form or as a simple lexeme which is formally complex (i.e., the HCE form corresponding to good actually means something good in the context of fio or likewise, the HCE form corresponding to something good actually means good in the context of fio). What does matter is that our HCE exponent means the same as either SE feels good or feels something good.

5.15.2 HCE candidates

In SE, the form feel can be used in a number of ways. There is what W calls a “cognitive” feel:

(113) I feel Dallas is going to win
(i.e., I say this, because I feel something)

We use feel to talk about the sensations caused by physical objects when they come into contact with parts of our body:

(114) I could not feel the upholstery with my gloves on
(i.e., to feel an object with part of your body)

We use feel to talk about sensations occurring in our body:

(115) I feel searing pain in my right knee
(i.e., to feel a sensation within your body)

There is a feel of emotions:

(116) I felt remorse
(i.e., to experience an emotion)

There are corresponding constructions in HCE.

“Cognitive” fio:

(TA:36) Well, he feel he could make more better living over here. Why? I don’t know why he came.
“Sensory” fio:

(ER:804) That's why you just poke the knife right inside and pull 'em up and just let 'em go. Sometime he stand up and he lean, and then he gone. Pick one over there, poke 'em, put one another one, poke 'em, put another one, poke 'em. No more noise. They no yell. Get two guys hold 'em out like this. One go with the knife. 'Cause they no like you poke and like that, 'cause you going bruise all the meat. They like you one time you poke 'em. If you feel soft, eh, you know that's the straight place you going. You just poke 'em straight and then just leave 'em go. He bleed until he gone.

(FD:274) Yeah, that thing just like the tea leaves. Small leaves. And then have the small little pokeys. Sometime, if only one loose in the pants like this, you can feel that thing. Oh, you can feel'em, eh? That plant.

(NC:189) Yeah, because it comes turn yellow and pale looking. You feel under, stay rot. You know, after you plant the taro, the taro where you cut you get some taro. You feel under, it rot; it not supposed to be rot.

“Sensational” fio:

(AK:629) Hawaiian salt, yeah. So I did, I pound everything, I squeeze the juice from the medicine and I told them, “Either way they want.” They want only the juice, can use only or, if they want, with all the fibers everything. That would be good too. When you put and then you bandage. Then they tell me what they want to do. I told them, “If you put with the fiber and everything, this when you pound, with everything you pound, then you put on wherever it place. Then when you feel little bit itchy, that's going heal. No take that, just leave 'em there, he going heal.” I did for them. They offered me money but I said, “No.”

(EB:1140) Then, we come. We ride the Humuula. I don't know if you remember the Humuula. No more Humuula. The steamer, the Humuula. The old one. The old Humuula. From Honolulu to Kona. Yeah. Kailua. So, boy, that time. Funny thing is, when I come from the Philippine, come to Honolulu, I no feel dizzy. But from Honolulu to Kona, oh, just like the house spinning around. Two days, boy. Yeah, funny thing. Hoo, the house just like the propeller of the airplane. Yeah, when I see 'em, look. Oh, I close my eye when I lay down.

(MM:353) No, I never cut cane. I never cut cane. First job was cut seed, no? Cut seed, throw fertilizer, hapai ko. I don't know if, maybe, for that reason now, I feel pain all time on my shoulder.

“Emotional” fio:

(FD:265) No, no. Just regular. Just regular. Everything like every day. I didn't care. Whatever stop me from eating. I just eat. Yeah. Eat. And I was healthy. And even when I was in my first, second month, I didn't have no sick or whatever. I work just as good as.... that's what I think took my dad felt pity, too. Even how big my stomach was, I was still going in the patch, pull taro and then helping in everything.

(MM:341) So, my mother used to give 'em the sour one. You know, Japanese used to make what they call ombo. And then, sometime it turns sour, you know. No come out good all the time. Certain time, sometimes they come sour. So she no throw away. She keep 'em all in a gallon. And then, this Portuguese guy come deliver the firewood. She give 'em one small glass. Oh, the fella feel happy, you know. Next day, he bring another load.

Although there is no one place where W explains exactly how to identify primitive FEEL, this information can be gleaned from various sources. “Cognitive” feel and senses of feel requiring touch (i.e., “sensory” feel) are semantically complex according to discussion in (Goddard and W 1994:32,35). Elsewhere, W and Goddard (1994: 39,462) specifically claim that primitive FEEL can be used with both emotions and physical sensations as illustrated by our examples of “sensational” and “emotional” feel. Therefore, we will be considering these two groups of examples in our analysis of primitive FEEL.
The HCE form *fio* is the only plausible candidate. It occurs relatively infrequently in our data. The tentative conclusion reached in my first study (Stanwood 1997) was that, in fact, we did have sufficient evidence to establish its existence in HCE. Further research has confirmed this original finding. Previously, we had only a single example of primitive *fio* from Bickerton’s mesolectal O‘ahu speaker (Bickerton, Derek and Odo, Carol 1976:344):

(BO:344) wen ai stei filing gud, enikain kum aut
‘When I am feeling good, I’ll say anything’

### 5.15.3 Examples of *fio*

#### 5.15.3.1 *fio* GOOD

There are several canonical examples of the combination *FEEL* and *GOOD*.

(ER:853) Yeah, young people, old people. Sometime the old people like go listen, too, eh. All the old people go listen. Sometime they get inside, they wen go drink beer. But most time they drink beer, they drink outside under the post light. The old kind people, they stay drink. Bumbai they little bit feel good, they come inside make plenty noise.

(GF:345) Before the hippies came. The hippies, when they come ask me, they come begging for job. “Please. I need money to buy food. I need things, I cannot buy.” They have pants, big holes in the back. You can see through. In the front. What you going do? You can turn them down and no give them job? I go home, I go get clothes for them, my own clothes. I tell them, “You try fit this pants on, if fit you.” I get brand new shorts. “You try put this shorts on, if fit you.” “Oh just right.” “Good.” I feel good. Some of them still working for William Kanekoa.

(GF:348) He asked me, “You know where the water is kind of deep, waist deep?” “Oh yeah. I get.” Took me behind there. He baptize me behind there. I surrender to God. Everything. I told Him everything. They tell me, “Don’t confess to me, I’m not God. You confess to God what you do.” I go behind there, they baptize me in the stream. When I came out, you know, my whole body was tingling. Just like electric. From head to toe. When I came out, I went home. I tell, “Gee, I feel funny, I feel so good.” So light, you know. Different. Gee, I go swim in there everytime, but I no feel like that. When I went home, I felt so good.

The following near-canonical sentences assume that the semantic molecule *beda* can be decomposed as *MORE GOOD*:

(MM:347) Yeah, looks better, no? You feel better, too.

(MM:358) You know, the day before, you all sweat and sticky and everything, eh? You know, it’s hard to wear that thing, you know. Yeah, but if you warm ’em up, you feel little bit better.

#### 5.15.3.2 *fio* BAD

These two examples of *FEEL BAD* are straight-forward canonical sentences:

(ER:779) Then bumbai he go check, he hemo the tree, eh. He pull ’em out then he like look, yeah, we did ’em. Then, every time he check, he tell, “Okay, you, you, you make good job. You can take gun. You, you no make good job.” He tell, “How come I no make good job?” “You no make good job, I go look your tree. Some get the bottom, some no more. I look, I check. You no more gun.” Ho boy, feel bad because he never get gun, bumbai you gotta work make good job, then you get good record, eh.

(MY:1483) You know, any business salesman, when you get your customer, you got to take care. And me, that’s one guy, I no like the guy feel bad. I got to take care until he’s satisfied. I said, “The only thing I can do, I take the order from my house. My home office, and I do for you. Is that all right?” He said, “Well, no can help, eh?” I say, “You no have to pay me.”
5.15.3.3 fio LIKE THIS

There is a single near-canonical example of the valence FEEL LIKE. Although this example does not contain the primitive THIS, the token daet is likely decomposable into a combination of THIS and OTHER.

GF:348) He asked me, “You know where the water is kind of deep, waist deep?” “Oh yeah. I get.” Took me behind there. He baptize me behind there. I surrender to God. Everything. I told Him everything. They tell me, “Don’t confess to me, I’m not God. You confess to God what you do.” I go behind there, they baptize me in the stream. When I came out, you know, my whole body was tingling. Just like electric. From head to toe. When I came out, I went home. I tell, “Gee, I feel funny, I feel so good.” So light, you know. Different. Gee, I go swim in there everytime, but I no feel like that. When I went home, I felt so good.

5.15.4 Summary

Our corpus provides supporting evidence for the existence of the following NSM syntactic frames in HCE:

FEEL GOOD
FEEL BAD
FEEL LIKE THIS

There is no evidence for the standard NSM valences:

FEEL SOMETHING GOOD
FEEL SOMETHING BAD

Furthermore, there is no evidence from the corpus to support the following valences:

FEEL SOMETHING
FEEL THE SAME
FEEL THIS

5.16 DO

5.16.1 Primitive Syntax

The following is the syntactic specification for DO:

DO
[SOMETHING (GOOD/BAD)/THIS/THE SAME]
(TO ME/YOU/(D1) PERSON/PEOPLE/(d1) THING/THIS)

5.16.2 HCE Candidates

The only serious candidate for DO in HCE is du.
5.16.3 Examples of *du*

5.16.3.1 *du* *SOMETHING*

There are numerous straightforward examples of *du* and *SOMETHING* occurring in canonical frames:

(AK:615) We need something to be done in Waipio, we go up there. And we did too. When we had the flood, we did too. When we diverted the water, that Hiilawe Stream water. Before was going right near the school wall; we *did something* for that. They gave us the appropriation. We go up there, we put our problems to them and then they come out and they see. Then the Waipio people get the job, no outsiders, just the Waipio.

(AK:616) Yeah, they give us the money. Of course, they get the money, but we do the work, then they pay. We were good, our club, we *did lot of good things*.

(AK:622) No. Only I know those years when I was living down there, and no such thing as that. Was just what I say, the Filipinos, they were good. You know, most time, Filipinos, they try to *do something*, but no. Even if they drunk, they always really good. We all share together. We never did hear anybody stealing.

(FD:296) I tell my daughter-in-law. Let him *do those things* because your children, you only sit home in the house. If you keep on doing your things, every day, regular, every day, you don't have hard time. She tell, “Hard time.” I say, “Yeah, hard. If you don’t make use of your time. In the morning, after breakfast, you clean up your house and everything. Then go do your laundry. Then after that, you tend to your children because you bathe them, and time to feed, time for them to go to bed.” I usually do that.

(FD:296) If you *do things* by your own self, you know the value of things, that is going to help you too. There's so much things, that when you-raise taro, there's so much things that you can think that, that taro would help you. I know for myself. Like, if you have some bills to pay. You have not enough like now, we get our income. Everything is so high. Like us, our foodstuff is very expensive to have, everything when you buy. Is not enough.

(GF:311) And I asked the plantation to relieve me, you know, from the plantation. I want to *do something else*, working something else. The manager don't want to relieve me. Then, when I was working in the mill, I didn't know anything about sugar cane or anything. So when I worked there, well, the Chinese man was sugar boiler but there was somebody superior, higher than him. Haoles, the bosses. I went to see them. I say, “I want to learn everything about sugar. I want to put my life in sugar. Learn everything what the processing of sugar.”

(JB:62) No. As far as hungry, no. We always had the food. But because only of my parents was drunkard and they didn't care. I don't know how drunkard look like. Because, you know, when you young, I'm not the drinking type when I was young. But when I came old, then I begin to started *do those things*. And....

(KK:114) An Kele said, “Oh ma, don *do a ting like dat!* Ek ’e kiss you!”

(KL:125) Bot he–he said so. Wat’s ’is name? Kailoa. Kailoa was... *doing someting*. He–da kine.

(MM:377) Well, I feel sorry if the sugar close up. But if the president do something, if they keep up the same way, what, eighteen cents a pound. If eighteen cents a pound, they can barely make 'em. Some plantations, they make a profit. But if they go down to twelve, the one they talking about, twelve, they no can broke even even. Any business, if you no can broke even, you no can run the business. So, I hope Spark and Dan, and Akaka can *do something*. Now, even Waialua going close down. O'ahu going get plenty unemployment, no?

(MT:1169) So, at that time, we had no problems. Until this past couple of years, then we had the problems came about. See, people over here is funny. They figure, when you *do something*, they figure that you going to gain, not them. So, as I say, it's kind of family thing over here, so if they had one of their relatives in there being president or something, then things might be different. They figure that I
was running the thing for my benefit, which, in general, was for everybody. Everybody is going to benefit. But they just couldn't see that point at that time. Really hard.

(MT:1183) They know the problem. But they ain't doing nothing. That's what I mean, that's why I told Jeri Ooka on Wednesday, “You guys have to do something,” I said. He tell, “Well, you know, this is something new,” he said. I tell, “Not new, for five years.” See, at that time, we had the Association.

(MT:1184) You get this old generation out, the taro industry would be a failure, pau. Waipio Valley would be nothing. That's the way I look at it. Not that it's just because I'm young, but I'm going to do something else for my job. I cannot see the future of taro already. You can take notice how much land is idle. And you cannot expect Bishop to come in and help us; because the rental, what they making is small, is not that big for them put the investment back. Which, they have no interest out of the taro industry, anyway. Only by leasing the land.

(MT:1192) Well, no. Actually, I have things to do too sometimes. Well, actually, I gain on the hauling. The trucker over here charge the shop 73 cents a bag. So when I haul 25 bags to Hilo, I getting 73 cents plus, plus this now. So it comes out to this price. So it kind of pays the gas and whatever I have to do in Hilo. But I have a little bit more drinking money.

(MY:1477) And then, Mrs. King, she get big ruler. You do something no good, bang, she whack you. I used to be the rascal one. You know, the kamani leaf, you know how big, eh? Kamani leaf, eh? When I see dog shit, I cover the kamani leaf on top there. The guy come pick 'em up, he got to pick 'em up, eh? He don't know. But when he pick 'em, he mad like hell. “Who wen do that?”

(MY:1479) This guy was telling bad about me. “This ‘Mahjong' is no good beach boy. He's no good boy.” Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki. or ” he said. “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki people.” He tell, “How come?” That's the truth, that's why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That's why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.”

(SU:1541) Yeah. Because he get experience in cooking, everything. Him and another Teruya is the co-owners of this Hibiscus Cafe on Bethel Street. He tell me, “You folks, instead of loafing, you better do something.” So he just help me out and do everything for me, see. I was young boy that time.

(SU:1566) The first thing I do is call the radio and newspaper guys, to ho'omalimali them, eh? Then you get all the publicity you want. And end of the year, you do the same thing again. That's why I get picture after picture. Like Star-Bulletin, Advertiser, Nippu Jiji, Hawaii Hochi, all that. But today, young kids, no, they don't do those things. What they should do is give them the results of the day they play to the newspaper and the radio so they can broadcast over. The more they broadcast, the more people go listen, the more they going come out and they going get more support.

(TA:42) Because he took a stand for the farmers instead of for the poi shop. That's how the poi shop got angry with him. Especially the Honolulu Poi get angry with him. And then Honolulu Poi, they done something that he couldn't take it. I think I better not put that in the tapes. You see, bumbai, those Honolulu Poi or some other of those poi shops in Honolulu might go over there and read that and say, “Oh, what the heck this guy saying?”

(TA:48) I leave little bit water but I don't let the water run. Let little bit water come in, little going out. Maybe about inch or so water. Lot of people they dry, then easier to pull. You see, we dry the patch long--this soil is clear soil--he packs hard again. Then you have to go disc, harrow or do something like that. But as long as get water in there, the paddies won't come hard. Like me, I no more machine. So if I hire you guys over there and you go work for me, I have to pay 'em. Just keep little water in there so the ground stay moist all the time.

(TA:50) I tell him just work. And then I do something else. So I don't know how many hours he work. The faster he finish, the faster he get the money.

(TA:50) So I'm Hilo working. I tell him, “Tuesday, you pull so many bag.” I don't have to stay here. Weekend, when I come down, I pay him off. All they got to do, they pull 'em and they just leave 'em over there and I used to get Mock Chew come haul my taro for me. He take 'em up for me. Only thing they do is put a tag on that so the poi shop know that's my taro.
(WK:707) Because... maybe, something they do you don’t want, you get angry, eh? Actually what I say is anger. When you angry, you like fight. Those young days, no? Any young blood, they like fight. Today, I no can fight, I go sleep.

5.16.3.2 du THIS

There are a substantial number of canonical examples with du and THIS:

(AK:595) And then one time he didn’t tell me that he was learning how. The sister showed him how to weave hat. So one night I went over the house without him knowing, I caught him weaving hat. So I asked him, “What you doing this for?” “You know I get no money, I like buy cigarette. I sell one hat, I can get cigarette.” So he asked me better I might as well learn. I said, “Yeah, too hard this job.” So, I didn’t try it. I never learn how to make hat.

(AK:620) When I was in Kona, some of my uncles, they are musicians. And then I like to, you know. but my father doesn’t want me to play music. He tell me that’s all lazy men’s job that. He was really kind of old-fashioned guy, you know. He always want me to do this and do this. Work, never mind with music. But I like little bit. When you get party, you get together, you always grab something to play, eh?

(AK:646) The Waipio people. They get together, they say, “We do this for this.” Maybe that’s their candidate. Give little blow-out for the candidate.

(AK:659) Well, I think they rather come with us. Since my brother-in-laws young yet, they get along. They go out movie. Only when they go out movie or something like that, I’ll give them some money go out. For spending money. They were nice to me, so I treat then nice. Everyday. They come around, do this. Helping, this and that. I treat them nice. They really good, though.

(BB:010) The sheet metal. He cut ‘em, eh and he make ‘em into one tank like. For make the okolehau machine, you gotta make ‘em like that. He make just like a mass production way, he make. When he tell me, he do this all one day. And then you know the funnel kin’, the kin’ funnel like that, come down kin’, eh; he say he make that too. What he cut, eh he solder ‘em that night. Mass production; not he go make this, he complete one; not complete one, he make all different kind sizes. Now he got ‘em all made so he just get this two together and he solder. And he get the other one, put over here. All half done. ‘A’s what he used to do.

(EB:1145) No, no, no, no. Nobody watch me. So long my boss, he say, “Go do this,” I go do it. Not da kine people, they watch your ass every time, no. When my boss wen go Honolulu, I take care everything. Only myself in the house and only myself in the ranch. He told me, “I will go Honolulu with my wife. So, you take care everything.” See? That’s how it goes.

(FD:294) So, I told my husband, “This taro rot, maybe we going get time to rest.” That’s why, I was just talking to him last night. Get’s travel. Get rid of all the pigs, I tell him, and let’s go travel. Good was, we sit down, we started to talk. We better go enjoy when our feet is still strong. I do this to all; like him, he just work is work. My husband, to tell you folks the truth, he don’t talk much, but what he care is work. That’s why I tell you folks, I’m lucky, I don’t have to bother him.

(MM:335) Oh, when I came over here, after I started to work, I used to raise bee, too. You know the honeybee? And I used to get honey. So, I had kind of plenty boxes. Maybe I had about ten boxes already, and I thought to myself, “Hey, if I gonna do this all by hand, gonna be big job.” So what I did, I ordered what they call “extractor,” you know.

(NK:950)... king. When people come in, like that, only her there because all the other people, they go out; they do this; they do that; and then, not time. When this people come and when the king sit down and talk with the other people, they drink. So, she entertain them. She oli and she chant at the same time. Sometime, she only oli. Oli in Hawaiian, ooh, the.... Too bad we never learn. Anyway, our sisters, not interested.

(SU:1521) Because those days, they leave all the tools in one place, nobody steal everything. So I go down there. I go open up, I look, and file. And then, come home, and I do the same thing, the way how they do it. Then Mr. Murakawa say, “Well, you do this.” So, okay, I do it. And then, after I go home, I do
the same thing again. I took my square measure, I measure everything, and I write 'em down. And then he assigned me with a Mr. Shimizu to go to all different camps to repair. Repair the steps, and then kitchen sink, everything. Most of the...

(SU:1522) Then after you finish that, wall, partition. But you have to open up where the door going to be, so you have to learn how to read the blueprint, see. But blueprint reading is easy. So I did it. And then, after that, he teach me how to put up the window. He told me, “Well, do this, do that, do that.” Okay, I did it. One thing help me was that I read the book. You know? Then after working about couple years at plantation, I decide to myself, well, no sense go ahead and stay in plantation making only one dollar one day. Work so hard, eh? If you work twenty-five days, you get ten cents one day, bonus.

(SU:1530) Yeah, outside. And washing is same thing, too. Everybody wash. But you have to take a chance, eh? Bathroom, furo, everybody go. And then, they give everybody chance to operate the place. You do this one month, you do this one month, we do this one month, and then everybody pay fifty cents one month. Fifty cents to just go inside there.

5.16.3.3 du THE SAME

We have only a single canonical example of du occurring with da sein:

(FD:258) Even only one leg, may take him all day for go fishing. The fish might grab but couldn’t take the bait out. He twine that squid leg around the hook and he twine 'em with the suji, string. And that thing stay there until it’s up to him to change. Boy, when he catch fish, half bag, sometimes, only that moi. That’s all good eating fish, you know. Today is so wasteful. You buy two box of frozen shrimp, you only catch about two, three fish sometimes. So wasteful. I used to tell my sons to do the same like the grandfather. Just use the homemade hook. But not one of them tried. So easy, they just take the store one and attach 'em on the reel. That’s all. That’s why I tell my husband, “Someday, you should do that.” Today everything is wasted.

However, we have several canonical examples of du occurring with da sein ting:

(AK:598) After steamed, we bring the taro out, we wash in the tub, wash with the water. And then after that, we peel the taro. After you peel the taro, then you grind, put in the machine, grind. Then, after that, the poi come out; those days, we have flour sack bag, we put in there. Twenty-two pound, or 20 pound. Those days, the poi was cheap you know. And then we have a ti leaf, we set the ti leaf this way. You know the ti leaf, bigger ones, one leaf each, one, maybe get about 12 leaves. Then you put the sack on, then you wrap 'em up, then you tie that up for keep it fresh. Then your 50 cents, you do the same thing but you wrap something like you wrap package. That’s what we do.

(AK:650) But if you get water everytime, never work hard because only the banks. So long you don’t let the one from the bank go down inside the taro patch. Lots of work, but today they have poison. Before never had. Like me, when I was keeping my taro, I go around eight times. Now, if I clean all around my patches, just one time, right around. Take me about three months, little over. To come back again. Do the same thing. I go eight times, then I harvest.

(MM:373) So, I got to plan. When I finish this field, I got to go this field, this field. And then, when you burn–now, let’s say, now, this field get hundred acres. Now, when I go over there, when you going think that the crane and everything going come inside there? Maybe in the morning. All right. You figure to yourself, maybe you burn twenty acres. Twenty acres going carry you to tomorrow morning. Tomorrow morning about nine, ten o’clock. Then, tomorrow morning, you going do the same thing. You going to burn another twenty acres. Or if you think little short, you going burn twenty-two, twenty-three.

(NK:952) All they do is to clean all the grass. Ho hana–or pull the grass. Leave 'em inside the field, like that, dry. And sometime, you have to hulihuli the grass so dry. If you just going to leave like that, they going grow up again. Even today, you do the same thing. If you pull the grass, you just leave like that, they going grow up again.
Yeah. Feed the pig, and then feed the chickens. And then, go to school. And then after we come back from school, me, I like sports, see. Everybody come home, so I run and come home. I run and come home to finish all the detail that I have to do. You got to feed the pig again, see, and chickens. Then, after I get time, I go in the pasture with all the boys, go play baseball. I do the same thing over and over, day after day, day after day, to help him out.

Right by cash register. Yeah, you know, I tell you, people really honest. Really honest, you know. Really honest. Of course, not every time busy, you see. When we moved after we got condemned down Waikiki, we moved to Kapi‘olani, we did the same thing. Two girls in the morning cannot keep up with the crowd that used to come in the morning. We used to open six o’clock in the morning. The crowd rush. So we did the same thing. Pastry, we have, oh, about two feet by two feet pastry. We put all kind of pastry inside there with cover on, with a cigar box on the side. We list doughnut, two for so much; biscuits, two for so much. They put the money inside. Really honest, though. Really honest.

When we go down in the morning, I used to bring pastry and coffee for the watchmen. I used to give them. They’ll just pass. And then, wait for the ferry. Drive the car to the ferry, then go. And when we go the other side, do the same thing, too. So, come home time, I used to bring home egg, butter, you know, ham. And pass. The MP used to let me pass down there. So I had no trouble at all.

To the guys that pull. You raising taro, see. Well, I going tell you 20 bags and I take the bags to you, 20 bags. Until today, they do the same thing.

The data raises some interesting issues with respect to the metalanguage. Both du da seim and du da sein ting appear to be semantically identical to DO THE SAME, or for that matter DO THE SAME THING. So does one base the correct form in the metalanguage on the SE forms or on the HCE forms?

It is clear, however, regardless of the answer to that question, it seems that these HCE examples are able to accommodate either of these alternate NSM forms.

5.16.3.4 du X (TO) ME

The following near-canonical examples contain the HCE semantic molecule as as the patient of du.

They didn’t want us to move here, because they were wondering how come we get the place. Lot of them like the house, but they had some single men were staying in here. He said, well, “The single men we can put them to smaller place.” Like the kitchen all in one place. They used to have the camps over there, and they don’t need the big house like this. But you know what they were doing to us? We come in here paint the house; you know the mud, they used to paint ’em all over the walls.

I assume that the explication of as contains the primitive ME.

5.16.3.5 du X (TO) YOU

There is a single clear canonical example of du with YOU as the patient.

I not going just tell they’re kahuna, or what. But in Kona, I know there’s lot of kahunas in Kona. Kona is a place famous for kahunas. Really kahuna. For instance, if I get mad with you, or something like that, I do something to you. I just go over there and you just pray like that, and you dead. That’s it, you go.

5.16.3.6 du X (TO) SOMEONE

The following near-canonical examples contain HCE semantic molecules as the patient of du.

Nice guy your father, taxi driver. Oh, he do good to the.... ’A’s why everybody like him. The town, eh — you say [name deleted].... You know, one thing he good, eh. You know over there, you know, by [name deleted] over there, [name deleted] over there, and then [name deleted] and [name deleted] over there – the bakery. You know, your father is so good, eh.
(BB:013) My friend, eh – [name deleted], [name deleted] – wha-tyou-call, the young brother wen listen. He wen join the Japan army and they wen send him in the submarine. He went down California coast; they got sunk over there. 'A's where he died – the young one. Toru, wha-tyou-call, no like. They bring 'em over there, they tie his leg and HANG 'im up. 'A's what they did to him. “Chee this guys mean guys,” he tell me.

(ER:788) Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, “Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta be good to all the people. No come mad.” Like me, I wen go school, eh. I no learn in school. But I learn all from work. What I work, I learn from the old people, I try pick up from them.

(FD:269) I don't know. But the rest, just they say give 'em one spank by the okole. I say, “What for?” I didn't have, I didn't do that all to them. But they were okay, nothing happened. Like this one, well he got in accident, that's why he died. That's why all my children today.

(FD:291) It's not I not supposed to work, but I'm the type, you know, good fun when you kid days, you like to go in the mud and after that you hit mud each other. I used to do that to my dad, oh my dad used to get mad. Just to get away from the taro patch already is enough; the job is done, better get out.

(FD:294) So, I told my husband, “This taro rot, maybe we going get time to rest.” That's why, I was just talking to him last night. Let's travel. Get rid of all the pigs, I tell him, and let's go travel. Good was, we sit down, we started to talk. We better go enjoy when our feet is still strong. I do this to all; like him, he just work is work.

(GF:325) No, sugar company get nothing to do. But sometimes the farmers, they not so good to one another. Especially, like Toledo, eh? He go in the river, he dredge the river. Toledo did that to me lot of times, though. But I didn't do anything to him. That's up to him.

I assume that him, daed, dem are explicable in terms of SOMEONE.

5.16.3.7 du X (TO) SOMETHING

Currently there is single near-canonical example containing du and non-personal patient.

(AK:656) To me, it's the poison that they are using. I'm for sure it's poison. You see, like before we use, they were using Prenite. Prenite never did do lot of damage to this taro. Or, on to the patches they used. No more disease too. You never hear taro get sick. But today, they get all kind problems.

Presumably taro is decomposable in terms of SOMETHING.

5.16.4 Summary

This study has found convincing evidence in the corpus for the following syntactic combinations:

DO SOMETHING
DO THIS
DO THE SAME
DO X (TO) ME
DO X (TO) YOU
DO X (TO) SOMEONE
DO X (TO) SOMETHING

The only syntactic combination missing in the corpus is:
DO X (TO) PEOPLE

5.17 HAPPEN

5.17.1 Primitive Syntax

The following is the syntactic specification for HAPPEN:

[SOMETHING (GOOD/BAD)/THIS/THE SAME] HAPPENED
(TO ME/YOU/(d1) PERSON/PEOPLE/(d1) THING/THIS)

5.17.2 HCE Candidates

The HCE form haepn is the only plausible candidate for the NSM primitive HAPPEN. It occurs only sparsely in our data. There are less than 40 examples in our entire corpus.

There are two non-primitive senses of HCE haepn: haepn daet and haepn tu:

(AK:664) But everytime they have anything like that, everybody turn out to go see and pay respect to the family. But Waipio, the burial ground is very....but no more place. They bury most, in the family plot, right next to the house. The house here, and the graves out there. At least, if you happen to visit any houses over there, they always get graveyard.

(SU:1553) At that time when the war started, I closed the door. And Christmas time come, I went down to police station, go get the permit to reopen the place. Just happen that at that time, Gabrielson was the chief. Okay, and then, Kennedy, Hoopai, Burns—you know, former Governor Burns—and who was the one more chief? I think was Larson or somebody. Anyway, I know most of them. So they gave me the permit. Christmas day, I open up. Then I have to get the permit for them to go home nighttime, eh?

These forms roughly correspond to SE coincidentally, or:

(117) haepn daet/haepn tu
   a. something happened
   b. not because someone wanted this

5.17.3 Examples of haepn

5.17.3.1 SOMETHING haepn

There are a number of canonical examples of haepn which uses various allolexes of SOMETHING:

The allolex samting:

(AK:656) No. Ever since I plant, I never did get. But we did had the leaf, come rotten. That’s all. But, every year that thing happen. I don’t know what caused that. That’s only, when I was planting taro. But today, they got a lot of diseases.

(AK:671) For blessing. Like, Hawaiians today, I don’t see they do that. Hawaiians, if you have little bit trouble, something is in your home here, or something happened. They come back, you get a glass of water. They put little Hawaiian salt. They say word of prayer. Then you sprinkle in the house, every room. Then the rest, you throw on the top the house. That clears out all the devils, or something like that. Hawaiians used to do that. And then, whatever funeral you go, then when you come back, they do that to you too. Take away all the bad. Cleaned away all the stuff. Majority of old Hawaiians do that. But today, they don’t do that.
(ER:873) Yeah. After that something happen, I don’t know.

(TA:39) Yeah, he became an agent. Until he got old and John Loo taking over his place now. That’s from Honolulu Poi. Well, that’s something happened that, well, I think I better not talk about that. Maybe if you don’t put ’em in the tape I talk to you, but…. it’s something, it really happened that my father get away. And then, even Kalihi, now Kawashima taking care that. My father was getting old already.

The allolex ting:

(JL:9) I don’t know if my sister stay home. I think she still home yet. She gotta – I lend her but she never return, huh. I neva know dis ting would be happen like dis.

(MM:366) No. So far, lucky. Nobody got killed. Louis was lucky, too, I hear. Even on the government road like that, too, certain place where get hill like that, they get the cut like this, eh? Now, if this the road, now you imagine the garage there is the hill. So they got to cut ’em down right like that. And then the thing bin happen right between the cut like that, you know. The train wen start run away with the cars, yo. And he stay inside the narrow place, between the car and the cut. So, if he been get dizzy or what and wen fall between the car, yo, he....

(OC:14) You know how the things happen. You see this school here, they have a mango tree right back of this here. Now the boys been throwing stone class and hid down there. Of course they didn’t see that boys but happened one day I went out there, you know, the other boy he throw that stone over the mango tree and I follows this boy here and the boy run away from here and the teacher saw me. She reported to Mrs. Fraser but she didn’t see the other boy, you see, but I didn’t throw the stone, the other fellow throw the stone.

The allolex wat:

(AK:600) After we put all everything, we the one clean. Clean all the poi shop, everything. Ready for the next time. The peelings, what happened to the peelings?

(BB:009) ’A’s why they told ’em like that. The brother get plenty land under his name but no mo’ nothing under your name. But ’a’s all my money, I send him and all he wen buy this and this, so I came to check today. Big fight I hear. The kinjo, the neighbors all gotta come and help and stop the fight. So my father said, “Eh, bullshit this darn thing. We go to your mother’s side.” So they wen pack up the suitcase. They had miyage, but they never give nothing. They wen go to my mother’s side. The miyage all went to my mother’s side. That’s what happened, I hear.

(ER:869) You go by the police station. They stay inside there, you go inside there. Get some guys every time stay in the office. They like know what happened down there, what get or light. They said two time one week in the night, we gotta come up, what we see gotta come make report, yeah.

(ER:872) So Mama talk telephone to Kaulia, then he tell Mama, for me and Mama go ho’oke ‘ai, fast. Me and Mama fast for him. He tell me if I like take from nighttime, maybe six o’clock in the night until six in the morning, you know. So me and Mama make morning. Morning time, we finish six o’clock. Me and her from six to six. And then morning time, six o’clock when we pau, and Mama pray, everything we pau, he stand up and walk. He stand up, no more sore, nothing. Then bumbai, Mama call, come home. So afternoon, me and Mama came home. Then he was all right till about, I don’t know how long. Maybe three months, I think. Then one morning, he no like wake up, he no can. He sore, he get sore, sore, sore. Then I don’t know what happened. I think we wen take ’em back doctor.

(ER:873) We take hospital, but they no can do nothing already, too late. I don’t know what wen happen.

(ER:886) He wen tell my name. I come back in the station, “Eh, cowboy, what happened? How come you bang?” I tell, “I no go bang. The driver wen.” They no believe, eh. They figure the driver no bang, gotta be the new man.

(ER:889) Bumbai, he get one more other Filipino guy, Daguay. Me and him, every time drive same car, every time we talk story, talk story. Bumbai, he ask some of the drivers, “Eh, where the kanaka? Where the kanaka?” “He quit, he went home.” “How come?” “I don’t know.” Bumbai he catch me by the store, he see me. Every time he call me kanaka, eh. “Eh, kanaka, what happened? What happened?” “Oh, they send me go inside go plumber go in there. I tell ’em, I driver, not plumber. I go home.” “Sure,
you no go work?” He, too, he go tell he make him pau paper. He follow me. He tell me, “Eh, kanaka, I
follow you, you know.” “What you mean you follow me?” “I no go work. They wen tell me go ho hana.”
“I tell them, no way I go ho hana. I go home, just like kanaka. The kanaka boy, he go home, I go home,
too. Go lomilomi my chicken.”

(ER:893) So, I don’t know about the water system, how they going. Right now, they coming from
Manele come up. That’s only the main water, yeah, come up. But now, they get plenty hole, eh, digging.
Palawai get one, up there get one. Over here get one, over here get one. Maybe if they use all this kind
water, I don’t know, they say some, just like half brackish. If they use this kind water for us to the toilet,
maybe for the yard, maybe the good water, they keep ’em for drinking water. But if they use all da kine
water over here, I don’t know. I don’t know what happen bumbai. The problem this island is the water.

(FD:244) Yeah. Make ’em to poi. And fast. That was the old fashioned; too bad I didn’t have the
pictures because I had all the pictures taken before. But when my sister-in-law stayed where our house,
where Roy is now; up, eh? They broke down the building and then I don’t know what happen. My
sister-in-law took all the belongings, eh; you know Polo’s mother.

(FD:254) Yeah, with a post. And then, I have all the decorations for put on top. You know,
everything, the ruffles and everything. My mom is too good for that. She used to crochet and everything.
And, you know, before, the big covers all thick like this. All thick. Cannot find those bedspreads
nowdays. The whole trunk full. I don’t know what wen happen.

(GF:352) “… As long as you know in your heart, I know in my heart, and in my mind. In your heart,
and in your mind you know it. And keep the truck good. Use it as it is yours, not somebody else’s.” Then
he use the truck. Then, keep on going like that, keep on going. Then, one day, he borrowed my truck.
Rain like anything, he borrowed my truck. I don’t know what happen to his truck. He borrowed my
truck. I say, “This truck here, when you come up the road on the hill, I notice you go very slowly up the
hill, when the road is slippery. Don’t go slowly. If you go slowly, you going to stay one place. Just drop
plenty power. You come up on third, you go home. Go up on third.” “Ho, that’s too fast.” “That’s how
you got to go. That’s how I drive.”

(JB:62) And then, when we have a poi, we didn’t use the poi factory, those days. We used to pound
our own poi. Yeah, that pound poi board and pound poi stone. Too bad, I don’t know what happen to
the pound poi board and the pound poi stone that we had.

(JB:64) And then sometimes we catch Waipio Valley frog. They used to have lot of frogs in Waipio
Valley many, well up to now. But because of the toad came in, I don’t know what happen. We eat all
kind. We eat oopu, we eat opae, we had mosquito fish and we eat.... except the tilapia now. We eat frog.
And what other kind fish we eat?

(MM:376) So, I don’t know, the sugar. I hope they no close over here. Because if they close over
here, I don’t know what happen. Although plenty hotels over here. They going make another one
over there down Shipwreck.

(NC:155) No. You see, after you set that thing. As if nothing been touch. I don’t even see anything.
And yet the folks said, for instance, that party you go sacrifice grave, eh. He said that they ate their thing
already. What happen? The food is same thing. The taste and everything is still there. I don’t see any
change. I don’t know if they really are there or not. You believe they are there? I don’t think so. I don’t
know though.

(NK:946) But when this Hawaiian people, the Lono family stayed down there.... Us, we hardly stay
down the beach, see? Because get mahi’ai place, get coffee land. That’s why, my father folks, no can go
in beach all the time. So, that’s why. Only when we go beach sometimes, when we like go holoholo
down the beach, we go. That’s when he go fishing. I don’t know what happen—what da kine did at
that time. So, this Hawaiian people down there broke the fence and fence another small fence way
outside by the roadside, pili to the road, and come up. And then, they say, oh, they let go calf inside
there, cow. Because they used to keep mama cow; and the baby cow, they put inside there. That’s why,
us, we don’t know. We stay ma uka.
(SU:1562) That place used to be big place, you know. You can hold quite a bit. Used to be lot of parties down there before, Lau Yee Chai. And *what happened* on the corner, they used to have a market down there? Piggly Wiggly?

(SU:1562) That place, that location, used to be good location, you know. Really good. And *what happened* to the old Lau Yee Chai now? Is there still Lau Yee Chai down there or hotel or what?

(SU:1562) *What happened* to Piggly? Still down there? The allolex nating:

(FD:267) So my mom had to, you know she has all that lau hala mats in the house. So she put me on the side of the bed. Near to the bed side. And then she tell me for get a tub of hot water. And then she make me take a bath upstairs. And then, after that I get all myself. Just like didn’t have no baby. And here me, walking all around. She said, “No, you don’t do all that.” I said, “Why? I’m all right.” She said, “No. After you get your baby, you come dizzy, eh?” “No, I’m okay.” I had all my babies like that. I do ’em by myself, me and my mom. And *nothing happened*. And then when come to doctor.

(FD:269) I don’t know. But the rest, just they say give ’em one spank by the okole. I say, “What for?” I didn’t have, I didn’t do that all to them. But they were okay, *nothing happened*. Like this one, well he got in accident, that’s why he died. That’s why all my children today.

(FD:279) My husband used to work for the County. They used to be a trapper for the Board of Health. People over here, they see things not right, they go and make stories like that. That’s how I met this man. But I wasn’t poho to have him, I was lucky; I wish I had him from the start so I don’t have to ruin myself, go in the water and wash clothes and do everything every day. But that’s why I say, “Thank God.” With all the hard work I had do for my family, the first family. Came to my second family, well, I had Fannie in Kukuihaele. *Nothing happened*.

The allolex *enting*:

(AK:645) Oh, yeah. They said when they get elected, they can help us in all those ways. Before, nobody plan to make a big thing like now. Like before, those people in Waipio never thinking of *anything going be happen*, they can make good. They never know that cars can go down. I think, if they only know that car could go down, maybe they ask for something big, eh. But they never know. They were thinking that they was all. No more nothing, no more car, no nothing go down.

(SU:1533) Yeah. So all the neighbors and all the people stay in camp, they all work together. They all work together. *Anything happen*, they all come help.

5.17.3.2 THIS haepn

There are no clear examples of haepn occuring with an overt *dis*. However, there are a couple of examples of *haepn* which uses it to refer to an event in discourse:

(EB:1135) So, ready to go home, everybody go home, oh, he so damn wild. He take the– I don’t know what he bin take– he beat me again. That’s when my auntie bin worry like that. That’s all. You know, small kids, when you hear something playing, you gotta sneak, run around, eh? That’s how *it happened*. That’s why, most of the time, even my father was come home in our town, most of the time I stay with my auntie.

(TA:39) Yeah, he became an agent. Until he got old and John Loo taking over his place now. That’s from Honolulu Poi. Well, that’s something happened that, well, I think I better not talk about that. Maybe if you don’t put ’em in the tape I talk to you, but... it’s something, *it really happened* that my father get away. And then, even Kalihi, now Kawashima taking care that. My father was getting old already.

It is possible that it an allolex of *THIS* in these sentences. However, I find the following canonical sentence more persuasive:

(JL:9) I don’t know if my sista stay home. I tink she still home yet. She gotta– I lend her but she never return, huh. I neva know *dis ting would be happen* like dis.
Its meaning is indistinguishable from THIS HAPPENED, although it formally looks more like THIS THING HAPPENED. Its semantic properties, however are what concern this study. A similar situation occurs with THE SAME and HAPPEN.

5.17.3.3 THE SAME haepn

There is only a single canonical example of THE SAME occurring with haepn.

(SU:1538) Yeah. Fifty cents, only. And then, how much? Bag of rice from wholesaler about dollar and a quarter. Potato, seventy-five cents. Onion, fifty cents. You just leave ’em on the side, behind the building. Nobody steal or nothing. We used to stack ’em up. Nobody do nothing. Nobody touch. But since we came state, well, different story. We got to lock ’em up. Even though we lock ’em up, same thing happen.

Since I can find no semantic difference between this example and THE SAME HAPPENED, the fact that this example corresponds more closely to THE SAME THING HAPPENED formally speaking, is irrelevant. Still, I must admit that I can find no semantic difference between THE SAME HAPPENED and THE SAME THING HAPPENED either. Whichever NSM frame is ultimately chosen as the correct one, it will have no effect on our analysis.

5.17.3.4 X haepn (TO) ME

There is a good canonical example of ME as the patient to hapen.

(ER:755) Yeah. Happened to me. I know happened to me when I was...

5.17.3.5 X haepn (TO) YOU

There are two canonical examples of haepn with YOU as the patient:

(GF:309) In Waipio Valley. Then the mother came see me. She say, “Eh, what happened to you? Why did you make that kind trouble with my daughter with her father? The father want to shoot her, you know that?” “No, I don’t mean to make trouble for them. Just for the fun. Maybe I was drunk, I talk all kinds of things.”

(NC:170) The Army people were dying everyday, so there was one big shot, Colonel or something like that, General or maybe, but he was so sick and the doctor gave up hope and said, “Get no way cure you.” Giving up to die already. So his friend told him, “Why don’t you try this Chinese doctor? I haven’t heard of a Chinese dying of the flu.” He said, “Oh, I’d do anything. Do you know of any?” He said, “I know of one stay way down but how good he is, I don’t know. You can try.” He said, “Oh, I try anything.” So he went down talk to this doctor and this doctor say, “Oh, no. I won’t handle Army people. I don’t want to get sued. If you die, what?” He said, “Oh, I give you written thing that if I die or anything, you don’t have to worry. Nothing will happen to YOU.” Then he say, “Okay, but one thing I tell you. If you want me to be your doctor, you have to stay my hospital.”

5.17.3.6 X haepn (TO) SOMETHING

We have a number of near-canonical examples showing haepn with a non-personal patient.

(AK:600) After we put all everything, we the one clean. Clean all the poi shop, everything. Ready for the next time. The peelings, what happened to the peelings?

(GF:352) “... And keep the truck good. Use it as it is yours, not somebody else’s.” Then he use the truck. Then, keep on going like that, keep on going. Then, one day, he borrowed my truck. Rain like anything, he borrowed my truck. I don’t know what happened to his truck. He borrowed my truck. I say, “This truck here, when you come up the road on the hill, I notice you go very slowly up the hill,
when the road is slippery. Don't go slowly. If you go slowly, you going to stay one place. Just drop plenty power. You come up on third, you go home. Go up on third.” “Ho, that's too fast.” “That's how you got to go. That's how I drive.” I don't drive slowly rainy days. Rainy days, you go up one hill, you go slowly, you going stay there. See. But if cars like this, with the twowheel drive, back drive, you don't go fast, you going slowly.

(JB:62) And then, when we have a poi, we didn't use the poi factory, those days. We used to pound our own poi. Yeah, that pound poi board and pound poi stone. Too bad, I don't know what happened to the pound poi board and the pound poi stone that we had.

(SU:1562) That place, that location, used to be good location, you know. Really good. And what happened to the old Lau Yee Chai now? Is there still Lau Yee Chai down there or hotel or what?

(SU:1562) What happened to Piggly? Still down there?

In the above examples, I assume that pilings, chruk, boad, and the names of businesses are definable in terms of SOMETHING.

5.17.3.7 X haepn (TO) SOMEONE

We have a number of near-canonical examples of haepn with a personal patient.

(BB:008) What happened to [name deleted]?

(BB:014) No, they never kill 'im. But, you know, at the time when they was over there the American troops came in. 'A's why they no can hang 'im already. Put 'im down. The Americans they took 'im. 'A's why he got saved over there. 'A's what happened to him; “Lucky,” he said.

(FD:254) Oh yeah, yeah, above. High, you know. Kind of high. And we used to hang clothes under-neath too. Everything we does. And we used to pound our poi underneath the house, too. We have four bedroom house now. We had a big home, you know. And we had only two spring beds, I think. And most is koa bed. You know the koa beds? I don't know what happened to them. I wanted one in the worst way.

(FD:295) When we going pass to one new world, I don't know what going happen to the second set of children, what they going do. To come to think nowadays, kids, they have everything just like this. That's what happened to my granddaughter. She didn't tell me what happened to her Friday. I call up the school, she was missed from school. To listen to what other kids say, her friends. That's why I was telling one of the teachers, because I know the girls. Before she go to school, I always tell them, “Check her every day.” This is almost lunch hour, they call me back. “She's in school today and they question her where she was Friday. Because we call home, Grandma say you came to school, but you wasn't present that day.”

(FD:297) Well, I love the place because I was born and raised there until I grew up—a great-grandmother today. And then the feelings of the place is actually really warm feelings. The living of the place, than here. Really, I just love Waipio because I was born and raised there. Nothing happened to my family. Until I'm a great-grandmother. That's why I always say, Waipio, I just love Waipio and that's my home.

(GF:330) I remember one instance, one Chinese man, they used to call him “Okinawa,” because he's broad and kind of tall, just like one Okinawa. He used to save lot of money, you know. From Waipio, then he went to work plantation.. That man never reach home in China. They must have drowned him in the river. They took all his money. Never reach home. Several of them, happened to them. They never reached China. Because they live in the interior—way up in Chungking, or way up. When they reach Hong Kong, they say they got to go by train and by boat to reach home.

(NC:158) She hold, hang on the tree. Then Takeo climbed the other tree that's about a good 30 to 40 feet away from where my wife was. Then I look at the wave and said, “Geez, going to cover me.” So I told him, “Takeo, hold the baby.” So I pushed the baby up because I was afraid that the wave would throw me off. I can swim, but I cannot save the baby. So I held the guava tree and at the same time, I was fighting the grass and all the shrubs, those things, so that it won’t knock the tree. I was standing first
and after, when the waves came, it struck me clear. My legs all go off. Only my hand holding the tree so when the waves started to recede, I looked and said, “What happened to my wife?” I asked Takeo. He said, “Gee, I don’t know. I cannot see your wife. I only see your boy stay pulling the grass and the rubbish away.” So I started swim down and he said, “Jump on top the grass. It is faster. You can ease down faster.” You know, the grass thick like this, all cover that place. So I jumped on the grass and when I went down, my boy was taking off and then my wife’s leg was pinned between the two trees. You see, the branch go like this: the two trees come together like this and the other tree come together. So she work out and I went try to get her leg out, struck the branch pushed as much as I can, tell her she pull her leg. All black and blue, so I said, “We have to go. I know it’s sore, but we have to go.”

In the above examples, I assuming that him, dem, hr, dawda, family, and waif are definable in terms of someone.

5.17.4 Summary

A search of the corpus uncovered convincing evidence for the following NSM syntactic configurations:

- SOMETHING HAPPEN(ED)
- THIS HAPPEN(ED)
- THE SAME HAPPEN(ED)
- X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) ME
- X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) YOU
- X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) SOMEONE
- X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) SOMETHING

There were no examples of the following configurations:

- X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) PEOPLE
- X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) THIS

5.18 THIS

5.18.1 Primitive syntax

The primitive THIS has a double status. It may serve either as a substantive or as a determiner. THIS may serve as an argument to a number of NSM predicates, so THIS’s substantive syntax is covered under those predicates.

As a determiner, THIS may combine according to the following specification:

- THIS (OTHER/ONE/TWO) PERSON/THING/PLACE/TIME/KIND/PART

5.18.2 HCE Candidates

The only plausible candidate for THIS in HCE is the word dis.
5.18.3 Examples of dis

5.18.3.1 dis OTHER

There are numerous canonical examples of dis combining with OTHER in our corpus:

(AK:654) Now, for instance, this is where you going plant. This line here. You put your first hull here. Then you count your space of your foot when you walk. Maybe one, two, then you-plant here. You put this other hull here. Then one, you put right here. Then one, two, you put another one over here.

(AK:670) Was just plain that way. That time never have all this other pests come in. You know, in those time, that's why I say, that time they never try get something to do with that. Instead of letting it grow. Before, no more guava bush Waipio, like that. Then all kind vine now. Before, you going Waipio, as soon as you going down, you see everything. All plain. You go down the beach, you look up, all. Now, even down the beach, you look up, you see tree, you no see anything. It's good to preserve the thing. But I don't know how long going take.

(ER:786) Then sometime us guys, we don't know too, we ask questions. Why no good? He say why no good, because the bull, just like lean, no more weight. You raise 'em up maybe two year or three year, by the time you kill 'em, no more weight. And this other one, you look the body, broad. This guy, even small, he get weight. They go according to weight because you going sell the meat by the pound, eh. They go by the weight. So you study. Me too, I study, I look how like that, how the bull.

(ER:787) Bumbai, he look, he tell you no. This guy, you get about 100 pound different from this. This one you make money, this you no make money. About the same family, you raise 'em up, and this one no make money. This one you make money. And so you like kill the two now, you can leave this one for another six month, this guy weight can bring inside for double of this. This one you kill 'em, you leave 'em this for another six month. So this two, the weight almost going come even when you kill this other one. Then you no lose, you see.

(ER:850) Yeah, give this other bone. Last time, I think this guys had one big bone. So the next guy who had the smaller one, then he try figure out, eh. Hard job, yeah, figure out this kind. Bumbai, you give everybody chance, pau, no more nobody grumble. And you take what you get on the table, that's why he put your name again. But Uncle Bill, he was smart, though, him and Abraham, how they figure out the meat, where get bone, where get this, this. Try make all, and they cut. They tell, “Eh, this for this guy, eh.” Only you go look the name, you. Smart, the way they work.

(MT:1177) When it comes Christmas time, I give them 25 pounds rice every Christmas. So I kind of treat them, you know, they make me, I don’t make them. They make me, see? Which I have more time on my own. If I don’t have them, I would be down there maybe 12 hours a day, for all you know. So this other way, I have more time, leisure time for my own. Which, lot of the farmers, they mostly do the job by themselves. Sure, they make more money, but Uncle Sam takes more from them, too.

(MT:1180) Usually, how I do mine is if I have a patch which is ready to plant, the one I’m pulling, that’s the one I’m going to make the seed to plant it. Then, after I get this other patch planted and the rest of this other seed, I throw it away. I don’t take it for seed. And I just rotate it like that. Usually, I’m planting every month, as far as that go. Every month, yeah.

(MT:1196) Well, expand in a way, if you have younger farmers come in, yes I can see that. But with this old generation and stuff, well, I don’t think it can expand. It’s pretty hard. That’s why I said, if this disease problem was licked, lot of these farmers, they’re part-time farmers, their children won’t go out to work, they would work on their own farms. Would be better income than working outside. That’s one thing I can say. Because you your own boss, you do what you want. You work what you want, when you want. This other way, you have to work for somebody eight hours a day. Take all what the people has to say; the person you working for.

(NK:941) Dr. Jeffers. That’s our first doctor–Dr. Jeffers. And I forget this other doctor.... Dixon. Of course, Dr. Hayashi.
Not too far away. Couple neighbors. Maybe about from over here to Frankie’s—you know, the 7-Eleven Store like that. One neighbor. One on this other side. Maybe couple of them.

Yeah, right over here. Next to this other one.

5.18.3.2 dis TWO

There are several canonical examples of dis combining with TWO:

When I went to Japan, the-first thing they ask me—they bow their head, they bow to you two or three times, I think—and then, you know, they say, “Are you Japanese?” They ask the question. In talking in Japanese, “Anata Nihonjin?” Bumbai, I tell ’em—I don’t understand too much—but I tell ’em, “No, me, Chinese.” I tell ’em like that, see? Bumbai, I hear this two Japanese lady and man outside there talking. “No I think he not Chinese. I think he Japanese, he talk like that.” You know, eh? But that’s all right. Never mind. Any kind nationality is just the same.

Then some guys, they just come in the yard, they tell, “Where this road going?” I tell, “You no can see the road? Over here stop, no more road. Dead end. If you like you can go right through in the tree. This is only for these two house, this road.” Sometime they like go up the mountain, eh. I tell, “You gotta go by the cemetery way or go this way, go up. Gotta go reach the cemetery and then go up.” Every time they come over here ask me, eh.

Well, you plant, for instance, here, these two lines here. It varies, you know. Depends on where you planting. Further down you go, it’s warmer. The sun reach down the valley earlier. Maybe 7 o’clock you get sunshine down here, see. But my place, about 9:30, up there; 9:30 or 10:00. So up here you plant wider. Down here, you don’t have to plant too wide because you get plenty sun. The reason why you plant like this because your taro, when the sun rises, the sun hit all around the taro. You know what I mean?

Get one hill go up before. That’s only road that go all the way up to the Pali. They got to use four-horse team to pull the wagon, the four-wheel wagon. They call it “stagecoach.” Then when they reach to the halfway house, the Pali, they got to rest. Get somebody over there watching the horses, feed the horses. They change the horses, put another horses go pull up, you know. No can use the same horse, see? So, these two horse they took off from the country down over there, they going leave over there, and they going feed ’em And then, take care of ’em until tonight. When the wagon come back, they go over there, they change the horse again. They put back the horse, they go. And they rest this horse. They got four horses, see? And one morning, me and my other kid brother was riding one stagecoach coming to town.

5.18.3.3 dis PERSON

There are no canonical examples of dis combining with PERSON, but there are numerous near-canonical examples:

I don’t know. Maybe they sell. Could be. They were raided, Waipio was raided couple times. Revenue come down and raid. This guy went jail, he served sentence. For liquor, you know, distilling that.

No, he tell me. He was Japan. He told me that. “Eh, this guys they mean business you know. They no fool around.”

So, I no can understand him. He say, “What’s the matter?” I don’t know what’s the matter, eh? We was arguing. So, it happen that Sinclair bin pass. And he stop. He say, “Oh, you no huhu this man. This new man, only today, start.”

Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, “Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta be good to all the people. No come mad.”
No. Most time, we only go our age kind. When we come home this way, we no more place for go. Then we go hang around with those guys. Those guys, more they drink.

Yeah. When I had, on account of dirtying my body, that’s why I got married to him. I took him for sure. I went to the court and then I ask. I didn’t want to get married again but he said because I had the last baby from this man. That’s why, to make it sure I took him for real. That’s why I re-married again. And then, I not poho.

But the only reason why I take the place because I don’t want anybody to come in. You know what I mean? If somebody come in there, they open the gate, animals come in, they step your taro. Like me, I don’t drink. Those guys, they drink, they throw beer bottles. Sometime they come, they throw beer bottle inside your patch. That no good. Careless.

You mean when they fight among one another? They had one special police. They used to get this fellow, I forgot his name. It is.... Sam.... I forgot this name now. I can just picture his face, though. Not Akana. You know, it’s pretty hard to remember because it’s too long. Because I wasn’t so interested until lately I went back now.

He married this woman. All right. He got sick. He stay one year. He got sick. He went back England. He tell da youngest brudda, “You go back Hawaii, marry da wife.” All right. When da youngest brudda came back – he know he goin die, our grandfather – when da youngest brudda got here, already get one baby from the oldest brudda. William. They call him William. That's my grandfather now. William. He raise all this Lindsey family.

Dis man was one hook man, /ae/?

Yeah. “Sixty-five, then.” So, I tell him, “I won’t give you answer now. Let me think it over.” He said, “Okay.” So one day, a few days later, I was inside the furo, you know. And then, hey, who this guy? I don’t know if you know this guy. Orme. We used to call him “Bunghole, Bunghole.” He come inside there inside the furoba, you know. I tell, “What you want?”

No, Hilo shop, I have a contract with them from when I started my business. And I have a contract to fulfill and I’m still with them. The Kona one, I’m just, from the side, just trying to help this guy get his business going. That’s about all. Which, I’m not taking from the same areas, now. Don’t get me wrong. The lower section goes to Hilo and the top area goes to Kona. The reason is this. The lower area, I have a contract, the top area, I don’t have. That’s the reason why.

This guy was telling bad about me. “This ‘Mahjong’ is no good beach boy. He’s no good boy.” Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki. Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite oru,” he said. “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki people.” He tell, “How come?” That’s the truth, that’s why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That’s why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.” The guy, he look sick.

Because those days, they get some strong fellow, they carry the taro, two bunch taro. They carry it, they lift, put on top the arm over here and then throw on top. Then he get one fellow by the name of Tom Kua. He’s a big Hawaiian guy. He just swing ‘em like that, he put ‘em on top, without putting on top here. So those boys know I am strong, but they don’t know if I get heart or not, so he kidded me, he “I like see the rice farmer do like what Tom Kua did.” I said, “Well, how did he do?” He said, “You know, he lift the taro, he just go like this. He put ‘em on top here.” I said, “Don’t put on top here?” He said, “No.” You know, most of them, they swing, they put them on top here, then from here they swing them on top. I said, “No, I cannot.”

Now the boys been throwing stone class and hid down there. Of course they didn’t see that boys but happened one day I went out there, you know, the other boy he throw that stone over the mango tree and I follows this boy here and the boy run away from here and the teacher saw me. She reported to Mrs. Fraser but she didn’t see the other boy, you see, but I didn’t throw the stone, the other fellow throw the stone. But she reported so they call me in after recess and they get a ruler. She said, “My boy, I hate to touch you with anything and I know how you are and very, very....”

When come to Saturday, this man tell me, “you go buy some food”
Yeah. If they ever do that, **those guys** going be in lot of trouble, though. Oh, lot of trouble. Because the old folks, that's the only place they can go, see. Because, sure, they have a lot of places in countryside, but that's too far away. They cannot drive the car. I know friend of mine goes every day, I hear. Every day in the morning, except couple days a week which you cannot go to reserve the—you know, regular members, eh?

The company. All his job was see that the poi shop get the taro. Maybe he get 100 bags. You cannot pull 100 bags so he had to go divide. “You pull 20.” **This guy, this guy, this guy;** till you make 100 bags.

Waipio. By the store. Down the store. We call that store Ahana Store. Chang. I think you don’t know **this guy**. You know Gilbert Chang, eh? Yeah, yeah. I guess he showed you where the father used to have the store before. He showed you? Where the stream is now. That's where we get together. By the store. Sit down on the porch and start talking story. But no trouble, though. They were all good boys. And those days, I never drink till I was 23 years old. I mix up with the wrong gang, boy, start.

Once again, I must assume that **gai, maen, wumaen, and boi** are decomposable in terms of **SOMEONE**

5.18.3.4 dis **THING**

There are numerous canonical examples of **dis** in combination with **THING**:

(AK:594) I came back to Kona, then went down, went fishing. Try to learn about fishing with old people. Then, two old people, and I stayed with them. They teach me the in and out of fishing. Go opelu fishing and all that. I learned all **those things**. Then I come out again, you know, I meet friends, friends ask me for go and this and that’s how I come. From then that’s how I met the Ah Pucks, then that’s how I reach to Waipio

(AK:636) This is cowhide. This is to hold the cinches, come here. Now, with this type of saddle, when we put the leather on, we just one complete leather under here. Go as far as here. Then we get one flat form on top bring down this way. Then you get the stirrups going down all the way down here. You get all separate pieces. And going be like this. This, no cover. This only one small piece. And if you like cover, they get one whole piece to cover this here. So that's why they call this Hawaiian Tree. Cowboy saddle they say. This tree, now, is cost money. Cost lot of money, **this thing** now.

(FD:270) I say, “Why not. With all the taro, I know you had help me. All the years you been coming to me, you always come in my house, you always bless my house. And my family. I know you did it for me and Heavenly Father did it for us, too. Why not. I can help in anything you want. I cannot help you with money but with our helping hands. Like the taro, you know. Because God give us strength so we did all that with our helping hands so we can have **those things**.” So I tells him that. And he always teach me. Every time, when he come, he always teach me. Don’t forget to pray. Always. In anything what you do. And I believe that.

(JL:9) I don’t know if my sista stay home. I tink she still home yet. She gotta— I lend her but she never return, huh. I neva know **dis ting** would be happen like dis.

(MM:335) No, I ordered that. Because I used to get the Sears Roebuck catalog. And inside there, it shows the extractor. You like order the box, you can order the box. If you like buy the frame, they get the frame. The cone is made already, but it’s flat, see. It’s flat and then that thing is not smooth. So, the bees, when they come, they gotta make on both sides, yo. **This thing** is going to be in the center. This wax going be in the center, and then the bee gotta build up on both sides.

(MM:336) Well, I had a Portuguese friend and he had bees. Oh, he had maybe about half a dozen boxes. And he asked me if I like. I tell 'em, “Ah, I don’t know how to raise **this thing**.” “No, it’s only easy. You wen look. You wen look how I take the honey.” “Yeah, yeah, I wen look, but I kinda scared. I no wanna get sting from the bee.” “No, after a while, you not going get scared.” So, what you need is only the smoker and the mask, see. You know, the mask cover your head. It's made of screen wire, eh? You know, for the bee no come and sting your face.
Yeah. Now, it’s 25 feet wide. Because this is the main stream, see. And I had the soil Conservation build a bank over here too. When we had the high and stuff, used to go all overflow into here. So this bank is where yet, but **this thing** is 25 feet wide. So now, these people water going down here, certain times real little. But they don’t want I touch here. So I want to keep this little so much of the water goes down through this main stream. Now, I can’t do it.

**This thing** is dirt, all dirt. You just press it down, you know. You get the plant like this, you put your fingers, you push down like that and you go like this so she stay like that. The dirt close itself.

**This thing** Come up like this, come like this, over here get more like one small little thing like that. And then they prepare the thing, they get one lamp with oil and light up. And they use one wire, must be wire or something.

But those days, everything was cheap. T-bone steak only dollar and a quarter. Really, take big man to eat big T-bone steak, you know. Porterhouse steak is worse, bigger. Of course, get little bit more bone, but. Most of the time we used to sell sirloin steak and rib steak. Rib steak, it really tastes good because of the little bit fat in, eh? But we don’t know nothing about New York cut, filet mignon. We don’t know **those things**. But as you keep on going, you learn. And then, filet mignon, you know tenderloin, we used to cut, and then we put bacon around on the side. Yeah, that’s how we learning.

There are several canonical examples of **THIS** in combination with **PLACE**:

(ER:812) Yeah, supposed to get. What **this place**’s name? No, too long.

(FD:276) Victor. I don’t know, that name was famous so they call to that. And the grandchildren take over too. You ask Gladys, Gladys will tell you. So my daddy’s name is Victor Hoapili Hauanio, and he belongs to Kalapana. He doesn’t have no family over here, just he alone. I don’t know how he came to **this place**, and he got married to my mom.

(JB:71) We were having the outside stove. The firewood, the guava wood stove. That’s what we used to do. Cook with the guava, we cut the wood and make couple of bars goes across and let the smoke go. As long as it doesn’t burn the house. And when the smoke goes out, that means the people are cooking. They had a Waipio rice farm too, in Waipio Valley. Not only on Mr. Chun’s place. They used to call **this place** Rice Mill at Hiilawe Falls. I forgotten where these people used to live there. Because over there had lot of taro farm too. I think when you two went down there, you don’t see any taro farm, eh. From the Hiilawe Falls, they used to have lot of taro farm. Oh. right down the line.

(JL:15) Afta the war, I came back. ’As when my wife hadda birth. First shile was Sarah. I was surprised, the day I get heah, the next day she gave birth. My firs’ kid. Huh, beautiful. Den I start work Parker Ranch till today. Know every inch **dis place**. All up heah. You tell me da name, I know all da mountain, all dis side, all da paddock I know – three hundred paddock – I know um all. Humuula side, I know all. No moah men around here beat me. Only me moah left. Dis young generation, dey no care to learn. You know, new idea now not like befoah. Da slow. Now, everything fast. Chuk! Chuk! Before you have to drive the cattle.

There are numerous canonical examples of **dis** and **TIME**:

(AK:625) Yeah, they had three fishpond open when I was staying all **this time**. But right now, all close up. Ernest’s grandfather was taking care of one, that’s the Lalakea fishpond, they call that. It’s right in the center, right by Umi, by that heiau. The heiau is right there, the Pakaalana they call, the fishpond
was right next to that. And then, the front one was a Chinese man. I forget the Chinese man who owned, the one who keep the pond. And the last pond, the other side is a Japanese man was taking care.

(ER:811) And sometime he tell me, “Ey, we go down tonight.” “Nah, I no like go down nighttime. I like go down daytime, so I can go get some meat.” Give some fish for them guys. Only me I go, and I go eat free kaukau, no good, eh. And then I tell, “Nah, we go shoot goat. You and me.” Sometime he like go in the evening. I tell, “You go in the evening. I come in the morning this time. And you come up halfway.” He know, eh, what place me and he go, he come halfway. Sometime he coming up, he shoot already, he get. Because he going from the down.

(KK:117) “Okeh, you insis, fat honey honey bun. I gonna ketya this time.”

(KK:123) An you know wat Pono said? “Ah no, dis time dis time, /rae/, /rae/. ”

(MT:1187) No. You see, the patch that I had a—where I had, before, a 100 bags, which had a loss, and I had only 10 bags. I had a 90-bag loss. When I put the coral in, I just had a five-bag loss. So I gained 95 bags, in a sense. So if it’s doing the trick or not, I cannot say. Now is the next crop growing again. So I didn’t put coral this time. But I see coral is still in the ground yet. On this same thing, I going try to put some other different type fertilizer on top of that. It cost money, you know. We doing our own experimenting at our own cost. Which is not supposed to be. You have the University to do it, not us.

(NC:165) No, he didn’t. So Honolulu Poi was taking from me for a while because when Ernest went back the next day, he called John Loo to get in touch with me and tell me to go to Honolulu. He said, “This time he come down, it is for his own benefit. He doesn’t have to run around like how he go to place.” I said, “Okay. I’ll go down.” I went down.

(TA:38) Uh huh. That’s how all these farmers wen learn, see? All this time, these farmers didn’t know just what the price of the taro was. What those big shots give ‘em, that’s all. And then, when my father start buying little higher, after that the price just....because these farmers get smart, see. Then they start asking direct from the poi shop, how much one bag taro. All these Chinese couldn’t fool ’em already.

5.18.3.7 dis KIND

There are several unambiguous canonical examples of dis in combination with KIND:

(AK:614) That section challenge this section, or the upper section challenge. They jump more like high dive, you know. Them guys, they told me all that. And then dancing. They get that old Hawaiian dancing. Not this other kind dancing, they get old Hawaiian dancing.

(EB:1134) Oh, New Year’s, too. We make candy—the Philippine candy, like that. But no more this kind wrapping on, you know.

(ER:798) No. That dog all gotta work. If only for stay home, they shoot ’em. This kind dog, only for work. And pau hana, they get all dog fence. All down there by the slaughterhouse. The guy bring home the dog, he feed the dog.

(ER:830) Ah, only Vredenburg time, then they wen go borrow the guys. But Munro time, no. Only he ‘nough, all his guys. He never borrow man from the city. Only Vredenburg time. Even sometime he go borrow boys for go fix fence, ’cause that time he came, he like all around. All around the pineapple, he like da kine net wire, net wire fence. Not this kind fence.

(ER:893) Maybe if they use all this kind water, I don’t know, they say some, just like half brackish. If they use this kind water for us for the toilet, maybe for the yard, maybe the good water, they keep ’em for drinking water. But if they use all da kine water over here, I don’t know. I don’t know what happen bumbai. The problem this island is the water.

(MT:1177) No I haven’t, because they not dependable. I think some of the farmers are using them, which they have problems at certain time. When you have a order to go to a shop, whichever, something like a contract, you have to fulfill it. And with this kind of people, you cannot depend on them because today they might be working, they won’t come work three or four days later. Another day, they might be back again. So then you have to go and do it yourself.
Just this regular dance. Fox-trot, two-step, waltz, all those kind. But very few people know that tango or the cha-cha, or heel-and-toe, and all that.

5.18.3.8 dis PART

There are a couple of canonical examples of dis in combination with PART:

(AK:667) Uha o Hopoe. Uha means this part. Hopoe, that's the name of the lady, Hopoe. I don't think so lot of people don't see that, because it's in the private property. But you could see if you going go get a permit from the shipmens. It's the legend, it's long legend, it's the story. But really, I did see that.

(NC:150) Eight. You know, you plant one, two, three, four, six, eh. One is called one bunch. So you can hold eight bunch. We cut four rows one time, you see. You go catch two. Two, two, eight. The hand full already, eh. So you got to turn that thing. Turn this way. Then you get to cut 'em like this. The straw this way. This part with the rice there, you spread 'em on top like that. You know what I mean?

Although the form pleis is used, it is clear from context that the following should be regarded as an example of dis and PART:

(AK:637) But the idea of making saddle is, when you get everything all done like this. Or, you get everything all completed, and you put on the animal's back. Some saddles doesn't fit. You know, some horses, they're broad, some horses, they small. And then, when you put on horse, like around here, this place here, it start eating the horse back. Get hurt, eh. Then, maybe the saddle no good, see. Sometimes the saddle glide on the horse neck you know. Even though you get the hinge on. It goes down. But some saddle doesn't run, you know. This is my favorite saddle. Lot of people ask me for sell this saddle. I won't sell 'em the saddle. Very good saddle, this.

5.18.4 Summary

We have found evidence for the following combinations in our corpus:

THIS OTHER X
THIS/THese TWO X
THIS PERSON
THIS THING
THIS PLACE
THIS TIME
THIS KIND
THIS PART

We are missing evidence for the following combination:

THIS ONE X

5.19 THE SAME

5.19.1 Primitive Syntax

The valid combinations of THE SAME are as follows:
s2 IS THE SAME KIND AS s2
sp1 DID THE SAME as sp1

5.19.2 HCE Candidates

The two primary exponents of THE SAME in HCE are daseim and seim.

5.19.3 Examples of seim

5.19.3.1 seim PERSON

There is a single canonical example of seim and PERSON:

(MY:1458) Cartwright. Then that’s when all the ‘Ohua Sasaki Camp had to move. So they moved from there. Then they moved. So, see, the Matsuzawas, they all moved. They bought a place there, Matsuzawas. Then you have the DeFries. Then you have the Kawasaki again, but this Kawasaki is different Kawasaki. Yeah, this is the Tenrikyo Kawasaki. You know, the religious Kawasaki. Then, you go there, then you come to the Sasaki Camp with about the same people living there. And then, Nora Spencer family.

There are also several near-canonical examples illustrating the same valence:

(BB:027) Yea, different father. Same mother.

(EB:1138) So, I no can understand him. He say, “What’s the matter?” I don’t know what’s the matter, eh? We was arguing. So, it happen that Sinclair bin pass. And he stop. He say, “Oh, you no hahu this man. This new man, only today, start.” So, he took me to the camp, clean around the house, the yard. I stayed there about two months, I think. And after that, the same boss in Kawaiola, he recommend me again in Waialua, now, to work in the warehouse. So, I bin go down in Waialua—not in Kawaiola, though; Kawaiola is ma uka. So, I bin go down Waialua. That’s just like city over there. And then, I work to the warehouse. That’s where I stay, because the Sinclair in that Kawaiola, he recommend me over there.

(ER:817) Yeah, just like the minister, they judge. Then bumbai they figure out who get the nice song, who sing good, who you see, all this kind. No use paper or all da kine. Then they make you the winner, and these guys, maybe number two or number three. So, every three months, yeah, they do that. So every three months, you get same group, you like win this guy, win this guy, everybody like go sing eh, you know what I mean? Before days, that’s how they go.

(JL:10) Yeh, yeh, yeh. But on our side, only one, William, my grandfather. From da oldest brudda. Only one. Den he went back England and he say he goin die, tell da youngest brudda come back, marry da same wife, nine children.

(NC:119) Only harvesting and planting. That’s the only time he hires. A few. Before they work more like help each other too, yeah? When you need’ men, so many go to your farm and finish your planting. Then the same gang goes to the other place plant like that.

(TA:57) Oh, it’s about 3, 4, 5 years old. I don’t know. Had the same members that was in the former one. They in the new one.

Here again, I must assume that muda, bas, grup, waid, gaeng, and membaz are decomposable in terms of PERSON.

5.19.3.2 seim THING

There are several canonical examples of seim combining with SOMETHING:

(AK:598) After steamed, we bring the taro out, we wash in the tub, wash with the water. And then after that, we peel the taro. After you peel the taro, then you grind, put in the machine, grind. Then,
after that, the poi come out; those days, we have flour sack bag, we put in there. Twenty-two pound, or 20 pound. Those days, the poi was cheap you know. And then we have a ti leaf, we set the ti leaf this way. You know the ti leaf, bigger ones, one leaf each, one, maybe get about 12 leaves. Then you put the sack on, then you wrap 'em up, then you tie that up for keep it fresh. Then your 50 cents, you do the same thing but you wrap something like you wrap package. That's what we do.

(AK:605) Well, he pay us the same thing, dollar something. And we get free meal. Like how Akioka was, we have.

(FD:273) Yeah, for the sling. Put the hand inside. For days, eh? Until she finish apply the medicine. Mrs. Kaniko, now today, she had her arm dislocated and then I had one brother, you know the bone over here crack, eh? From riding horse, crack over here, and then you can see the bone coming here. And then she used the same thing, but with The medicine is jowi. I think you seen this plant, it's kind of velvet looking, the leaf. It's not too big, it's small. Have purple flowers. It's not the big bush, you know. And then they use that. She use that. The leaves and she pound, she add salt.

(MM:373) When I finish this field, I got to go this field, this field. And then, when you burn–now, let's say, now, this field get hundred acres. Now, when I go over there, when you going think that the crane and everything going come inside there? Maybe in the morning. All right. You figure to yourself, maybe you burn twenty acres. Twenty acres going carry you to tomorrow morning. Tomorrow morning about nine, ten o'clock. Then, tomorrow morning, you going do the same thing. You going to burn another twenty acres. Or if you think short, you going burn twenty-two, twenty-three. All depend. You going to see the field, too. Maybe if the cane looks little bit poor, you going to burn little bit more, eh? But the hard thing was, it's not too big, it's small. Have purple flowers. It's not the big bush, you know. And then they use that. She use that. The leaves and she pound, she add salt.

(MT:1187) So if it’s doing the trick or not, I cannot say. Now is the next crop growing again. So I didn't put coral this time. But I see coral is still in the ground yet. On this same thing, I going try to put some other different type fertilizer on top of that. It cost money, you know.

(NK:952) Yeah. Nowdays, you have this kind variety. That’s most people keep. Because they rather have more coffee than less. But taking care, about the same. But before, they never used to fertilize the coffee. All they do is to clean all the grass. Ho hana– or pull the grass. Leave 'em inside the field, like that, dry. And sometime, you have to hulihuli the grass so dry. If you just going to leave like that, they going grow up again. Even today, you do the same thing. If you pull the grass, you just leave like that, they going grow up again. So, if you go, you hulihuli around there and dry.

(SU:1521) Then I learn. I come home from work, I learn. Every day, I do. Same, over and over. I practice. Finally, I catch on everything better than the ordinary people who go inside there and then learn. So Mr. Murakawa asked me, “Who teach you how to do this?” “Well,” I say, “I go home. I do it over, and over, and over. And after you folks go home, sometimes I used to go down the working place and then see all you folks’ tools, how you folks fix up.” Because those days, they leave all the tools in one place, nobody steal anything. So I go down there. I go open up, I look, and file. And then, come home, and I do the same thing, the way how they do it. Then Mr. Murakawa say, “Well, you do this.” So, okay, I do it. And then, after I go home, I do the same thing again. I took my square measure, I measure everything, and I write 'em down. And then he assigned me with a Mr. Shimizu to go to all different camps to repair. Repair the steps, and then kitchen sink, everything. Most of the...

(SU:1524) Yeah. Feed the pig, and then feed the chickens. And then, go to school. And then after we come back from school, me, I like sports, see. Everybody come home, so I run and come home. I run and come home to finish all the detail that I have to do. You got to feed the pig again. see, and chickens. Then, after I get time, I go in the pasture with all the boys, go play baseball. I do the same thing over and over, day after day, day after day, to help him out.

(SU:1538) Yeah. Fifty cents, only. And then, how much? Bag of rice from wholesaler about dollar and a quarter. Potato, seventy-five cents. Onion, fifty cents. You just leave 'em on the side, behind the building. Nobody steal or nothing. We used to stack 'em up. Nobody do nothing. Nobody touch. But since we came state, well, different story. We got to lock 'em up. Even though we lock 'em up, same thing happen.
(TA:39) To the guys that pull. You raising taro, see. Well, I going tell you 20 bags and I take the bags to you, 20 bags. Until today, they do the same thing.

5.19.3.3 seim TIME

There are numerous canonical examples containing seim and TIME:

(AK:610) Right in the back, that's the spring water; we used that as a water, and we bathe there same time. Of course, that spring is big and the spring near. Then we dip up a place, a big place to wash. You bathe in there. After we build that house now, then we make where we build up a shower and all that inside, and a outside shower and all that.

(ER:811) Yeah, same time I take da kine meat for my girlfriend house. Every time he tell me, “We go down my house,” my friend–the brother, eh. Every time, “We go down over here.” “Ah, more better we go tomorrow morning then.” So we go shoot goat, we take them, get something for eat eh. “Ah,” he tell me, “okay we go in the morning.”

(GF:332) Then Harrison’s mother heard about it. She came, too. Then she tell me, “Gee, easy to raise?” “Oh yeah, easy to raise. You just give food and water, and one lantern. That's all. Plenty chicks, two lantern.” “Why you put the lantern?” “Keep them warm. Same time, they can eat the mosquitoes that fly.” Then she ask me, “You can build coops for me like that?” “Oh sure, I help you.” So I help her. And I help my brothers-in-law.

(MM:323) Salesmen, yeah. They used to come with buggy and the wagon. They come one day and they come take orders. Of course, they take the orders same day. They come every other day, I think, not every day. When they come one day, they deliver what's been ordered before. And they deliver, and the same time, they take order for the next trip. So every time they come, they bringing something, and same time they take orders.

(MM:363) The men, they jump down from the train. Some of them, they run, you know. They know it’s a good place, they run, yo. Where is good place I talking, they get all kind of places. Where they see that car stay all in the level place, they got to rush and go, yo. Because the oar, not so much then you going get pali, you know. So they no want to go to the pali, eh? So they run, you know. Sometime, you know, two guys grab the car same time, eh? “Ey, I wen come first.” Sometime get like that, too, you know.

(NC:158) So I tell my wife, “Climb the tree.” So my boy climbed way up high and the old man climbed the second one and my wife cannot get up because the tree will come down, so she stood on one tree, has the branch, a little over one foot above ground and she stayed there. She stayed there. Get two trees right near each other. She hold, hang on the tree. Then Takeo climbed the other tree that’s about a good 30 to 40 feet away from where my wife was. Then I look at the wave and said, “Geez, going to cover me.” So I told him, “Takeo, hold the baby.” So I pushed the baby up because I was afraid that the wave would throw me off. I can swim, but I cannot save the baby. So I held the guava tree and at the same time, I was fighting the grass and the rubbish away. So I started swim down and he said, “Jump on top the grass. It is faster. You can ease down faster.” You know, the grass thick like this, all cover that place.

(NC:176) Then I say, “I throw ‘em away because if it is going be watery, cannot use?” He say, “Oh, rich, eh? Big area like that and throw ‘em all away.” I say, “Experiment.” He say, “Why don’t you experiment on one small patch?” I said, “No. It's worthwhile experimenting on the big patch. I had rice, I experiment on this patch.” So they put the fertilizer; they grumbling at the same time. I said, “No mind, put ‘em in.” So they put ‘em in. Gee, I was afraid, too. Twelve months that thing still dark green, you know, 13 months, 14 months, still green, supposed to be little more and ready. Eighteen months can harvest, you know, gray taro. Gee, 19 months time and just start to turn yellow. I say, “There you are.”
(NK:950)... king. When people come in, like that, only her there because all the other people, they go out; they do this; they do that; and then, not time. When this people come and when the king sit down and talk with the other people, they drink. So, she entertain them. She oli and she chant at the same time. Sometime, she only oli. Oli in Hawaiian, ooh, the.... Too bad we never learn. Anyway, our sisters, not interested.

(SU:1521) Then, hammer, we don’t know. So I just bought the hammer. I figure, well, light hammer is better. No, light hammer is no good. Medium-size hammer is good. So every time when you near, you smash your finger, see. Then, same time, when you use the kanna, you don’t know how to use the kanna. You know, Japan kanna.

(SU:1522) Mr. Murakawa look at me, he say, “Where did you learn all this?” I tell, “Well, I look what Mr. Shimizu doing, and same time I look the book, read the book, and did it.” “Oh, good.” Then he assign me to fix the sink, regular sink, kitchen. Oh, that was easy already because I know the routine already. Then, tell me, “Okay, you graduate this one, so you learn how to do this.” So he told me to learn how to nail the floor of the.... You know? Then, okay, that is finished. Then the ceiling. Ceiling was hard because you have to look up, eh? Then after you finish that, wall, partition.

(SU:1534) That Magoon used to raise duck. And Toma used to take care that. And then, same time, Toma go out fishing. He throw net. He doesn’t work, only fish. Then whatever he catch, he sell to the neighbors, he sell to the teahouse.

(SU:1549) At that time, my number two sister, she works there. She take care from two o’clock in the morning till six o’clock. Only herself in front and one cook behind. Same time he cook, and when he get time, he wash all the dishes and everything. From two o’clock to six o’clock, only two—one of my sisters and the cook. Then, when she’s busy, she just leave the cigar box. The customer put the money inside.

5.19.3.4 sein PLACE

There are three good examples of sein combining with PLACE:

(JL:18) When he retired here, he went Kukaiau Ranch. He took me along. Stay da same house, eat da same place on da table, drink da highball and sleep togetha.

(MT:1194) That, we stick; that, we real farmers. Everybody sticks together. We growing the same product and we mill it at the same place, so we have the same problems. Like this here, we don’t mill it at the same place. This goes all over the place.

(SU:1531) At the same place used to get a church and then a big yard down there, no? Yeah, that’s about all, I think.

5.19.3.5 sein KIND

Our corpus contained four examples of sein combining with KIND OF:

(ER:880) Yeah, because he was the top boss, eh. So he come see me if I like go drive truck because get room now for go inside. Because the cowboy pay was same kind pay with the truck drivers.

(NC:137) You know the Japanese-kind mat? The Chinese get too, eh, but the Chinese kind is kind of wide. The Japanese one is about this wide, eh? You know the kind they go beach with? Same kind. Straw mat. Hard to sleep, you know. It’s all right if you sleep only on your back. But when you like move sideways it’s hard; catch the hip bone, eh? Hard.

(SU:1552) Okay. And then, toward to Downtown side, used to have Sarashina Inn. Serve same kind of food, but they are all different booths. So you can bring the wahine, go down there, eh? You know. And then, further down, you go to, of course, KC Drive Inn and everything, but further to Waikiki side, you have the Bluebird Cafe. You know that?

(YA:1052) Oh, same kind. Mostly, you know, repair da kine for the ship. You know, when they assign you one job, you make bearing for certain kind of job. You know, bearings, they pour by the lead
already, see? All you have to do is put on machine and cut the bearing into two half. Then, you make 'em to fit, eh? That's all, see.

5.19.3.6 \( X \ (IS) \ \text{seim} \ \text{KIND (AS)} \ Y \)

Our corpus contained a single near-canonical example of seim combining with KIND OF in the “relator” valence of seim:

(ER:880) Yeah, because he was the top boss, eh. So he come see me if I like go drive truck because get room now for go inside. Because the cowboy pay was same kind pay with the truck drivers.

5.19.3.7 DO seim (AS) X

This valence is manifested differently depending on the main predicate of the clause. The following is a canonical example of this valence with predicate DO:

(FD:258) Today is so wasteful. You buy two box of frozen shrimp, you only catch about two, three fish sometimes. So wasteful. I used to tell my sons to do the same like the grandfather. Just use the homemade hook. But not one of them tried.

The following examples are near-canonical and do not demonstrate this valence as clearly:

(AK:599) Carry out from the patch. You know, here is the patch, you carry out from the patch, then we pack it on the mule, the same thing like that, we pack it on the mule. Then we lead all the mules to the poi shop. The animals, they know where they going. We just let them go, they come straight to the poi shop. Whatever we do, like us, we young, we always run away from the older guys.

(AK:612) Well, an old man gave me. See, this man, he belonged to Laupahoehoe; he was living Laupahoehoe, Waipio and Kona. He used to live in Kona. So when I came Waipio, he said that when I was a little boy, he used to keep me. But I don't remember. Then, one time, I get a chance, I went back and I asked my father if that was true. He said, “Yeah, that was true.” I asked who was the name of the man. He said, “Yeah, when you was a little boy, he take care of you.” And then another lady, the same thing as that. She tell me when I was a little boy she was taking care of me. I not going believe that, but I ask my father, and he say it's true.

(ER:753) When he died, was about the wartime. Then us, over here, no more airplane, eh, and no more boat for go, so I never go to his funeral, 'cause we no can reach over there. At that time the wartime was only certain time you can ride on the boat for go over there. So they no can take too much people. So me and my brother, we never go to his funeral until maybe one year later. Then everything kind of little bit slow down. Then get boat we can go. We only go by the graveyard, go look his grave, and then we come back. Same thing, like my sister, too, died Kona in Hawaii, we never go, too. We never go visit.

(SU:1545) Well, same like beef cutlet. Cut 'em thin, and then you put the bread crumbs, and then fry 'em.

5.19.4 Summary

We have found textual evidence for the following valences:

THE SAME PERSON
THE SAME THING
THE SAME TIME
THE SAME PLACE
\( X \ (IS) \ \text{THE SAME KIND (AS)} \ Y \)
\( X \ \text{DID THE SAME (AS)} \ Y \)
The following combination was missing:

THE SAME PART

5.20 OTHER

5.20.1 Primitive Syntax

The NSM primitive OTHER functions purely as a determiner (W 1996:128):

ANOTHER PERSON/THING/PLACE/TIME/KIND/PART

W (1996:128) also suggests the valence OTHER THAN as a possible universal:

[SI] OTHER THAN [SP1]

5.20.2 HCE Candidates

The main exponent in HCE is ada. Eos, nuda, and unuda are also variants.

5.20.3 Examples of ada

5.20.3.1 ada SOMEONE

There is a single canonical examples of ada in combination with SOMEONE.

(MT:1178) They have a machine to kind of till the center of the rows, the grass. But you disturbing the roots, now. Your root system. I saw one work, I didn't like it. I rather go regular labor way. I think it's the best thing, They have, but not feasible. When the time comes, maybe it's a must. I don't know. But until you have labor, I think it's the best way to go. It's not a hard thing to do. Weeds is not full in the lines like the other. My place is not that bad as other people's place.

In addition, there are numerous near-canonical examples confirming the presence of this combination in HCE:

(AK:670) Waipio is not so bad. My ghost experience in Waipio is not very bad. It was down the beach, yeah, I saw 'em. When I go out fishing, I see another man poling up in front of me. Just when you get near, you lose 'em. That's all. But in the Kona one, really, that I did see that. Kona, I seen 'em with my own eye, and I talk to the person. That darn thing wen disappear right in front me, like this. That terrible, no. That thing came out as a human being, like you and I. And I did see it with my own eyes. And I follow, right behind, right next to 'em. I can touch, you. But my hand never touch the guy. Just come just around the corner, it disappear right in front of me. "Where you?" Not there no more. Oh boy, my hair went up that way. And then it come dark, I run. I run.

(BB:009) The other man said, "[name deleted], gohyaku en yaru ke are oshite kure." He said, "Gohayaku en ima boku ga morotara, ashita you goin' teach somebody and you can get your $500 back," so he no goin' teach. If I teach, just like I — because you go teach the other guy, 'a's why he never teach.

(ER:815) Us, we cook our own. Each room, the boys cook their own. You know, you cook your own, he cook his own, he cook his own. Sometime we eat only our side. But sometime, we cook. The other guys never cook yet, you call, "Come eat." Then they come eat. Then bumbai, we join everybody.
Well, they told us nothing wrong. I'm getting disgusted, you know? Even, we call, the other boys. I don't know, they from where? Let me see, Fannie knows all the boys and she used to call them and say, “Oh, we need help.” And they come, they check, they say, “Some kind disease is going around.”

“You go there often?” “Oh, we raise cattle there, we raise pigs over there. Then we got to haul our grain over the mountains, down the valleys and till we reach there, take us about one day, And what cattle we sell, we pay tax. What pigs we sell, we pay tax. And then you folks cannot help us?” Kealoha, he say, “How much you want? You quote how much you need. You go hire somebody and the County pay.” See, Kealoha was good. And Mahuka was good. Sam Spencer, he was good. Otherwise, other guys no good. They only....

No, I don't smoke. But I didn't like stay up dere, see. I no wanna stay. Only me da Hawaiian boy, might catch hell wid da odda men.

“An she say, “Oh, come on mommy, we gotta fine da udda girl! Et's go, et's go, mommy!”

Now, reservoir I'm talking about, when you turn left and get one reservoir there, me and one other boy about my age, we wen go take a walk around the side of the reservoir. In the reservoir, here and there, they get kinda ditch-like. It's kinda ditch-like because every reservoir, they have to get some inlet that water come in. And some places kinda deep. So this boy wen slide. You know, slippery, see. The reservoir all mud, eh? Slippery. He wen slide inside there. And he go like this, like this, like this, yeah? And then, I don't know, I scared, too, because I might slide in there, too. So I don't know what to do. Ah, then, quick, I wen think to myself, “Ey, that ditchman must be home now.”

Oh, Waikiki had. We had all good. Like we had the Kaji man, you know, Kaji from hotel. And Matsumoto man, Murakami, and there was another man. They're all bon odori singers. They're good singers. And we learned how to hit the taiko. We hit taiko, too. We learn how to hit that. So, we had the older people lead the taiko dance. Like us, we learn and we can hit the taiko, too. So, you know, give the elder rest. So, everybody enjoy.

Yeah. Ernest came up, talked to me and of course, his accountant talked with me. They stopped in Maui first and then they came to my place. His accountant talked to me, “Ernest, I want you to turn that lady off and take from Nelson.” Ernest said, “Oh, I cannot take from Nelson because he has so much.” The accountant said, “You don't have to take all.” “You take any amount you can use, so it's better for you to deal with Nelson because I talked to him 10 minutes, better than his talking to the other guy one day.” That's what he tells. Then he says, “I know he's an honest man just by talking to him.” He said he could not give me the answer now. He says, “You wait. I go back Honolulu and then I'll give you my answer.” So the next day, when he went back, he tell that wahine on Maui, because the Maui wahine was giving him all the bad taro, the watery kind and giving the good ones to Waiahole Poi. So when they stopped there they asked the lady, “Is that taro going to my poi factory?” She said, “No, this is for Waiahole.”

Of course they didn't see that boys but happened one day I went out there, you know, the other boy he throw that stone over the mango tree and I follow this boy here and the boy run away from here and the teacher saw me. She reported to Mrs. Fraser but she didn't see the other boy, you see, but I didn't throw the stone, the other fellow throw the stone. But she reported so they call me in after recess and they get a ruler.

And then, some other guys was down there, but I don't know because I never go around those kind places, so.

But all these farmers, they going to see their taro rot. So they see one guy start selling. The other guy say, “He sell, I sell too.” Keep on going like that till the co-op broke. They appointed so-and-so people. So many people got to operate certain guns, you know. So, you have to go, see. Maybe I'm not the one that operating, but some other people ahead of me operate. I got to be around with them. If a bomb hit him, he die, I operate 'em too. I take over, see? Another guy take over like that, you know.

This assumes that gai, boi, grl, and maen are decomposable in terms of PERSON.
5.20.3.2 ada SOMETHING

There are several canonical examples of the combination of *ada* and *SOMETHING*:

(JB:64) We let the horse go in the front of us and we at the back. All we got to do is hold the rope and let the horse go through the taro patch. And let him do the work. We harrow the taro farm, back and forth, maybe about 10 times. You know, to get the land all flattened up. It’s not like now, because they using most of the time, they have that Iseki machine and whatever machine they use. Many other things, because some of the things that I kind of forget.

(JB:66) Oh yeah. They would come to a drinking party. Come to a sport, like I say, baseball sports. Some other things like digging ti root. They usually dig the ti root, now. And they have to dig the ti root above this pali here. Below of Hīlalawe Falls.

(MM:325) Well, the only other things that we play, you know, we play ball, and play master. Mostly it’s master, because for play ball you need lot of people, lot of boys. We don’t get that much boys, eh? So, what we do mostly is play master.

(MM:374) Yeah. And another thing where is hard, too, this Van Dreser, he tell, “Wait till that thing is really dry, then burn. No burn when you only half.” I tell ’em, “Well, that’s lot of places danger.” They like everything so and so, you know. So, we make a firebreak, but usually, if a big field, let’s say over here is the hundred-acre field, we start from the back and work our way this way. If the next field is maybe almost ready for harvest or maybe about seven-, eight-month cane and get ‘opala, the fire, if it go inside there, he going burn, see. So, as long we start from the bottom and work our way this way, after we get quite a ways inside, maybe about hundred yards inside, well, you all right. You safe already. No matter which way you burn, no trouble.

(MY:1471) Kapi‘olani Park, our time, only thing good about there was going getting the dates. They had the big dates, see. You know, inside the zoo now, Kapi‘olani Park, they had big dates. There was a guy named Nakamura, Yoshi Nakamura. He’s the only one can climb the tree, inside. ‘Cause he bring knife and he go right into the tree. Date tree, hard to climb. And then, another thing you can get, Kapi‘olani Park, for us was enjoyable was, they used to get the polo field, see. On the polo field on the Waikiki end, they had that Hawaiian cherry, you know. Full of that Hawaiian cherry. And they get big, you know. We used to go get.

(NC:150) You know the rice. All growing, eh? You take two at one time. The sickle is go like this and then turn. And all get teeth, small kind teeth. All what you do is push this one with the back of the sickle. The back of the sickle you bend like that, you bring ’em in so the two is about the same. Then you cut from under. One time you go like that. You cut the two. Then you cut the other thing and cut the two like that, you get eight in there. Then you turn the clumps this way, you push your hand up then you catch near to the place you like cut. Then the sickle stay right near here. If far you cannot cut ’em. Got to be pretty near.

5.20.3.3 ada PLACE

There are several canonical examples of *ada* in combination with the primitive *PLACE*:

(AK:646) The causing of the flood. The house all wash out. The tidal wave. Everybody get scared, they move away from Waipio. They all move Kukuihaele, Honolulu, or another place. So then, nothing left with the community.

(NC:119) Only harvesting and planting. That’s the only time he hires. A few. Before they work more like help each other too, yeah? When you need’ men, so many go to your farm and finish your planting. Then the same gang goes to the other place plant like that.

(NC:185) “... That one is in the record in the University of Hawaii. I experiment for the University on fertilizing, you see.” He say, “Nelson, did you pull that taro from someplace else?” I said, “No.” He says, “How can you get 425 bags out of this patch? This patch is not even three-quarter acre.” I say, “Well, it’s there.” He say, “Didn’t you make a mistake on your thing? ” I say, “I had to collect that
money. How could I let the poi shop go without collecting that money?” He said, “You didn’t pull any from any other place?” “I get no other taro other place that can be pulled.” Then he said, “Gee, that’s some record.” I think they get gem in the University, though. Must be in there yet.

(NK:919) By cleaning another place.
(NK:919) Kihapai. And if this taro is all ready, then we plant another kihapai another place, where we can plant all the hulis in there.

(NK:958) Well, because only one priest or two priests. And they have another place to go, see? Honouau, maybe Kealia, Kealakekua, or way down Milolii.

(YA:1066) Only thing, I go down to the salt pond over here, by Sand Island. They get one salt pond. I go over there; and stay around over there, go hunt, you know, da kine plover. You know, plover. Sand da kine bird or dove. That’s all I can go. No other place can go, see.

5.20.3.4 ada TIME

There are several canonical examples of ada occurring with the primitive TIME:

(ER:795) Get inside there. Then, from over here, you go from this lime tree, you know this lime tree over here, this side, this side all our garage. The long kind garage, the one I was telling you the other time. The long garage, from Pablo house, the store...
(ER:826) We get water, but we no more toilet. We had kitchen, we had water. We had water, but we used to cook outside da kine wood stove kind. The Munro time, all cook outside. When Vredenburg time, then you get kerosene stove. Get kitchen, stove. The other time, only lantern or gas light.

(NC:146) Oh, yeah. You know. that’s the worse job. Tedious job, you know. You got to get up early in the morning. Just daybreak you going out there. And you stay. That’s the worse time, the birds hungry, eh. They come down. No matter how you try. And little bit rain, that’s another time. You know, when drizzle. Hoo, they not afraid. One time they got me so mad I went home I get the 12 gauge. I wen blow them down. Drop ’em. You scare ’em, eh. But still yet they come. But at least they get scared. They fly away.

5.20.3.5 ada KIND

There are several canonical examples of ada co-occuring with the primitive KIND:

(AK:610) Well, we come to Kukuihaele for all these other kind of foods. You come out, most time the main important things is your salt, your sugar, maybe you need rice, all those things, eh? That’s the most important thing you need in Waipio. And the rest, you don’t have to. If you want some canned stuff, you buy canned stuff. But we do buy canned stuff.

(AK:614) You know where Robert was working the taro patch, went on my taro patch? Well, before, in that corner where that big monkeypod tree, that section was very deep before. Up there, and very deep. Well, that’s where they challenge. Otherwise, they have to go the other side. Way over that waterfall. That section challenge this section, or the upper section challenge. They jump more like high dive, you know. Them guys, they told me all that. And then dancing. They get that old Hawaiian dancing. Not this other kind dancing, they get old Hawaiian dancing.

(AK:629) Well, I use little bit. Like aspirin and all that. But most time we use what you call. We have some other kind herbs too, we use that.

(AK:658) Drum. But, like us, when we were cooking down there, we were cooking in the tub, you know this basins? The big kind wash tub. That one, we buy those wash tubs for cook taro. We buy the big one, then the old tub, we cut half the old tub, and then put on top. Of the other tub. Where the place you cut, you put one piece iron or something. We use one bag in the big basin. You had to go little bit more high. But, if you get the other kind drum, you know, the 55-gallon drum, well, that’s all right. Two bag going down easy. But, you only have the tub, you got to use all that. A lot of work cooking taro. Now you got to sit down and peel.
(JB:64) We eat all kind. We eat oopu, we eat opae, we had mosquito fish and we eat.... except the tilapia now. We eat frog. And what other kind fish we eat?

(MY:1461) They dance. Oh, they all dance, get inside. Because those days, not like today, come fancy kind. You know like the Fukushima. Those days, only get the Yamaguchi-ken one. That's all, see. No more the other kind fancy kind. So everybody can go in, get inside. You go one time around, you learn that already. You know what to do already. There's no such thing as you got to know the technique.

(MY:1463) They had, but people don't know. Because like us, we know because we go there, look. The other kind people, the gaijin like that, they don't go look. They don't know what's going in the camp. Like us, anything is something different, we go there and look. Fighting chicken.

(NK:922) Yeah, just for eat. Sometimes, you cannot help. No 'nough poi– taro. We use that. We mix it together with other kind good-kind taro.

(YA:1058) Oh, we only catch squid. No more other kind. Because plenty people over there, you know. Sand Island. Now, no can tell. I no can tell how Sand Island look like now. All fill up already. No more one island over there, see?

(YA:1070) Even my downstairs, I rent 'em Filipino. Because no more other people live around here. Only across the street is the Japanese painter. And he's dead already. His son living there with the family. And then, he rent all the other kind houses on the side to Filipino. That's all you can do. If you no rent it, they no more house.

5.20.3.6 ada PART

There are a very few canonical examples of ada occurring with the primitive PART:

(AK:670) I think it's good to leave as it is. You know, getting something else coming in. The only thing now is the bushes right around. That's the thing that keeping the place down. Come like a jungle. If they do clean up the place and open up, where people can see. You come down, you look, all this, all vines, bushes, all that. That only good for only the back part of the valley. But other part of the valley, they should at least open it up. Like how Waipio was before.

(ER:837) Well, when I came here time, only they live in Keomuku. Most, Keomuku. The other part no more people over there.

5.20.3.7 ada THAN

The following sentences are the closest thing that we have to an example of the OTHER THAN valence:

(AK:660) I never cared for pod, but lately all right now, now I like the pod. I never cared to eat pod. I don't know why, but. Everytime I eat pod, after I get pau, I sit down, I just throw 'em out, everytime. Everytime if I eat pod, I have to have some candies, you know. Something sweet backing. Then, it would be all right. Otherwise, other than that, I cannot hold pod. I try, but everytime I keep trying, keep trying. Today all right, today. I can stand with pod.

(FD:253) You know, she's a good cook, too, that lady. We used to be all together. And, Gladys' mother used to be a good baker too. My sister-in-law now, Mrs. Benito, she's a good baker. We never did have to go buy. But only what we need to buy is bread and crackers, like that. But other than that they make pancakes and everything. Yeah, before, the living was, I think, better than today.

(MT:1191) No, no. Nothing. He just looks at the taro when it comes to his shop and stuff. Other than that, he doesn't bother. He cannot tell me how to raise the crop. I'm the farmer, he's just the manufacturer. But the prices vary. As the disease problem arises, he can expect to get something; you know, if you going to pay a good price, you want to get something good. That's how it goes, see. But so far, it's been really fair all these years. I never did get my price cut or anything. So far, so good.

(NC:119) Most of them from Waipio. Before, get plenty Chinese in Waipio. That's the only time they get work, when get harvesting and planting. Other than that they don't get work.
We so young, those days, eh. You know Chinese they call 'em either Ah Sook or Ah Pak. As long as we know, we meet them, “Good morning,” or “Good evening,” at that time. We don’t know their names. Of course a few of them we know, but must be real familiar or if the family, before we know. **Other than that**, we don't know.

Yeah, I have. I work and get some money but I don't generally take all. I always give to my mother, eh. And what I need, like we go school, lunch like that, That's the only thing we take. Other than that we don't take the money. To us money is useless those days.

That's worse. Right now he just better learn how to cook his own breakfast. **Other than that** he's waste time. They all bookworms. Dai Ho and Ah Kong. All honor roll students though. From high school to university. The two of them. One-two. One-two. Every time. First-second. First-second.

Not in the field. For scare birds like that, they’d go. **Other than that** I don’t think so. They don’t plant rice.

But clearly, *ada daen* functions more as a clausal adjunct than as a determiner.

**5.20.4 Examples of eos**

**5.20.4.1 SOMEONE** eos

There are numerous examples of *eos* in combination with *SOMEONE*:

Yeah. They live here and there, in the valley. And some works at Akioka’s, the poi shop. Some of them work for *somebody else*.

The property was made on me. But I didn’t want to fight for property. So that's why, Samuel get one other brother in Honolulu, eh? That's Dukie's daddy. Dukie Mock Chew. They are taro farmer too. So his daddy, I told him to go find out for the property. If I wanted to, if I was greedy, I would have all the property. So I just tell them go look before somebody get in, and they can claim. If you don't keep up with the tax, *somebody else* can have the place. Because that place belongs to me. But I didn't want to make trouble, so I just like their big sister because my grandma married to their daddy.

By the bags. You know, those days, taro was cheap; 50 cents a bag. And some people, they buy for 35 cents a bag but my father-in-law paid me pretty good; 50 cents a bag. Then every year come up, little by little; and I used to sell him the taro. Until he had too much of his own, he cannot take from me. Then I sell 'em to *somebody else*.

That's all Mock Chew's pond. The whole section there. I don't know how many acres. Maybe about 50, 60 acres. Mullet pond. He has his own pond. Catch his own fish. And Kawashima used to take care for him. And before that, he used to take care the pond. Then when he expanded, well, he cannot take care of the pond. He let *somebody else* take care the pond. Kawashima take care the pond.

Den, I work as a cowboy all my life. My fadda was head foreman. Den I work under my faddah. Cowboy. All – till my faddah pass away. *Somebody else* took ovah da place. Den I move down heah from Makalahao.

Den he go kill *somebody else*.

If I don't supply him, because of sickness or something, we have everything black and white. The lawyers draw all the papers up and all. If I sell the taro to *somebody else*, he can sue me. And if I supposed to supply him 50, 60 bags; it's a contract for 40 bags, and if I want to supply him 80 bags, he has to take it. But not anything below 40. So I have a good contract. Vice versa, we can pull suits against each other if we want to, if we don't abide by the contract.

Yeah. Uh huh. They most down the beach. They live down there all the time because they no more coffee land ma uka. Only they go ma uka when the people need them pick coffee. They go up, pick coffee for *somebody else* like that. Only people who have their own coffee land, they stay ma uka. And then, when they like go fishing, they go ma kai. Down the beach. Us, we have place down the beach, so we stay down the beach.
(OC:6) The husband told him that I was very friendly, sort of like the family, so no use to somebody else but nobody would buy because I had long lease.

(OC:9) I know the newspaper and I know the value of that land they get there, the big building – the Advertiser. When come to business, good – better; they sold that – I think their stock went up to seventeen, eighteen dollars and all my friends sold it to somebody else. They didn't tell me, see, but I told them before, “If you want to sell, tell me so I can get the money. I know how to go and borrow money from the bank.”

(SU:1573) So, when working people go to work, have to make bento, eh? Six o’clock in the morning. You have to, because everything be ready. If you don’t put the time inside yourself and hire somebody else, you not going to make money. You’re not going to make money. So they get through about two o’clock, come home. Next morning, go back again. So, they rest Sunday and Monday. And then, when they take vacation, they take vacation about one month. I don’t blame them. You know, go early in the morning. Usually two o’clock, but that’s tiresome, every day, every day, every day.

(WK:710) They had couple. But they cannot last long. Somebody else overpower them.

(YA:1028) I don’t know. He said he too old. He no like work already. He figure, ’nough already. Now all the big boy, they working. You know, go out and find job, and working for somebody else. So, he no like go work. That time, he was old already, you know. Maybe eighty or seventy-five, somewhere around like that. Kinda old, eh? He working hard, you know. Day and night, he work. And he brought up all da kine children, so many. He must be satisfied more than enough.

5.20.5 Summary

Our search uncovered the following combinations:

OTHER PERSON
OTHER THING
OTHER TIME
OTHER KIND
OTHER PART

The proposed valence OTHER THAN was missing from our corpus.

5.21 ONE

5.21.1 Primitive Syntax

ONE is part of a subgroup of determiners that may be called quantifiers.

According to W (1996:128-129), two valences are allowed with the following combinations:

ONE PERSON/THING/PLACE/TIME/KIND/PART
ONE OF D0 SI

5.21.2 HCE Candidates

The primary candidate for the primitive ONE in HCE is the word wan. The HCE wan also often serves as an indefinite article.
5.21.3 Examples of wan

5.21.3.1 wan PERSON

There are ample canonical examples of HCE wan combining with the NSM primitive PERSON:

(KL:126) An na–an da one somebody to–Kele on.... Dey say, “Go to da town.”

(MT:1184) If they paying four or five guys in Kauai at the regular experiment, send one down; they get apartments right here. They want to take cultures or something, they always can ship it out the next morning or so. Get somebody steady doing it, one guest at one person’s place, and from the time you plant it till the time you harvest it, and really know what the situation is.

(MT:1166) We could be a family, as a whole, in Waipio, if everybody cooperated together. We could get better prices, we wouldn’t get the problems we have right now. We have to get quantity to get some kind of action from any agency, Federal Government, State. This way, we have only one or two people, we won’t get nothing. So actually, Waipio Valley as it stands now, it’s really hard to say what’s going to become of it.

(YA:1070) If they buy your house for the price like last time and the price never go up, $145,000. They willing to buy. And they can borrow money, too, loan. All okay, then they pay so much. And then, their house, about ten, fifteen people. And then, they collect all over, individual, eh? Maybe $100, $150 one person, eh? Hundred twenty-five dollars, husband and wife. And so many, they house ’em, see? And then, they collect all the money. And they pay the note, see. Like over here, next door. Downstairs, four people living. Two hundred-something dollar one person. Husband and wife. And each guy get his own bed and one table in the room.

(YA:1072) Catch a Greyhound bus, we go ride—all the way up to New York, see? Then the time we was riding the Greyhound bus, they have a round United States fare. And I pay $216 one trip, one person. Go right around United States. Ride the Greyhound bus, with me, and my wife, and my children.

5.21.3.2 wan THING

In most of these canonical examples of wan and THING, THING has propositional content:

(AK:636) Oh, yeah. That’s right. Everything. Animals, cows, and all that. They do all their waste outside. You see, one thing with those days, lot of animals going out, eh. All their waste stay out. And yet, we people Waipio. we drink all this water in the stream. You know all the stream there? We drink all the water there. And we never had sick at all. Then lately, they stop people from not drinking the water in the stream.

(FD:260) Well, most time they have in their own house. They get parties, like that. They invite everybody. That’s one thing, when they make parties, everybody is invited. And then the first time, I think I was about 11, I think. No, not 11, 9 years old, 9, 10. That’s the first time my aunty, my daddy’s sister, younger sister, came from Kalapana. She was one hula instructor. That’s how we started to learn how to hula. But I did not want to learn.

(FD:287) I say that’s the only one thing I do believe. That’s why I tell, “You folks don’t remember that? That’s a saying in the Bible said, ”There’s a day will come, day of starvation.” And they all look at me.

(FD:293) Like, you know, the profit we make. Before, we no more nothing, we was still paying as much as we can pay. But now, we retire, they deduct so much. You know what I mean? We only grow so much and that’s one thing lucky now. So they don’t have to take out my Social Security, usually they do that. So now, they were so nice ’ if I make little bit more, so they no take off my Social Security.

(GF:308) But I wish, many times, that I had parents. But I never had. Hard luck. But the Lord been good to me. That’s one thing. Then I was kidding the old man and the old man take it for real, you know. He think I really wanted to marry Matilda, you know.
They just go by the bags. They get paid by the bags. But the shop will know, more or less. They have scales down there. If it’s not enough, they will let you know, don’t forget about it. But if it’s over, they won’t say nothing. That’s how they do it. That’s one thing, the present right now, things look favorable, but not that good yet.

Well, expand in a way, if you have younger farmers come in, yes I can see that. But with this old generation and stuff, well, I don’t think it can expand. It’s pretty hard. That’s why I said, if this disease problem was licked, lot of these farmers, they’re part-time farmers, their children won’t go out to work, they would work on their own farms. Would be better income than working outside. That’s one thing I can say. Because you own your boss, you do what you want. You work what you want, when you want. This other way, you have to work for somebody eight hours a day. Take all what the people has to say; the person you working for.

Pork, chicken. No meat though. No beef. That’s one thing they don’t use beef. They used fish. The use the pork, chicken, vegetables, liquor, tea, orange, buns like that, eggs.

But I tell you one thing. My mother, one time. You know, one old man died. Mock Chew’s place. Old man Batalona died, eh. Passed away. Andoi, he was the one I saw took ‘em up and buried. So he buried right next to my father. You see, my father’s grave go like this, eh. All the graves go like this. I don’t know why he bury like this. Slant like that. He bust the corner of my....My father get double box, eh, the coffin. Then one outside coffin. He bust the outside coffin.

So I call Dr. Carter up. That time Dr. Carter was taking care of the cemetery everything. I tell, “Eh, Dr. Carter. What can I do? That Andoi he bury that old man. You give ‘em the stiff for bury, eh?” He said, “Yeah.” “He bury old man right next to my father’s grave, and he bust the outside coffin. I going move the grave.” He say, “Can you?” I say, “Sure. That thing is not teak. I going put one bar. I going yank ‘em the other side.” You can push ‘em, eh. It’s not solid. Soft yet. So I went over there. I wen push ‘em. I stuck the bar inside. Bend ‘em. Keep on pushing until he move off. Set ‘em back. You see, that’s one thing. I don’t believe in dreams and everything yet, that dream was true. That shows they still over there. That’s one thing I cannot see. I tell my mother, “Funny. Died so many years and still yet he said that it’s his house.” I cannot see it.

Yeah, they take ‘em home. Eat ‘em. You know, sometimes I think it’s superstitious. After you take ‘em home, then they offer like that. They say that thing already eat and everything. How can you tell if they eat or not? That’s one thing I cannot see. They say they eat. How can you tell me they eat?

He said, “This time he come down, it is for his own benefit. He doesn’t have to run around like how he go to place.” I said, “Okay. I’ll go down.” I went down. He call his accountant to come down and talk with me. He talk and everything settle up. Then he say, “One thing I wanted to make sure. If you deal with me, I don’t want you to sell any taro to any Honolulu factories, because it is our competition.” I say, “Okay. Who else going to take? won’t take.” And he said, “[name deleted] will ask you, if he runs short.” I said, “No, I don’t think so.”

So he went down talk to this doctor and this doctor say, “Oh, no. I won’t handle Army people. I don’t want to get sued. If you die, what?” He said, “Oh, I give you written thing that if I die or anything, you don’t have to worry. Nothing will happen to YOU.” Then he say, “Okay, but one thing I tell you. If you want me to be your doctor, you have to stay my hospital.” His hospital only six beds. That old man, and he’s a poor doctor, you know, he charge so cheap, the Chinese. He hardly make any money. So when he came there, he said, “And you eat what I give you. You cannot eat your food. You eat my food.” He said, “Okay.”

It’s not luck so much as.... well, it could be. But, how can be every fellow get hard luck. When the flood comes, he sweeps everybody. It affects everybody. You cannot tell me everybody get hard luck. It’s just nature’s work. That’s one thing you cannot stop. If a flood coming down, how you going stop? It’s just impossible to stop. They ask me one time, “What if was human being do that?” I said, “I shoot that fellow down.”

You got to push off the dirt first. The dirt is soft, you know, mud. It’s not the hard mud. Real soft. That real deep place get little bit more water. Not too much more. Only few inches more, that's
all. Less mud. That's one thing with lotus. Good price, but the time to harvest, especially up here winter
time, eh? Real cold.

(SU:1522) Ceiling was hard because you have to look up, eh? Then after you finish that, wall,
partition. But you have to open up where the door going to be, so you have to learn how to read the
blueprint, see. But blueprint reading is easy. So I did it. And then, after that, he teach me how to put up
the window. He told me, “Well, do this, do that, do that.” Okay, I did it. One thing help me was that I
read the book. You know?

(TA:50) This area, as long as get water in there, not much weeds grow. That's one thing, you got to
be ahead of the weed all the time. Once you leave it, you say, “Ah, tomorrow I go pull.” Tomorrow, that
thing is about a foot long. So my taro patch, I don't give weed chance. I see couple growing, I just walk
in there and throw 'em out.

There are, however, a few clear canonical examples of wan and THING where THING has referential
content (i.e., something in this world):

(NC:128) The patches are there already. It all depends on the grade of the land. Before days they
don't have tractors, so for grade the land in hard. They have to use horses. For instance, the land slope
this way, they can make only so much then they bring down the dirt from the high to the low, then they
get it level. And rice is one thing too much difference the rice get drowned. You don't get enough water
the upper one won't grow, it won't get water. So you have to get them to the level.

(WK:694) She never tell me what kind aumakua. She didn’t say what kind aumakua. But there’s all
kind different aumakua, Hawaiians, they believe. Certain people, they believe. Like ours is ali‘i, see. And
the other one is akualele. Akualele is if you do wrong and you and I have a quarrel, a fight, eh? So I send
my god to hurt you. They call that akualele. They send it, but akualele is what they worship. See, if they
have one thing that they worship, and then make 'em power, eh? You know what I mean. They worship
that thing, or whatever they going worship and they send 'em to you.

5.21.3.3 wan KIND

There are a few good examples of wan combining with KIND:

(FD:245) What they have to wet the bag. To keep the poi damp, eh? And then they wrap up with ti
leaves. You know, at the bottom of the bag. And they tie string, and then they have ti leaf. You know,
you lay the ti leaf down. All the leaves set together like this, and put the hag inside. They have one kind
of plant that’s called sisal. They used that for tie. They strip that before time, they make plenty and they
keep. They used that for rope to tie. And that thing is solid, you know. For tie, roll the bag in the ti leaf
and they had the string underneath, that rope underneath. And then they tie.

(MM:326) No, no more nothing. Not even pasture. Only foxtail grass. Foxtail grass is a grass that
comes up, sticks out like this, and on here get one kind of foxtail like, you know. That's why they call
'em “foxtail,” eh? The grass is short. And then, the tail sticking up. Sticking up like this.

(MM:369) The first thing, well, before the trucking, we had already, we used to have this sling. They
get two cables. That was lousy kind of work, too. You get cables about thirty feet long, I think. And then,
on the end of the cable they get one kind of hook like this, see, on both side. And then, the hapai ko
man, they got to go get that inside the car, you know. They get 'em all inside the cane car. Because when
they finish one field to the other field, they load 'em all in the car, see.

(SU:1554) No, no, no, no. Five o'clock in the morning I open. I take care the defense workers. There
used to be a lot of defense workers down at Waikiki, eh? Come in the morning, when I serve them
breakfast, if I serve breakfast, ham and egg, one kind. Only ham and egg today. Tomorrow, bacon and
egg, all one kind. Sausage and egg. Hotcake. Of course, hotcake, you can get every morning. Hotcake,
muffin, biscuit, we used to make our own, the baker. Then there’s no such thing as you want to eat
bacon and egg, when we get ham and egg. No, no, no. No more. We tell 'em, “No more.” Just ham and
egg.
I used to use Bordeaux mix. I used to spray. But all the rest of them, I didn’t see them spray any kind. Fungicide or insecticide or anything. Bordeaux or something like that. That’s one kind of green powder.

I had asthma, she gave me one kind medicine. They call ‘em wawae-iole. Asthma.

There is an abundance of canonical examples where wan combines with TIME:

- an den one time her n knock on da door,
- Yeah, I think so, sometime they come. Either her or one time I heard they came to Waimea. I wanted to go Waimea to listen about it. They was going talk about Hawaiian medicine.
- One time a week. One bag.
- You know, one time my mother used to go over there and help them.
- They no can see good, eh. One time my mother used to go over there and help them.
- OK, one day, right in front [name deleted] store [name deleted] used to live over there. OK, one day, [name deleted] had a pig pen way down side; the pig wen die — they say to help the kin’, to take care the dead pig. My father, the show case, you know — my father wen stay tell them, this watch good, this one good, all the gold ones good ones; Somebody wen go inside there and go take all the good watches at that time.
- When they get visitors, I go waiter. I go serve the people. One time, the actors–Claudette Colbert, I think–they come spend the night over there, and I served them. Yeah, no shit.
- Yeah, bring one, make finish. They no can bring all one time, no can broke everybody house one time, eh, so one by one. Some, maybe no more house was over there, then maybe they can put inside there, and then the guys stay move, they move.
- He catch plenty moi. One time he throw, I think little more over twenty. He call me, “Come help me.” I no like go inside water. Me, I scared, eh, Honolulu kind water, I no ma’a, eh.
- Well, when he pounded, you know. One, two, and then they wet the hand and they used to make noise, you know, underneath the stone. I can do that too. You know, wet the stone and then you make that noise like that. Eh, make big noise. You ask Roy. Maybe Roy he did that one time, eh.
- And then one night when we slept there, the first night, they had big storm down there. Lot of rain. And the streams got flooded over, eh? and in the morning, about 7 o’clock, I see young children with the bucket. They running in the bushes, they pick up fish. Fill up the buckets, going home, empty and bring it back again. Filling up fish whole morning, you know. So I stopped them one time. I say, “Say, where you get that fish from? Where you buy that fish?” “No, no. No buy. Plenty in the bushes.” You see, that much fish in Waipio Valley.
- Well, just, you know, just like “Manuela Boy”? Go from place to place, looking for something better. Then I landed in Waipio one time. Waipio was good because lot of fish. You don’t have to buy. Lot of vegetation you can eat, live on, just like the present day haoles.
- An afta d-den going get million babies all one time.
- Wal, one time he wen open his clothes, an da wo’f wen open his clothes.
- And then, he get a horse. He ride his horse, and then he go check around. He bin come checking me one time, too, you know, early in the morning. Yeah, I was working down this side. I was a supervisor already that time, and was off season, see. Never get harvesting. So, I had a bunch of kalai men. He come check in the morning when you start. You know, the train leaves at the crossing. If I not mistake, the train used to leave 5:30.
- Turn over, the cane cars. Not the locomotive, though. Yeah, one time over there. Right by that…. Who stay living there? Right by the crossing You know, get one bridge over there, eh? Before when Kondo was living.
- So everybody can go in, get inside. You go one time around, you learn that already. You know what to do already. There’s no such thing as you got to know the technique. In fact, Waikiki Association, one time, we even made a stage. We had da kine butai. We had a play. You know, da kine
shibai, we had. All the boys go act. That was good old days. **One time**, we had shibai. All the young guys dress. We shibai.

(NC:146) Oh, yeah. You know. that's the worse job. Tedious job, you know. You got to get up early in the morning. Just daybreak you going out there. And you stay. That's the worse time, the birds hungry, eh. They come down. No matter how you try. And little bit rain, that's another time. You know, when drizzle. Hoo, they not afraid. **One time** they got me so mad I went home I get the 12 gauge. I wen blow them down. Drop 'em. You scare 'em, eh. But still yet they come. But at least they get scared. They fly away.

(NC:169) That, I don't know. Maybe some of them were not. Some of them, get some throw away. **One time** we had so much, we had to cut the price. Ernest came up and he said, “The regular price for this thing; the extra taro, you get a lower price.”

(SU:1556) So we went down there, only lunch. We used to serve 6 to 700 personnel about three hours. Eleven o'clock we open; about two o'clock we close up. At first, all one time they used to come, you know. So I tell 'em, “Chee, they all come **one time**, we cannot do nothing. So why don't you stagger the hour?” So they did. Eleven o'clock come, eleven thirty, you know, they stagger the hour.

(TA:44) Oh, I don't know. Maybe he start using about late part of 1930's. I think. Because he came down here in about 1935 or 1936. I know he had a big row with Chun **one time**. Because we get a ditch, run my father's land and then go to Chun's and all those places over there. And then Chun folks, they using that water for home use, eh?

(WK:709) From the horse, I was riding the horse. Bareback you know. Galloping the horse, going with the horse, eh? The horse got scared of one, I don't know what she get, that thing wen turn **one time**. When I fell over, I fell right on the guava stump. You know, the guava stump, the County used to clean the road before. You know how sharp they cut with the cane knife, eh? Oh, split my leg, boy. Ho, one big one. I still remember that. And my mother, I never go to the doctor.

(YA:1021) Oh, **one** or two times, that's all. Outside the sand beach, they all go for catching fish, eh, for eat. That's all I know.

(YA:1038) Nineteen fifteen, I come Honolulu, they call me “country jack.” Because me, only me. You know, the other kind stay Honolulu already long time, eh? They say, “You country jack.” Those days, we come Honolulu, we don't know nothing about Honolulu yet, 1915. We only move over there. We only know **one place**, see? So, we walk down Liliha Street, only no more street, yet. Liliha no more street. Get one trail, eh? Go as far as King Street. On this side King Street, where the housing now, is one swamp. Go down, drop down, all the way down.

(YA:1047) No, no. Oh, maybe he get da kine basket they need, I carry 'em out for him in the field, that's all. No, I never help, those days. So pretty, so nice for me. I hardly any work, you know. Only just plant cabbage **one time** in the back yard, and go in the mountain go get da kine wood for burn, eh? You know, da kine dry wood for burn, eh? No more kerosene oil, those days. got to cook with wood. Wood and cast-iron pot. Cook rice, cook water.

(YA:1067) Oh, before, Charlie Aki. He get one taro patch land all the way up to Gulick Avenue. All the other taro patch land is Charlie Aki. That's all. No more nothing over there, anyway. Only this kind place. Then, later on, when I worked shipyard, the Gulick Avenue, get plenty houses on the side of the stream, see. **One time** get one storm. Big storm. I think the tree fall down, block the bridge. Ho, the whole area overflowed, see. And the water no can go nowhere else. They push the house out of the foundations.

(YA:1071) Oh, I don't know. Take, maybe, couple months, I don't know. For my place, more than one month we cleaning up, see. We no can clean 'em up **one time**.

5.21.3.5 wan **PLACE**

There are more than enough canonical examples of wan combining with the primitive **PLACE**:
(AK:665) Waipio, I never did see they put that. I know old folks died, just come like that. Waipio, only one place I saw was that....I saw one old lady. Well, she had lot of money, though. Lot of money. All the gold pieces. I don’t know where that money went to. One dollar, 50 cents or that.

(ER:769) Where they wash? Oh, they make one place. Just like over here so the water run down, no run in the yard, run down someplace.

(ER:796) Yeah. That’s the dog for go help round up cattle. Yeah. Like now, if you get one dog, or two dog, the dog work with you. And you go one place over here so the dog help you bring ‘em up. So only you on one ridge down, you work with your dog, help you bring ‘em up.

(ER:800) Plenty noise and plenty water come down. Sometime you sleep one place, all the water coming on top you, when rain, cold.

(ER:824) To Keomuku. Certain part sometime the horse no can move. That’s why you certain place you go, the horse know. Just like they call one place over there, they name ’em, Pohaku’o. They tell ‘em that’s Pohaku’o. I never get that kind yet, over there, but all the people they pass over there, they tell the chicken crow inside there. That’s why I come scared, eh. But the people, they hear, I never hear.

(ER:852) Yeah. Everybody go one place. Had one big toilet over here. Where my garage was, and where the wall stay like this, this side was the shower, where I wen put wall, over there was the shower room. And this side, everybody go wash clothes. They get plenty tub, eh, for go wash clothes.

(FD:281) They didn’t want us to move here, because they were wondering how come we get the place. Lot of them like the house, but they had some single men were staying in here. He said, well, “The single men we can put them to smaller place.” Like the kitchen all in one place. They used to have the camps over there, and they don’t need the big house like this.

(NC:179) Oh, yeah. From patch to patch it come down. The first one feed the second one, the second one feed the third one, like that. And we get one extra ditch by the side there and that one feeds in when we want to lower, make the taro come down because you cannot always let from one place.

(SU:1521) Because those days, they leave all the tools in one place, nobody steal everything. So I go down there. I go open up, I look, and file. And then, come home, and I do the same thing, the way how they do it. Then Mr. Murakawa say, “Well, you do this.”

(SU:1524) And then, from far place, I yell, “Otosan, Otosan.” So finally, he came out, say, “Naze?” I say, “I came call you.” So, came home. And after that, we went to furo, you know the Japanese furo? All plantation, all everybody get together, all go one place, eh? And after that, we have supper. I tell you, my father really worked hard.

5.21.3.6 wan PART

Evidence for the combination of wan and PART is harder to come by. In the following sentence, pleis refers to a part of one’s body not to a place on a chair or seat where one would sit:

(ER:888) Yeah. Every time I pau work, I go ride horse. Every evening I ride. Because the truck, only you sit down one place, yeah. I drive truck, come sore back. Because you only sit down one place and sweat, yeah, the back. But then bumbai, you use da kine spring, yeah, da kine air kind. No more sore. So when I come home, I go ride horse. More better the horse. Shake you up, yeah. The body all come loose, yeah.

So, arguably this is evidence for the existence of the combination of wan and PART. Consider the following examples:

(AK:628) I took him, we pick up one bag, we went to Kohala that same day. So I told him, “When you go, before we go, you got to get a ti root, one piece of ti root, you know that potato part of the ti root; one small piece ti root. But that medicine get to go with the ti root and the medicine. Only those two things with Hawaiian salt.” I made the medicine down over there and I took the medicine and I tell them what for make, how to do it, but they said, “No, no, no. More better you help us.” (AK:636) This is cowhide. This is to hold the cinches, come here. Now, with this type of saddle, when we put the leather on, we just one complete leather under here. Go as far as here. Then we get one flat form on top bring
down this way. Then you get the stirrups going down all the way down here. You get all separate pieces. And going be like this. This, no cover. This only one small piece. And going be like this. This, no cover. This only one small piece. And if you like cover, they get one whole piece to cover this here. So that’s why they call this Hawaiian Tree. Cowboy saddle they say. This tree, now, is cost money. Cost lot of money, this thing now.

The above examples contain the token pis. It is probably reasonable to assume that this word is definable through the primitive PART. If this is so, then these sentences also constitute evidence, albeit indirect evidence, for the combination of wan and PART.

5.21.3.7 wan (OF) X

This corpus also provided convincing evidence for the “subset” valency of the primitive ONE:

(AK:622) Oh, lot of time. Those days, Waipio people used to bootleg themselves. They make their own okolehao. I was one of them too, you know, make all those things.

(AK:625) Well, you know. Those days, had lot of people, kolohe, they go get the fish from over there. They old. Unfortunately, I tell the truth, I was one of them too, see.

(AK:631) Yeah, he bring his Bible open in Hawaiian. He pray in Hawaiian. He prays in English. He's good, very good. I don't know, I would be one of them, but never did to try that. Well, with everything you do in medicine, you had to forgive yourself in order to be cured.

(BB:015) I worked in the field. You know [name deleted], he's the contractor, eh. I was one of fastest hoe hana guy. So, when I came over here too, eh they see me hoe hana, eh – Shee!, the guy tell me, he never see one guy can hoe hana like me. You know Kukuihaele side, when you go below the road, eh get plenty stone. But when you stay above the main highway around warehouse side, eh around there no more stone, you know. Good land all the way up to...

(EB:1140) Well, because of one of my lolo friend.

(ER:870) Then my cousin tell me, he know where Uncle Lew and Uncle Chester stay. She tell, “More better I take you down their house.” I tell, “Okay, more better.” She tell me, the bus stop right under here, and from about three o’clock something, the bus going come around here, stop over here. She tell me, either one of them two guys stay on top the bus that kind hour. Stay going come over here, maybe that's their last run going home. And one of them...

(FD:275) Yeah, he just go. You know where this Chong is taking care another taro? Chong, Alvin Chong? He's one of the taro farmer in Waipio, but he lives Waimea. Near to the mountain side, my dad used to climb up. Not too far. Even go there to pick up lau hala leaves too, for making hat.

(FD:291) Well, that's why I think, rest. Not like how I usually do, steady, every day. Maybe I go in the patch, but not as steady I used to do. I tells my husband that. Well, we plan to put our business on one of our sons, if they like. Then, we can go help them work little bit, not as much as we are doing like now.

(GF:302) Well, those three days, I went home. We got home and everytime we talk about Waipio Valley. Then I told him, “Gee, I going back Waipio Valley one of these days. Go holo-holo down there.” I went to Mock Chew’s house, we stayed only at Mock Chew’s house talk about taro, talk about cattle. “I never been around the valley.” I told him that. “Plenty nice girls down there.” I told him.

(GF:346) Yeah, they got to have company to work together. One of them very good boy. His name is William Petersen. And then, he works very good. I like him. He don't know how to cut trees with the chain saw, I show him how to cut trees. And then, he don’t know how to till, I show him how to till. He don't know how to plant, I show him how to plant.

(JB:61) Well, he was a taro farmer. And he was one of the greatest bootlegger in Waipio Valley. And he does keep the taro farm, and he does make okolehao.

(JB:65) Oh yeah. The reason why they know my father, because my father is, as I say, he was one of the greatest bootlegger in Waipio Valley.

(JB:69) Then when they so drunk, that’s when they get the trouble. But if they control themself, as far as the trouble concerned, they don’t get into that trouble. The only one, as I mentioned the early
beginning, was Luther Makekau, was one of the roughest guys. He was the fellow that does the trouble. He's a pure Hawaiian. And he's the only one that does the trouble, doing all kind of mischief. That's why we bar him out of Waipio Valley. And I still remember that.

(KH:132) Oh, you know one of my brutha, he seen one clothes, ya? Wit blood on top of.

(KH:132) An one of my auntie wen down Sea Life Pa’k wheya Pali use to live, onna Pali, up da Pali...

(MM:319) But I don’t know. I was small kid, so I don't know how many men was working at the stable. But actually, I know a person was a stable man there because one of his sons was my classmate and we played together. In fact, the father used to go fishing, and once in a while, his son and me, we used to go down the beach. The father used to throw net there, and we the bag boys, see?

(MT:1169) See, people over here is funny. They figure, when you do something, they figure that you going to gain, not them. So, as I say, it's kind of family thing over here, so if they had one of their relatives in there being president or something, then things might be different. They figure that I was running the thing for my benefit, which, in general, was for everybody.

(NC:135) His wife is Hawaiian. One of the daughter was school teacher. Grace Choy.

(NC:187) We didn't do crops for two years, a little more, three years. We didn't plant anything. And then we work on it. It still get sick. They say we didn't rest the land. I say, “It’s been over two years and not been used. How do you account for that?” You know, the University guys, they cannot tell me. They came up and one of them is a doctor a Filipino doctor.

(OC:6) So he say, “Who’s interested in that thing? How much would you offer?”. And this Chinese fellow said, “I bid the first bid.” Well, you know, they only bid $1000 and the other one said, “Oh, I bid $2000” just to make a bid. He knows that even one of the two houses is worth more than four or five thousand dollars. So I put $5000.

(OC:7) They don’t like the Chinese boy to get ahead, you know, so I asked one of the working man–one Hawaiian man–if he can ask the boss to let me sell newspapers for the house.

(SU:1521) Then he gave me one of his saw. You know, the saw, eh? He gave me one. Of course, I bought the saw, hammer, square, and all those things that I need immediately, see. So I don’t know how to sharp the saw, I don’t know how to sharp the kanna, everything, see. But the saw that he gave me is already fixed, everything, so I use that.

(SU:1546) So I bought one big–you know, the ice house used to go around all around the place before? Big wooden kind? I bought one of that. And then, I put 300 pounds of ice inside there. One big block. And then, put beer. At least about two. I gotta keep some beer because we run out, no good, see. So, that’s what we used to do.

(TA:35) I don’t know exactly how much. One of those immigrants, when I was born, he’s a witness. I think I get my birth certificate in here.

5.21.4 Summary

This study found examples of the following valences in the corpus:

ONE PERSON
ONE THING
ONE TIME
ONE PLACE
ONE KIND
ONE TIME
ONE PART
ONE (OF) X
5.22 TWO

5.22.1 Primitive Syntax

The following are valid combinations for the primitive TWO:

TWO PERSON/THING/PLACE/TIME/KIND/PART
TWO OF D0 SI

5.22.2 HCE Candidates

The HCE exponent for the NSM primitive TWO is tu.

5.22.3 Examples of tu

5.22.3.1 tu PERSON(S)

There are a couple of good canonical examples of tu and PERSON in combination:

(AK:594) I came back to Kona, then went down, went fishing. Try to learn about fishing with old people. Then, two old people, and I stayed with them. They teach me the in and out of fishing. Go opelu fishing and all that. I learned all those things. Then I come out again, you know, I meet friends, friends ask me for go and this and that's how I come.

(MT:1166) We could be a family, as a whole, in Waipio, if everybody cooperated together. We could get better prices, we wouldn’t get the problems we have right now. We have to get quantity to get some kind of action from any agency, Federal Government, State. This way, we have only one or two people, we won’t get nothing. So actually, Waipio Valley as it stands now, it’s really hard to say what’s going to become of it.

(MT:1176) Everything is on contract basis. I had two people harvest for me and I have one man to kind of maintain the place.

(MT:1181) No, I plant my own. Me and my boy. My wife was doing it with me too, before, but now she’s up in bed so it’s a difficult situation. Actually, I can do it by myself, but why should I struggle. You have to walk back and forth on each line. When you have two people on one end come together, it’s faster. Might take me eight hours, when we can do it in two hours with two people.

(NC:123) I don’t know. In those days everything is done by hand; planting, harvesting, everything. There’s no such thing as machinery. Even plowing and all those things. Plowing, you use two horses and two people manage that. One is the driver and one holds the plow. Harrowing one fellow who uses a horse. A harrow is easy to manage. Like the planting is all hand work. You pull the rice first, tie them in bunches, then plant. Maybe two or three fellas use line. They pull the line and two lines they plant. And the fellas who plant the rice plant six rows come down. Get space for six rows because that’s the only way they can get them straight.

There are numerous near-canonical examples of this combination:

(BB:022) Yea, the other two, girls. One is over here and the other one is married. My oldest son is married. But the two boys living with me over here. They not married. My youngest girl is married.

(EB:1145) Only after the war, now. Because the old man wen make, the boy take over. So, they get Joe and—two Filipinos. Three with us working, before, now. But I only control the dairy—I only work in the dairy. The rest, the two guys, they pull weeds outside in the ranch.

(ER:753) So me and my older brother, bring the two guys here, and then we send ’em school. Then we take care them, go school over here until they graduate from over here. One wen graduate, then he
wen go Lahainaluna School. And the other one, my sister wen take him Kona. Chester went Kona school. Then he went Konawaena little while, then when she wen die he wen go Lahainaluna School. Then them two guys wen stay, no more one year, they run away from school. They wen go work for, what you call da kine car on top the road. Honolulu before they get the...

(ER:804) Yeah, right by the chest, over here the heart, and over here soft. That's why you just poke the knife right inside and pull 'em up and just let 'em go. Sometime he stand up and he lean, and then he gone. Pick one over there, poke 'em, put one another one, poke 'em, put another one, poke 'em. No more noise. They no yell. Get two guys hold 'em out like this. One go with the knife. 'Cause they no like you poke and like that, 'cause you going bruise all the meat. They like you one time you poke 'em. If you feel soft, eh, you know that's the straight place you going. You just poke 'em straight and then just leave 'em go. He bleed until he gone.

(ER:839) And the two boys go school. They go school and them the one come home cook. They cook for us. But we reach home early, we cook. But sometime they come home, pau school quick, they cook for us, see. That's how we was going.

(FD:290) I like to see what he says because he's the pastor of the church, he supposed to know more. But funny, I have that kind feeling. Sometime, if you neglect God, that's what. I don't go to church, that's why I tell you two girls, but I have just a church in my own heart.

(GF:310) “Gee, how many pounds one bag sugar?” “Hundred twenty-five pounds,” he tell me. “I weigh only 110 pounds. The sugar bag heavier than me.” When I went work there the first day, I could hardly move one bag sugar. Then one other guy got to help me. Two guys load the sugar. He said, “That's all right, boy. When you get used to, the bag of sugar is just like nothing.”

(KO:110) Uh, then she had boys, two boys and two girls Keaka an Po–Pono again. (LI:142) Dey wen take a showa... on two guys was takin showa,

(MM:320) Yeah. We were ten in the family, eh? Eight living. Two died already. Two boys died. My older brother and my younger brother, Richard.

(MM:364) Two men. Two in one gang, eh?

(MT:1176) The two men that I have, they just harvest. Harvest the taro, put it in the bag. One man just cleans around, maintains, cleans the grass in the paddies and stuff. That's all he does. But he's not really full time. That's only when I need him.

(MY:1453) We had four boys and two girls. Of course, right now, we have only two boys left and two sisters. Both brothers are living in Kapahulu. My sisters all moved out. One in Manoa and one in Pearlridge.

(SU:1549) Right by cash register. Yeah, you know, I tell you, people really honest. Really honest, you know. Really honest. Of course, not every time busy, you see. When we moved after we got condemned down Waikiki, we moved to Kapi'olani, we did the same thing. Two girls in the morning cannot keep up with the crowd that used to come in the morning. We used to open six o'clock in the morning. The crowd rush. So we did the same thing.

(TA:48) That's where used to get lot of trouble too. Sometime the water head buried from the flood. Maybe you get six farmers use that ditch. You go over there fix you get only about two guys. That's why used to get lot of grumbling and all kinds.

(TA:55) I cut down to 300 eh. Now days, I kind of tired. And I used to have about four girls work for me. Now I only get one. One come every other week. I get two girls but they alternate every other week.

This assumes that boi, gays, grlz, and men are decomposable in terms of PERSON.

5.22.3.2 tu THING(S)

There is a single canonical example of tu in combination with SOMETHING:

(AK:628) So I told him, “When you go, before we go, you got to get a ti root, one piece of ti root, you know that potato part of the ti root; one small piece ti root. But that medicine get to go with the ti root and the medicine. Only those two things with Hawaiian salt.” I made the medicine down over there
and I took the medicine and I tell them what for make, how to do it, but they said, “No, no, no. More better you help us.”

5.22.3.3 tu TIME(S)

There are a considerable number of examples of tu occurring with the primitive TIME:

(AK:618) About two times a month, like that. Or, if we going have a special meeting, well, we all have notice that we going have special meeting. So we come.

(AK:648) That all depend on the orders. If Leslie wants 20 bags, or 40 bags a week, I have to pull the 40 bags a week, of taro or so. Sometime 20 bags a week. All depends, what the order calls for. But, Leslie Chang always have the big order, so. Twenty bags a day pull. Maybe I pull two times a week, see. At least two times a week.

(EB:1144) In the bank? Well, not every day, though. Because maybe two times a week only. Yeah, two times a week. Then, I go to the pasture.

(ER:869) Yeah. I think about one month, I think, we wen stay da kine. Once a week, I think, two time one week, we gotta come up. You know, two time one week in the night, we gotta come up. Come by the office, come report or come get something for eat. They give you something for eat. Up here, they eat every time free kaukau, eh. But...

(ER:869) You go by the police station. They stay inside there, you go inside there. Get some guys every time stay in the office. They like know what happened down there, what get or light. They said two time one week in the night, we gotta come up, what we see gotta come make report, yeah.

(FD:261) I don’t know what kind. And then two times, I think two times I drank. That thing wen stop bleeding. And then I didn’t remember what was the cause. Yeah, 16 years I didn’t have my period.

(FD:272) I think they pick four or five flowers, you know the dry ones, the ones already closed and the ones open, and the leaves, dry and the green one. I see them mix that together, they pound ’em all-together. Yeah. And then they roll ’em out. And that thing come sticky, you know. You know the ti leaf, that thing, after you rub ’em and that thing come sticky, just like. You know the skin, just like put ’em together. I think two times my mom did that, and open the skin like that.

(FD:283) Yeah, and I have Fannie, she comes, and my day of work, not every day now. See, I work two times a week. I worked Monday and Thursday, used to be before and he delivers Fridays, see.

(MM:325) Movies? I no remember any movies, but I think they came one or two times with what they call that? That picture that doesn’t move?

(MT:1174) So far, no. Because it’s a stream like, see. Once in a while, I go in with my tractor and kind of clean all that. You know, get shrubs growing over. I just clean out the ditch. But it’s very — I did it maybe only one, two times yet, so far.

(MY:1478) And the parent, if you like go surfing, he cannot stop you. So, summertime, I can go surfing only two times. My mother let me go surfing only two—once in the morning, once in afternoon. So, if I go in the morning, I go surfing, and I got to come out, quick, take shower, and dry off, come home. I told my mother, “I never go in the water yet, so I still get afternoon two time more.” So, afternoon, when we go, I go one in the afternoon. Then late in the evening, we go again. Late in evening. Dark already, we still surfing.

(NC:121) No, the top, it’s open. It’s made out of flour bag. Either flour bag or muslin. You know how pajamas are, eh? Loose under but on top is wide so they just... I don't know, I forget how that thing go anyway. I think it’s twist around once that thing, you catch the two, you twist it around then you fold them two times, I think. It stays though.

(NC:137) Some fella would peddle ’em. You know the kind opihi shell, about this big. Half a dollar, just one little ’speck. Just enough for two time or three time you smoke, that’s all. You know that thing? The pipe is long, say about this long. And in the middle get one, what shall I call it... I don’t know how to describe it. The shape is like this.
Never. He called me two times. After that, he still called me. I said, “No, I cannot do such business. If I sell to you and I take the taro and sell to the other fellow, you don’t like that, too.” And then he said, “Oh, yeah. It’s hard. You cannot find some for me?” I said, “I told you that I don’t do business for the other fellow. I do my business for my own only.” So he came up, he scout Waipio. He went try to look for dry land taro. I don’t know if he got any or not.

And then, you go to the counter. The cook pour in stew. We used to make about two different kind every day. Stew, and curry, or roast beef or something. Then, they go and pick up their own butter, pick up their own bread, everything, dessert. On one section they get girls down there watching. Coffee, they take their own coffee. They can have two times, three times, whatever they can drink. And then, they pay the cashier. They have to pass the cashier.

Then you wait for couple months, then burn ‘em. And you get taro patch already. Then you fill ‘em up with water, then you go hire the Filipino. He come with the harrow, soften up. About two, three times more you come over there, you get one patch ready. You go look for huli, plant ‘em. You don’t go clean the whole thing one time. When you finish, you plant. You keep on going. Next one you finish, you plant. Just keep on going.

Well, sometime I have two time, sometime one time. But most time I have two time.

Outside the sand beach, they all go for catching fish, eh, for eat. That’s all I know.

When I went to Japan, the first thing they ask me— they bow their head, they bow to you two or three times, I think— and then, you know, they say, “Are you Japanese?” They ask the question. In talking in Japanese, “Anata Nihonjin?” Bumbai, I tell ‘em—I don’t understand too much—but I tell ‘em, “No, me, Chinese.”

There are several good canonical examples of the combination of TWO and KIND:

Yeah, merry-go-round. I think only swing and the merry-go-round. I think that’s all, only two kind for the kids. Oh, and sandbox, you know, the beach sand, go play sand. They make sand for their castle.

Twelve feet. They get two kind. Twelve and fifteen. Yeah, twelve and fifteen, they have.

They got to make adjustment. So, they have two kinds, see. All the plantations, they had what they call the “irrigation field” and the “dry-land field.” What they mean by “dry land,” they no more irrigation, see. They only waiting for the rain come down. So the lines are almost flat, yo. Only when they go irrigation field, the lines stay like this, eh?

Ng Ka Pei. They call ‘em. Mui Kai Lu. Two kinds. Ng Ka Pei is kind of more like whiskey color and Mui Kai Lu is white. Mui Kai Lu. Mui is flower, eh? But it’s peach, mui, peach flower, they say And the other one is Ng Ka Pei. Ng is eye. Ka pei is that kind hat bark, bark of the tree or something like That. I guess maybe the liquor get the bark in there gets the color, eh?

Once in a while. If I see the taro don’t grow, well, I use 16-16-16. I buy two kinds. I put, what you call, super phosphate. I buy special, that real super kind. Then I mix ‘em with the fertilizer, make ‘em little more strong.

There is some indirect evidence for the combination of tu and PART. In the examples below, tu is used with words denoting parts of humans and human artifacts:

Like the turtles, she said, “They know if the family need help. It’s a surprise, you can see the turtle float.” And a huge turtle, enough for one human to ride on. She tells me that, but I didn’t see for my own two eyes.
(NC:126) Yeah, you make sure you don’t bend the root part. Otherwise he die. So you catch like that and you poke ‘em down with your two fingers go down, because the thing is soft. Your two fingers go down the thing then you bring your finger up and the rice stay because the dirt is going to close up. You don’t plant it too deep, not more than one inch, less than an inch down.

(YA:1029) Bumbai, my mother said, “Go bring the big basket.” Chinese, da kine big basket, eh? Bring the basket and use the mosquito net. Make one scooper like with the two handle with the stick. And then, on the front they sew one cord-wire or what you call, aho or anything, cord. Behind there, they sew the other one, too. They tie the other end with it, just like one bag.

In the example below, tu is used with pis, whose decomposition very likely involves the primitive PART:

(WK:701) Yeah. And then, you know, my grandfather, he too good make that furo kine heat. You know, he just stuck, the wood inside, two big piece wood. That wood would keep on burning all almost all night and the hot water stay hot, you know. Yeah Waipio. Big chunk wood, da kine, monkeypod, eh? Stuck ’em in there. Next the wood keeping going all night and the hot water would be all night. And next morning, they even go take a bath next morning. The water still hot. Yeah.

And finally, in the following example, tu is used with haef:

(YA:1052) Oh, same kind. Mostly, you know, repair da kine for the ship. You know, when they assign you one job, you make bearing for certain kind of job. You know, bearings, they pour by the lead already, see? All you have to do is put on machine and cut the bearing into two half. Then, you make ’em to fit, eh? That’s all, see.

It is hard to conceive of any decomposition of haef which does not involve the primitive PART. Presumably, haef may be decomposed along the following lines:

(118) haef ⇔
  a. one of two parts,
  b. this part is the same as the other part

5.22.3.6 tu (OF) X

There are a number of near-canonical examples of the “partitive” valence of tu:

(AK:668) The family, he came by my house. And then, Robert Kahele was. The uncle, Solomon Kala, was. And two of the nephews, I think was. One Filipino. That’s the one was wash out from the tidal wave. And one Japanese old man.

(ER:900) I wen go inside there, ho, come deep and narrow. Spooky. Narrow when the stone roll down, he going bang, bang. I went way inside there. And I went Maunalei Gulch, way inside, too, till the water, till the end. And this one, I wen go till the end, till you no can climb, no more. Because I like go hunting, eh, I like go look inside there. Because from the top, you look, ho, deep. So I walk one time, walk go inside there. Two of us, but I forget who the other guy.

(FD:250) Yeah, they cute. But only I had ehu hair. They said, “Funny, pure Hawaiians, they no more ehu hair.” I said, “Maybe the far back family,” you know. Maybe today pure Hawaiian now all mix, eh? I used to have real ehu hair; me and my sister, two of us, the one in Honolulu. My sister is prettier than me, the oldest sister.

(GF:336) Fourth of July, or some kind of holiday, we set aside certain day we want to have a picnic. All the Mock Chews and me, my family. Get together. My family, just only two of us, my wife and I. My in-laws, we all get together. We shut the whole stream. One side, turn ’em on to the other side. We used to get, each of us take one pack mule, load all dirt, clay dirt. Then we go there, we block the stream. We set the rocks across, like this. Slant. The water run the other way. The whole stream dry.

(JB:72) You know, don’t let the bag run back to my wife, to the womb, whatever they call it. If you don’t step it, he going to run back. So what you got to do is stepping on it and get a spoon or poke your
fing in it until they take it out. That’s the experience I had. I didn’t have no doctor. Two of my

(NC:149) That’s worse. Right now he just better learn how to cook his own breakfast. Other than
that he’s waste time. They all bookworms. Dai Ho and Ah Kong. All honor roll students though. From
high school to university. The two of them. One-two. One-two. Every time. First-second. First-second.

(NC:152) I know Olepau used to grow rice. Old man Fred Olepau. That’s the father of this boy here,
the Olepau down here. He used to grow rice. He and who was the other one now? He and his brother.
Two of them anyway. And Henry Olepau.

(NC:157) It was April 1st... April fool, you know. I had breakfast and then two of my workmen and
I, we went up, I would say about 300 yards away, the patch way up there.

(NC:168) Araki and John Loo were agents, two of them.

(WK:711) The other one Ilihune. The husband name is Alama nui. But they wen move to Kaiwaihae.
That’s two of them only.

5.22.4 Summary

The following NSM syntactic combinations were found in our corpus:

TWO PERSON(S)
TWO THING(S)
TWO TIMES(S)
TWO KIND(S)
TWO PART(S)
TWO (OF) X

The following combination was missing from our data:

TWO PLACE(S)

5.23 MUCH/MANY

5.23.1 Primitive Syntax

The following combinations are

MANY PERSONS/THINGS/KIND/TIME/PLACE/PART
MANY (OF) d1 s1
[SP1] SAID MUCH (ABOUT) [s2/THE SAME]
[SP1] KNOW MUCH (ABOUT) [s2/THE SAME]

5.23.2 HCE Candidates

There are several possible exponents for the NSM primitive MANY/MUCH in HCE: lats, mani, mach, and
pleni. I believe aw is also an allolex of MANY/MUCH in the highly restricted context of KIND.
5.23.3 Examples of lats

5.23.3.1 lats PERSON(S)

There are numerous canonical examples of lata in combination with PERSON:

(AK:593) Crack the road, you know, the highways on that. So, Hind wants to repair the stone walls; never had wire fence those days. He had all stone walls. So, he hired lot of people, had all young boys and some old people. That’s how I met the Ah Pucks. They came there and work, we all worked together, stay boarding house together and we get acquainted with each other.

(AK:596) Today is different, altogether. I don’t know how come but like today, today they say, “You better not drink down there, you might get some kind of disease or sickness.” Lot of people had some sick, they blame Waipio water. But we were down there, we were drinking all that water, even the spring water.

(AK:596) Yeah, there were lot of people, those days. You count, you count with the babies, all that. When the flood start washing Waipio, that’s when the people start to move out. Wen move up to Kukuihaele, like that, whatever. Then plus this tidal wave, eh? Washed down these beach houses, all that. So they move out from the valley.

(AK:621) No, I never did write songs. We had one old man, he’s a good composer. Sammy Lia, yeah, he’s a good composer. He writes songs. You know about this Hiiilawe song, that song of Hiiilawe, he wrote that, the father wrote that. He’s a musician too. I think he was a Lahainaluna graduate. Lot of old people, these old people, they play instruments.

(AK:625) Well, you know. Those days, had lot of people, kolohe, they go get the fish from over there. They old. Unfortunately, I tell the truth, I was one of them too, see.

(AK:626) Mullet, yeah. Big kind mullet, though. Even the front pond, lot of people go steal fish.

(AK:627) That was about 1939, I think I started getting saddle, I think was 1940, I think. He was doing saddle before that. Lot of people I think. I know, I think I got my saddle 1940.

(AK:665) Yeah. We broke the coffin, sometime we pull the leg. The leg come out. With the shoes and all. The head, the hair come out. No more money. I know I did that, but foolish idea to do that. You know, the mischief we get around with boys. I see lot of them, olden days before, I think most of the time, they put the gold piece money on the eye. Some silver, the silver dollar. Some, the $20 gold piece, $5, or something. I don’t know whether they bury that with them, but. Maybe they do bury that because they have that on the eye. And lot of old people there see that.

(AK:667) Uha o Hopoe. Uha means this part. Hopoe, that’s the name of the lady, Hopoe. I don’t think so lot of people don’t see that, because it’s in the private property. But you could see if you going
go get a permit from the shipmens. It’s the legend, it’s long legend, it’s the story. But really, I did see that.

(GF:303) Well, you see Mock Chew had two factions of people. They had one camp, Filipino camp, and the Chinese camp. Chinese side get about six or eight guys working and then Filipino, we have 10 guys. Then **lot of people**, they have nothing to do, they want to eat. Well, nobody stop them, they come help themselves.

(GF:306) I was born in Honomakau, Kohala. I was young, real young. And those days, **lot of Hawaiian people**. Only Hawaiian people, Honomakau. Where the high school is now, all Hawaiians, Hawaiian people live there. Upside the road, below the road, and the road going down, road going up; all Hawaiians.

(GF:313) The whole Waipio Valley. Down the beach. All along every place you see in the valley besides taro fields used to be for Mock Chew. Mock Chew used to lease the places. And then he used to lease lot of lands from John T. Baker Estate. The reason why he lease them because, **lot of Chinese people** used to own taro fields.

(GF:318) So we got first crop. I pay Andrade off. Then Andrade tell me, “Say, you get some more job? Any time you like work, call me. I come help you. I make for you.” But Andrade, he doesn’t charge you only for the working time, he charging for maintenance time too. He double the charge on everything. That’s why **lot of people** bought their own tractors. That’s why, even me, I bought one small tractor.

(GF:320) About 600 bags, 700 bags. Because the further up you go, production is lower. And further down you go, way down below, they have better lands. Taro plant produce more taro. Lot of sunshine and the water is warmer, see. You can have cold water, but you can make it warm. Further up you go, above my place. Further up. The taro is low in production. That’s why there’s **lot of people** there with the taro land, they have small patches. Roy Toko get small patches. Some people above there have. Chongs, they have small patches there.

(JL:21) I met **lotta people** in the mainland. Get plenty pickcha at home. You know, where I went. You like see those pickcha?

(MM:320) Yeah. Those days I think a **lot of people** was like that.

(MM:325) Well, the only other things that we play, you know, we play ball, and play master. Mostly it’s master, because for play ball you need **lot of people**, lot of boys. We don’t get that much boys, eh? So, what we do mostly is play master.

(MM:338) But up to the time when I started to work, I don’t know, the old man really had hard time. Oh, my mother used to be a cook. She used to cook for several guys. You know, in those days, they get **lot of single people**, eh? And then, some people, you cook, and then they come and eat at your place. And then, they pay so much a month.

(MM:350) New Year’s and Christmas, I don’t know. They had some kind of fair. Churches, they used to get to know you. They used to get kids and they give ’em candy, orange, apple, like that. But I don’t know. I didn’t go to the church. But I notice **lot of people** used to go for candies and things like that.

(MY:1464) Oh, the hotels. Waikiki had **lot of people** in Waikiki, gaijin, that all had good jobs. See, in old days, all the Haole people had all good jobs. Like they work the immigration office. Mother was a schoolteacher and the father was a customs inspector. There was-another one, same thing. Of course, we had a good public relations man, Sam Kahanamoku. He used to bring all the hotel customers to. All bring. Johnny Weismuller, everybody that he knows that need cleaning. He call Mama, he give them the – to bring all to my house.

(NC:119) Hui Nui. That’s the biggest. Hui Nui, the interpretation is “Big Company.” Hui is company. Nui is big. If I’m not mistaken 12 people in the Hui Nui I think. But when they harvest time and plant time they hire a **lot of people**. They get about 20 or 30 people working.

(NC:196) Yeah, we used to get concert and dance every once in awhile. **Lots of people** come from outside districts. Come from Kohala, from Waimea, and even from Hilo, come Waipio go dance.

(SU:1528) Yeah. “Maukaloa,” you know, place we used to stay. And then, Andrade, same thing, too. “Andrade Camp.” Mill Camp is “Mill Camp.” Used to get four teams. One, “Kawai Nui.” Kawai Nui was a
small place. But this Mill Camp, we get **lot of people** down there, so they was the strongest team every
time, see.

(SU:1572) But too crowded. Too crowded. That’s why they was talking about making a convention
hall on the Fort DeRussy’s empty place, eh? Well, there’s two ways of looking at it. When you make
convention, of course, **lot of people** going to stay down Waikiki hotels. They can walk and go without
using the transportation. But when you go far away, you have to use the transportation, and then
congestion of the roads, eh?

(TA:44) Oh, it took me quite some time. The patch was ready made already. Only thing had full of
grass. That’s when, early part of 1940’s, my father was the first one to introduce herbicide down here.
Ho, he used to get big trouble down here. Because **lot of people** use the ditch for home use, see, the
water.

(TA:45) You know, you pulling taro, I say, “Hey, I like huli. I help you pull.” See, what I pull, that’s
my huli. I make. But I helping you pull taro. I no get paid or nothing. So I take your huli. That’s how I
got all my huli. And then even today, **lot of people** do that. See, they want huli. You pulling taro, he go
help you pull. Then, since I helping you pull, you go help me make huli too.

(TA:48) That’s when the taro start maturing. That’s when you got to kind of warm up the water.
Then, when the taro almost mature, ready to harvest, then you dry ’em up. When he dry, all the roots
would die, come rotten, easier for pull. But I don’t dry mine. If you dry, the grass come back. And to
clean the patch, that’s another job. I leave little bit water but I don’t let the water run. Let little bit water
come in, little going out. Maybe about inch or so water. **Lot of people** they dry, then easier to pull. You
see, we dry the patch long--this soil is clear soil--he packs hard again.

(TA:59) Yeah, after I retired from working, I came down here and then I took over. Because
**lot of people** come down, nobody over here. My father was living down Hilo.

(YA:1031) So we put one big tray underneath here, and you put the strainer on top, see? Then you
bring the shrimps. Wait till the strong wind come. You pour ’em down like that. The shrimps fall down,
and the shell fly away, see? That’s how they make shrimps. **Lot of people** don’t know how they get the
shrimps from.

(YA:1073) No, no. I no like that. No hunting, no fishing. Plenty people from Pearl Harbor, retired,
they ask me to go fishing. I tell ’em no. I no want go fishing. I says, fishing more danger than anything. I
cannot swim good. Too much, too far away. If my boat turn over, I get drowned. More better I stay on
land. So, **lot of people** tell me go play golf. I no like play golf. Play golf is good, but you know, you got
to work hard on the field playing golf. You know, sand....

5.23.3.2 lats **THING(S)**

There are several canonical examples of *lata* and **THING**:

(AK:616) Yeah, they give us the money. Of course, they get the money, but we do the work, then
they pay. We were good, our club, we did **lot of good things**.

(GF:303) Well, because just like any other nationality. You know what I mean? They have Chinese,
they eat Chinese food. And Filipinos, they eat Filipino food. You see? But easy for the Filipinos to eat
Chinese food. But the Chinese, they cannot eat Filipino food. You know what I mean? The Filipino food,
sometimes is too oily and sometime they only boil, they don’t put oil. You know what I mean? They eat
**lot of raw things**. Chinese doesn’t eat raw things. Not even raw fish.

(GF:321) I said, “Yeah, she’s going to be better.” “What makes you think so?” “Well, less people
raising taro. The young people, they go to school, they go to high school, they go to college, they never
come back again. The old people dying out. Maybe I’m telling you this now but pretty soon I’m dying
too. I don’t know if any young people going to continue.” “Why, you have family not working, not
continuing?” “Oh, yeah, I have in-laws. They have lot of lands down here, they kind of giving up and
some old people taking over and they already giving up.” I told them **lot of things** about Waipio without
realizing that they were trying to lend me money to rehabilitate my place. Then they talk to me.
Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki. Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite oru,” he said. “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki people.” He tell, “How come?” That’s the truth, that’s why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That’s why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.” The guy, he look sick. That’s why, even today, all the Japanese old ladies, they like me. They know me because always I go to their funerals and everything, I go.

(NC:190) Sure enough, he never did get rot. He nearly double the amount of taro from that patch. And Keamalu was surprised. He said, “Gee whiz. After all, all Hawaiian way is all gone already.” I said, “You see, more full the taro.” Because lots of things, I don’t believe in Hawaiian, you know. Like, for instance, fishing. If you go and you turn around and come back to the house again. They said hard luck, this and that, and all of that stuff.

5.23.3.3 lats PLACE(S)

There are a few canonical examples of lata and PLACE:

(MM:374) Yeah. And another thing where is hard, too, this Van Dreser, he tell, “Wait till that thing is really dry, then burn. No burn when you only half.” I tell ’em, “Well, that’s lot of places danger.” They like everything so and so, you know. So, we make a firebreak, but usually, if a big field, let’s say over here is the hundred-acre field, we start from the back and work our way this way. If the next field is maybe almost ready for harvest or maybe about seven-, eight-month cane and get ‘opala, the fire, if it go inside there, he going burn, see.

(SU:1572) Yeah. If they ever do that, those guys going be in lot of trouble, though. Oh, lot of trouble. Because the old folks, that’s the only place they can go, see. Because, sure, they have a lot of places in countryside, but that’s too far away. They cannot drive the car.

5.23.3.4 lats TIME(S)

There are numerous canonical examples of lata and TIME:

(AK:622) Oh, lot of time. Those days, Waipio people used to bootleg themselves. They make their own okolehao. I was one of them too, you know, make all those things.

(AK:663) Sometime come gust, from the ocean way. Pretty strong, the wind. But, everytime we get Kona wind, nothing damaged, though. Maybe couple trees fall down, like that. But houses no more roof and go fly out. In Kona, had. Kona terrible. Strong. Lot of time houses fall down. No more roof, and all the iron roof go fall down. I don’t know why. Kona, strong though, the wind. We have Kona wind in Waipio, but not too bad.

(GF:308) “What you going do?” “Oh, I going work plantation. The plantation wants working men, they need working men. The plantation ask me lot of time to work for them and I never go back work.”

(GF:321) Oh, yeah. Lot of times.

(GF:325) No, sugar company get nothing to do. But sometimes the farmers, they not so good to one another. Especially, like Toledo, eh? He go in the river, he dredge the river. He damage other people’s property. Toledo did that to me lot of times, though. But I didn’t do anything to him. That’s up to him.

(GF:341) That waste is not so good. Because it takes lot of time to cultivate taro, and taro is scarce. Price of poi go sky high, and the price of taro is not so good. Even $20 a bag is low yet, the price. For the amount of money they charge for one pound of poi, that’s too much. Ridiculous. I buy about $4 of poi every week.

(GF:347) Yeah, I select the seeds. I want all one size. But some people, they make big seed, small seed, any size seed. So long seed. I don’t want to go through waste lot of time. I don’t want to. Because I harvest every week. I don’t need that much seed. Plant just certain amount. I always get about six patches back.
But in the afternoon when pau hana, they pau hana four o’clock. And then if the guy had to walk one mile and come to the station—well, we no call it “station,” because every place where the working people come, well, the train got to stop and pick up those guys. The train start from way down Maha'ulepu where the pump is. From there, he come, come, come, come, pick up. Every place get fellas waiting, he got to pick ’em up. From four o’clock, lot of time to reach over here by the Koloa crossing, maybe about 5:30 or so. And you know, short days already, almost sundown already.

But weekend, sometimes we go in the morning. We shoot three in the morning. And then, in afternoon, you take a rest, you have lunch, and maybe you start again maybe about 1:30, two o’clock, you shoot another three. Lot of time. Not every time, though. Yeah, when you get luck, eh?

All around the Waita. Well, I go early in the morning just before the sun rise. That’s why, the dog, they knock out, you know. You know the buffalo grass? The grass is high, eh? They got to jump, jump, and knock out, you know. They tired, eh? Well, usually, when the bird is in the tall grass, when the dogs jump like this, the bird hear the noise, eh? So they scared, they fly up. And then, you shoot ’em. And when you shoot ’em.... You know why I tell my dog was good? When the bird come up, lot of time, he stand up with his hind leg, you know. And he watch where the go. And then, you go like that, pom! When he see the bird fall down, chee, the dog happy, though. Yeah. You can see how he wiggle his tail and go. Yeah, you can tell, you know. But when you miss ’em, he turn back. He turn back at you, you good-for-nothing.

So when he go take the car, he shift ’em behind, yo. No let ’em come in front because he going hold up the line. He tell ’em, “Ey, you go take behind.” When he go take behind one, not so bad, because he stay way behind, eh? Because lot of time, you get single guy, because maybe his partner lay off. And then, if my piler boy, and if Burt lay off, his piler boy get no more partner, see. So, I can take his piler boy. Then, it going to even up, eh?

If the guy loaded about, let’s say, seven cars today, and the mill wen grind only five cars, the other two cars, they wen grind ’em late, yo. So that thing, the report never go to the office, see. But the guy, he got to remember. He got to keep a book, too, see. Ey, that day, only five wen come. Two car never come. In fact, if he was smart, every car, he got to jot it down, yo. Then he know what car wen come, eh? But the thing is, too, lot of time, the cane car, he huli you know.

Yeah. So, the cane rake, some job, though. And then, we got to get after the cane rake lot of times, yo. Why, because some guys, they operate, they smart, see. When you operate, usually, from two side, you got to push. You got to push from two side, not from one side. Of course, some place, maybe, from one side you can push. If one narrow field like this, you not going to two side and push the cane.

You make the fire break, yo. You get the push, eh? You going to make the fire break and go right around. And all depend which way the wind coming. If you get this trade wind like this, you go to the back side. Mostly, you got to go in the back side and work your way out, eh? Otherwise, if you going to work from the top, if you going burn from the top, the wind going carry and he going jump on the other side, eh? That’s why, we get, lot of time, jump fire, too. If a big field, if next to where we going to burn is another field and it’s big cane already, it’s almost ready for harvest, but we no like ’em jump in there, we get the water tank stay take care by the road there. In case of jump, eh, we shoot water, yo. Lot of time happen, too, you know.

No more overtime. I used to work, lot of times, twelve hours a day. And I used to work seven days a week. Of course, Sunday, it’s mostly only burning, eh? Sunday, I go out burn and make ready for Monday. And then, no more extra, no more nothing.

Like the camp, they had their own gathering, lot of time. But beside that, shee, I don’t know about.... Like boys, not so bad because, see, when the tourist come inside, we go down.


Was operating as a hotel, but lot of time they couldn’t get my father. Because they just come over here and where the owner? And nobody was living over there too. That place, something like over here. I don’t know if you remember. All guava trees and everything.
5.23.3.5 KNOW lats

There is a single canonical example of lat as the psychological complement of KNOW:

(JL:12) Oh, you've gotta know helluva lot. You gotta know all da country. All the land you gotta know where's the gate and all fence up, you know.

5.23.3.6 lata X

There are also several canonical examples of partitive lata:

(AK:670) I don't know. Hawaiians, they call akulele. Well, they say, that stuff, when they come already, I don't know. I asked lot of the olden people, “How come get that thing like that?” They say, “Well, Hawaiians they are famous for keeping all those things.” Maybe, you die, or something like that; they keep, maybe your fingernail, or some part of your hair, or something like that. They keep that, they worship that. And then, maybe they get ill feelings, certain party, or something. Then they start commanding for go them. And that thing fly. You see 'em, one ball-like coming. When you yell, that thing all fall down. Before plenty, but now, I think, not. More of the old people all gone. When they used to have lot of the old people, they all like that. Most of those things, more like kahuna. That what they call that, kahuna. I don't know what power they have, but I see some, I see.

(MM:339) But although, if you really like to raise pig, you could. You know why? Lot of this camp people, they used to go by the river, by the ditch. You know.... Probably you don't know.

(MM:347) Yeah. And then, when we fight means you put down your top, and then the other fella going to try hit your top, see. And then, it change around. The other fella put his top and you hit 'em so many times, eh? And then, the top, we used mostly just to spin. Spin and then play. But the marble, we used to play in the fish, we used to make one, two, three, and one on each side—that's four, five, and one more in the back there, six. Who go inside hole first and come back is the winner. And then, we used to make one big ring, and then we used to put so many marbles in the center. And we used to shoot 'em out, too. Because lot of time, if you get pretty good aim, you going shoot, but the marble only going spread out, see. And the ring is kind of big, so the marbles, very few maybe might fly out. You lucky if fly out. But lot of them go to the edge, and then you get chance for hit 'em out.

(MT:1192) Well, if I was going on that route, I would go direct and see Ernest myself. I wouldn't go through the agency over here–John Loo–see. I would go direct and see what Ernest had to say. But lot of these people go through the agent right here. And he's a farmer, plus he's getting a cut from Honolulu Poi too, to supply the taro to him. So, he cannot go and see Ernest, “Oh, how about giving us, you know, some more, couple of cents more.” He can't because he's getting his cut already from him. So he's kind of tight.

5.23.4 Examples of maeni

5.23.4.1 maeni PERSON(S)

There are several canonical examples of meni and PERSON:

(ER:849) Uncle Bill, that time me, too, I go helper, go cut meat and go divide the meat. Put some meat, some bone. I make all even, eh. But sometimes, somebody grumble. “How come only bone?” “No can help. That's how you figure out, eh.” You gotta put da kine steak, one piece. Not easy job because you gotta cut, cut, cut, cut plenty because you gotta count all the people, eh, how many people and make one pile, one pile. The rib, you cut. And I wen go work that kind job, not easy job. People grumble like hell. They chew you out, yeah.

(FD:268) I look everybody when we had the funeral. That day was so crowded. Too many people. Nothing but Japanese, we had. Of our own Hawaiians, not so much, my family. But Japanese family, we
had so much. You look outside the road. Just like holiday, just like parade. Full, even downstairs in the house. We had everything taken out.

(GF:321) I said, “Nah, I don’t think anybody lend me money. I think Waipio, that’s the last place anybody want to lend money. Because lot of people raising taro but very few guys paying taxes.” “How you know?” “Oh, when I go pay my tax in Hilo, at the tax office, I know some Chinese people there. They working in the office. Some Japanese. They real good to me. They ask me, ‘How many people raising taro down Waipio? Five, six guys?’ I say, ‘No, about 30, 40 guys raising taro.’ ’Well, you give me the names.’ ‘Why?’ ’Well, nobody paying taxes.’ I say, ’No, no, no. That’s not my job. I don’t want to cockaroach on them. That’s you folks job.’ ... ”

(NC:119) Well the big one, they call Hui Nui. That’s a big company, so many people in there. I really don’t know who the people are. We so young, those days, eh. You know Chinese they call ’em either Ah Sook or Ah Pak.

(YA:1037) No, no. That’s only ten cents. You go over there eat, and you can sleep over there. Not too many people those days, you know. No more Hawaiians. Hawaiian all stay down the country. Oh, lot of good fun, those days, you know. We eat free.

(YA:1052) They appointed so-and-so people. So many people go up to operate certain guns, you know. So, you have to go, see. Maybe I’m not the one that operating, but some other people ahead of me operate. I got to be around with them. If a bomb hit him, he die, I operate ’em. too. I take over, see? Another guy take over like that, you know.

There are also a substantial number of near-canonical examples:

(ER:753) When I start working over here, I work over here maybe about three year, I think, then we pick up my two brothers from Lahaina, ’cause my uncle get too many kids, eh, hard. So me and my older brother, bring the two guys here, and then we send ’em school. Then we take care them, go school over here until they graduate from over here.

(ER:775) They go pick up one luna, the guy called Kwon. William’s father, Kwon. He go over there, then the big boss tell him, “You get so many boys go with you. You take ’em mountain, you go plant tree.” So him the luna just like.

(MM:319) No, no. His job was outside, taking care the kalai and hanawai people. They have a stable where they get what they call stable men. They get about three, four guys, all depending how big the stable is, you know. The bigger the stable, well, they got to get more hands, see. But I don’t know. I was small kid, so I don’t know how many men was working at the stable.

(MM:364) Then when you get your men all set, then you got to go count how many cars, yo. All right, now, if get fifty cars and if all of them get partners, you know that’s hundred men already. Then, after you count the men, the field boss come around, eh? “How many men you get?” “Oh, I get hundred men.” Then, you go back again.

(NC:190) Because lots of things, I don’t believe in Hawaiian, you know. Like, for instance, fishing. If you go and you turn around and come back to the house again. They said hard luck, this and that, and all of that stuff. One time, I get so many boys working with me, so I tell, “Eh, we knock off little bit early. We go fishing.” They said, “Okay.”

(SU:1547) That’s why, need more men. Those days, no. Those days, slack time, you only get two, three girls. Busy time—in the morning, busy see, you get big bunch of girls, and lunchtime. And after the lunch, about two o’clock to four o’clock, not too many guys eating, so we can get less girls work and less cooks. Get one cook, one dishwasher, ’nough, see. Me, I stand by, see, I learn. That’s why, my time is no limit.

I assume here too, that kid, boi, men, gai are decomposible in terms of SOMEONE.

5.23.4.2 maeni THING(S)

There are several canonical examples of meni and THING:
Oh, so much. Yeah, I had so many things I used to do. And then I used to bake, too. We used to bake cookies, pies and cakes. But we have, the wooden stove, they have oven, eh. The wooden stove. You see in the catalog; before you see, eh?

Well, before everybody like the hand pound. They rather have the hand pound. But today, well, we cannot do it, Get so many things you got to work hard to get your money. You know, today is so high cost living. You cannot be pounding poi all the time.

I usually have about 300 for that patch; 300, sometime 340 over. Now, not even 200. You see how much loss I get. When we went to file our taxes, we didn't show Mr. Sakata on our loss, the farm, the whole thing. He say, “Oh, what you think?” I said, “Well, there's so much, these days there’s so many things is happening to the taro farmers.”

As I said, we didn't have a caterpiller to go in the taro farm. We had a horse. We have the harrow, and then we had the harness they put on the neck. And then we had the braid, we have the rope. We let the horse go in the front of us and we at the back. All we got to do is hold the rope and let the horse go through the taro patch. And let him do the work. We harrow the taro farm, back and forth, maybe about 10 times. You know, to get the land all flattened up. It's not like now, because they using most of the time, they have that Iseki machine and whatever machine they use. Many other things, because some of the things that I kind of forget. Because kind of pretty long. I didn’t go down.

She doesn't. She try to go out one time. Try to cut rice. Just for the fun of it. But she cannot. Cutting rice is hard. Dai Ho is good cutting rice. One time Ah Kong was telling, “Oh, if I can hold so many thing like you folks. You folks cannot catch me.” So one time Dai Ho said, “Now you can hold eight.” He said, “Go ahead. We race.” Ah Kong look at him, he say, “Just because you faster than me that’s why he tell me.” Dai Ho is fast cutting rice.

There are several canonical examples of meni and TIME:

Yeah, inside the stone wall. Something like stone wall. Like now, she or he wen die, they stay put the money on top the eye. One dollar. We go there, we go look, eh. Broke down the stone wall, or whatever thing. We did that how many time.

But I wish, many times, that I had parents. But I never had. Hard luck. But the Lord been good to me. That's one thing. Then I was kidding the old man and the old man take it for real, you know. He think I really wanted to marry Matilda, you know.

Yeah. And then, when we fight means you put down your top, and then the other fella going to try hit your top, see. And then, it change around. The other fella put his top and you hit 'em so many times, eh? And then, the top, we used mostly just to spin. Spin and then play. But the marble, we used to play in the fish, we used to make one, two, three, and one on each side—that's four, five, and one more in the back there, six. Who go inside hole first and come back is the winner.

Oh yeah. It all depends on the climate too, yeah. After you use 'em so many times, the thing going rot, eh. Maybe good for two crops though.

Sometimes, but then sometimes the water bust up so many times. The land dry for three, four days, five, six days, like that, but sometimes, it all depends on the growth of the taro, how old and sometimes it's good to get a little bit dry. The soil pack and the taro more solid. But then if it's young taro and it dries like that for so long, the grass going to come up and give you lot of work. You know, there are disadvantages and advantages in the water.

They say “On Char, that attorney say we have to get three bidders before that come to an order.” Anybody come that third bid before we can, so if anybody want to but, why, from third bid on you can bid as many times as you want to. So he say, “Who's interested in that thing? How much would you offer?” And this Chinese fellow said, “I bid the first bid.” Well, you know, they only bid $1000 and the other one said, “Oh, I bid $2000” just to make a bid. He knows that even one of the two houses is worth more than four or five thousand dollars. So I put $5000.
5.23.5 Examples of mach

5.23.5.1 mach PERSON(S)

There is a single canonical example of mach and PERSON:

(ER:753) He was still living Lahaina when I came over here. When he died, was about the wartime. Then us, over here, no more airplane, eh, and no more boat for go, so I never go to his funeral, ’cause we no can reach over there. At that time the wartime was only certain time you can ride on the boat for go over there. So they no can take too much people. So me and my brother, we never go to his funeral until maybe one year later.

There are couple of near-canonical examples as well:

(ER:882) But, I never go work. They never call us because, us, that time, we no work down there, we only get ranch job, eh. Only the–down there the Hawaiian Pine drivers. They go take so much guys. That’s all in the strike time. But with us, no, never get nothing, because us, we go down there, we eat.

(MM:325) Well, the only other things that we play, you know, we play ball, and play master. Mostly it’s master, because for play ball you need lot of people, lot of boys. We don’t get that much boys, eh? So, what we do mostly is play master.

I assume that both gai and boi contain someone in their definitions.

5.23.5.2 mach THING(S)

There are a couple of canonical examples of mach and PERSON:

(FD:296) If you do things by your own self, you know the value of things, that is going to help you too. There’s so much things, that when you-raise taro, there’s so much things that you can think that, that taro would help you. I know for myself. Like, if you have some bills to pay. You have not enough like now, we get our income.

(MY:1467) Chee, let’s see, now. Well, they had not much, no? Only shibai. Once in a while they have a shibai. And then, the bon dance. No, not much. Not much. We didn’t have much things. Like the children, they had lot of... Because you can go surfing, you can go fishing. So, Waikiki children was lucky because at least you can go fishing and surfing, eh?

5.23.5.3 mach PLACE(S)

There is a single canonical example of mach and PLACE:

(YA:1064) No more anything up there. No more. We went way up Kalihi Valley. Up there, got single house, eh? Way up in the valley. We went there, no more nothing. So, next time, we no go. Not much place to hunt, over this side, see. All Kalihi Valley all mountain, too. No more houses. Only get one or two house in the gulley, you know, the riverside, eh?

5.23.5.4 mach TIME(S)

There is single possible example of mach and TIME in combination:

(TA:56) Gilbert. He’s picking for the father. You no see him going around picking leaf. Now, like Hilo one, what get my goat is they like you stack ’em certain way. You know, they like you stack the leaf open like this. And I wen check my girls with the watch. How much time they can pack in one bag, a 30-pound bag. All open like this. Take them over hour and a half.
There are a substantial number of canonical examples of *mach* and *KNOW* in combination:

*(ER:768)* I don’t **know** too **much** about that. But us guy, like me, we cook the meat, put salt inside, and we hang ‘em up. Put ‘em in the bag and we hang ‘em up, ‘cause no more icebox. We hang ‘em up. Then when we like eat ‘em, we go get ‘em and warm ‘em up. Warm up, eat ‘em, put ‘em in the fry pan. Or if you like make gravy kind, you make gravy kind. If you like fry pan kind, only with the oil. Then when cook ‘em pau, we hang ‘em up.

*(ER:794)* Moke Kane, yeah. And John Kane, the two brothers. The Gay cowboys, I don’t **know** too **much**. When I come here, they all broke already. The Gay go away. Only the boys and the girls some I know the name only but, I don’t know by face. Only the name they tell you, this guy Lawrence, and this guy who was up there. Only the old cowboys talk, but I never see them too much. I don’t know the sisters, too, all.

*(ER:821)* Ah, that, I don’t **know** too **much**. But, I only know when I go Keomuku, my mother-in-law make Hawaiian medicine. She and the father make Hawaiian medicine. Every time when I go down there, they make. Even me sometime I get sick, they make. Sometime I no like take sour, huh, but I take. They give me Hawaiian medicine. Even my sister, my half-sister.

*(ER:821)* Yeah, my half-sister. Because my father had two wife. Like me, I was in the second, second mother one. And them two in the first. Had one girl and one boy from his first wife. I get half-brother, too. Then from my second mother, we had six of us. Two girl and four boys. And the first wife had two. One girl and one boy. So the boy, I think he wen make long time because I don’t **know** too **much**.

*(ER:835)* Yeah, Jerry. Him was the other. But he don’t know too much basketball. The one that most, only the seven guys. But when Sunday, ah, let ‘em play. Any kind. We had pretty good team. Lanai Pine was strong but we lick ‘em. But one year they lick us. One year they lick us, the rest, they no lick us. That time we had strong, strong team, though.

*(ER:892)* I don’t **know** too **much** about because I don’t go around. I only stay home inside here. Sometime I go down there by the hotel, by the old house, go look what I like, pick up sometime, bring home. Bumbai I know they going broke the house. 

*(ER:894)* Yeah, sometime guys go up the pump, if they no take care the water good. Because the water, only dripping, eh, only dripping. Then he fall down, fall down, the water run plenty. And the water from the mountain, just like only dripping, dripping. I don’t **know** too **much** about the water. But I know they digging plenty well all around the place. They getting water but some maybe brackish water. So if they use that kind water most for the housing, the cesspool water, maybe okay. But they use all the good water, I don’t know.

*(ER:894)* Yeah. And now you seen how plenty Haoles, yeah, around here. Before not that much. Now get plenty. Even plenty Haoles, they buy houses, yeah. So this, I **know** too **much**, but, only in me, I think. ’Cause I see the old people before, how they go, yeah, with the water, they take care the water.

*(GF:339)* Yeah. I don’t **know** so **much** about that. I wasn’t in that co-op. I don’t want to be bound to nobody. I wanted to be free.

*(MM:372)* And the cane, every place you cut, you going to lose some amount of juice. You know, when you cut the cane, maybe two, three drop fall down. That’s that much you losing. But now, when the cutter go, we not talking about one cane or two cane or what. Thousands and thousands of cane, eh? And every one get damage, you going to lose that much juice. That’s quite a bit, you know. That’s why in the mill, well, I don’t **know much** about mill. But in the mill, they say, the recovery is—you know, in the end where they make the sugar like that—if they get 90 so many percent, 96 percent or 97 percent, they like to see that thing go more, 98 percent.

There is a single canonical example of *mach* in combination with *SAY*:

5.23.5.6 SAY mach
But because I have to, of this rough life that we have, and I have to quit school to take care of my poor brothers and, I didn't have sisters at the time. I only had my brother. And to be honest, I didn't know about changing baby diapers and sewing clothes. The reason I don't want to say it much, because I felt so sorry of how we used to live. Pretty rough. Sometimes, I talk to people and they see me having a tears out. They know that I went through that rough life that nobody did go through the rough life.

5.23.5.7 mach (OF) X

There are several near-canonical examples of partitive mach:

(AK:602) Most, majority of the customers is the ranch employees. But we have some outsiders. Sometimes they pay us the money, most time, they take the money down to the office. We don't handle too much of the money only. And after the month like that, then, when the ranch makes the check, then either I give me or give you for bring back to the boss. That's how we do.

(FD:286) We had so much of everything I can think of. The life we had before, I tell you, you cannot compare with today. Food, so much. We raise our own chicken, and then ducks, and pigs, and everything you can think of. Raise everything. We had our own eggs. Chicken, we want to kill, every week, almost every other day if we want to. Especially when we get family come. Oh, just call the chicken, and all the chicken come and we just grab 'em. Yeah, that's true. You try ask Olepa.

(GF:314) By the bags. You know, those days, taro was cheap; 50 cents a bag. And some people, they buy for 35 cents a bag but my father-in-law paid me pretty good; 50 cents a bag. Then every year come up, little by little; and I used to sell him the taro. Until he had too much of his own, he cannot take from me. Then I sell 'em to somebody else.

(MT:1170) Yeah. Now, it's 25 feet wide. Because this is the main stream, see. And I had the soil Conservation build a bank over here too. When we had the high and stuff, used to go all overflow into here. So this bank is where yet, but this thing is 25 feet wide. So now, these people water going down here, certain times real little. But they don't want I touch here. So I want to keep this little so much of the water goes down through this main stream. Now, I can't do it.

(MT:1187) On this same thing, I going try to put some other different type fertilizer on top of that. It cost money, you know. We doing our own experimenting at our own cost. Which is not supposed to be. You have the University to do it, not us. But if you go everything through the University, you go broke. When you want to put so much of this, so much of that, so much of this. I can see if that patch has 200 bags and with all this different kind of chemicals and fertilizer, we come up with 300 bags. I can see a good way to look at it. But it doesn't mean anything. You put in cost for nothing.

(MY:1458) Yeah, Kiakahi. Then you have the Lau family. Then you have the school there. Waikiki School was there after that. On this side, you had the old cottages there. That people just stayed and, you know, it's not a residence there, only cottages, old cottages there. So, we don't know much of them.

(NC:133) Yeah, the rice with the husks. They get one big wooden. I don't know what you call it. Anyway, that one he take off so much of the husks and then he have to use the strainer like that and strain the rice, no husk go down. And whatever the ones with still the husks on you throw off one side. And the one without the husks, that's the one they put in that big container.

(WK:702) I hate to say but Waipio, those days, the food used to be very cheap. So we buy salt salmon, cod fish and dry shrimp and corned beef. Corned beef, you can buy 'em, 10 cents a can, 15 cents. But not too much. Not too much. We don't eat too much. But more we eat on, like for instance, as long as we have sugar, poi and oil. Those days we used to buy peanut oil. Never had such thing as Wesson Oil, or the kind. Or lard, they have the canned lard. As long we buy that. We have that all storage in the house. We set already, we can use all this stuff. We don't, buy too much of the meat. We don't eat meat too much before. Hardly eat meat.
5.23.6 Examples of pleni

5.23.6.1 pleni PERSON(S)

There are a number of canonical examples of pleni in combination with PERSON:

(ER:762) So you go there, you help them take off from the net, you cleaning the net, so that they no lose time, eh. So we go there, we take off all. So us we can swim, we go inside the water and take ‘em off. No wait till you reach up. Get plenty people up, they wait, eh, then they wen take off. So the one we take off, they no care. But the one all stay inside the bag like that, they bring ‘em to the tub and the fish market trucks, they over there already.

(ER:784) Munro time. If you get friends, they like go ride horse, you can lend ‘em your horse. But you no ‘nough horse, then you can go borrow from your friends. They ride go Keomuku. Come up. Before down there plenty people, eh. So they go, they go sometime Saturday evening, pau hana, they go. Then they sleep down there by the beach. Then Sunday, they come home.

(ER:811) Yeah, same time I take da kine meat for my girlfriend house. Every time he tell me, “We go down my house,” my friend–the brother, eh. Every time, “We go down over here.” “Ah, more better we go tomorrow morning then.” So we go shoot goat, we take them, get something for eat eh. “Ah,” he tell me, “okay we go in the morning.” Some guys, they go in the night. Because down there kind of big, the people used to stay. Kind of plenty people, eh. And down there get good fun, too. And sometime he tell me, “Ey, we go down tonight.” “Nah, I no like go down nighttime. I like go down daytime, so I can go get some meat.” Give some fish for them guys. Only me I go, and I go eat free kaukau, no good, eh.

(GF:307) Yeah. You know Chinese, they match-make, eh? So, he didn’t tell me that. He brag, he tell plenty people that. So, of course, Waipio had school, before they had school dances sometime, socials. And I like to dance, ballroom dancing. I like that; so, we used to go. You putting that down too?

(MY:1479) Then, crack seed, you know, those days, plenty people eat crack seed. We buy crack seed and it come in the five-gallon can, square kind can. The thing is sour. So I asked the boss, “Ibarakisan, can I make the crack seed more ‘ono?” He said, “Up to you. You do what you like. You running the store. You do.” So, I bought one big bowl of syrup, and I throw ‘em inside the crack seed. I mazeru, eh? I pour ‘em on. Oh, the thing go out hot cakes.

(NC:122) I don't know. Mostly Chinese food, canned stuff. Chinese they seldom eat meat. They eat mostly pork. So every so often they kill one pig. Like harvesting time, I think every week they kill one or two pigs because plenty people working.

(OC:6) When it come to the newspaper, to auction certain place where, you know, how big a area and all that’s in there, why, plenty people wanted to buy it because it's auction property.

(TA:51) I been selling to him all the time, right through. When my father was agent, well, I used to give him my taro too. I don’t bother. He hired plenty people to pull.

(YA:1058) Oh, we only catch squid. No more other kind. Because plenty people over there, you know. Sand Island. Now, no can tell. I no can tell how Sand Island look like now. All fill up already. No more one island over there, see?

(YA:1073) No, no. I no like that. No hunting, no fishing. Plenty people from Pearl Harbor, retired, they ask me to go fishing. I tell ‘em no. I no want go fishing. I says, fishing more danger than anything. I cannot swim good. Too much, too far away. If my boat turn over, I get drowned. More better I stay on land. So, lot of people tell me go play golf. I no like play golf. Play golf is good, but you know, you got to work hard on the field playing golf.

There are numerous non-canonical examples of pleni in combination with PERSON:

(BB:004) You know [name deleted] was a carpenter to, you know... He tell my father, “You make better job, you go over there, you take the job.” So my father took the shop. ’A’s why my father was doing all the kin’ coffin... You know plantation plenty guys die, eh. I hear Dr. [name deleted] was good doctor, but he no sterilize his instrument, so plenty guys die, eh. My father used to make the coffins. Ho, plenty coffins, my father used to make.
My father was a watchmaker. When you get the kind — those days, yes; plenty gold watch, you know. Gold watch, those guys, eh. Plenty guys don't know, you know, what kind. That's why they say, "This one junk." So my father gave 'em — "You like change with me this one?" Say, "OK." Change, but my father get the gold. As soon as he get the gold watch he melt 'em, my father. My father was a goldsmith. You know the Japanese make the kanzashi and ring like that, eh. My father make all that kind'. He make the nice kind. The darn thing hang down and gold hang down. The other one he get 'em from the ocean.

They pay my father with the liquor because they no mo' money. That's why my father he don' know where for put; so, he dig underneath the house and bury 'em. And plenty guys they come my house for buy the okolehau, because they know my father get plenty.

Those days never get this table saw like that, you know. No more machine too. All you gotta get good hand, you know. The saw, the blade, you gotta pull back, you know. 'At's the kind he get. He sharp that too, you know. Ohh... Plenty guys they get that kind', eh, but they no mo' the file, you know, for sharp that — different kind file. My father get that kind'. They don't know how to sharpen.

But I don't know plenty guys — plenty Filipinos and Japanese; you try name some names over there. [name deleted] ka, you know [name deleted]?

'B's was a tiger shark — big bugga, you know. Can see the teeth, eh — nice teeth. He kick 'em with the shoes — he like bust 'em. His leg wen go inside. Ho! the shark wen go like that; just miss 'em. Boy! the guy he scared! Was on the landing already and they start cutting the meat out; over there. Plenty guys — they said you like too? I say, "Uh, I no like."

Oh, before, Japanese, they own the farms, eh? So, they like pickers. Before, you stop the man—because plenty Filipino, before—you stop them to come your place and harvest your coffee. But not today, see? No more the Filipino can handle the coffee. So, I went. “The hell with this job.”

Not hard. Because if coffee season, not hard. Because that's what I say. Before plenty Filipinos and all these Japanese, all the farmers. They like men to pick the coffee.

They look and then take your name bumbai if they get money, they give you some money. That's what I do before I came over here. Every time I run away from school, more better go get fish, eh. 'Cause my uncle, they get plenty children, eh, for take care. So, I go help go get fish. My aunty see me, when I bring fish, then she no scold me. I bring back fish, eh. I give the bag, "Here," I tell my aunty.

But us guys, we young, yeah, scared eh, we no go in the pasture, we go on the road. I go walk on the road bumbai come inside this camp. Plenty guys. Then I go ask some of the men I see outside. I go tell 'em if they know who Henry Gibson. They tell me, yeah. “Right up here, you go up here.” Tell me, “You go up here, you see the two house way up here.” So, I walk on.

Stab 'em in the heart. We hold 'em. Some guys hold 'em sideways. But plenty guys, if you hold sideways, sometime when they poke 'em, they miss, eh, the heart. And then go inside the leg. And all bruise. Inside, when you cutting over here, bruise. So you turn 'em upside down, you hold 'em like this, straight. Over here straight, you can catch the heart, eh. You can see, over here, the chest, eh?

So summertime, we go down there from about nine o'clock. We stay until the evening time we play, 'cause summertime get plenty boys, eh. So we play da kine two out of three. You know two out of three, you lose, you go. Us, sometime we go inside there, we stay till we tired, no can play. Nobody can beat us.

But if you no believe these things, nothing. That's why he tell, you only believe one God, one God and the Son. The Father and the Son. That's all you believe. But somebody get any kind. Somebody get shark. Somebody get da kine fish, 'o'io. He tell me plenty guys get any kind.

Down there? Oh, used to get plenty people down there. Get full church. They get full down there? Oh, used to get plenty people down there. Get full church. They get full down there because that time get plenty working guys, eh, down there. And they get their children, get family. Some, the children go Maui, go school. And they stay. They get plenty family down there.

What this guy doing? So next night, we check by his house. We go over there, we like watch what he do. And him, he say, no, he no do that. Only he go walk way by, sit down. Thought maybe he go make sign or what, eh. First time I go work da kine, the first week, well, me and him kind
of scared. I tell him—see, I still no scared the boat guys, but if they going come, plenty guys going come, eh, we can run away, eh. In the boat, we can see they coming.

(ER:881) Uncle Johnny. He wen drive truck. Uncle Biggy them wen go drive da kine small kind truck inside the pineapple field. I think Robert he was down the piggery running the boiler. So, he know how to run boiler, they put him inside the powerhouse 'cause he know how to run all da kine steam, eh, the engine, da kine, about the steam, eh. So he went powerhouse. Yeah, plenty guys wen go, but not so bad. But Uncle Sammy - no, when that time pau, he was in the army. When he came back from the army, then he went truck driver. He wen go apply for truck, eh.

(FD:248) Yeah. They had plenty. As far as mens, oh, they had plenty working men. Because most is the men's job, eh?

(MM:327) Yeah. And then, because plenty fellas wen go take a look, he go, and he go up, and then circle 'round, land. You know, he did several times for the people look, eh?

(MM:340) Yeah. Plenty fellas used to go that furo.

(MM:357)... generator with the Cadillac. Yeah. And then, they used to bring shibai guys, too. Those days, get plenty shibai guys, you know. And then, they used to stay Yamaka's place.

(NC:119) Most of them from Waipio. Before, get plenty Chinese in Waipio. That's the only time they get work, when get harvesting and planting. Other than that they don't get work.

(NC:170) You mean when I reached there? Well, I don't know. I get plenty friends, too, get plenty of local Honolulu boys there, so I feel at home, but I didn't like the place I stayed because you cannot keep a white shirt white because we were right next to train station, that Union Station, with trains everyday back and forth.

(NC:184) Oh, yeah. George Nakagawa used to work for me. Solomon Kala, William Nakagawa, Sonny Ah Puck, his brother Herbert Ah Puck they used to all work for me. Get plenty others, but I forget. Plenty Filipinos been working. Takeo and I really forget their names. Filipino names hard to remember.


(SU:1563) Yeah, I wanted to stay because Waikiki was a good place. Because I used to know all those people, hotel people. I used to get plenty customers from Moana Hotel, you know. All young boys. At Moana, Moana Seaside Hotel, Royal Hawaiian Hotel at that time. And Halekulani Hotel. And where else? That's about all hotel was.

(WK:711) Put plenty guys to death too. There's a next wahine too. Plenty.

(WK:714) Oh, all Hilo, Kona, any place I used to go. Nobody touch me for dancing. But I no date girls, though. But I get plenty kids. You guess how many I get? Fourteen, no?

In the above sentences I assume that gais, customers, men, felas, chainiz, kid, children, and the names of ethnic groups are decomposable in terms of SOMEONE.

5.23.6.2 pleni THING(S)

There is a single canonical example of pleni and THING:

(YA:1053) That's how they do. The time they bomb Arizona, all civilians.... The sailor and marine were watching the other stuff. Plenty things. Like guard all over, eh? That's only machine shop workers operate that gun on the rooftop, see?

5.23.6.3 pleni PLACE(S)

There is a single canonical example of pleni in combination with PLACE:

(AK:596) Waipio has lot of water and you can use whatever you want. And then, you can go swimming, all that. Plenty places to go and nobody going stop you from using water. You can go any place use the water.
There are several canonical examples of *pleni* in combination with *TIME*:

(BB:020) No. You know what, **plenty time** I was a draft dodger. I used to drive taxi during the war time. So, get school teachers you know. They commute from Honolulu to Wahiawa. Get about oh, five teachers. I talk to the teachers. I get one seven-seater. “I give you guys special rate. You folks goin’ ride my cab?” (Oh) The other guys is all Filipinos, eh. – Taxi driver. They see me Japanees eh. “Yeh, yeh, yeh,.” You see if I’m not married; I’m not married. I’ve been driving this route long time. So I take them; that’s why I got deferred. They said, “Your job is important.” Got deferment.

(ER:817) Keomuku Church. I go **plenty time** inside that church. And sometime they make just like Sunday school. You know sometime they start the church early, and then they go make money for the church. They make little bit for they can buy something for the church. Maybe book or fix the church.

(ER:888) But, like the summertime, good, the sun way up, **plenty time**, eh. Sometime you can ride three horse. But when he come this kind time, the sun quick, yeah, go down. So when I come this kind time, I come home, maybe little bit dark like this, I come inside the house I go eat. I eat pau by the time, the horse stay rest, eh. And when I pau eat, I can go take ‘em off already and go tie ‘em and go bathe. The truck driver was more better. More better long ago I wen go truck driver.

(GF:306) Well, if that is not your line, you don’t want to stay there. Just for fool around, to kill time. Those were Depression days. So many years, we had depression, hard time days. Looking around for job, spending the time. You figure, “Well, I’m still young yet. **Plenty time.**”

(NC:193) We start harvesting around November. When get **plenty time**. Sometimes, end of October, we start harvesting. Because you can sell more during the holidays. Christmas and New Year. After that, slow, the market. And yet, we don’t get enough to ship to Honolulu.

(TA:43) Was good land, though. But I go sublease. When I was working in Hilo, was right after tidal wave. And we were working on the breakwater. And I get **plenty time** because I working in Hilo. So I come down. Every weekend I come down. That’s when I bought one old military jeep. Because the Army was stationed down here too. Had some military guys, they was watching the beach. So the Army wen bulldozer and try level up the road. Before that, you know the trail going up, is just like one step ladder. That’s where the mules step every time, the same holes. And then the road was real narrow, those days. Now is kind of wide, they fixed it. That’s when they come down with their jeeps too. Since the War, when the car was going up and down.

(YA:1054) First, when I discharged from the Army, I wen go apply **plenty time**, but I no can get in, see. And then, that’s the different man controlling that time, that’s why. And bumbai, I go again. I keep on go down there, find out.

5.23.6.5 KNOW pleni

There are two canonical examples of *pleni* in combination with *KNOW*:

(AK:629) And when you need that medicine, you going find high and low, you no can find. I don’t know why, but they always be like that. Hawaiian herbs are very delicate, I don’t say I **know plenty**, but I know some, but too bad, I didn’t have the book. If I had the book, I would study lot more of those things. Now they having, sometimes, University of Hawaii, or somebody come out with ’em. You know one, Kanakaole, or somebody else.

(ER:757) You no understand but you listen, bumbai sometimes you ask. You ask them, they tell you what. Then, when I marry my wife, I asked her any kind Hawaiian word, she **know plenty**, then she tell me most about the Hawaiian word. So now, yeah, I can understand Hawaiian, but I no can talk too much. If the people talk, I know what they talking about. But for me answer them, sometime too hard for me.
5.23.6.6 pleni (OF) X

There are a few near-canonical examples of partitive pleni:

(FD:271) Well, cuts, you know the honohono grass? You know that patch grass, in the taro patch? You know, that soft one, they have the green honohono crawls in the taro patch? We have that now, those basket get plenty of those colorful ones. But this the green one in Waipio. Yeah, my mom used to pound that, and then she just apply ‘em on the sore, or the cut.

(GF:351) Yeah. Some of the patches, most, plenty of the patches. Below the house, I had five acres. Oh, plenty though. Five acres below the house. Then I get four acres, three acres. Plenty. About 12 acres I rested.

(NC:140) Sure, they had those! You know, those days, women, they used to go around. Plenty Hawaiian girls, plenty of them just for pleasure. Not married, though. Just for pleasure. And sometimes the Japanese ladies go down.


5.23.7 Examples of aw

5.23.7.1 aw KIND(S)

The form aw kain suggests that it should mean ALL KINDS. The actual meaning is, however, MANY KINDS. There are numerous canonical examples in our corpus:

(AK:613) Yeah, yeah, we have the sports, we race around. Down the beach or in the school pork. We do that when we have the Fourth of July celebration or something like that. We had all kind sports.

(AK:656) To me, it's the poison that they are using. I'm for sure it's poison. You see, like before we use, they were using Prenite. Prenite never did do lot of damage to this taro. Or, on to the patches they used. No more disease too. You never hear taro get sick. But today, they get all kind problems. After they bar out the Prenite, so you cannot use Prenite anymore. So they come out with diesel oil. Then they come out, now, they have Paraquat and they have all kind poisons. Those poisons are good in one way, some not. Maybe someplace for something. I think Waipio, for kill grass. But I think for the taro patch no good.

(FD:251) Me and my daddy. My mom. We had, below our house, where Roy is raising taro now, had a big home over there. We had two patches over there. We didn't raise taro so we raised head cabbage, all kinds of vegetables. We didn't starve. That's why, to tell you the truth, if you ask Gladys' mom, she would know. Yeah.

(GF:306) I don't know. I want something better. With the high school education, I don't know if I can do paper work. So, might as well do all kinds of work. Try what you think is good, the way to make money, way to get ahead in life, that's all.

(JB:61) Well, when we were down in Waipio Valley, we were living all kind of places. And, as I say, I don't remember the places all where we used to live. The first house we had, where Bill Hippie lives. That was the first house that we stayed. All of my family. Then we begin to move down where Olepau lives. Right across of Olepau. We stayed there. We stayed there pretty long. And from there, I went to Waipio Valley School. My teacher was Samuel Kaaekuahiwi. He was the roughest teacher that I ever come across for the many years. But he was all right.

(MM:349) Yeah. And then, we go down the beach, and then Waterhouse and lot of volunteers, they stay over there. You know, the grown-up people. And they make all kind of games, races, tug-of-war, and all da kine.

(NC:148) All kind vegetables, meat. Not meat, but pork, eh. Or chicken.
5.23.8 Summary

We have found in the corpus, the following combinations:

MANY PERSON(S)
MANY THING(S)
MANY TIME(S)
MANY KIND(S)
MANY PLACE(S)
MANY/MUCH (OF) X
X KNOW MUCH (ABOUT) Y
X SAID MUCH (ABOUT) Y

The following valences are missing from our corpus:

MANY PART(S)

5.24 ALL

5.24.1 Primitive Syntax

The following combinations of ALL are specified in the NSM syntax (W 1996:128-9):

ALL person/people/thing/place/time/kind/part
ALL OF THESE person/people/thing/place/time/kind/part
[sp1] KNOW ALL ABOUT [S2/THE SAME]
[sp1] SAID ALL ABOUT [S2/THE SAME]

5.24.2 HCE Candidates

Like SE, there are a number of HCE portmanteau forms associated with all: awez, evribadi, evriwan, and evriwea.

The two forms aw and evri seem to be equally good candidates semantically for the primitive ALL.

At this point, I would like to warn the reader about a confusing aspect of the form aw da X. This form has two possible readings. It could have either a simple reading as all X or a partitive reading as all of a particular X.

5.24.3 Examples of aw

5.24.3.1 aw PERSONS

There are a very few near-canonical examples which provide evidence for the combination of aw and PERSON.

(AK:660) Yeah. We all eat together. So, when we sleep, all boys in one room. All the boys stay together, they all sleep together.
Yeah. Well, da kine sewing like that, they have to learn, eh, in Japan. All girls learn that. Again we must assume that boi and grl are decomposable in terms of SOMEONE.

5.24.3.2 aw KINDS

Formally speaking, we find aw co-occuring with kain. However, it is clear from the following examples that this combination does not mean ALL KINDS, but rather MANY KINDS:

(AK:613) Yeah, yeah, we have the sports, we race around. Down the beach or in the school pork. We do that when we have the Fourth of July celebration or something like that. We had all kind sports.

(AK:656) To me, it's the poison that they are using. I'm for sure it's poison. You see, like before we use, they were using Prenite. Prenite never did do lot of damage to this taro. Or, on to the patches they used. No more disease too. You never hear taro get sick. But today, they get all kind problems. After they bar out the Prenite, so you cannot use Prenite anymore. So they come out with diesel oil. Then they come out, now, they have Paraquat and they have all kind poisons. Those poisons are good in one way, some not. Maybe someplace for something. I think Waipio, for kill grass. But I think for the taro patch no good.

(BB:015) Yea, because you know, I don't know why but, what-you-call maybe they have a club and they still work. They say the Japanese grave the cleanest grave among all the Christians, the Mormons and all kinds. The Japanese grave the cleanest.

(FD:251) Me and my daddy. My mom. We had, below our house, where Roy is raising taro now, had a big house over there. We had two patches over there. We didn't raise taro so we raised head cabbage, all kinds of vegetables. We didn't starve. That's why, to tell you the truth, if you ask Gladys' mom, she would know. Yeah.

(GF:306) I don't know. I want something better. With the high school education, I don't know if I can do paper work. So, might as well do all kinds of work. Try what you think is good, the way to make money, way to get ahead in life, that's all.

(JB:61) Well, when we were down in Waipio Valley, we were living all kind of places. And, as I say, I don't remember the places all where we used to live. The first house we had, where Bill Hippie lives. That was the first house that we stayed. All of my family. Then we begin to move down where Olepau lives. Right across of Olepau. We stayed there. We stayed there pretty long. And from there, I went to Waipio Valley School. My teacher was Samuel Kaaekuahiwi. He was the roughest teacher that I ever come across for the many years. But he was all right.

(MM:349) Yeah. And then, we go down the beach, and then Waterhouse and lot of volunteers, they stay over there. You know, the grown-up people. And they make all kind of games, races, tug-of-war, and all da kine.

(MY:1476) So, when I went to Japan, every day I go, the bicycle, I go. Yanai is the nearest town. It takes you about, oh, about forty-five minutes to ride to Yanai. I go in town, I buy break—you know da kine pan, eh? Buy pan, I buy wine for my grandfather, buy food, come home. My grandfather say he don't drink da kine wine. He like the da kine cheap, sweet wine. I buy da kine sour, expensive wine. He say, "No, da kine no good." So we had one lady from Hawaii there. Hawaii no lady, eh? So he gave 'em all to her. Oh, she drink up. They all like come my house nighttime. When I was there, they all like come my house. Because I bring all the goodies for my grandfather. Oh, my grandfather, give him all kind. Bring cracker, coffee, chocolate, anything, for him. So, every night, all these people like—he said, they like come see me. Not me, they like come eat. 'Cause he got to make coffee and all, eh?

(NC:148) All kind vegetables, meat. Not meat, but pork, eh. Or chicken.

(NK:921) Oh, we get all kinds. We get the mana. They get, what you call, pala’i’i, ‘ohe, naioea...

(SU:1524) Well, my father worked at the plantation. They call that the pack mule. Small mule, he drags about four or five. Five. One, he rides. Four, load up the bone meal, and all kind of lumbers and everything, distribute to all of the fields, see. And then, after he come back, you know, they lease land from the plantation and make his own sugar cane, see.
(TA:43) Those days, you get lot of Hawaiians too, down here. And not only Hawaiians. Chinese plant
taro. The Filipinos. All kind nationalities used to plant taro. The biggest taro patches mostly all Chinese.
They practically lease all the land down here. So the kind land you lease is all, da kine, not so good land.
Even back those days, William Haraguchi, he get big land now. But those days, he had only small place.
He goes under Kanekoa but his real name is Haraguchi. His father is Japanese.

(WK:704) They have kids, children games. Whatever games they get for kids. And they have all
kind. You ride the calf, and you go get the pig. You know they grease all the pig up. All that kind used
to have. And then after that they have all laulau. Everybody go eat after all the games up. Waipio used
to have good celebration before. Honest, you ask all the old timers.

(WK:715) Ho, chop suey. Good meals, Chinese meals, every day. But too much pork. Harm ha pork,
steam pork, all kinds. Watercress pork. too much pork.

(YA:1040) You know where Iwilei Road? Where Hawaiian Pine over there? When you go down
Hawaiian Pine, on the entrance. Before you reach to the corner, right over there, there’s American Can,
see? They get all kind machine over there, make cans. Bumbai, I quit that. I no like work, see? Too
small pay.

\[5.24.3.3\] aw TIME

One sense of the HCE token awdataim is a realization of the NSM combination of ALL and TIMES.
Consider the following canonical examples:

(ER:822) Yeah, I send some for help him for take care his family, 'cause he had plenty children too,
eh. And him da kine sick man, too. Every once in a while he sick. He no can go work. But used to work
rubbish car. Lahaina rubbish car. In Lahaina town, eh, they go pick up rubbish. That’s his job. But he
sick man, kind of sick all the time.

(FD:255) Well, before everybody like the hand pound. They rather have the hand pound. But today,
well, we cannot do it. Get so many things you got to work hard to get your money. You know, today is
so high cost living. You cannot be pounding poi all the time. Even me. I couldn’t help. I have to buy.

(GF:340) Shortage. And then, lot of tourists coming in too. All the time the tourists coming in, well,
more tourists come in, more luau they make, eh. And then, the poi, they just throw ’em in the slop.
Whether they eat or no eat, but they just....

(JL:15) Bymby he came our governor of Hawaii. Den he come Waimea see me alla time. He use to
tell Mr. Carter, “This is my orderly, Mr. Lindsey.” Yeh.

(MM:353) No, I never cut cane. I never cut cane. First job was cut seed, no? Cut seed, throw
fertilizer, hapai ko. I don’t know if, maybe, for that reason now, I feel pain all time on my shoulder.

(MY:1478) Well, they told us if we like part-time jobs, but we didn’t like. Because we had plenty
part-time jobs. I did little while. See, what the part-time jobs—see, McKinley High School, O’Neil used to
be the boys’ counselor like. Waikiki get plenty part-time yard man. Yard job, get. You know, you shoot
water, clean the yard, after school. I did little while of that. But you cannot, Waikiki hard because, shee,
the surf, the water is so good every time. So, you got to go surfing all the time. You know what I mean?
That’s why, we had hard job to take that job. And the parent, if you like go surfing, he cannot stop you.
So, summertime, I can go surfing only two times.

(NC:180) Well, first, when you first plant, the water is only about anywhere from one inch up to
three inches, because the land is not real level. So the water has to be running all the time, flowing. And
as it grows older, around eight, nine months, that’s our section, then we slow the water down or raise
the outlet little higher so the water come a little more deep. By the time it’s around 11, 12 months, we
put the water at least about three inches deep.

(NK:922) Yeah. Only the beginning, when we first open our place, like that. No more huli. We no
more taro, because no more taro, huh? The taro come all make and hard. No more place to plant, so my
father used to go buy from some Japanese. Because they stay ma uka all the time, they get.

(NK:928) Once in a while. Not all the time.
Yeah. Usually go down there, hit. But I cannot go all the time because I didn’t have the time. So, after I practice, practice, I went to golf course. Used to have golf course down Palolo. Yeah, Palolo, nine-hole. I used to go down there. Well, I went about three, four times, I think. Then when I did the restaurant, haven’t got the time. So I gave away everything. But baseball, I used to go, you know.

On his own. He used to take Harrison with him all the time. Because my father, he understand English. You know, you talk to him in English, he understand. Not like an high class kind English, just broken English. My father, he can read and write too, you know. Yeah, pretty smart old man, that.

My way of closing the water is, I say about seven months. Then you close your water up. The reason why you close your water up is to get the starch in the taro. Because if you just let the water go, and it’s only growing great all the time, you wouldn’t have the starch in the taro. Within seven months, you close your water. What I mean is from the inlet going in, you let really small water going in now. And the outlet, you close the outlet, say about four inches high and the water will fill up. Get a patch wall and the water will flow out the outlet, slowly, eh? The inlet you have to let very small water in.

He asked me, “You like sell this lot to me, I build one house for my boy. My boy going get married.” At that time, he was only about sixteen, seventeen years old. I was so kind, you know. I said, “All right. I sell ‘em to you.” I sell ‘em to him with the net price was only $750. I buy ‘em $500, I get one house. I sell the other one for $750, I think I making little bit money already. So, if I never sell ‘em to him, I build one house for rent, oh, more good, you know. The housing in front of my eye all the time.

But no, I sell ‘em to him. When I sell ‘em to him, what he do? He put two houses in the lot for rent. He catch me.

There is a single canonical example of partitive \textit{aw} in combination with \textit{TIME}.

That’s how all these farmers wen learn, see? All this time, these farmers didn’t know just what the price of the taro was. What those big shots give ‘em, that’s all. And then, when my father start buying little higher, after that the price just....because these farmers get smart, see. Then they start asking direct from the poi shop, how much one bag taro. All these Chinese couldn’t fool ‘em already.

There are a handful of canonical examples of partitive \textit{aw} in combination with \textit{PERSON}.

Yeah, just give. Waipio, all the people in Waipio, if I go fishing, you come by, I have the fish there, you can help yourself to the fish. You go home, with fish. Everyone in Waipio same, you know. Because they don’t want to sell. You tell ‘em you give the money, he tell, “No, no, no, you take the fish.” Even when we used to go out on the canoe, when they come back, you reach there, you just hold the canoe come back, you get lot of fish. He doesn’t buy the fish.

To Keomuku. Certain part sometime the horse no can move. That’s why you certain place you go, the horse know. Just like they call one place over there, they name ‘em, Pohaku'o. They tell ‘em that’s Pohaku'o. I never get that kind yet, over there, but all the people they pass over there, they tell the chicken crow inside there. That’s why I come scared, eh. But the people, they hear, I never hear.

Uncle Bill, that time me, too, I go helper, go cut meat and go divide the meat. Put some meat, some bone. I make all even, eh. But sometimes, somebody grumble. “How come only bone?” “No can help. That’s how you figure out, eh.” You gotta put da kine steak, one piece. Not easy job because you gotta cut, cut, cut, cut plenty because you gotta count all the people, eh, how many people and make one pile, one pile. The rib, you cut. And I wen go work that kind job, not easy job. People grumble like hell. They chew you out, yeah.
(NK:955) Yeah, I still have my own coffee land till now. You see, sometime ago—I think, about five, six years ago—we had get-together, you see, down the Hale Halawai. So, they pick up the old-timers in farming. There’s about four of us old-timers. I was the only Hawaiian. Of course, maybe had some other Hawaiians, but they never come. Then, they call them. You know, “Everybody meet at the Hale Halawai.” Especially, like senior citizen. **All the old people** go down there. So, I approached that I been working over 40 years, farmer, ever since way before my days.

5.24.3.6 aw (OF) X PLACES

There are a handful of canonical examples of partitive aw in combination with PLACE:

(FD:260) You tell Harrison. Harrison will tell you. Even his daddy, only one hand, he used to pound their poi. His daddy only one hand, you know? He pound his poi for his big family. That’s another big family, too. Never starve. Nobody starve. Everybody have their own taro patch. Even my son-in-law, Kanekoa. Where he is now, **all the places** where he get now. Above him get the grandparents. They used to have their own. And then he stay below now, where his working man, Dave. That’s all belong to his mother.

(SU:1567) No, no. Kalia didn’t have a team. Not enough boys. See, at that time, when you stay in Kalihi, only Kalihi district guys play for Kalihi. Palama, Palama. Seibu is Liliha and part of Palama, and all Nu‘uanu, all those guys. Nippon is Downtown guys, you know, Komeya, River Street, **all the places** down there. And then, Mo‘ili‘ili, Mo‘ili‘ili, see. And then, Kaka‘ako, Kaka‘ako, see. At that time, there’s no such thing as McCully or Wai‘alae or...

(TA:37) You see, those days the taro was cheap. And then every taro that goes out from this valley, we have to haul ‘em by mule. And all these big Chinese; we used to get big shots down here, the Chinese. They own all the animals. So they buy the taro from you and they sell. So my father didn’t like the idea. He went Honolulu, Maui, **all those** places, you know; find out the price of the taro. All that time, these people, the one that was buying the taro, they were making 100, 200, 300 percent profit. Maybe $3 a bag, they buy only for dollar.

(TA:44) Oh, I don’t know. Maybe he start using about late part of 1930’s. I think. Because he came down here in about 1935 or 1936. I know he had a big row with Chun one time. Because we get a ditch, run my father’s land and then go to Chun’s and **all those places** over there. And then Chun folks, they using that water for home use, eh?

5.24.3.7 KNOW aw

The following are possible, but unlikely examples of the combination of KNOW and aw:

(JB:66) Oh yeah. They were, some of them is Ilokano, some of them is Visayan. **That’s all I know.** Ilokano and then the Visayan.

(YA:1021) Oh, one or two times, that’s all. Outside the sand beach, they all go for catching fish, eh, for eat. **That’s all I know.**

(YA:1021) Yeah. I was big already, like this, eh? Five years old, I see the small, little Indians running around. They no big, you know. They black, eh? No more clothes, nothing on. And they crawling around just like da kine small baby, like, you know. **That’s all I know, see?** If they never tell me that, I never know that was one—small baby Indian is menehune, see?

(YA:1023) About three or four. Cutting rice and plant rice, regular farmer. Get about, maybe about ten, fifteen acre rice patch. He lease ‘em from the Hawaiian, you know. They lease to you, hardly any money. They just give the land for you to take care, see? **That’s all I know, you know.** But never, we no worry about go fishing, though. We small, but we go fishing down the river. You know, the shallow water, we catch fish. Catch ‘opae, eh, for bring home for cook, eat.

(YA:1042) Then, they tell the mess sergeant that they got to feed us until we get enough food. That’s how we get the story come out, see. Otherwise, I never complain about that. I wen just only bring ‘em
down to the mess hall and tell 'em about it, see. Bumbai, he like me. He put me in the office. He tell me, “You take charge the office.” That's all I know. Until the time I take charge the office. And then, the time come for discharge. You know, when the war is over, they discharge. I put in for discharge, too. I no like stay in the Army. I rather be outside free, myself. I no like stay in the Army.

(YA:1046) Yeah, somewhere around like that. I know, I only know he tell me I born 1894, that's all I know. I no can see whether I born that day. he tell me that, see. He report to the Board of Health about what day I born, what month, like that, that's all. That's all I know.

5.24.4 Examples of evri

5.24.4.1 evri THING

There are numerous examples of the combination of evri and THING:

(AK:629) Yeah, Waipio get a lot of plants for use. Use 'em for sprain or all this kind. You can use coconut and morning glory with vine leaf like that. Hawaiian call that noni, that Hawaiian plant, noni, that one. You can use the bark, you can use the fruit, you can use the root, and use the leaves, everything on that tree is good for use. For any kind.


(BB:010) The okolehau fill up till the neck, eh. When you dig 'em out and when you look, eh, you'll be surprised – the darn thing stay down. So much already no mo’ – evaporate. The darn thing make good cork on top and everything but evaporate. You no believe, but my father used to tell me, “Ippai attaga kore dake hetta.”

(BB:030) I know that over there lousy police – Kapulena side some place. You know [name deleted]; lousy guy too. He go suck the kin’ bootleggers and everything, eh, so the inspectors like that...This guy [name deleted] – good friend with us. Every time he give us information.


(ER:843) Yeah, then bumbai everything good, then they plow the land for pineapple. The first time, only one lane, only the car go inside, go and come back. Just like only one road, they go straight down. The way...

(ER:866) And then sometime, maybe Mama like store, too, she write down all, I go by the store, I give the store, they deliver. Yet Lung Store and Okamoto Store, if you give them, they deliver. Because us, no more telephone, eh. I come home, I ask 'em what she like, so she write down everything what she like, I go down there, I give the store guy. Then bumbai, they deliver. They get everything, they deliver.

(FD:248) Eh, we didn’t starve. Everything was so cheap. You know my dad and I used to come up. I used to ride on my own horse, eh? And I had the saddle before, they had that iron stirrup, put the feet in. Just right for my feet. And he tie my feet so I wouldn’t fall. And we come up shopping, me and him.

(FD:282) Then he had recommend me to Mr. Kaneshiro, that I was a good worker, knows how to do everything. Then I was the first on the list, when he put up his business, he call me to work for him. I didn’t want to go back work right away because I wanted to rest, eh. So I worked for him 15 years, then I retire.

(GF:312) When I first came back with my wife, I pulled taro. Really work pull taro. And then I learned how to cut seed, about planting, everything there is to do about taro.
Then, I teach him how to cut seed, and he can cut seed good. The way I want him to cut. But lot of the Hawaiian people around here, they say, “George, you one different kind guy. You particular. Everything got to be so-so.” The haoles, they tell me, “George, you are perfectionist, I cannot work for you.” I say, “That’s not that.” Like now, they have taro disease. Five, six years I hear people get taro-disease. I never had it yet.

Dis young generation, dey no care to learn. You know, new idea now not like befoah. Da slow. Now, everything fast. Chuk! Chuk! Before you have to drive the cattle. We use to drive down Kawaihae. Two hundred head. We leave here one o’clock in da morning wid da fat steer. By evening time, we take um three miles from heah.


Yeah, charge. Everything is charge because the fella who come with that, that’s their business. They living on that.

Check if everything is going all right, because as much as possible, they no like shut down, eh? So, as long they can go, well, keep going. And then today overseers, they lucky, too. Every extra hour they put, they get ‘em either in pay or they get ‘em in extra holiday, see. But my days, no.

Well, Mr. Keb now takes over the rental basis. Actually, everything comes from Honolulu, from First Hawaiian Bank. So, any problems we have, we supposed to see him, in a sense.

We discussed our problems—the road, water, taro prices, how we can improve quality. You name it, we try to do whatever we can. That’s why we have a good road now. We have signs coming up. It takes time, everything takes time. Nothing can be done outright. It was good in a sense. We had people from the State, from Department of Ag, come down and look over our cattail situation. We stay put money in to kind of control the thing. But the money lapsed. You know, wasn’t enough.

Yeah. She can cook any kind, cooking. She can cook Hawaiian food, Chinese food, Japanese food. So when I got married to my wife, she ha the hardest time to adjust to eat. She cannot eat lamb, broiled lamb. She cannot. She cannot eat that squid lu’au, eh? She cannot. She see that, she cannot eat. She cannot eat tripe stew. Because those cooking are different. Like where she was raised, all had little meat and lot of vegetables and shoyu, cook. Everything, little meat, plenty vegetables, tofu. Like us, we have steak, everything, eh? My mother always tell me, “Of all the boys, you’re the smartest guy how to eat meat.” I don’t eat well-done. Mine’s is all medium rare. All the rest of the boys all got to be well done.

We call him Haole because he live with the Haoles in Diamond Head. Teraguchi, eh? And the rest all come from this side, all. And them guys, they all get shoulder pads, the headgear. Us, only sailor moku pants and sweater. Them guys, all, the headgear, everything. Us, no more. Go down Kapi’olani Park, challenge them. That was the fun we had with them. Once, we challenge them guys.

I don’t know. In those days everything is done by hand; planting, harvesting, everything. There’s no such thing as machinery. Even plowing and all those things. Plowing, you use two horses and two people manage that. One is the driver and one holds the plow. Harrowing one fellow who uses a horse. A harrow is easy to manage. Like the planting is all hand work. You pull the rice first, tie them in bunches, then plant. Maybe two or three fellas use line.

Down the company, they get the eating place. After eating, they get the table cleared off. Everything is clean. Of course they don’t play big time games. Just for the fun of it.

After. We get all pau with the floor, and we cover the side, everything pau, then we make the on top. You know, the ti leaf.

Well, down the beach, we take by gallon, like that, just for drinking water. We use the brackish most for everything, work.

Yeah. Because he get experience in cooking, everything. Him and another Teruya is the co-owners of this Hibiscus Cafe on Bethel Street. He tell me, “You folks, instead of loafing, you better do something.” So he just help me out and do everything for me, see. I was young boy that time.
(SU:1559) Sure, because I no give this, eh? If I was little bit old, I just underneath. So I lost the case, so what I going do? I just gave up everything, close up the place. And then, I finally found a place down, I think, was year later. I found a place down Kapi'olani. That used to be printing shop, remember that?

(TA:43) I used to come down here, off and on, before that. Then I subleased from Mock Chew. Even you plant one crop, that’s it. You know already. Then you go ask people how to run the water in there, when to stop the water. As long as you don’t get smart, you ask question, they tell you everything. But if you trying to get smart with them, well, they just be quiet. You want to learn, well ask.

(TA:44) Those days we didn’t have no machines. Just bulldozer came lately. Everytime you want to make a taro patch, that’s all hand work. But the harrowing and stuff like that, I used to get one friend, one Filipino guy. He used to get buffalo and I go hire him, he harrow for me.

(TA:59) They want to forget everything. Leave the kids home and everything. Come down here and go for broke. Two nights. Oh, tomorrow night, one couple from Japan coming over. What the hell the name now? She get one haole name.

(WK:703) Yeah. I remember he hoist the Japanese flag up with a big round moon, eh? Oh, yeah. I still remember. I forgot what holidays he celebrate. The flag was up with the fish. They get some fish, no? Yeah, I still remember. I was small yet. I remember that. Yeah. My mother, she knows everything.

(WK:706) They have all the food made, all, everything ready. Raw fish, raw mullet. Yeah. That's why I tell you folks, couldn’t beat those days. Cannot beat. I no care what they say, you can ask any old-timers here, couldn’t beat those days. Today, Waipio dead. Even Kukuihaele dead. Kukuihaele used to be really active. They used to have seven, eight stores here before.

(YA:1039) Bumbai, 1917 I think, after I marry, I go in the Army, everything pau. Then, when I see the price come up, shee, the house now going up the land. We can sell our house for $4,500. See? That’s 3,000 something dollar we buy, eh? Two, three thousand dollar we buy, see. Then, we sell ‘em for 4,000 something dollar, we make about little bit money already. Then we come over here, we buy this house.

(YA:1053) But Japanese think I was Japanese, though. When I walk on the street, all Japanese, they bow their head, they say, “Good morning,” and all kind. Because they think I was Japanese, too, eh? Well, that time, it’s good. Good to know everything, see? When I went to Japan, the first thing they ask me—they bow their head, they bow to you two or three times, I think—and then, you know, they say, “Are you Japanese?” They ask the question. In talking in Japanese, “Anata Nihonjin?”

5.24.4.2 evri PLACE

There are a substantial number of canonical examples of evri and PLACE:

(ER:814) Before, our days, with the horse, we can go all around. I go all around this area, right around Lana'i with the horse. No trail, because you know where all the cow trail come up. You know where all the water trough for the cow. Everyplace get water trough. So where the water trough stay, plenty trail for the cows to go up and down, because they go for the water, eh.

(GF:313) The whole Waipio Valley. Down the beach. All along every place you see in the valley besides taro fields used to be for Mock Chew. Mock Chew used to lease the places. And then he used to lease lot of lands from John T. Baker Estate. The reason why he lease them because, lot of Chinese people used to own taro fields. So many acres. Some of them made money. They go home China. They sell out to Mock Chew. Mock Chew buy ‘em out.

(MM:333) And then if the guy had to walk one mile and come to the station—well, we no call it “station,” because every place where the working people come, well, the train got to stop and pick up those guys. The train start from way down Maha'ulepu where the pump is. From there, he come, come, come, pick up. Everyplace get fellas waiting, he got to pick ‘em up. From four o' clock, lot of time to reach over here by the Koloa crossing, maybe about 5:30 or so. And you know, short days already, almost sundown already.

(NK:938) I think they bulldoze ‘em. Most every place, now, they bulldoze, eh?
(YA:1072) Yeah, and then we go visit him. And then, we come home. But I don’t know what year now. We went to visit all the place around United States, see. On the Greyhound bus, you know. I think, nineteen.... Nineteen fifty-two or something like that, you know. We went all around. We see everyplace. And you can go to Las Vegas. They get all silver dollar. No more paper money. And then, I went to Butte, Montana. All silver dollar and gold coins. Twenty-dollar kind gold coins, see. And then, the bank over there ask me, “If you like change gold coins, you can change.” You bring all your silver dollars, he give you gold coins, see.

5.24.4.3 evri TIME

There are numerous canonical examples of evri and TIME:

(AK:660) No, we had so many big ones from the side. Might be in the table, we put about four big bowl pod, rice, whatever you have. I had that time, when I was in Waipio, those years I don’t care too much for pod. I never cared for pod, but lately all now, now I like the pod. I never cared to eat pod. I don’t know why, but. Everytime I eat pod, after I get pau, I sit down, I just throw ‘em out, everytime. Everytime if I eat pod, I have to have some candies, you know. Something sweet backing. Then, it would be all right. Otherwise, other than that, I cannot hold pod. I try, but everytime I keep trying, keep trying. Today all right, today. I can stand with pod.

(AK:668) Then, my daughter had sick, too. I had to stay in the hospital two months for my daughter. My number two daughter. She had appendectomy. Without knowing, she had appendix in Waipio. But she always complained said she set pain, sore. Everytime you get stomach ache, you give her Ex Lax or you give ’em something. That went out to four days, I think, she had that pain. Everytime I ask her if she was suffering, she say, “No. not bad.” But everytime I see that she not seem to be good.

(BB:003) ‘A’s why you know what; everytime they make the bread she give me bread, eh. So I tell my brother go to the Plantation Store go buy the kin’ jam yeh – the kin’ pineapple/peach preserve or something like that. Oh, me and him eat up– one bottle jam and one loaf bread, me and my brother eat ’em up.

(BB:016) He everytime sleep you know. He gotta watch the down below flag. When the down below flag come red, you better put your red flag up. Red and this guy’s one is white. He’s sleeping. That’s why they kick ’im out. Then they send me over there.

(BB:016) He everytime sleep you know. He gotta watch the down below flag. When the down below flag come red, you better put your red flag up. Red and this guy’s one is white. He’s sleeping. That’s why they kick ’im out. Then they send me over there.

(BB:016) He everytime sleep you know. He gotta watch the down below flag. When the down below flag come red, you better put your red flag up. Red and this guy’s one is white. He’s sleeping. That’s why they kick ’im out. Then they send me over there.

(EB:1145) Not only “sometimes,” I eat everytime.

(ER:782) Then me, everytime, I go with them. That’s how I learn cowboy. Everyday I go with my cousin, he like take me, too, eh. I follow him, Bill, Bill...

(ER:869) Yeah. I think about one month, I think, we wen stay da kine. Once a week, I think, two time one week, we gotta come up. You know, two time one week in the night, we gotta come up. Come by the office, come report or come get something for eat. They give you something for eat. Up here, they eat everytime free kaukau, eh. But...

(FD:285) I don’t know. But you keep on harvest, and the dirt get soft, and everytime we dig ’em, the patch go down and down. And then when they go deeper, the soil is kind of different, the soil it floats.

(FD:285) Yeah, especially when you dry the patch for two days; you know, kind of sticky, eh, already, kind of stuck, eh, the mud. And then you can just easily move. We argue sometime, but I no like, you know. I just let him do what he want to do and at times, when he find something wrong, then I tell, “That’s why I tell you everytime that.”

(GF:302) Hawaiians. Mixed blood. Hawaiian-Japanese, Hawaiian-Chinese. All mixed blood. Very few Hawaiians. And you know the Hawaiian people down there, they can speak Chinese fluently. Charlie Thomas, you look at Charlie Thomas now. You think he don’t know how to speak Chinese. He speak Punti fluently, you know. When we were young, I used to drink and smoke. But when I got older, gee, cannot play everytime, eh? Quit those things. When I came to Waipio. Gee, boy, that’s the land of opportunity. That’s why I stayed here.
Yeah, for me and my wife. I have my own grinder, but if I go and cook the taro, I usually put ’em on electric stove nighttime, in one big pot. Then, morning time I peel it. I set up the machine, and I grind. Then, I get too much poi everyday. You see. One grinding, I make over 30-pound poi. Then, if I going cook small amount of poi, it’s just waste. So, I might as well buy poi.


Salesmen, yeah. They used to come with buggy and the wagon. They come one day and they come take orders. Of course, they take the orders same day. They come every other day, I think, not every day. When they come one day, they deliver what’s been ordered before. And they deliver, and the same time, they take order for the next trip. So everyday they come, they bringing something, and same time they take orders.

But those days, lot of time, especially like weekend like that, we go. During the week, we only go in the afternoon sometime when the weather is good. But weekend, sometimes we go in the morning. We shoot three in the morning. And then, in afternoon, you take a rest, you have lunch, and maybe you start again maybe about 1:30, two o’clock, you shoot another three. Lot of time. Not everyday, though. Yeah, when you get luck, eh?

No, I never did. So I’m kind of fortunate. When you have these, what they call, heavy rains and stuff, you have lot of water. Some of the farmers, they have an open ditch. Something like this, coming through their patches and this ditch gets full with gravel everyday. So it might take them a day, day and a half, to clear the ditch SO their fields don’t have water as of certain times. But I have water constant.

Check my water, check if the seed is growing, the one that I planted is all stand up and it’s not lying down and stuff. The rest, talk story with friends. Everyday I get friends over my place, half of the time, I’m story-ing instead of working, you know. Like you two lovely ladies.

That’s why, I used to catch hell from the Japanese school. When I used to go Makiki Japanese School, I get scolding from the teacher because he said, “You every time, go dancing. Everyday, high school, dancing, that’s why you come school late.” But I don’t dance. But I go to the Camera Club. See, I got to take care all the prints. After school, they make prints.

Waikiki get plenty part-time yard man. Yard job, get. You know, you shoot water, clean the yard, after school. I did little while of that. But you cannot, Waikiki hard because, shee, the surf, the water is so good everyday. So, you got to go surfing all the time. You know what I mean? That’s why, we had hard job to take that job. And the parent, if you like go surfing, he cannot stop you. So, summertime, I can go surfing only two times. My mother let me go surfing only two– once in the morning, once in afternoon.

Yeah. That tower has four sticks, eh. Posts. High. The tower is about 16 feet I think. Anyway from 12 to 16 feet about the ground. And then that’s another four or five feet more up, see, because you get the platform over there. That, on top part we used to put a bag to shade out the sun, eh. Get so many bags. We sew ’em together. Cover on top so that the sun won’t hit us. And then get all the line, eh, all come to that place. That take care of so many, I think maybe about 10, 15 lines, eh. Get all cans and rag tied on. You strip rags–you tie on. Everyday you pull, that thing shake. The birds scared, eh. And that noise. The birds scared. They fly away. And that stand – you had to make ’em solid because it shake, eh. And we make steps for go up. Not really step but just board. You just climb on top. Go on top.

One kihapai. Then, you plant the taro and let the taro grow. And everyday, we gotta clean, ho hana, ho hana, till seven month. Then, we have to really clean ’em good. And then, cover up with ‘ama’u inside there.

We get donkey; we get horse, mule. My father get mule. That’s why, my aunt, everyday, gave canoe. Because we lent our mule to them, and they’d huki down, pull canoe down from the mountain till where the cars can pick ’em up.
Yeah, yeah, yeah. Every time, have to get poi inside da kine kelemania, eh?

“Maukaloa,” you know, place we used to stay. And then, Andrade, same thing, too. “Andrade Camp.” Mill Camp is “Mill Camp.” Used to get four teams. One, “Kawai Nui.” Kawai Nui was a small place. But this Mill Camp, we get lot of people down there, so they was the strongest team every time, see. And once a year, we get together at the school. You know, school, we used to play. All the time we play in a regular cow pasture.

Right by cash register. Yeah, you know, I tell you, people really honest. Really honest, you know. Really honest. Of course, not every time busy, you see. When we moved after we got condemned down Waikiki, we moved to Kapi‘olani, we did the same thing. Two girls in the morning cannot keep up with the crowd that used to come in the morning. We used to open six o’clock in the morning. The crowd rush. So we did the same thing. Pastry, we have, oh, about two feet by two feet pastry.

That’s when I bought one old military jeep. Because the Army was stationed down here too. Had some military guys, they was watching the beach. So the Army wen bulldozer and try level up the road. Before that, you know the trail going up, is just like one step ladder. That’s where the mules step every time, the same holes. And then the road was real narrow, those days. Now is kind of wide, they fixed it. That’s when they come down with their jeeps too. Since the War, when the car was going up and down.

Yeah, make ’em just like tea. She dry ’em out. And then she dry all the leaves, you know. All, dry ’em all up. When come dry, then she put ’em inside one gallon, da kine big gallon, eh? And then, every time she boil the hot water, she put the leaves in there. You drink it just like a tea.

(YA:1034) He come back Honolulu, he meet me down the market. “Oh, yeah, I remember you. You Au, eh?” “Yeah.” “I am Pedro so-and-so,” like that, see? And he shake hand. “Chee, we used to fight up with you in the district. Every time we fight for nothing. Now we big, we good friend, we no fight.”

(YA:1060) You go over there, go in the water, go dig clam. Every time we go dig, we dig about quarter bag, you know. Maybe ten, twelve, fifteen pound, eh? Then, bring ’em home. ’Nough for food.

The following could be considered a canonical example of the valency KNOW ALL. In this case, evriting would be an allolex of ALL.

(YA:1053) But in the machine shop, they no think I was a Japanese. But Japanese think I was Japanese, though. When I walk on the street, all Japanese, they bow their head, they say, “Good morning,” and all kind. Because they think I was Japanese, too, eh? Well, that time, it’s good. Good to know everything, see? When I went to Japan, the-first thing they ask me–they bow their head, they bow to you two or three times, I think–and then, you know, they say, “Are you Japanese?” They ask the question. In talking in Japanese, “Anata Nihonjin?” Bumbai, I tell ’em–I don’t understand too much–but I tell ’em, “No, me, Chinese.”

There is also another possibility that the universal valency could be alternately KNOW ALL THINGS. In that case, evri and ting could be analyzed as allolexes of ALL and SOMETHING respectively. In either case, the above would be a canonical example of that valence.

Likewise, the following could be considered a canonical example of the valency SAY ALL. In this case, evriting would be an allolex of ALL.

(GF:348) Get a swimming hole behind my house. He asked me, “You know where the water is kind of deep, waist deep?” “Oh yeah. I get.” Took me behind there. He baptize me behind there. I surrender to God. Everything. I told Him everything. They tell me, “Don’t confess to me, I’m not God. You confess
to God what you do.” I go behind there, they baptize me in the stream. When I came out, you know, my whole body was tingling. Just like electric. From head to toe.

(TA:43) Even you plant one crop, that’s it. You know already. Then you go ask people how to run the water in there, when to stop the water. As long as you don’t get smart, you ask question, they tell you everything. But if you trying to get smart with them, well, they just be quiet. You want to learn, well ask.

5.24.5 Examples of aweiz

5.24.5.1 aweiz

The HCE aweiz is also another alternate realization of the NSM combination AT ALL TIMES. Consider the following canonical examples:

(AK:595) Shrimp, that gori, oopu and all those things. Of course, that’s good, they fry but sometime the family wants to eat those things raw, eh? And I cannot. I taste but, not bad. After I try, all right, it was good. Because Waipio, you have the warabi there, you know that warabi. They had lot of wild watercress. Oh, never let get anything starve there, you get. You want to go down the beach, the beaches are near. Always there. I always tell everybody, “Waipio is the best place to live.”

(AK:652) Yeah, I always had enough water. And every now and then, you have to go look at your water head. When we have rain, the river flowing over the river, you got to watch your water head. Maybe no ‘nough water, broke someplace. The water run away, and your water coming down, no ‘nough. So you got to go fix your water head. No depend on the next man to go fix. Because maybe he going wait for you, while you waiting for him. So you might as well go do it.

(FD:284) Not that I know of. Our taro always moving. And we used to get outsiders, people they come, and then they want to buy so much. And we just pull for them because the taro is so easy to pull.

(FD:297) Well, I love the place because I was born and raised there until I grew up—a great-grandmother today. And then the feelings of the place is actually really warm feelings. The living of the place, than here. Really, I just love Waipio because I was born and raised there. Nothing happened to my family. Until I’m a great-grandmother. That’s why I always say, Waipio, I just love Waipio and that’s my home.

(GF:326) Not so good. They always get misunderstanding. They hate one another, jealous of one another. But, for me, I don’t have anything against anybody. The only thing is with Toledo. His ways are not so good. I think he’s born like that. I don’t hate him. But he don’t understand that’s why. Some people, they are greedy, selfish, they care for themselves only, no care for anybody else. You know what I mean?

(GF:339) Yeah, selling to Mock Chew. I was raising for the fun, just to learn about taro. Whether it’s good, or no good, he always say no good. “Not good grade, not good grade.”

(JB:62) No. As far as hungry, no. We always had the food. But because only of my parents was drunkard and they didn’t care. I don’t know how drunkard look like. Because, you know, when you young, I’m not the drinking type when I was young.

(JL:16) We get da beef free from Parker Ranch. You get da poi like dat big. The poi before, I tink you remember, big bag poi from Waipio. Akiu, every Tuesday he bring up, den I have one poi – ah – dey send Makalahao when I was staying up dere. Stay up dere wid my whole family. And da wagon always come up, eh? Bring our food. Bring hay. Barley for foal – one we keeping in the stable, huh? Imported. Da bes’ kine. We keep in da stable. Feed um.


(MM:373) They no like leave anything like that, because they say, so many hours, the burned cane going deteriorate, see. But I see, not only Grove Farm, not only McBryde. Even Lihu’e, I see. When you go weekends like that, you see, Saturday afternoon, plenty more burned cane get left. That’s easy, da kine. But try and make ’em for clean up everything on that afternoon, that’s not easy, you know. They
like clean up everything. Burned cane. Grinding, well, that’s up to them. That’s up to the mill guys. And then, what I mean, you have to get enough till you pau hana, see. That’s why, I always make it little short. I always make little short, then if no 'nough, I take one small little piece, maybe one acre or two acre, burn 'em off. Just to keep me going for the day, see. That's way hard. But these guys, no. Easy, that kind. Anybody can do that kind.

(MT:1180) It's wet. That's why I said, if you dry it, you'll get this weed problem. So I always use water. The only time it goes dry is for harvesting. To kill off the roots. And you have a lot of root systems, so usually, I dry it about month and a half, two months. It depends on the weather again. To be easier for the labor to work, see.

(MT:1196) It's not a rush thing that you have to harvest it at a certain time. I think it might be all right. If you have money which you depend on, you have money on the side in case things go sour, you still can make in time to come. As long as you have your water, that thing will be no problem. Anything else? You always can ask later if you forgot something.

(MY:1479) Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki. Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite oru,” he said. “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki people.” He tell, “How come?” That's the truth, that's why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That's why, he tell, “See, this man is good boy. You no talk bad about him.” The guy, he look sick. That's why, even today, all the Japanese old ladies, they like me. They know me because always I go to their funerals and everything, I go.

(NC:145) Yeah, I have. I work and get some money but I don't generally take all. I always give to my mother, eh. And what I need, like we go school, lunch like that, That's the only thing we take. Other than that we don't take the money. To us money is useless those days.

(NC:162) Everybody was planting it. Those days market was always flooded. That hit me more hard than the tidal wave. The tidal wave hit me, but I still had money in the bank, and I drew out the money and went right ahead. After that, I went 5,000 so much in the hole. To get out of that 5,000 took me a long time. I didn't dare plant, eh. I only planted a few hundred bags.

(NK:923) Yeah, yeah. 'Nough, 'nough. They always get rain over there. But not that much. Little bit. And kehau in the morning.

(NK:941) Yeah, my mama always have Hawaiian medicine. For babies and for us. That's why, she never believe going doctor. Even when she was about 80. Anyway, she was kinda sick, so we thought we call doctor come see her, eh? No, she no like. Well, we cannot help. We don't know how to take care of her, so we call the doctor come down the house. When doctor came down the house, oh, she was so mad. She no like take the doctor pills.

(OC:6) And then, of course, by that land a lease then I can get the money to build more houses. You know, the bank always lend you by what you have, what you put on, see, so they know I get that way there.

(OC:7) I told them they get eleven children and I like to help them out because I don't have to pay them cash anyway so the bank can give them that money to help their children. So that way there I thought what my father and mother say, “Always be honest with yourself.”

(WK:694) Well, she say, “Son, if I was you, don't do anything to hurt other people. Just ask them for forgiveness.” She always believe in church work too, you see. “When other people hurt you, you just forgive them for their wrong doing, whatever they do wrong. Just forgive them, that's all. Let God take care the rest.” That's what my mother believe in. I always thought she strong church lady, see. Mormon Church. Very strong.

(WK:706) Yeah. The Mormon people, they help the Mormon people. You see, my mother, she always telling me..., like she's a religious lady, she believe in church work. But she always telling me, “Eh son, whatever you earn, whatever you make, don't forget 10 percent.” What she mean 10 percent is for on God's side. That's all. She always tell me that. So, sometime I answer her. I tell 'em “Eh, really, God ask for 10 percent?” I say, “I think, more better you give from your heart, fully from, your heart, no? It's better than you going give 10 percent and you getting hard time.”
Yeah. You know, we never buy, you know. Always cut, see. And if we like papaya, da kine, we don’t have to plant. You go up the mountainside, get plenty growing wild. You look the papaya tree growing all over, eh? Nobody eat. So we look which papaya come good, eh, we climb up the papaya and pick the papaya.

Before, no, you go on the roadside, nobody holding up you. But when we go on the road, we no care. We no go bare hand, see. We always carry a piece of wood or maybe a piece of pipe on our hand. When they try to attack us, we hit ’em with a pipe, you know. You see? You know what I mean? So, if you no more nothing to protect you, he going lick you, see? But me, so far, I went anyplace. Go down Kakaako, go to–what do you call that church?–Kawaiahao Church, eh? The graveyard, I cross the graveyard. I go Kakaako. I see da kine young Kakaako boys. When they pass by you, you no say nothing, you just keep walking. He say, “Hello, my friend.” He no come tackle you, you know. I don’t know how, you know. I never get any da kine gangster on the roadside and hold me up, you know. Because I always carry something, protection. If they come and gang me up, I get something to fight, see. Or either I carry one belt, you know da kine strap with a buckle on the end, eh?

**5.24.6 Examples of evribadi**

**5.24.6.1 evribadi**

Another realization of the combination of *ALL* and *PERSON* is the HCE form *evribadi*. There are numerous canonical examples in our corpus:

(AK:603) Something like Chinese food. Most time Chinese food. They have all kind food. *Everybody* eat the same food. Sometimes, sometime, we get little bit more different food than the old Chinese. But not bad.

(AK:615) I don’t know. But *everybody* get along those days, down there. They all get along. Those days, when the Filipinos, or whatever, Japanese, or like that, Chinese; those days, we never had any trouble with them. Even young girls, all that, no more troubles like that. Today might be different.

(BB:007) You know, your father is so good, eh. — plenty mango tree, you know, over there. He go pick the mango, eh and he go give *everybody*. ’A’s why I was thinking, chee this man, you know, chee he no eat and give *EVERYBODY* like that. He was that kin’ man, you know.

(EB:1135) Yeah, harvest the rice. I say, “Okay.” In the afternoon, about 3 o’clock. So, I went with him. I harvest little bit. Then, I heard kids playing around there, someplace. So, I run away from him. Oh, that’s the time he beat me up again. And that evening time, again. So, ready to go home, *everybody* go home, oh, he so damn wild. He take the–I don’t know what he bin take–he beat me again. That’s when my auntie bin worry like that. That’s all.

(ER:821) Get along, yeah. Oh, the house to house people, all you can go inside the house. Just like your own house. You know, eat together. Sometime, guys, they bring kaukau, they go over there, *everybody* go eat together. *everybody* eat together on top the veranda or outside on the grass. They drink. Pau, when they get ’nough, *everybody* go home. Come dark, *everybody* go home. The people inside here, when I come young time, just like they all one family. *Everybody* together, just like one family.

(ER:852) Yeah, *everybody* go one place. Had one big toilet over here. Where my garage was, and where the wall stay like this, this side was the shower, where I wen put wall, over there was the shower room. And this side, *everybody* go wash clothes. They get plenty tub, eh, for go wash clothes.

(FD:255) Well, before *everybody* like the hand pound. They rather have the hand pound. But today, well, we cannot do it. Get so many things you got to work hard to get your money. You know, today is so high cost living. You cannot be pounding poi all the time. Even me. I couldn’t help.

(FD:259) Well, most Democrats. Most Democrats but we have Republicans too. But the two doesn’t work together. So, if one side win and the one side lose; well, *everybody* be friends. That’s why, don’t be enemies. But some of them bet money, you know.
Together. We used to raise pineapples for Honolulu Fruit Company, long time ago. Was way back in the 1920’s and the early part of the 1930’s when Depression break got us. Everybody don’t know what to do. We went broke.

And Waipio people, when I first came here, the people not greedy. They just catch so much, and then, the rest they let go. They don’t waste the food. Even down the ocean, when they go catch fish down the ocean on a boat. When the boats come in with the fish, everybody help the boat, bring the boat up. everybody get share. And they used to get hukilau, too, down there, Waipio. Same thing. Guys go out, swim out, bring-the net out, and everybody draw the net in. Everybody get share.

An den Kekoa say, “Come on, everybody go in oh, we just got da babies inside heya.” Yeah, yeah. And then, why they get beriberi, because they eat only starch, eh? Yeah, in those days. That’s why, you know, everybody been going through really hardship, you know.

And burning cane never change much. You got to do the same way. Everybody got to do the same way. Backfire. That’s what they say. Even sometime you go in the mountain, up the mountain it’s burning, eh? To prevent that, try and make a backfire. Firebreak. Somebody got to go ahead and then make a firebreak and start to burn backfire, yo. You know? And then, by the time the other fire come already, this fire stay pretty far in already, see. Then you be safe. But if you just let ‘em go, he going continue.

Yeah, I wasn’t scaling. I was just, more or less, the weight was more or less and that’s it. And everybody does it today. Majority of them, they don’t scale. Why, I don’t know. You can get the bathroom scale which goes over 100-something pounds. You should know what you doing. You not fooling nobody, nobody’s fooling you.

Oh. Yeah. Everybody knows him. boy. I tell you.

Oh, yeah. Well, the change is too much, no? Not like the old Waikiki where you can go down the beach and enjoy. Get parking space. Today, you cannot find no parking space. Even if parking meter have, you cannot go down there, find parking meter because everybody goes down the beach. Even if they allow you to, parking meters, you cannot find parking meters.

No, no. That temple, my father was the one started that. It used to be one way the outside. So that one all broke down and everything. So nobody think that, my father said, “Ah, let me start.” So he get the people together to make one book for donations, eh. Everybody dig up so much, put down. I think all our brothers get our name in there too because each of us give so much, eh.

Everybody was planting it. Those days market was always flooded. That hit me more hard than the tidal wave. The tidal wave hit me, but I still had money in the bank, and I drew out the money and went right ahead. After that, I went 5,000 so much in the hole. To get out of that 5,000 took me a long time. I didn’t dare plant, eh. I only planted a few hundred bags.

Well, everybody, they don’t know, eh? The other guys?

The Hawaiians used to have that way. Mountain to sea. That’s why, like the Hawaiians used to stay on Ke‘ei side. That’s why, we get place from mountain to sea. Of course, we no own the whole place, but we get mountain place, we go mahi‘ai kalo. We get the middle place, we get ‘aina kope, coffee land. And then, we get down the beach for take a rest, rest or go fishing, and come home, and stay there. That’s what we did have before. But not everybody. People who get place down, they stay down. Some people no more place down, they stay ma uka. But they go down, they stay up.

Yes, that business was a partnership and then come in later on, not making money so everybody didn’t want to own anything.

He said, “Well, anybody else want to bid over that?” Oh everybody want to kill On Char because he want to bid too much.

You know everybody.

Everybody make shibai. You know, amateur kind, eh?

Zippy’s? Right there used to have Tanaka Appliance. Mr. Tanaka and I used to be good friends, see. So he tell me, “Ey, Sam, I think you might as well put ‘Smile Cafe,’ though.” I says, “Okay.” That’s how we started, see. Put “Smile Cafe.” And then, when I put Smile Cafe, everybody tell, “Ey, you got to smile every time.”
Now, everybody use herbicide.

Sometime the people down here, you really need the water... well, you see them up there. That’s why, if you on the tail end of the ditch, when you need water you no more water. Little bit water come. When you no need, everybody throwing the water in your ditch. Enough water. That’s why, if you get long line of ditch and all the farmers over there, if you the first guy you can do what you want.

Huh? Me. Why? Why, I no can play music? No, we play music, all day. All us. The whole gang. The gang that come my house and enjoy with us. Everybody grab the ukulele, go ahead and keep going.

They have kids, children games. Whatever games they get for kids. And they have all kind. You ride the calf, and you go get the pig. You know they grease all the pig up. All that kind used to have. And then after that they have all laulau. Everybody go eat after all the games up. Waipio used to have good celebration before. Honest, you ask all the old timers.

Bumbai, when 1915, ’14 or ’15, I moved downtown. There, get only one school in Honolulu. Kukui Street, go to the end, and the end of Kukui Street pau, eh? On the other side is the mountain. And on the back of the mountain is Central Intermediate School. Only one school over there. Everybody go to that school. But that’s the only school could go. And I go look, oh, there’s one school over here. But we no can go school already, see? We too big already.

They used to have down the country. On the mountainside get plenty rabbit, eh? Now, no more, see. Everybody shoot, then no more. Rabbit, same thing. You skin ’em. You no take the hair out. Just skin ’em. Take the inside, the meat, see. But my wife make frog legs. She skin ’em, she fry ’em. And they put inside the pot, boil ’em. Put ‘okolehao inside the soup. Ho, the good eat, you know.

5.24.7 Examples of evriwan

5.24.7.1 evriwan

Yet another realization of the combination of ALL and PERSON is the HCE form evriwan. There are numerous canonical examples in our corpus:

Yeah, just give. Waipio, all the people in Waipio, if I go fishing, you come by, I have the fish there, you can help yourself to the fish. You go home, with fish. Everybody in Waipio same, you know. Because they don’t want to sell. You tell ’em you give the money, he tell, “No, no, no, no, you take the fish.” Even when we used to go out on the canoe, when they come back, you reach there, you just hold the canoe come back, you get lot of fish. He doesn’t buy the fish.

But, like today, with this younger generation, you tell them, “Oi, come help me clean my side.” They no like you come help clean. Well, those days, they told me that they always have the barrel of sour potato. They ferment the potato, that’s what they drink. They say, they have one barrel of potato or they buy a salt salmon. All the family, they come help, everyone in the family going work and eat. But the older guys drink potato but the other family eat. They help them clean the place, that’s what they do.

All fence up. All da paddock get name. Three hundred paddock Parker Ranch get. You gotta know every one. Me. I know everyone from here till Humuula. Humuula we get plenty too. Thas Hawaiian Homes. Pretty soon pau da lease, I tink. I know all the paddock up Humuula. Everyone. Even ovah heah too. Nobody can fool me.

Afta... even, you know everyone was dead a’ready. (NC:139) No, nearly everyone get their own.

Well, before we I don’t know. Planting is about the same, I think. Hardly anything changes. Only we space now everyone evenly from plant to plant. Before, we get two near and then far.

Yeah, everyone.

So, the quarterman and the leaderman tell the haole, “It’s not the machine, it’s the man back of the machine.” You know? So, “You go see that white-headed – you know, this Pake.” “This
Chinese white-headed man” he call me before. I get white hair, eh? I still get white hair. “He tell you how to run the machine.” And he comes to see me. I show him how to set up the job, grind the tool, mostly, I set up all the tool, job for him, eh? I open the machine and run, and I give him all the idea. You run the machine. You watch the machine go, you know, on the apron. Get one handle, see. When the apron come almost to the chuck, you pull the handle up. The machine going, but the tool not going anymore, see? The apron not going. So, **everyone** that come over there, he send ’em to me to teach ’em how to run.

(YA:1067) Yeah. Ho, terrible flood, that. Push all the houses away. Even my house. The water flood my house. Before, my house not that hip. before, low down, you know, about four feet or something like that. And then, the water cover up all the road. All my slipper floating inside–you know, just like one boat–inside the floor. But my house no can push away, but only flood the basement and down below. **Everyone** no more basement anyway, you know. We only get one floor, see? Just like the one across. He get only one–no more basement, eh?

5.24.8 Examples of evriwea

5.24.8.1 evriwea

Another realization of the combination of **ALL** and **PLACE** is the HCE form **evriwea**. There are a few canonical examples in our corpus:

(YA:1027) He sell. He sell to the rice mill. People grinding the rice, see? You know, one company that grind the rice and go sell, eh. That’s only one–just like one store, anyway, the business. Only rice mill, they buy the rice. They buy ’em cheap from you, then they charge so much for grind the rice for you. If you like grind ten bag, they grind for you, they charge you only small money. You take the rice home, you stack ’em up in your house, you use ’em for your food. The rest, you no can eat all, you sell ’em to the people who grind the rice, the mill. And the mill, they ship ’em down someplace, **everywhere** they sell ’em.

(YA:1034) I learned all the Hawaiian in the beginning when I went to school. Only Hawaiian we talk. We no speak no English. You go **everywhere**, they talk Hawaiian. Even go to school, Mrs. March, we talk Hawaiian. They teach us how to talk Hawaiian. Aloha kakahiaka, like that, you know. Yeah, they teach us, you know. And then, teach us mostly this kind Hawaiian song. Kamehameha, Kalanianaole, or something like that. All da kine Hawaiian song, we sing.

5.24.9 Summary

We have found examples of the following NSM syntactic configurations in our corpus:

- **ALL PERSON(S)**
- **ALL THING(S)**
- **ALL PLACE(S)**
- **ALL TIME(S)**
- **ALL (OF) X**
- **X KNOW ALL ABOUT Y**
- **X SAID ALL ABOUT Y**

The following syntactic configurations were missing from our corpus:
ALL KIND(S)
ALL PART(S)

5.25 GOOD

5.25.1 Primitive Syntax

The universal syntax of GOOD is as follows:

GOOD PERSON/PEOPLE/THING
I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1)PERSON/(d1)THING/THIS (IS) GOOD
(FOR ME/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1) PERSON)

For the sake of completeness, the following frame will also be included in this survey:

I/YOU/(d1)PERSON (AM/ARE/IS) SOMEONE GOOD

The above is offered as a possible alternate frame for the purely predicative frames I/YOU/(d1)PERSON (AM/ARE/IS) GOOD. The universal status of these frames is still unsettled.

5.25.2 HCE Candidates

Gud is the only plausible candidate for NSM GOOD.

5.25.3 Examples of gud

5.25.3.1 I (AM) gud

We have a near-canonical example of I and gud:
(ER:877) I wen like quit, but I think bumbai pau the war or what. I wen like, though. I look bumbai, Chester and Uncle Lew tell me, “Gee, more better quit your job. Over here, look, big money.” But I was thinking bumbai pau the war, eh. Us, only new men, maybe us good, maybe I going get chance, eh, because I no drink, yeah.

I think we can reasonably assume that as is decomposable in terms of I.

5.25.3.2 YOU (ARE) gud

We have two canonical examples of YOU combining with gud predicatively:
(MY:1482) They ask me, “Why you no go? You get the first preference.” So when I told the president that I cannot take that job, boy, he shake my hand, boy. He said, “You real good man. You loyal to one boss. That’s what I like. That’s a good man.” He no tell me no good. He tell me, “You good. That’s very, very good. You are very loyal to your boss. That’s what’s good.”

(BB:017) Stop. Down below red you see, you gotta put your red up. Then the guy goin’ stop. Otherwise no can see the flag down below. ‘A’s why when it’s white eh; and if down below is red and you white, the darn thing still goin’; ‘A’s why by-n-by get accident. Important that one; ‘a’s why kick out, and they told me to do that, so every time I was doin’ that. I never make one mistake – they tell me you
good. So, they send me to the Landing. You know, from the boat to the landing, that one. I was taking care of two machine.

5.25.3.3 SOMEONE (IS) gud

We have the following near-canonical examples of gud combining predicatively with SOMEONE:

(BB:007) Nice guy your father, taxi driver. Oh, he do good to the. ’A’s why everybody like him. The town, eh — you say [name deleted]..... You know, one thing he good, eh. You know over there, you know, by [name deleted] over there, [name deleted] over there, and then [name deleted] and [name deleted] over there – the bakery. You know, your father is so good, eh. — plenty mango tree, you know, over there. He go pick the mango, eh and he go give everybody. ’A’s why I was thinking, chee this man, you know, chee he no eat and give EVERYBODY like that.

(ER:788) Yeah, some, the old guys good, but the chief cowboy good. He good to me. Every time he like something, he call on me. Because me, when I young time, I like this kind. You know I like every time go inside. I like steal somebody job just like.

(GF:324) So Mock Chew went to see Kealoha. Kealoha say, “Oh, you want to clean Waimanu trail? You think how much does it cost to clean Waimanu trail? How many miles? How many hours of riding?” “Oh, get 13 gulches, maybe take three hours of riding on the trail.” “You go there often?” “Oh, we raise cattle there, we raise pigs over there. Then we got to haul our grain over the mountains, down the valleys and till we reach there, take us about one day, And what cattle we sell, we pay tax. What pigs we sell, we pay tax. And then you folks cannot help us?” Kealoha, he say, “How much you want? You quote how much you need. You go hire somebody and the County pay.” See, Kealoha was good. And Mahuka was good. Sam Spencer, he was good. Otherwise, other guys no good. They only....

(GF:324) They promise they going help Waipio people, and they going try to control the water so that Waipio won’t have damages. But after they get elected, you don’t see anything. They forget all about you. And when you go to Hilo to see them, they don’t know you. The only guys good was Samuel Spencer, he was good; and Kealoha was good.

(GF:324) They promise they going help Waipio people, and they going try to control the water so that Waipio won’t have damages. But after they get elected, you don’t see anything. They forget all about you. And when you go to Hilo to see them, they don’t know you. The only guys good was Samuel Spencer, he was good; and Kealoha was good.

(NC:197) Oh yeah, the good dancers. Some of them are good, and some even dance half-way, they throw ’em off. You know why? They so heavy, you know. They tell, “Excuse me, eh.” They take ’em back “I get stomach ache.” And never go back again.

Presumably, hi, dem, and gaiz are decomposable into a semantic molecule containing SOMEONE.

5.25.3.4 SOMETHING (IS) gud

There are a few canonical examples of gud combining predicatively with SOMETHING:

(MM:335) Yeah, extractor. So you gotta crank ’em pretty fast, see. The faster you make it, better it is ’cause that thing going to fly ’em out, fly ’em out. And that thing is good, you know why, too? It’s fast. And after you get through, you can put the thing right back into the box where the bees going to put the honey in again. The hive is right there, see. In other words, if you no more that, you gotta cut off that thing, put ’em inside a bag and squeeze ’em, eh? You broking up all the hives, you know. Because you going to cut em off and put ’em in a bag and squeeze ’em. But the extractor, no, the hive is still there. So only the bee, what they gotta do, is fill up honey.

(MY:1475) So he told me, “No stay longer than one week already. You’ve seen your grandfather already, so go.” So me and my grandfather, we had a good time fishing every day. My grandfather had land right around the ocean. Oh, beautiful land right on the ocean, white sand. Beautiful. We go fishing every night. Night, we go catch ’opae, nighttime. Daytime, we go fishing. We catch all the fish, we put
′em in big da kine fish trap. Then, this guy from Yanai, the peddler, he come buy the fish. I tell my
grandfather, “The peddler crooking you.” Japan, when they come, they no more scale. They get da kine
weight. The thing here is long, so they balance it with a.... “I think the thing no good,” I tell him.

The following example is a near-canonical example of the same valence:

(AK:660) Sometimes. If only by myself, I don’t sing. If the boys around we sing. But if the boys
around, they do the pounding I teach them how to pound pod. They like to learn, so show ’em how. But
pounding pod, it’s not in the matter of just pounding the pod. You smash the taro. And then, you pound
it good. But otherwise, if you put lot of water and the thing all going be all haywire. You got to take it
easy. Pound. And then, when everything is good, then you use water. Only use the water, just to wet
your hands. That’s all. And then, you wet the stone, you use the water to wet the stone. That’s why,
when they pound the pod, they make like that and they pound the pod. I don’t know why they do that,
you hit the pod. The water just to get your hands wet, not too dry.

Here we assume that evriting may be explicated as ALL THINGS.

5.25.3.5 THIS (IS) gud

Through this syntactic frame, GOOD may be used to modify a clause. There is a single transparent
canonical example of gud in combination with THIS modifying a clause:

(MM:348) Sit down, and you coach ’em, coach ’em, eh? Then he start to stand up and start to walk.
You can see ’em already, knock out, you know. He just go slow walk, eh? I think to myself, “This is no
good already. More better we go home.”

While there is no overt dis in these following examples, it is clear that gud is performing the same
function, modifying an anaphor in discourse:

(ER:768) That time we no more icebox. We just bring ’em and leave ’em inside the bottle, in the salt.
No more icebox. Just leave ’em like that until that thing come dry. If dry, no good, I throw ’em away.

(ER:788) Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter
what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble
grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, “Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta
be good to all the people. No come mad.”

(ER:811) And down there get good fun, too. And sometime he tell me, “Ey, we go down tonight.”
“Nah, I no like go down nighttime. I like go down daytime, so I can go get some meat.” Give some fish
for them guys. Only me I go, and I go eat free kaukau, no good, eh. And then I tell, “Nah, we go shoot
goat. You and me.” Sometime he like go in the evening. I tell, “You go in the evening. I come in the
morning this time. And you come up halfway.”

(GF:348) They poor, they cannot buy books to give somebody to read about the Lord. That’s food.
We don’t have everyday only food for our body. But our soul need food, too. You folks go church? You
folks don’t go church, you folks go church. That’s very good. I was a heathen. I had ulcer before,
bleeding ulcers. Those days, everybody get ulcer, they go operate, they die. They cut the stomach, they
say cancer. They die. And during the second World War, I went to all kinds of doctors. They say, in the
war front, guys get blown up, the stomach. They graft one stomach. I say, “Gee, just like guinea pig.”

(GF:352) And if they wanted to come over and take over the business. When they came, well, “You
try. From November to December, January. If the job no good, you can go back where you came from.
Go find other jobs.” I think he came in October, you know. Then I told him, “All right. You sure like the
business now?” “Oh, I love to raise taro. That’s good. That’s easy. Easy. That’s nothing to it.” Then.... It’s
all right I tell you like that, how they started? Or you don’t want.

(MT:1168) You name it, we try to do whatever we can. That’s why we have a good road now. We
have signs coming up. It takes time, everything takes time. Nothing can be done overnight. It was good
in a sense. We had people from the State, from Department of Ag, come down and look over our cattail
situation. We stay put money in to kind of control the thing. But the money lapsed. You know, wasn’t
enough.
The following are canonical examples of gud combining with THIS:

(AK:637) You see, this is the whole tree. The whole tree is this, eh? Then this is the branch going out. When he picks his choice, whatever, he think this is good.

(ER:762) Sometime they kalua pig. You know, they make one small pig, and they eat. You know, the pig head, they throw 'em inside the water. They throw 'em for the guy for eat. You eat all what you eat. The balance of the pig, you throw inside the water. When you get good luck, you catch plenty fish, eh. And you make plenty money, eh. So you make one small-little party for the workingmen. But before they eat, they cut the head, they throw 'em inside the water. They say they going feed the 'aumakua or something like that. Then when they eat, they pau. All the balance, da kine, they throw 'em inside the water for the guy. That's why this is good, this akule kind. But now days, I don't know akule, how they go. The guy, he see the fish, he just pick 'em up. Now they go with surround, big kind boat. But before time, they come by the shore, eh. They come near the shore.

In this case, however, dis has referential, not propositional content.

5.25.3.6 gud PERSON

There are several near-canonical examples of gud combining attributively with SOMEONE:

(ER:806) In the gym. That time get the new gym eh, that time, what this Haole name now. I forget his name now. Good guy, he take care the gym. Then we go there. Bumbai he like our team, too, because we use da kine name, the golf ball name. Profline, yeah, golf, the name of the ball.

(ER:876) So he leave me over there, but he no tell me how to go home. I get stuck. I stay inside there, but lucky the foreman inside there was good man, that's why.

(GF:308) But I was going quit from him, see? I wanted to quit from him. I don't want to work in Waipio, see? “You don't want to let me go?” He said, “No, you stay. You make good. You good boy.” This and that. I say, “No, I cannot live by praises. I got to look for myself.” You know the Chinese say, “Beware when people praise you, you going fall down. If somebody scold you, stick your head in the water, you can come up. But if somebody praise you every time, you beware of them.”

(GF:334) When I ask the Hawaiian people, “You have duck eggs? I like buy some.” “Oh, I don't want to sell you. You good man. You don't cause no trouble to nobody. I give you. But I don't have any right now, but I give you. What time you need 'em?” “Any time. But don't wet it. If you going keep the ducks, try to enclose the ducks nighttime so that they can lay their eggs on the dry ground. I don't want them to lay the eggs in the water.” “What you going to do?” “I like try hatch Waipio ducks.” “How you going hatch? You get ducks home?” “No. Maybe I going buy some ducks to hatch 'em.” “How you make the ducks hatch?” “I don't know but I going try.”

(MY:1475) When I went to Japan, Yokohama, I met my Makiki Japanese School principal. Mr. Mashimo was inside the hotel. Hotel, ryokan, they call it. Not this kind big hotel. Ryokan. He was right inside the lobby, sitting down. When he saw me, first thing he call me, “Yoshimura-san, come.” I went to see him. He said, “You good boy, no? Benkyo shite.” “No. Asobi ni kita.” Ah, lose his fight.

(WK:708) Yeah, that's why I say. Let me clearly explain to you because those days, we have really good boys, you know, No trouble. Everybody get together talk story. Talk story, everybody goes home, and go to sleep.

Here we assume that boi, maen, and gai may be explicated through the primitive SOMEONE.

5.25.3.7 gud PEOPLE

There is a single canonical example of gud in combination with PEOPLE.

(MY:1484) You can realize all the memories of Waikiki. You can talk to friend and you can still talk about the good time we had. You know, the friendship we had, the people we know. All nice people, we met. Good people. The Hawaiians were real nice people, we had. Good, friendly. Just like all brothers. We all live together like. No more argument, no more fight, nothing.
There are several canonical examples of \textit{gud} combining attributively with \textit{SOMETHING}:

(AK:616) Yeah, they give us the money. Of course, they get the money, but we do the work, then they pay. We were good, our club, we did lot of \textit{good things}.

(KH:131) Oh you go down Sea Life Pa'k inna night-time, you gonna heya \textit{something good}.

(MT:1191) No, no. Nothing. He just looks at the taro when it comes to his shop and stuff. Other than that, he doesn't bother. He cannot tell me how to raise the crop. I'm the farmer, he's just the manufacturer. But the prices vary. As the disease problem arises, he can expect to get something; you know, if you going to pay a good price, you want to get \textit{something good}. That's how it goes, see. But so far, it's been really fair all these years. I never did get my price cut or anything. So far, so good.

(MY:1471) Kapi'olani Park, our time, only \textit{thing good} about there was going getting the dates. They had the big dates, see. You know, inside the zoo now, Kapi'olani Park, they had big dates. There was a guy named Nakamura, Yoshi Nakamura. He's the only one can climb the tree, inside. 'Cause he bring knife and he go right into the tree. Date tree, hard to climb. And then, another thing you can get, Kapi'olani Park, for us was enjoyable was, they used to get the polo field, see. On the polo field on the Waikiki end, they had that Hawaiian cherry, you know. Full of that Hawaiian cherry. And they get big, you know. We used to go get. Cherry season, we all go down there, go get cherry. Cherry season, go get cherry down there.

(MY:1477) So, this teacher, Texeira, used to bring the boys. Push the cart and come over here, and the used to go get cow manure. Bring that all the way back to Waikiki School again, put 'em on the plant. So, they plant the new plant. And then, Mrs. King, she get big ruler. You do \textit{something no good}, bang, she whack you. I used to be the rascal one. You know, the kamani leaf, you know how big, eh? Kamani leaf, eh? When I see dog shit, I cover the kamani leaf on top there. The guy come pick 'em up, he got to pick 'em up, eh? He don't know. But when he pick 'em, he mad like hell. “Who wen do that?”

(NC:161) Well, certain things, worthless kine. The \textit{good things}, like money and all those, were all gone. You know, I just brought back $2,000 from the bank to pay off the taro growers. That's all gone. I have money in the ledger and I keep money for the old people where, that's their life savings already. They expect to go back China with that money. Three persons. One has 800 so much, the second one 400 so much, and the other one 200 so much.

There is a single canonical example of \textit{gud} combining with \textit{ME} in the benefactive valence:

(OC:9) So those people say, “Well, when you want to sell,” sell to them. I tell them I keep it for souvenir. They want to slap me. They say, “Why you want to keep it a souvenir? You get the money and go buy something else.” I say in my heart, “If good for you, must be good for me,” So I keep. I hang on. So I keep on telling that, “Well, I get the children. I want to keep that for souvenir.”

There is also a near-canonical example of this same valence if we assume that as is decomposable into a configuration containing \textit{I}.

(MT:1194) I think would affect everybody. Because the situation is, then they might go into their own processing plant. Why they doing that with some of their ginger farm. They have their own processing plant in everything. Well, if they don't go locally, it's all right. If they go in the foreign market, that's \textit{good for us}. But if they go locally, I think even for them it's not profitable. I don't think so it would be profitable.

There is a single very good canonical example of \textit{gud} combining with \textit{YOU} in the benefactive valence:

(OC:9) So those people say, “Well, when you want to sell,” sell to them. I tell them I keep it for souvenir. They want to slap me. They say, “Why you want to keep it a souvenir? You get the money and go buy something else.” I say in my heart, “If good for you, must be good for me,” So I keep. I hang on. So I keep on telling that, “Well, I get the children. I want to keep that for souvenir.”

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5.25.3.11 X (IS) gud (FOR) SOMEONE

There are a handful of near-canonical sentences illustrating the GOOD FOR SOMEONE valence:

(AK:664) Yeah. You can walk inside. And they get lot of body in there. That only good for the parents, and only for relatives. Like my wife’s great-grandmother and all that. Or maybe the owner of the land. Before, my wife’s grandparents had that.

(FD:262) You know, had plenty, had lot of these boys wen go ask my daddy. I refused to. I said, “I might as I stay.” That's just like tomboy, you know. Be his boy, be his son and his daughter. “Aren’t you happy to have me with you all the time? I can do what you can do.” I tell him that. He said, “I think it's about time.” That's how I got married to this guy. He came to ask my mom and my dad and said, “Ask her.” I said, “If it’s good for you folks, well, that would be okay.” But, I told my mother, “I’m not ready, yet.”

(GF:310) They build one room for me down the basement because I didn’t want to live in the store because if I go out and come back in the night, I make too much noise. Maybe the children sleeping, eh? So I told my sister, “How about letting me build one room under the store, next to the basement?” She say, “What’s the matter? Plenty room upstairs, four bedrooms up here.” So I told her, “No. Sometimes I come home drunk. Not so good for the children. And sometimes I don’t come home at all. I go sleep with our brother. Sometimes I go sleep down the beach. ... ”

We assume that paerents, yufoks and children contain the primitive SOMEONE in their explication.

5.25.3.12 X (IS) gud (FOR) PEOPLE

There is a single canonical example of the benefactive valence combining gud and PEOPLE.

(AK:594) They had the old house that time. Good enough for people, for us to sleep. Later on, they build a house again.

5.25.3.13 YOU (ARE A) gud PERSON

There are several near-cannoncal examples of this valence:

(MY:1482) They ask me, “Why you no go? You get the first preference.” So when I told the president that I cannot take that job, boy, he shake my hand, boy. He said, “You real good man. You loyal to one boss. That’s what I like. That’s a good man.” He no tell me no good. He tell me, “You good. That’s very, very good. You are very loyal to your boss. That’s what’s good.”

(GF:334) When I ask the Hawaiian people, “You have duck eggs? I like buy some.” “Oh, I don’t want to sell you. You good man. You don’t cause no trouble to nobody. I give you. But I don’t have any right now, but I give you. What time you need ‘em?” “Any time. ...”

(MY:1475) So, after I graduate, I went Japan. When I went to Japan, Yokokhama, I met my Makiki Japanese School principal. Mr. Mashimo was inside the hotel. Hotel, ryokan, they call it. Not this kind big hotel. Ryokan. He was right inside the lobby, sitting down. When he saw me, first thing he call me, “Yoshimura-san, come.” I went to see him. He said, “You good boy, no? Benkyo shite.” “No. Asobi ni kita.” Ah, lose his fight.

We are assuming that maen and boi are decomposable in terms of the primitive PERSON.
The following are the clearest near-canonical examples of the frame SOMEONE IS A GOOD PERSON in our corpus:

(ER:788) *He good man.* He church man too. He minister.

(ER:806) In the gym. That time get the new gym eh, that time, what this Haole name now. I forget his name now. *Good guy,* he take care the gym. Then we go there. Bumbai he like our team, too, because we use da kine name, the golf ball name. Proflite, yeah, golf, the name of the ball.

(GF:308) Then, people smoke opium and they hear Mock Chew talking loud upstairs. They come upstairs, “What’s the matter?” “Oh, this dog’, he like marry my girl.” He scold, eh? He grumble like anything, eh? “This guy here, he wanted to marry my daughter.” “Oh, that’s all right. *That’s good boy* that. You cannot find better boy than that, you know. He’s pure Chinese,” and all that stuff. I just want to pick an argument with Mock Chew so I quit.

(GF:346) Yeah, they got to have company to work together. One of them very *good boy.* His name is William Petersen. And then, he works very good. I like him. He don’t know how to cut trees with the chain saw, I show him how to cut trees. And then, he don’t know how to till, I show him how to till. He don’t know how to plant, I show him how to plant.

(MY:1479) This guy was telling bad about me. “This ‘Mahjong’ is no good beach boy. *He’s no good boy.*” Yasumatsu man tell, “You wrong. Kono hito ga ichiban Waikiki. Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite oru,” he said. “This boy is Waikiki de ichiban ii koto shite iru. number one, Waikiki.” He said, “Why?” “He do only good thing for Waikiki people.” He tell, “How come?” That’s the truth, that’s why. I did so much for the Waikiki people. I do a lot of thing for them. That’s why, he tell, “See, *this man is good boy.* You no talk bad about him.” The guy, he look sick. That’s why, even today, all the Japanese old ladies, they like me.

(MY:1482) They wen go Lewers & Cooke, see. They ask me, “Why you no go? You get the first preference.” So when I told the president that I cannot take that job, boy, he shake my hand, boy. He said, “You real good man. You loyal to one boss. That’s what I like. *That’s a good man.*” He no tell me no good. He tell me, “You good. That’s very, very good. You are very loyal to your boss. That’s what’s good.”

(WK:721) No, when I came back, he came here couple times. And I go Waipio. I think he still going there. Haleiwa Strained Poi, they call ’em. Good guy, they call ’em Michiro.

*Here we need to assume that hi, boi, maen and dem are definable through the primitive PERSON.*

### 5.25.4 Summary

This investigation found examples of the following valences in our corpus:

GOOD PERSON
GOOD PEOPLE
GOOD THING
I (AM) GOOD
YOU (ARE) GOOD
SOMEONE (IS) GOOD
SOMETHING (IS) GOOD
THIS (IS) GOOD
X (IS) GOOD (FOR) ME
X (IS) GOOD (FOR) YOU
X (IS) GOOD (FOR) SOMEONE X (IS) GOOD
(FOR) PEOPLE YOU (ARE A) GOOD PERSON
SOMEONE (IS A) GOOD PERSON

Currently we are missing only a single valence:

PEOPLE (ARE) GOOD

5.26 BAD

5.26.1 Primitive Syntax

The universal syntax of BAD is as follows:

BAD PERSON/PEOPLE/THING
I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1)PERSON/(d1)THING/THIS IS BAD (FOR ME/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1)PERSON)

We will also include in this survey the following proposed alternate frame:

I/YOU/(d1)PERSON (AM/ARE/IS) SOMEONE BAD

5.26.2 HCE Candidates

Baed is the only plausible candidate for NSM BAD.

5.26.3 HCE Examples

There are much fewer examples (roughly 100) of baed than gud in our corpus.

5.26.4 Examples of baed

5.26.4.1 baed PERSON

We have several good near-canonical examples of baed combining attributively with PERSON:

(FD:295) This is almost lunch hour, they call me back. “She’s in school today and they question her where she was Friday. Because we call home, Grandma say you came to school, but you wasn’t present that day.” Because I called. She was a bad girl that day. Well, she admit she was wrong, that she listened to her friends.

(KK:118) She no, but she say, “Oh-ah, I quit, I quit, you bad girl, my alla.”

(WK:707) Uh, all good boys, yeah? All good boys. No trouble. Those days, no such thing as bad kind boys. No more marijuana. No such thing as get marijuana. Today, ho, the kids.

(YA:1027) ‘Cause, you know, we sometime good friend, sometime bad friend. You know, make trouble, you go fight, eh? They fight me, I fight you, eh? You know, get fighting. That’s how the people go in the ages.

Again, presumably grl, fren, and boi are decomposable into SOMEONE.
5.26.4.2 baed THING

There are a handful of near-canonical examples of baed combining attributively with SOMETHING. Unfortunately, the example expressions combining with baed are fairly complex semantically. I assume that all of these are decomposable in terms of SOMETHING, but this is not transparently clear. Again, nevertheless, I offer these examples for your consideration:

(ER:862) Yeah. He wen talk but Uncle Lew wen hear, eh. Uncle Lew tell me, “You asked for the bag. He said **bad luck** already because when you going carry the bag, just like get the fish in the bag already.” I said, “Ah, I no believe da kine.” I tell, “We go, take ‘em you net, go try throw.” But him, he tell because I like carry bag, that’s mean **bad luck** already. But when Uncle Lew wen one time throw, get about over twenty moi. I tell Uncle Lew after we go pick up the fish come out, “See, if we no bring bag, how we going hold the fish go home?” The guy over there no talk nothing. Tell, “Lucky I bring the bag. Look now, put the bag and carry the fish. If no more bag, how we going carry the fish.”

(ER:863) No. That’s why, the old man he tell me, “I hear the one you was telling me, eh.” They said, weke, you no can eat the head. You get **bad dream** or you go someplace.

(ER:889) Then he tell me, “No, you come back tomorrow.” “No, I pau. You get some more driver. I no like.” From that, I no work. Bumbai he catch me on the road he tell, “You no can help us again, go drive?” “No, I pau. You guys give me **bad deal**. You guys not honest. Give me bad deal. Tell me only drive, but.”

(MM:365) Yeah. You know, when **bad field**, when pali field like that, the cane car, sometime he run away, yo. They no can control, so the thing go full speed, eh? Yeah, huli, you know.

(NC:164) Then he says, “I know he’s an honest man just by talking to him.” He said he could not give me the answer now. He says, “You wait. I go back Honolulu and then I’ll give you my answer.” So the next day, when he went back, he tell that wahine on Maui, because the Maui wahine was giving him all the **bad taro**, the watery kind and giving the good ones to Waiahole Poi. So when they stopped there they asked the lady, “Is that taro going to my poi factory?” She said, “No, this is for Waiahole.” He said, “How come you give Waiahole all good taro and you give me the junk taro?” She said, “Cannot help because that’s my poi shop all the time. I have to give him the best I get. If you want, you take, if you don’t want you don’t have to take.”

5.26.4.3 SOMEONE (IS) baed

There is a single near-canonical example of baed combining predicatively with SOMEONE, assuming that **dey** is decomposable in terms of SOMEONE:

(AK:605) No, just about the same. They are not **bad**, about the same.

5.26.4.4 SOMETHING (IS) baed

We have a number of near-canonical examples of baed combining predicatively with SOMETHING. Unfortunately, the words which combine with baed are fairly complex semantically. Therefore, the examples offered are not transparent at all. Nevertheless, I offer the following examples for your consideration:

(AK:603) Something like Chinese food. Most time Chinese food. They have all kind food. Everybody eat the same food. Only Sunday, sometime, we get little bit more different food than the old Chinese. But **not bad**.

(MM:374) Well, all depend if half dry or really dry, or if a bad field where you got to make backfire or what. But if you don’t have to make backfire, we tell ‘em, “Hit ‘em with the wind,” yo. “Hit ‘em with the wind” is, you just burn ‘em with the wind. That thing go. No more half an hour, that thing pau. But if the **next field is bad**, we got to make backfire, takes you long time. All depend how long that backfire is. Because you got to go real slow, you know. Especially when dry, that spark all time flying, eh?
(MT:1183) Not to go let this taro rot. Was a situation, was unreal. I don’t know. But I’m not going all full 100 percent fertilization. Only on certain patches where the rot is really bad. That’s what I’m using.

(OC:10) I think I was looking for something the other day. Let’s see, where’s that thing. We have a letter here. The Hawaiian Trust is very, very nice to me, 1959 when business was very bad and here’s what my son wrote to the Hawaiian Trust to do a favor.

(SU:1568) Yeah. I think it’s worth it, though. It’s worth it. If I never get my eyesight bad, I still think still running it.

(WK:707) Their temperament is bad, you know, their temper. They get quick mad, they quick. Hoo, short temper. They quick mad. I know, I take notice Waipio one time had one big, the guy take out the knife like that.

(WK:720) Ho, they get spoil quick. And the amount per acre was really low. Bags, amount of bags, really low. The red taro was bad.

(YA:1035) They get a trail. Horse trail, see. You can get a horse wagon with four wheels, but the horse pull only. No more road, you know. All muddy roads. When rainy weather, the wheel go way down by the mud. No can go, eh? And then, no more stone wall, you know. On the side of the trail is a redwood post and barbed wire. Three barbed wires. But the horse buggy not so bad. If you drive automobile, you mistake, you go down. Boom, you go way down the bottom. No more hope. After they widen the road, then get car go, eh? That’s why they put stone wall on. Before, no more wall, you know. Only barbed wire.

5.26.4.5 PEOPLE (ARE) baed

There is a canonical example of baed combining attributively with PEOPLE:

(MM:339) Yeah! On the road to Waita. They get a ditch coming down, eh? Lot of fellas, they used to make their pigpen alongside the ditch, you know. And from the camp, they used to carry their can and go feed the pigs, those days. And then, those days, the people wasn’t so bad, eh? But if you go do that today, you won’t find the pig the next day.

5.26.4.6 THIS (IS) baed

In the frame, baed refers anaphorically to a clause in discourse. In the following examples, there is no overt dis accompanying baed, nevertheless it is clear that the phrase has the meaning as the NSM canonical sentence THIS IS BAD:

(AK:626) Hele mai ai: come and eat. We tell him, “ke la,” that’s his fish, see. Then he tell us, “Nui loa kolohe, do.” That mean because we always fool around like that. Bad go do that.

There are near-canonical examples of this valence using the phraseme daez (nat (so)) baed:

(AK:602) Sing on the way? Oh yeah, we sing along the way, talk story, sometime we sleep on the animal. Slow, eh, you go on there, you sleep. That’s why, when you get in the forest, you have to watch the animals. The animals going eat grass, sometime you miss some animals. Sometimes we miss, we had to go back and look for it. Most time, not bad. Before we get out, it has a gate there, all the animals going stay right at the gate. So you count ’em; if we took 14 or 16 animals, all the 16 there, well okay. But if one missing, you have to go look for it.

(ER:849) We get pay for the eight hour. Because he no like pay overtime, eh. Then bumbai we get overtime, then not so bad. But he was still going like that.

(ER:881) Uncle Johnny. He wen drive truck. Uncle Biggy them wen go drive da kine small kind truck inside the pineapple field. I think Robert he was down the piggy running the boiler. So, he know how to run boiler, they put him inside the powerhouse ’cause he know how to run all da kine steam, eh, the engine, da kine, about the steam, eh. So he went powerhouse. Yeah, plenty guys wen go, but not so bad. But Uncle Sammy - no, when that time pau, he was in the army. When he came back from the army, then he went truck driver. He wen go apply for truck, eh.
That’s why sometimes you take ladies like that, slow, you gotta go. No can go too fast. But if men, all right, they go quick, eh, catch the boat go. But lady—time I take one lady, schoolteacher or nurse. She gotta go Maui. Oh, she don’t know how to ride horse, go slow. Then reach by the beach, not so bad, yeah. And me that time, I take da kine guys, I scared. You, bright, come home already, eh. You no like go dark, dark already coming home. That’s why not one time I come home dark, at least the sun stay up. And when I go, I take two horse.

Everybody know my life history, that’s bad.

Oh, that’s bad.

So when he go take the car, he shift ’em behind, yo. No let ’em come in front because he going hold up the line. He tell ’em, “Eh, you go take behind.” When he go take behind one, not so bad, because he stay way behind, eh? Because lot of time, you get single guy, because maybe his partner lay off. And then, if my piler boy, and if Burt lay off, his piler boy get no more partner, see. So, I can take his piler boy. Then, it going to even up, eh? But sometime no come out like that. Sometime you get no more piler boy and only the hapai ko man get. So da kine time, he no more partner, so he let ’em go behind. Otherwise, he going hold up the line, eh?

Yeah. And if all level like this, no so bad. But sometimes, you got to go up the hill like this, you know.

(MM:354) Carry ’em up and load ’em, eh? And then, they get one fella for take off the thing. And if the machine come quick by your place, all right, not so bad. After he unload, well, you get. You get some more there. But if not, you got to go get some more. Otherwise, you going to be waiting, eh?

Yeah, sublease. Maybe if I lease 20 years from Bishop, I can lease 15 years to the other people, eh? Then, when pau them, and then come back, that’s mine. Till pau and I lease over again. That’s how, those days before, they can do that, you know. That’s why, Hawaiians was lucky, not bad. Ma uka taro patch, we pay only four dollars an acre.

The job, the work. You just got to work in the water and all that. If you work on dry land, not so bad. When it’s raining, you pulling taro, oh my. What a miserable life, eh. Get water underneath, water on top. Even kids, they graduate high school, they get little brains, you think they want to go in the taro patch? They rather work in the office or something.

Two dollars a bag for digging. That’s not bad.

There are also near-canonical examples of this valence usinging the phraseme nat (tu) baed:

He have, but that kind of really be taboo-like for go and get the medicine. Sometime, if you don’t need the medicine, you see that medicine. And when you need that medicine, you going find high and low, you no can find. I don’t know why, but they always be like that. Hawaiian herbs are very delicate, I don’t say I know plenty, but I know some, but too bad, I didn’t have the book. If I had the book, I would study lot more of those things. Now they having, sometimes, University of Hawaii, or somebody come out with ’em. You know one, Kanakaole, or somebody else.

Yeah, I did visit that. But the entrance, to get inside, you have to crawl to get inside. And then, when you get inside, then you can stand up. You walk quite a ways inside. When I went in there, I had see a canoe was in there. I saw a canoe. I never like go more in. Kind of get scared. I never did touch nothing. I just look and I come out. Nice place. Good place. Too bad they never see it. Tidal wave had damage the place too. Otherwise, they might have keep the place good, and all that. Now, it’s all covered up.

(EB:1136) My brother, he was high school in the Philippine, but he was very poor. He was a graduate in the Philippine. So, he follow my father. So, my brother was working in the Waialua
Plantation. Stay there about couple of months, I think. That’s what my father told me. Then, he said he going continue his school in the Mainland. But **too bad**, he did not. He got shot down. He make in the Mainland. And my father, after that, he bin go home. He leave me behind. He told me to go home. I say, “No, you go first.”

(FD:244) Yeah. Make ‘em to poi. And fast. That was the old fashioned; **too bad** I didn’t have the pictures because I had all the pictures taken before. But when my sister-in-law stayed where our house, where Roy is now; up, eh? They broke down the building and then I don’t know what happened. My sister-in-law took all the belongings, eh; you know Polo’s mother.

(FD:250) I don’t know. That’s what they say. You know they trace back, back, back. So I told them, “Maybe, because my daddy’s side. When you look the family, they not pure Hawaiian, you know, you look them.” Yeah, when you look at them, they not like pure Hawaiian. Funny, you look at them. And their skin so fair. And you know my cousins, they look like haole too. My cousins. **Too bad**, I think we have only about three more, I think. Yeah, but they good looking. They used to work down Puumaile home, but they move up now. My three cousins, they used to work nurse. They don’t look like me. They cute.

(FD:250) Victor Hauanio. He come from Puna, my dad. You look my daddy, he’s not like a pure Hawaiian. **Too bad** I don’t have the picture. I don’t know if my sister got the pictures. Maybe one of my sisters had the picture. Maybe some day, I’ll ask her for the pictures. Try look at my daddy. Handsome looking man. And even my mom. He get high cheek bone and you know his complexion, is real smooth and light brown.

(JB:62) And we do that and then we get Hawaiian salt -whatever salt that we could get. And then, when we have a poi, we didn’t use the poi factory, those days. We used to pound our own poi. Yeah, that pound poi board and pound poi stone. **Too bad**, I don’t know what happened to the pound poi board and the pound poi stone that we had.

(MT:1176) Right now, it’s only about seven acres, which, I was running about 12, 13 before. Because of the disease and stuff, I just gave up, gave up, gave up. At right now, is only about seven acres. But actually, that’s why I say, lucky the price came up, so it doesn’t affect too much. You still have your income set, amount of income is almost the same. Even your production drop, but you still have the income, is almost the same. **Not too bad**. I think it’s coming up again. It should be pretty soon.

(NK:950)... king. When people come in, like that, only her there because all the other people, they go out; they do this; they do that; and then, not time. When this people come and when the king sit down and talk with the other people, they drink. So, she entertain them. She oli and she chant at the same time. Sometime, she only oli. Oli in Hawaiian, ooh, the.... **Too bad** we never learn. Anyway, our sisters, not interested.

(SU:1543) That’s why, when we–on the show window, big show window, put the face of the people smiling. Yeah. **Too bad** I don’t have the picture of that. Yeah, I don’t know where all my pictures went to.

(SU:1569) Most of them went over to them. I think still today they have guys who are going down there, but most of the old-timers already passed away, eh? “Red” McQueen, Don Watson, Andrew Mitsukado, Shimogaki, Bobby Lee, who else? McGuire. Oh, most, I can name all those guys. And college boys, eh? Used to go down there. So, when I negotiate with stadium, I had a few shares in it, too. See. So, no questions asked–play. Yay, **too bad**. They should remodel the place. You know, buy the property on Makahiki Way side and then behind. They should buy the property, and then build the stadium down there. That’s a good location, that place down there.

(YA:1065) No, young boy only. They gang you up and rob, but they no go your house and steal, you know. **Not too bad**, you know. They only gangster up on the roadside. Maybe about five, six kids together. Only young kind kids. Ten, fifteen years old kind. They gang you up. And maybe eighteen, twenty years old. Some, maybe, couple old men, too. They all gang up. They go gang and fight on the road, that’s all. They no go in the house and steal, you know.
5.26.4.7 YOU (ARE A) baed PERSON

There is a single near-canonical example of the frame YOU ARE SOMEONE BAD, which assumes that grl is decomposable in terms of the primitive PERSON:

(KK:118) She no, but she say, “Oh-ah, I quit, I quit, you bad girl, my alla.”

5.26.4.8 SOMEONE (IS A) baed PERSON

We have one near-canonical example of the frame SOMEONE IS A BAD PERSON:

(FD:295) This is almost lunch hour, they call me back. “She’s in school today and they question her where she was Friday. Because we call home, Grandma say you came to school, but you wasn’t present that day.” Because I called. She was a bad girl that day. Well, she admit she was wrong, that she listened to her friends.

Again, presumably grl is decomposable into SOMEONE.

5.26.4.9 SOMETHING (IS A) baed THING

There is only one possible near-canonical example of the frame SOMETHING (IS A) BAD THING:

(MT:1192) And he’s a farmer, plus he’s getting a cut from Honolulu Poi too, to supply the taro to him. So, he cannot go and see Ernest, “Oh, how about giving us, you know, some more, couple of cents more.” He can’t because he’s getting his cut already from him. So he’s kind of tight. So I would go direct to Ernest and say what the situation can be. Good enough. I would advise small farmers–what I talking about small is part-time farmers who run, maybe about 150, 200 bags a year--to go with these small shops, instead of going with these big shops. The reason is this. On a smaller shop, you can get a better price. On these bigger shops, they have a bigger volume. I don’t know. It’s a bad situation. It’s really hard to say how to go about it.

It is highly doubtful that it and sichueishn are both decomposable into configurations containing SOMETHING.

5.26.5 Summary

We have found examples for the following syntactic configurations:

BAD PERSON
BAD THING
PEOPLE (ARE) BAD
SOMEONE (IS) BAD SOMETHING (IS) BAD
THIS (IS) BAD
YOU (ARE A) BAD PERSON

We are missing a fair number of syntactic configurations for BAD:

BAD PEOPLE
I (AM) BAD
YOU (ARE) BAD
X (IS) BAD (FOR) ME
5.27 BIG

5.27.1 Primitive Syntax

BIG is primarily attributive:

BIG PERSON/PEOPLE/THING/PLACE/PART

However, W (1996:131) concedes the possibility of a predicative universal syntactic frame for BIG:

I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1)PERSON/(d1)THING/THIS (AM/ARE/IS) BIG

5.27.2 HCE Candidates

The HCE token big is the only plausible candidate in HCE.

5.27.3 Examples of big

5.27.3.1 big PERSON

There are numerous near-canonical examples of big combining attributives with words transparently definable through the primitive SOMEONE:

(AK:623) We had about five those kinds, demijohns. So he took he and I right in the police station. We never know what was his idea, so he and I stayed on the car. So, you can smell liquor, you know. But everytime we look, one police come back and go inside the station. Then he and I tell, “Eh, we stay in police station or what?” “What the hell he no come out?” Then when we get mad with him, we want to go for him, to give him licking over there. Then, afterward, here comes out one big Hawaiian policeman. Coming right up to us. He said, “Eh, what you get over there?” “Nothing.”

(AK:646) In those beginning, when we never did have the Waipio Community, I don’t think so. Of course, maybe like Nelson Chun is about the big man down there. I think about he was a big man. He like to go out and cheer. But after we get together and form the Waipio Community then we get the elect officers. Committees to go out and ask for certain stuff. Then, but I tell you, we work and we ask for something Then we get. Diverting water certain place and all that. Whatever damage come out, we go out. Government council voices. Get a meeting with them.

(FD:268) One year, we went to Waimea, my daughter’s place. Kaniho. We went over there. We wen spend New Year’s with them. I think he was shame because the sister said, “Oh, you eat man. Brother, you better stop taking your mother’s chichi. You big boy already.” I think he felt shame. So, we left the bottle all with her and we came home. Of course, I used to feed him with cereal in the bottle. I used to feed my children. Put-cereal in the bottle and make big the hole and let them take, eh? And then, after that, he didn’t take my breast. And that was the last. I had him and the sister, was so close. Every two year, eh?

(FD:280) Weed the grass inside the patch and clean the taro patch bank. That time, no more poison. We used to all do it with the sickle. It’s lot of job to do, but the patches are clean. We pull taro our own self, we didn’t have to hire men. My brother is a big man too, strong. My sister-in-law work hard too.
(KH:133) an na **big lady** n give you guys da ticket.
(KK:113) Afta kine say, Kekoa, **“Big girl Kele.”**
(KK:113) An afta da kine say, Kekoa say, “Oh Kele you one **big girl** right now!”

(MM:360) Oh, yeah, I get along with them. But usually, the manager, they don’t bother with the workmen. They bother with the supervisors and all da kine **big guys**, eh? But with the workmen, no, they no bother.

(MM:362) Yeah, yeah. You got to get your own saddle. You got to saddle your own horse. They no saddle for you. Only the **big guy**, assistant like that, they saddle.

(NK:945) Yeah. Took care of my father. So, that’s why, he had the land, so when he die, he said that’s his land. So, when he die, my father was—I don’t know how old he was—but he never.... He know, he heard the tutu tell he own the land. But he don’t know. After that, he came **big boy** and he never think about land. So, Kalokuokamahele...

(SU:1545) T-bone steak only dollar and a quarter. Really, take **big man** to eat big T-bone steak, you know. Porterhouse steak is worse, bigger. Of course, get little bit more bone, but. Most of the time we used to sell sirloin steak and rib steak. Rib steak, it really tastes good because of the little bit fat in, eh?

(SU:1550) They go outside. We chase ‘em outside. Outside, the yard, really. At that time, you know the wrestling, eh? Wrestling was popular. I used to take care the Indian wrestler, Agi Singh. Big bugger, over 300 pounds. Really **big bugger**, you know. That guy, when the guy eat, he eat about double of the triple. And Al Karasick paid all the bill. He said, “Sam, give ‘em all they want to eat.”

(WK:704) The Club. Waipio Community Club, we used to have. Nelson Chun used to be the president. Long time ago. Nelson Chun, he was the **big man** before, down here. But today, he’s old man, eh? You met him, Nelson Chun? He was the boss before. Today, well, he don’t come all to this kind occasion what we having today, because he old already. Ready for retire.

(WK:711) Oh, she was a short chunky lady with a big kind of chunky and **big wahine**, you know. And all wrinkled.

(YA:1022) Regular Indian. **Big man**, you know. Down the river side, they only catch fish, you know. Here we assume that polismaen, maen, boi, grl, baga, wahine, and ledi are decomposable in terms of PERSON.

5.27.3.2 **big PEOPLE**

There is one canonical example of **big** combining attributively with **PEOPLE**:

(FD:274) Yeah, I follow up how my mom does. When get cold like that, I used to heat that popolo, you know that purple, the seed. That is good, no matter what. Even for **big people**, like us grown up. You can chew ’em and swallow, it’s good, very good. And that cleans inside the tummy, all the mucous come out. That’s what my mom said. Even if you have slight cold, she said, “Just chew and swallow.” It doesn’t matter.

5.27.3.3 **big THING**

There is a single canonical example of **big** in combination with **SOMETHING**:

(MM:323) **Big things**, that’s where.... They used to come from here, from Koloa. They used to get fellas that come down there.

There are multitudes of near-canonical examples illustrating this same syntactic combination. Here are a few:

(AH:152) An den da sma liddo girl walk ova da bwige, an ha’ **one big monsta** on side.

(AK:623) Twenty-five dollars **one big five gallon**. Twenty-five dollars.

(BB:006) No, no he run away that guy. I know that. My mother, wha-tyou-call, the only lady; the other guys no can go, eh. My mother take care us four. Your father had seven sitter I think. **Big car**...
Yea, those days. But then later they used to have BIG box. They go with the picking machine. They get the conveyor belt, eh. The pineapple go to the road side; the truck is over there. All the pineapple go inside the conveyor and go insi’ the BIG box. When the truck come the high lifter load ’em.

Road. That time they building road, too. We go work Saturday and make road. Manele road going down. And they get the roller and you gotta go carry big stone, load the truck.

No, single boy house this side. Right here where the washhouse stay. Right in front that big tree. That’s where the single boy house is. But get some over there, line like that, but get da kine old Japanese man that stay inside there. Da kine guys no more family. They stay inside there. They can stay, and Korean. And so, his house...

Well, the poi shop they had was just a plain building. Not the kind fancy kind. Just like the one Araki get down there. You know down there. It’s bigger. But that thing go with that big wheel.

Yeah, with a post. And then, I have all the decorations for put on top. You know, everything, the ruffles and everything. My mom is too good for that. She used to crochet and everything. And, you know, before, the big covers all thick like this. All thick. Cannot find those bedspreads nowadays. The whole trunk full. I don’t know what wen happen.

Well, they have big pans. They put ’em in the basket with the lid. And the Chinese pack ’em on their backs, on their shoulders, with the stick. And then they serve you in the field. After you eat your fill, then they bring the rest back for the animals. Dogs or pigs or something.

Yeah, for me and my wife. I have my own grinder, but if I go and cook the taro, I usually put’em on electric stove nighttime, in one big pot. Then, morning time I peel it. I set up the machine, and I grind. Then, I get too much poi everytime. You see. One grinding, I make over 30-pound poi. Then, if I going cook small amount of poi, it’s just waste. So, I might as well buy poi.

Mudda Goose laid da big fat egg.

We get da beef free from Parker Ranch. You get da poi like dat big. The poi before, I tink you remember, big bag poi from Waipio. Akiu, every Tuesday he bring up, den I have one poi – ah – dey send Makalahao when I was staying up dere. Stay up dere wid my whole family. And da wagon always come up, eh? Bring our food. Bring hay.

She say, “Oh looky at big cheya.”

Yeah. If big one, you got to chop ’em.

Well, I have a big 16-inch pipe right here. That’s all the water it takes.

Everybody had their own kitchen. You know, kitchen and the bathroom. But only thing, the community was the furo. Furo was the only one was separate one. We had a small building with that old-style furo where you burn with the fire underneath the –you know, taku the firewood. And that’s the only one that was separate from the homes. So everybody used one big furo.

Well, of course, in a way, was kind of hard for us. Because us no can get money for go buy any kind what we like. Like plenty candies and like that. Eat ice cream. You know what? When we like eat ice cream, they order the ice and this kind big ice cream mixer. You have to grind, grind, grind. Put ice inside, salt inside. Of course, inside, get da kine can container inside. Put milk, eggs. My sister folks put that sugar. And salt. Then, they start to grind, grind, grind, grind until the thing come hard. That’s what we used to eat ice cream before. Make our own.

I know the newspaper and I know the value of that land they get there, the Advertiser. When come to business, good–better; they sold that–I think their stock went up to seventeen, eighteen dollars and all my friends sold it to somebody else. They didn’t tell me, see, but I told them before, “If you want to sell, tell me so I can get the money. I know how to go and borrow money from the bank.”

That’s why, when we–on the show window, big show window, put the face of the people smiling. Yeah. Too bad I don’t have the picture of that. Yeah, I don’t know where all my pictures went to.

Saboten is big leaf like that with lot of thorns on. Yeah. I don’t know what they call in English, though, that. Big difference.
Yeah, make 'em just like tea. She dry 'em out. And then she dry all the leaves, you know. All, dry 'em all up. When come dry, then she put 'em inside one gallon, da kine big gallon, eh? And then, every time she boil the hot water, she put the leaves in there. You drink it just like a tea.

Yeah, she had one coffee shop. So I wen go over there, help them serve coffee for the Hawaiians, see. stevedore people go over there eat, ten cents one meal. Rice and stew. Big bowl or plate of rice and stew for ten cents, see? Then I go help 'em serve, eh? Then, I look at it, across the...

Once in a while. And, hoo, the frog legs they bring out, long, you know. Oh, big frog, you know. Then, oh, they good. Ono, boy. I like frog legs.

5.27.3.4 big PLACE

There are a significant number of canonical examples illustrating the combination of big and PLACE:

That time we were using spring water. Right in the back there get the spring. Did Peter show you? Right in the back, that's the spring water; we used that as a water, and we bathe there same time. Of course, that spring is big and the spring near. Then we dip up a place, a big place to wash. You bathe in there. After we build that house now, then we make where we build up a shower and all that inside, and a outside shower and all that.

You know when had that tidal wave Waipio had, the April lst one. The one that took him up the hill, you know that sand hill. He was the one that way down. Way on the other side of the river. When we come down from the other side, we stay with him. And you know what he got. He used to get a big place where he plant potatoes. And we used to help ourselves. And he plant peanuts too.

The whole Waipio Valley. Down the beach. All along every place you see in the valley besides taro fields used to be for Mock Chew. Mock Chew used to lease the places. And then he used to lease lot of lands from John T. Baker Estate. The reason why he lease them because, lot of Chinese people used to own taro fields. So many acres. Some of them made money. They go home China. They sell out to Mock Chew. Mock Chew buy 'em out. And this guy, Akioka, get big place. Maybe about 60 or 70 acres. They made enough money, they go back China. Sell to Mock Chew. Mock Chew buy 'em out. Up Kona....

Well, in a way, I'm glad that my father moved. I don't know what made him move because he never say us why he moved or anything. But he moved here. Why I say I'm glad he moved because, you know, Koloa is a bigger place than where we was. Where we was is one small, little camp. Of course, Koloa is not so big town, too, but then compared with where we was, yeah. (MM:329) And not only that, it's really lonely place over there. No more police or anything. So he can go shoot anything any day, anytime he like because nobody know. So, he see me all time kinda checking on him, too, eh? Because I like see how they use their gun and all kind. So, I kinda made friends with him. And he tell me, “You like eat mynah bird?” No, I never eat mynah bird before. I don't know how the damn thing taste like. “Come, come, come. We go.” So, one weekend in the afternoon, we went. And he'd gone into the stable, where the horses and mules eating. He go grab one handful of barley. Then he came out in the yard, you know. The pen is pretty big place, eh? And he go spread all the barley. And here, the mynah birds they look that, eh? They come, all the mynah birds, all come eat. So, the birds, too, they don't know what is gun, eh?

Oh, was held on 'Ohua. Between 'Ohua and Paoakalani, there used to be a big area there with a banyan tree. Oh, it's a huge banyan tree. Underneath the banyan tree, big place.

Equipment. So, today, they have the bulldozer. They figure it's easier to clean one big place, eh? So, they push. So, the place, that thing all cover up. Nobody tell them where this is.
5.27.3.5 big PART

It is very difficult to find evidence for the combination of big and PART OF. Perhaps the most convincing evidence are the near-canonical examples of big in combination with body parts, which are very likely to contain the primitive PART OF:

(FD:265) No, no. Just regular. Just regular. Everything like every day. I didn't care. Whatever stop me from eating, I just eat. Yeah. Eat. And I was healthy. And even when I was in my first, second month, I didn't have no sick or whatever. I work just as good as.... that's what I think took my dad felt pity, too. Even how big my stomach was, I was still going in the patch, pull taro and then helping in everything.

(KK:112) She neva can learn how she ga big nose like Pinocchio.

(KK:115) An, “Kekoa! You ga put your head behind your head before you die. Oooo Kekoa wat a big nose you got dere. Let me see your face, Kekoa. O dat isn't he'. Not that crooked, 'keh. You n have to take to hospital. I know where you n get-- you n get plenny mo baby-sitters, Kekoa. So you got hol your cwook, den you get em.”

A less convincing piece of evidence are the examples containing big and pis, which is presumably decomposable into the primitive PART OF:

(FD:258) Well, when we get too much, you know what they used to do? They used to cut 'em and dry 'em. Like how they used to make the opelu, you know the dry fish? They used to do that. Even that's how they used to do our meat. We used to take'em down the beach and dry 'em. My mom, she's too clever for do 'em. You know, you just open, how barbeque way but the pieces are big. And then dry 'em out. Salt 'em and dry 'em out. Soak 'em in salt water, eh? And then they dry 'em out. And get dry, they put 'em all in the bag and they used to hang 'em up. And I don't know how the food doesn't get spoiled like today.

(ER:779) That's how I learn how to salt. I bring home, I give 'em to my uncle. My uncle salt. I go over there, I watch how he make. He tell me, “Co me, you go over here. You roll 'em.” They cut big piece like that, cut all like that, then throw the salt all in the middle, then roll 'em maybe with all the salt all stuck inside. But sometime, the salt too dry, you no can roll 'em. Us guys go throw littl e bit water inside. And the salt, when you roll 'em, the salt all stuck underneath, then you put 'em in the barrel.

5.27.3.6 I (AM) big

There are two clear canonical examples of big combining predicately with the primitive I:

(FD:244) Peel. You know, I was big; I think about five years I think that time. I used to go along with my mom. She peeled and I keep the taro peels, and give it to us we raise chicken and pigs, like that. We put 'em on the pack animal go home. (YA:1021) Yeah. I was big already, like this, eh? Five years old, I see the small, little Indians running around. They no big, you know. They black, eh? No more clothes, nothing on. And they crawling around just like da kine small baby, like, you know. That's all I know, see? If they never tell me that, I never know that was one--small baby Indian is menehune, see?

The following near-canonical examples involve, big combining predicatively with wi, which presumably contains the primitive I:

(YA:1027) And on the back of the mountain is Central Intermediate School. Only one school over there. Everybody go to that school. But that's the only school could go. And I go look, oh, there's one school over here. But we no can go school already, see? We too big already.

(YA:1034) And about ten, twenty years, I think. He come back Honolulu, he meet me down the market. “Oh, yeah, I remember you. You Au, eh?” “Yeah.” “I am Pedro so-and-so,” like that, see? And he shake hand. “Chee, we used to fight up with you in the district. Every time we fight for nothing. Now we big, we good friend, we no fight.”
The following near-canonical examples provide strong evidence for *big* combining predicatively with *SOMEONE* in HCE:

(ER:750) Yeah, until he wake up. I no can carry him. **Him too big.** No can do nothing, so I gotta sleep over there too, until he get up, then we go home. So my mother used to scold me every time I follow him. But him, every time like take me go. He like make me one cowboy, I think.

(KO:110) And... **she was big.**

(KO:119) **He was big.**

(NC:172) Then he get one fellow by the name of Tom Kua. He’s a big Hawaian guy. He just swing ‘em like that, he put ‘em on top, without putting on top here. So those boys know I am strong, but they don’t know if I get heart or not, so he kidded me, he “I like see the rice farmer do like what Tom Kua did.” I said, “Well, how did he do?” He said, “You know, he lift the taro, he just go like this. He put’em on top here.” I said, “Don’t put on top here?” He said, “No.” You know, most of them, they swing, they put them on top here, then from here they swing them on top. I said, “No, I cannot.” So when they went back for lunch, I tried. But I get different art. I just swing like that, I go like that and thing came up right on my shoulder. So I tell them, “You think only Tom Kua can and we cannot. **Tom Kua is big.** That’s why he can. Two hundred over pounds, he ought to be able to lift it up.” He said, “It’s no use talk because you cannot.” I said, “Just for that, I’m going to try.” So I looked for the bunch that doesn’t have too many big taro. You know, the small taro not so heavy, although the bunch is big but it’s not so heavy as the big taro. The big taro, small bunch, but heavy.

(YA:1026) Those days, when I moved Kahaluu, half of my brothers not living with us already. **They all big** already. They go find their own business already. They do anything, see?

Presumably, *him, shi, hi, dey,* and names of people are decomposible in terms of *SOMEONE.*

There is a single canonical example of predicative *big* combining with *SOMETHING*:

(FD:267) Yeah. And I told my mom, “The baby is out.” My mom said, “No. That’s one more thing. Just like the baby big.” And I never know was the baby big. **That thing is big** too. Really, **that thing is big** too, afterbirth, you know. You should know. Big but you don’t see when even when you get your baby in the hospital. That **thing is big** after the birth. Then after that we did everything. Well, that time we didn’t have bathroom upstairs. So my mom had to, you know she has all that lau hala mats in the house. So she put me on the side of the bed.

There are numerous near-canonical examples of *big* combining predicatively with *SOMETHING*:

(ER:775) “Oh,” I tell, “that make sense.” Because with the fence over there, before they gotta buy redwood post from the Mainland. And then they gotta pack ’em with the pack mule up there. So, bumbai this boss he like plant tree, so when the **tree big,** the post all rotten, and then he can nail ’em to the tree, or he can cut the tree or put ’em back by the place where rotten. That’s his idea.

(ER:776) Yeah. Us go weeding, go pull all the grass inside. The **cane big,** eh, big and get da kine thorn inside.

(ER:813) I don’t know. He like for the cattle. But the koa no good because the time I young I see plenty ranch, they no like. They like try hemo ’em. But he maybe like koa for the cow. But he no think **the koa going come big.** Bumbai, the stick about like this, you no can go through. Hard, you know. If only the young one like that, all right, the cow can eat ’em, eh. But now, you look, all hana pa’a. Hard for go through.

(FD:289) Still I look, this patch we just pull, that taro is about one year. We just got through harvest. And that **taro is big** like this, and not too much that kind, disease. The taro is solid. We give to our friends; they always tell, oh, they want so much and so we give them.
Fourteen inches is only that iron plate. That stone is big you know. That stone is nearly 20 inches wide in diameter and it's about a good 16, 18 inches deep. It's thick about like this, you know the outside.

And that's why if you don't know how to catch, you cannot catch. If you catch the head part then he going to slip right off; he go away. Lot of fun catching frogs. Takeo, he was catching downside Umi. So after I come back I left the frogs in the frog house. The old man get not even two dozen, you know. I get 14 dozen. Then I tell, “Takeo, how many you catch?” He say, “Oh, little more, one dozen.” I say, “What? You come over here first and we go after.” He say, “How many you catch?” I say, “Fourteen dozens.” He said, “What?” I say, “Oh, 14 dozen.” And he was catching over there I went behind after that. I caught more than him. When he came back, we came back together. I say, “How many you get?” He say, “I think no more two dozen.” I say, “I get more than two dozen already.” And only short while we went. And those days the frogs are big compare to nowdays. If 14 dozen, real heavy, you know.

Yeah. Of course, three house, 2-bedrooms, and the other one is just small shack, individual fellows stay. Actually, is warehouse, but they get no place to stay, so they stay like a house. And only our house is big, our house is five bedroom house.

5.27.4 Summary

Our survey found examples in our corpus for the following NSM syntactic frames:

BIG PERSON
BIG PEOPLE
BIG THING
BIG PLACE
BIG PART
I (AM) BIG
SOMEONE (IS) BIG
SOMETHING (IS) BIG

The following NSM syntactic frames were not found during our survey:

YOU (ARE) BIG
PEOPLE (ARE) BIG
THIS (IS) BIG

5.28 SMALL

5.28.1 Primitive Syntax

The primitive syntax of SMALL allows for the following combinations:

SMALL PERSON/PEOPLE/THING/PLACE/PART
I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1)PERSON/(d1)THING/THIS (IS) SMALL
5.28.2 HCE Candidates

There are four candidates for SMALL in HCE are: smaw, lido, manini, and smawlido. Manini has a negative connotation, somewhat like skimpy or petty.

Another candidate of interest is smawlido. In these examples, smawlido is used to describe small, innocuous things, functioning somewhat like a diminutive.

(ER:762) When you get good luck, you catch plenty fish, eh. And you make plenty money, eh. So you make one small-little party for the workingmen. But before they eat, they cut the head, they throw 'em inside the water.

(ER:789) Sometime inside the meat, sometime when you kill too, the meat get da kine TB. So I ask him, “How come you know if the meat get TB?” He said you look by the liver. The liver, you know, when you kill, just like small little puss.

(ER:842) By hand, yeah. By hand and they cook the tar, put tar on top when they was making the road. And so those Japanese, they work hard. They smart how they work the road. You know, they cut the stone only with the hammer and small little stuff. When you look, easy, they make 'em straight, yeah, all the stone. Just like carpenter. They know the grain of the lumber, how the way lumber run, just like they know the stone, how the grain run.

(FD:271) Well, they call that popolo. You know those leafy things, eh? They have that small purple seed. And then, they just pound that and then squeeze it. And then you drink the juice. Even the shoots, that's how they pick up. Like this, you just pick 'em up, you know, so much, one handful. And then you go home, put in the cheesecloth or whatever, as long it’s clean. Then you pound that. But some, they put in the ti leaf then they heat 'em up.

(TA:35) In the olden days, not like small little paper, your birth certificate. You know those leafy things, eh? They have that small little paper, your birth certificate. I don't know now. And no more road, those days, you know. Only one small little horse buggy road, you know. You know where the Hawaiian Memorial Park?

The two best candidates are then smaw and lido. There does not appear to be any obvious semantic differences between the NSM primitive SMALL and the appropriate senses of these forms. It is interesting, however that there are no examples in our corpus of predicative lido. Furthermore, lido appears to be used by used less frequently and by a narrower range of speakers (11 speakers as opposed to 18) than smaw. It is sufficiently widespread to be a possible allolex for some speakers, however the more dominant form is definitely smaw.

5.28.3 Examples of smaw

5.28.3.1 smaw PERSON

Although there are no canonical examples of smaw and PERSON, there are numerous non-canonical ones:

(EB:1135) So, I went with him. I harvest little bit. Then, I heard kids playing around there, someplace. So, I run away from him. Oh, that's the time he beat me up again. And that evening time, again. So, ready to go home, everybody go home, oh, he so damn wild. He take the–I don't know what he bin take–he beat me again. That's when my auntie bin worry like that. That's all. You know, small kids, when you hear something playing, you gotta sneak, run around, eh? That's how it happened. That's why, most of the time, even my father was come home in our town, most of the time I stay with my auntie.

(EB:1135) Yeah. And, you know, those days, when harvesting the rice, you know small kids, eh? My father tell me, “We go cut rice.” Magani, eh? Say, “Okay.”

(ER:750) Yeah, I go. I used to go with my father when I small boy time. I used to go maybe about ten years, like that. And when he drink, and he fall down from the horse, the horse stay there and I got to sleep over there until he sober and he can get up and then we go home.
Us guys, us small boys. When we pau school, we go feed the chickens. Morning time before we go school, we go throw kaukau.

We get pig. The time we small boy, we get one pig, and the horses. My father get three horse. So us guys, sometimes, we gotta go cut grass, too, for the horse when we pau school. We cut grass, go way inside the plantation place where the ditch run, eh. Plenty grass grow, we go cut grass for the horse.

Small kid time?

No, me. Because no more nothing, eh. No more jelly when I small boy time. So, I go get mango. So when you eat, put 'em in the bread, oh, just like jelly, eh.

Us go pick. Small boy time. Us, all my brother them, all we go. We pick. When we pass over there, we see long kind, we go pick 'em up. We take home, then my mother clean. But sometime us go clean, too, inside the sea, eh. Just let 'em float, eh, like that so all the sand go down, eh. And then you just grab the limu, you just go there, you throw 'em down a little bit then you make like that. All the sand go away, eh. And you put 'em in the bucket. Then bumbai she go home, then she go make again to find if get little bit rock, sometimes stay stuck on top the end. She broke 'em up. And we go inside the water.

Yeah, in Lahaina. I think they still get the place Lahaina. I think she stay rent 'em over there. That's where we used to stay before I came over here. Stay going Lahaina Poko Road. I don't know. Now I forget. Before Lahaina time, small boy, yeah, I go all around the place, but now I no go. I don't know how many...

An some sma peopo –sma keeds, ha? wen out, una-neat da puka.

No, no. His job was outside, taking care the kalai and hanawai people. They have a stable where they get what they call stable men. They get about three, four guys, all depending how big the stable is, you know. The bigger the stable, well, they got to get more hands, see. But I don't know. I was small kid, so I don't know how many men was working at the stable. But actually, I know a person was a stable man there because one of his sons was my classmate and we played together.

Well, those days, mostly Japanese. Of course, they had few Filipinos, but. The Japanese, the ladies, they get small child, they carry the baby, go.

About? Ah, I was youngster and I only small guy, too, that’s why, I figure maybe, I was carrying maybe seventy pound or eighty pound. Let’s say even eighty pound. To load one ton, eh, how many piles you got to go up and down, you know?

I know when I was a small kid, about six years old and we were working in our farm together. That’s when I realized rice farmer. All that time, when you small time, you wouldn’t take notice of what the parents doing and all this stuff.

That I don’t know. How often. Like us, small kid. We don’t know what they doing and anything. We don’t know what sex is, those days.

Uh uh, no. I was small girl, that time.

Oh, he died about four, five years ago. He used to go down there every day. He’s a good golfer. He’s a small guy, but he’s a good golfer. I think he was about the first one who play pro baseball in Pacific Coast League.

Well, because, after that, lately I find out, people tell me that’s the menehunes. Then I believe that was the menehunes. I don’t know what’s menehune, the beginning. I only tell that, that’s a small Indian. “Indian” is wild man, eh? But more lately, I hear people tell me, “No, that small kind is menehunes.” Then, I learn about menehune, that’s all. I don’t know how old I was already after that, you see?

No, no can tell which is female or male, they all run alike, just like one small, little baby, you know.

Was, was, was. Gotta be. Only small little man, just like black, and then no more clothes on. All, you know, small. Just like a small baby, eh? So, after that, lately, I went all the way to the other side, Kahaluu. Then, people tell me, “You know what is that? That’s the menehunes.” Then I
believe was menehunes. Bumbai, I ask 'em, “What is menehune mean,” you know. They tell me, “Menehune, that means a small Indian, baby Indian.” That's all I know, see?

(YA:1021) Yeah. I was big already, like this, eh? Five years old, I see the small, little Indians running around. They no big, you know. They black, eh? No more clothes, nothing on. And they crawling around just like da kine small baby, like, you know. That's all I know, see? If they never tell me that, I never know that was one-small baby Indian is menehune, see?

(YA:1033) Oh, anyway, when you small time, you got to fight for fun, anyhow. No can help, eh? And then, come big, then they know, see? They know each other. Some of them, they used to fight with me. Oh, I was small time, I think. Oh, about ten, fourteen, twenty years, I think, you know. Small kid like this, eh? And when I was small, all like that, too. We fight, eh?

I assume that kid, chil, boi, grl, bebi, and maen are all decomposable in terms of PERSON.

5.28.3.2 smaw THING

There is a single canonical example of smaw combining with SOMETHING. In the example below, smaw necessarily modifies daet ting:

(FD:293) Those are the choice taro, they like only the big ones. As long it's big enough to put in the imu, you know what I mean. If all like this big, is enough to put in the imu. But if small, they say once that thing come burn, no more nothing, eh. You know them, they put theirs one all in the imu. Every year was getting bad.

The following example is a near-canonical example. As mentioned previously, smawlido is not primitive semantically, but is probably definable through smaw:

(FD:274) Yeah, that thing just like the tea leaves. Small leaves. And then have the small little pokeys. Sometime, if only one loose in the pants like this, you can feel that thing. Oh, you can feel 'em, eh? That plant.

(NC:137) Come up like this, come like this, over here get more like one small little thing like that. This thing is hollow and he get one small hole at the bottom. And up here is wide. I think the hole is about quarter inch on top. They use the cloth and plug 'em into that bamboo pipe. Plug 'em in there. And when they prepare the thing, they get one lamp with oil and light up. And they use one wire, must be wire or something. They roll that thing more like cooking. That thing come big and then they put 'em on the part near the small hole. They play with the thing.

There are numerous near-canonical examples of smaw combining with SOMETHING attributively:

(AK:605) The poi. They have a barrels up there, all ready. When we take the poi over there, we turn the poi in the barrel. Then from the barrel, we put it in the small sacks there.

(BB:021) No, the small boxes. Those days was small boxes. They stack 'em up about five high or six high. They put the pineapple inside there. ‘A’s how — later on...

(ER:774) Yeah, about there in small paper bag. So we go over there. They tell us we go ride horse. So we go ride horse. William father, eh, used to be the boss for the mountain. We go pick up tree. Then we put 'em in the bag. The bag, we cut 'em like this. Cut like this.

(ER:791) On the boat, on the small boat. Then they put rope underneath, then they slang 'em up on 'em. One by one.

(FD:246) Yeah, you know those. They have those barley bags. They have the small brown bags.

(FD:274) Yeah, that thing just like the tea leaves. Small leaves. And then have the small little pokeys. Sometime, if only one loose in the pants like this, you can feel that thing. Oh, you can feel 'em, eh? That plant.

(GF:334) Then I kept those ducklings. Then when they came bigger, well, two weeks old, I give them real mash. I put the mash up with the water, make it damp. Because dry, kind of little bit hard to swallow. Ducks not like chicks. Ducks, they get the flat bill. So I kept the ducks. And I build one small platform in the pond. I feed 'em here, and I corral. That's why I had the small pond outside of my house. Even till today the small pond is still there.
Yeah, I select the seeds. I want all one size. But some people, they make big seed, small seed, any size seed. So long seed. I don’t want to go through waste lot of time. I don’t want to. Because I harvest every week. I don’t need that much seed. Plant just certain amount. I always get about six patches back. Some people, they harvest and they plant right back. I like my patches to rest about two month. Rest. Clean ‘em out, let just water run.

Yeah. I never been down Waipio for quite awhile now. Very seldom. Since they go away now, well, I got to take over. Until I can find somebody else. If I cannot find anybody else to sharecrop with me, I going give the land back to Bishop Estate. Only thing, I improve those lands. They were small tiny patches. Cannot produce that much.

Well, it’s not in that camp. It’s another camp. In our Camp, they used to get one small Japanese store.

Yeah, yeah. Three, four inches above the other grass, eh? So they call it “foxtail.” And the grass was little bit taller than that, maybe around here, eh? So, the pilot, he can see. At least no more no rocks. Oh, he can land easy. And the small plane. You don’t have to get long runway, eh?

Yeah. Tennis court and cottages there. Nice, da kine small cottages, rental cottages, was there. After that, I don’t know, because we no go outside to the other side too much.

Get eight. Four in a row The big wheel had four and the small wheel had four.

Yeah. Of course, three house, 2-bedrooms, and the other one is just small shack, individual fellows stay. Actually, is warehouse, but they get no place to stay, so they stay like a house. And only our house is big, our house is five bedroom house.

Bumbai, when we wen go home down the beach, all clear. No more rock, no more nothing. All broke ‘ia. Even the behind, on the side—you know where the small house? we have. Go all the way back. Get stone wall all the way back. Get three acres.

Well, my father worked at the plantation. They call that the pack mule. Small mule, he drags about four or five. Five. One, he rides. Four, load up the bone meal, and all kind of lumbers and everything, distribute to all of the fields, see. And then, after he come back, you know, they lease land from the plantation and make his own sugar cane, see.

I told them to find me a piece of property, same size as this place, on Kalakaua Avenue. At that time, could, you know, find. Can, you know. Because next door used to be only small shack building. The city and county can buy the shack down there and move me right next. Or, around the side of Ala Moana or something, around there. But no, they did not.

Yeah. So, we all stay on top the bridge and wait till the water go down slow, eh? And good thing get three, four people riding with me together. “You get down. Everybody get down, push the car.” That time, I get one small car, eh? Small car, before. Six cylinder or four cylinder, I think. Somewhere around like that. The Dodge. So, we push the car over. And right over there where the Foremost Milk, over there, all duck-pond-like. Full up. Come way up this side, and you can get out of the road, see.

There are a substantial number of canonical examples of smaw and PLACE:

Oh, pretty wide. Real was wide. Outside, in the ground like this, just about a small place. Well, maybe the whole place is heiau. It’s a small place but, when you crawl in there inside, it’s pretty large, pretty wide. I think can go more in, but I never did go more in. At least you can see in.

Well, you know, spare time, rainy days. Those days, I used to grow taro, but I don’t grow that much. I had just small area. Maybe about four or five acres. That’s all.

And then, Andrade, same thing, too. “Andrade Camp.” Mill Camp is “Mill Camp.” Used to get four teams. One, “Kawai Nui.” Kawai Nui was a small place. But this Mill Camp, we get lot of people down there, so they was the strongest team every time, see.
(TA:43) Those days, you get lot of Hawaiians too, down here. And not only Hawaiians. Chinese plant taro. The Filipinos. All kind nationalities used to plant taro. The biggest taro patches mostly all Chinese. They practically lease all the land down here. So the kind land you lease is all, da kine, not so good land. Even back those days, William Haraguchi, he get big land now. But those days, he had only small place. He goes under Kanekoa but his real name is Haraguchi. His father is Japanese.

(TA:54) I don't know. But eventually, when all these old timers go, I don't know if these young kids continue planting taro. Like now, I see kind of young, lot of them coming down planting taro. But I don't know how long they going continue. Like most of the big farmers are mostly all old guys. William, Toledo, George Farm. Now, George Farm son-in-law working over here on taro. But how long he going last? Me, I no going live too long too. Anyway, I get only small place.

(TA:55) This year, 1978, I didn't harvest nothing so far. When I start harvesting this year, I think I'm going to harvest only about 60, 70 bags. That's all. Next year I going get plenty, maybe 300, 400 bags. Last year I had plenty. So this year I planted so you going to get one 1979 crop. I only get one patch this year to harvest. June sometime, that's all. I only get small place. If all my patches over here poi taro, then I get seven patches.

(WK:705) Mm. Five hundred people. In a small little place like that.

5.28.3.4 smaw PART

There is no direct evidence for the combination of smaw and PART OF in our corpus. The best evidence I have are near-canonical examples of smaw where pis is arguably definable through PART:

(AK:628) I said, “You get car, you pick me up after I work.” We go and then Kohala side, down on the roadside, just before you going get to Puuanahulu one Puuwaawaa. I took him, we pick up one bag, we went to Kohala that same day. So I told him, “When you go, before we go, you got to get a ti root, one piece of ti root, you know that potato part of the ti root; one small piece ti root. But that medicine get to go with the ti root and the medicine....”

(AK:636) Now, with this type of saddle, when we put the leather on, we just one complete leather under here. Go as far as here. Then we get one flat form on top bring down this way. Then you get the stirrups going down all the way down here. You get all separate pieces. And going be like this. This, no cover. This only one small piece. And if you like cover, they get one whole piece to cover this here. So that's why they call this Hawaiian Tree. Cowboy saddle they say. This tree, now, is cost money. Cost lot of money, this thing now.

(AK:651) I throw all my grass away. Because, on the side of my place is wide place to throw, eh. I pack and throw. Now, all smooth like this. So you take about good three months before the grass come up that high. Like, if the grass is this high, no touch because going give you more work because everytime you cut, fall down inside. And the small pieces go in the water, they going grow here and there. Leave 'em about the grass come about that high.

(YA:1025) So everybody plant his own, and make them take their food home, see? The cabbage, da kine any kind. But me, I take home the bag string beans, that's all. Then, my mother say, “Good. String bean, good.” They go fry the string bean in the pot. And then, they put pork. You know, pork, eh? Chop up the small pork in small pieces, fry the pork nice and good, eh? Put the string bean inside and fry 'em, fry 'em, till cooked. And then, that's the kind food we eat, see?

5.28.3.5 I (AM) smaw

There are a significant number of clear canonical examples of smaw combining predicatively with I:

(ER:750) Oh, that I don't know. When I small time, I never hear what he work. I don't know what kind job he get. 'Cause that time, us born time, he old man already, all white hair. See, I don't know about his story.
Well, when I small time, I look the plantation, they use mule. They no use cow. They use mule for pull the cane car to the main train track. Sometime they get small one from inside the cane field and they go out, so the train no can go inside, eh. So they bring ’em out to the main track. They come down the hill, eh. They get brake, yeah, the cane train. So they ride on top and they bring ’em down slowly like that, until they get the main track.

Chee, the plantation, I don’t know. I don’t know how much they make. But when they tell me work for the ranch, I like go, I like cowboy. I like ride horse, ’cause when I small, every time, I like ride horse. Every time, I get chance ride horse, I like ride horse. So that’s what I was doing. When they bring me over here, cowboy, we go plant grass. Then we go take care the mountain. We take trees every day, we go up the hill. Bumbai every day we go plant trees, my wife brother, he older than us.

Well, when I small, I like ride horse. When they been telling me go over here, go plant grass over here, go up the mountain, and when my cousin tell me, “You gotta go ride horse today,” ho, I no tell no. I like ride horse. Tell me...

Machado, yeah. Machado is a old store, that. That’s a old building. Oh, I never remember before, but I think about, oh, I was small.

Oh, that, I don’t know. I never make garden, those days. I was still young, small, eh?

I remember he hoist the Japanese flag up with a big round moon, eh? Oh, yeah. I still remember. I forget what holidays he celebrate. The flag was up with the fish. They get some fish, no? Yeah, I still remember. I was small yet. I remember that. Yeah. My mother, she knows everything.

Oh, anyway, when you small time, you got to fight for fun, anyhow. No can help, eh? And then, come big, then they know, see? They know each other. Some of them, they used to fight with me. Oh, I was small time, I think. Oh, about ten, fourteen, twenty years, I think, you know. Small kid like this, eh? And when I was small, all like that, too. We fight, eh? The mother and father take ’em to Oakland. You know, Portuguese town, eh? Oakland, California.

All down the country. Kualoa. Where the old sugar mill over there, see. My father used to live.... When I was small time, we used to go down there. Once in a while, go down Waiahole, Wai Kane, go some friend house, eh? And then, they teach us how to go catch squids in the ocean.

5.28.3.6 YOU (ARE) smaw

There are a few clear canonical examples of smaw combining with the primitive YOU:

So, they had lot of mangoes, and lychees, our side had only common mango. The other side, they had all the good mangoes, like Pirie mango, apple mango, Chinese mango, lychees, spotted pear. All the good fruits is on the other side. So to get things when you small, you go to get early in the morning. Go over there and go hustle your.... Because they don’t give you, see? ’Cause in the yard, eh? Because there was one family, one doctor family there. She don’t even wants us kids to stay on the sidewalk to wait for the mango fall down. She said, “Boys, better keep going because not allowed to stay on the sidewalk.” But we waiting for the mango fall down, eh? That was that, you know.

I know when I was a small kid, about six years old and we were working in our farm together. That’s when I realized rice farmer. All that time, when you small time, you wouldn’t take notice of what the parents doing and all this stuff.

Oh, anyway, when you small time, you got to fight for fun, anyhow. No can help, eh? And then, come big, then they know, see? They know each other. Some of them, they used to fight with me. Oh, I was small time, I think. Oh, about ten, fourteen, twenty years, I think, you know. Small kid like this, eh? And when I was small, all like that, too. We fight, eh? The mother and father take ’em to Oakland. You know, Portuguese town, eh? Oakland, California.

5.28.3.7 SOMEONE (IS) smaw

There is a good near-canonical example of predicative smaw and SOMEONE:
With my father-in-law. I wanted to move because after we got married, I told my wife, “We might as well go.” But she said she pity the father, Ted was small yet, those days. They were very young, Ted, the other brother over here and one more sister, they were the three last ones in the house. So she asked me, “well, you might as well stay here, help the father take care the brothers and sister.” I said, “okay.” So we stayed back.

Presumably, Ted can be decomposed as THE PERSON I THINK OF WHEN I SAY ‘ted’.

There are a substantial number of non-canonical examples showing predicative smaw combining with SOMETHING:

(AK:637) No, no. I never did learn how to make saddle. Saddlemaking, well, maybe anybody can make. But the idea of making saddle is, when you get everything all done like this. Or, you get everything all completed, and you put on the animal’s back. Some saddles doesn’t fit. You know, some horses, they’re broad, some horses, they small. And then, when you put on horse, like around here, this place here, it start eating the horse back. Get hurt, eh. Then, maybe the saddle no good, see. Sometimes the saddle glide on the horse neck you know. Even though you get the hinge on. It goes down. But some saddle doesn’t run, you know. This is my favorite saddle. Lot of people ask me for sell this saddle. I won’t sell ’em the saddle. Very good saddle, this.

(FD:273) Mrs. Kaniko, now today, she had her arm dislocated and then I had one brother, you know the bone over here crack, eh? From riding horse, crack over here, and then you can see the bone coming here. And then she used the same thing, but with jowi. The medicine is jowi. I think you seen this plant, it’s kind of velvet looking, the leaf. It’s not too big, it’s small. Have purple flowers. It’s not the big bush, you know.

(NC:180) Tractor. We have to hire tractor those days, the kine, from Andrade. I don’t have my own tractor. Like nowadays, I get, but we cannot, uh, our tractor too small. We cannot grade land with it. Ours is just for leveling and tilling and that’s all what we need for now because the patch is already made.

(NK:953) Some, you look, they green, you know, when they grow. That’s good coffee. So, they sell by grade. They grade the coffee. Even like today, they grade the coffee, even the cherry we send. Your cherry small, you get small pay. Your cherry all big, oh, that’s good price, that. You no can tell you going get $30 one bag or $40 one bag. Because they going send ’em down the mill, and then they going check up what kind of coffee you get, big or small.

(SU:1533) So in nineteen.... I think was couple years later, he came out. The whole family came out. We sold the cane field he had, we sold everything, and he came out. We stay at John ‘Ena Road. But the house was so small, we have to crowd, but can’t help it. So that’s the reason why I leased the property from Magoon right next to Toma. You know, that fisherman, Toma? Then, I build the house.

Examples of lido

There are a substantial number of near-canonical examples showing lido combining attributively with SOMEONE:

(AH:152) An den da sma liddo girl walk ova da bwige, an ha’ one big monsta on side.

(AK:612) Well, an old man gave me. See, this man, he belonged to Laupahoehoe; he was living Laupahoehoe, Waipio and Kona. He used to live in Kona. So when I came Waipio, he said that when I was a little boy, he used to keep me. But I don’t remember. Then, one time, I get a chance, I went back and I asked my father if that was true. He said, “Yeah, that was true.” I asked who was the name of the man. He said, “Yeah, when you was a little boy, he take care of you.” And then another lady, the same
thing as that. She tell me when I was a little boy she was taking care of me. I not going believe that, but I ask my father, and he say it’s true.

(FD:255) And then he used to deliver over there and you know where in the front of Fannie. Where that store used to be. Well, he takes the order from my dad. Somebody order from, I think, Kapulena or further over. Yeah, my daughter. And then, that house where the little boy’s grandmother stay, Efuku, the little baby. Get one house below her, eh. That used to be the store now. Before. That’s where my dad used to deliver all his poi. He used to get cash. You have to keep your own money.

(FD:268) So I had all my children, every one I had, till my last son. You know the one passed away? Almost four years, like this little girl. Every time he go play he come back to me. One year, we went to Waimea, my daughter’s place. Kaniho. We went over there. We wen spend New Year’s with them.

(FD:296) She tell, “Hard time.” I say, “Yeah, hard. If you don’t make use of your time. In the morning, after breakfast, you clean up your house and everything. Then go do your laundry. Then after that, you tend to your children because you bathe them, and time to feed, time for them to go to bed.” I usually do that. I had all my time. 10 o’clock, I bathe my babies, when I have a little one, little baby. 10 o’clock, he or she is sleeping, there goes, I can do other jobs.

(KE:139) Uhm... dere was dis liddo girl play in san.

(YA:1021) No, no can tell which is female or male, they all run alike, just like one small, little baby, you know.

(YA:1021) Yeah. I was big already, like this, eh? Five years old, I see the small, little Indians running around. They no big, you know. They black, eh? No more clothes, nothing on. And they crawling around just like da kine small baby, like, you know. That’s all I know, see? If they never tell me that, I never know that was one–small baby Indian is menenehune, see?

(YA:1022) Well, I believe, I think so, but they no tell me yes or no. You know, could be, eh? I don’t think about they no believe me, but when they heard, they say that to me. One man tell me–one fella that I told him, I don’t know, when I was kinda old man already. Forty, fifty years old already. He tell me, “You sure you saw a menenehune?” “Yeah.” I say yeah, you know. Then, they say it’s all menenehune, they never see. But no, they see Indian only, you know. So, bumbai, they tell me menenehune is a small, little man, see? They just like a person, but they small, little man, you know. Just like some kind of a people that you cannot see, eh? But so small, eh?

We assume that grrl, boi, bebi, idiun, and maen are decomposible in terms of someone.

5.28.4.2 lido thing

There is a substantial number of near-canonical examples showing lido combining with something:

(FD:245) So, they don’t have table like today, like all this stand. Everything is up, eh? You know, they have the little stools, sit down and peel like something like this, and you clean. All the plenty water, they rinse ’em, eh? Everything went good.

(FD:251) You see how plenty taro my father used to take care? He’s a big taro farmer. You know where Roy is now? Where George Farm used to have. And where that little shack in front of Roy, my daddy used to raise all that. All over there used to be my dad’s place.

(FD:255) You cannot be pounding poi all the time. Even me. I couldn’t help. I have to buy. And if I make with the machine, now. We have a little machine. If I make ’em going to be waste. Because not all of my children eat poi. But the grandchildren would eat. The little one, she eat poi more than rice.

(FD:293) Only him, he collect about $500. But he took early retirement, 62, and then he doesn’t have the full coverage now. You know what I mean, eh? Me, I read all those in that little pamphlets, eh, that Social Security. I read all those and that’s how I knew there’s such thing as Medicare, HMSA for old age; that’s how I go above.

(NC:144) We used to ship ’em Honolulu. See. And when we like eat–I used to get the small, little frog house, eh. And outside he get the screen up and get a pond, eh. They can go in the house and come out like that.
Once. When the plant get little flower, that’s the time you fertilize. You can hardly see the flower. You see, only the stem come up. Only the tip you see little bit brownish stuff. Just like flower, anyway.

And what he make, that’s all his. More like you get in there, when he came Hawai and everything. Cute little bugga, no? I think I was camera shy, or what? I get one scary look, boy.

He say, “Ho, get plenty little shrimps, eh?” Me, I was telling my mother, “If we sell that for ten cents one pound, we can make little bit – we get rich, eh?” I ask the man, “You want to buy shrimps? Ten cents, one pound. And three pounds for twenty-five cents. You want to buy?” You know what the Chinese man say? “Oh, I no like eat da kine shrimp. Bumbai I eat too much shrimp, my eye blind.” Ah, stupid, he tell like that, see?

Then, we go down Sand Island, we go spear da kine squid. Octopus, eh? And we catch plenty, you know, down there. But we no catch the big one, we catch the small one. When we see, we go over there, we walk on the sand. You know, where the white coral, the sand over there, we look. Oh, there’s a octopus moving. We know. Okay, we get the spear, we poke ‘em. We poke ‘em. And the little octopus, he no come up, you know. About that long, see?

5.28.4.3 lido PART

Like the combination smaw and PART, the combination of lido and PART is problematic. The only evidence is a single near-canonical example containing lido and pis, should be decomposable in terms of PART:

Yeah. Before we had organized this Club, we always hang out, you know where that stream is. Right before Steve Mochida, near that stream. Where the concrete, the little concrete piece. That’s where everybody turn out to be. Every Sunday, you see people all gathering down there.

5.28.5 Summary

This study found examples for the following NSM primitive combinations:

SMALL PERSON
SMALL THING
SMALL PLACE
SMALL PART
I (AM) SMALL
YOU (ARE) SMALL
SOMEONE (IS) SMALL
SOMETHING (IS) SMALL

The following combinations were not found in our corpus:

SMALL PEOPLE
PEOPLE (ARE) SMALL
THIS (IS) SMALL
5.29 VERY

5.29.1 Primitive Syntax

The primitive VERY occurs in the following configurations:

VERY GOOD/BAD/BIG/SMALL/MANY

5.29.2 HCE Candidates

The problem in HCE with VERY is the over-abundance of good candidates: veri, rio, and rili. In the following example, a speaker uses both rio and rili in the same discourse.

(NC:162) No, this is after the tidal wave. I replant. I go all over again. The tidal wave one, I just forget. We were pulling taro then. Do you know where Andrew’s section is? All that section was planted and the taro was real big. He got so disgusted he joined the Army. Ready for harvest, you know, and the taro was really big. You know, one taro get six to seven pounds. Some of the taro were still there but cannot be used; the salt water got them. So I start all over again, planted, and got about 6,000 bags. The first 3,000 bags I didn’t pull any, and the second 3,000 bags, I only harvested about, I think 1,200 bags, that’s all.

He first states da taero waz rio big. However, in repeating his point and expanding his point, he states that da taero waz rili big. This is perhaps evidence that for some speakers, rili could be the more emphatic form. Generally speaking, however, I can find no difference between rio and rili.

Nearly all speakers use all of these forms of VERY. Twelve speakers use rili, fifteen speakers use rio, and thirteen speakers use veri. Some of these gaps are significant. Notably, two speakers, ER and YA, do not contain any examples of rili. Since we have a large volume of texts from these speakers, this is very strong evidence that these speakers simply do not use the form. Likewise, since there are no examples of veri in the 31 pages of text from speaker BB, I believe it is safe to conclude that he does not use the form.

If there is one form for veri which could be called universal in HCE, it would have to be the form rio. However, because all of the forms are so close semantically and so widely used, I have opted to include all of them in this survey.

5.29.3 Examples of veri

5.29.3.1 veri GOOD

There are numerous canonical examples of veri and GOOD:

(AK:593) They accept me, they said, because I’m very good in anythings and kind and approach to them a nice way and talk to them. They really like it. They enjoy the way that I do with them. Because young boys down there, those days, they don’t get by with the old people. When they all get together among ourself, young guys.

(AK:595) No, no. Waipio never even saw this till today. Waipio is very, very good place to live. They have everything. And, of course, the first beginning I came Waipio, I didn’t know about anything of Waipio. You know, the food, the kind of eating all these things that get me there for awhile.

(AK:631) Yeah, he bring his Bible open in Hawaiian. He pray in Hawaiian. He prays in English. He’s good, very good. I don’t know, I would be one of them, but never did to try that. Well, with everything you do in medicine, you had to forgive yourself in order to be cured.

(FD:274) Yeah, I follow up how my mom does. When get cold like that, I used to heat that popolo, you know that purple, the seed. That is good, no matter what. Even for big people, like us grown up. You can chew ’em and swallow, it’s good, very good. And that cleans inside the tummy, all the mucous come
out. That’s what my mom said. Even if you have slight cold, she said, “Just chew and swallow.” It doesn’t matter.

(GF:347) Land valuation was, I think, maybe $100 an acre. I offered him $1,000 one acre that time. He had about 4-1/2 acres. Archie Baker answered that letter, he said, “Oh, that’s very good price. I willing to sell if Nelson Chun surrender the lease.” So he wrote to Nelson Chun and Nelson Chun didn’t want to surrender the lease. He said, “George Farm wants to buy the place.” “No, I need the place.” But I was planting taro for Nelson Chun, that time. And I wanted to take it from under his feet. That’s why he never like.

(GF:348) They poor, they cannot buy books to give somebody to read about the Lord. That’s food. We don’t have everyday only food for our body. But our soul need food, too. You folks go church? You folks don’t go church, you folks go church. That’s very good. I was a heathen. I had ulcer before, bleeding ulcers. Those days, everybody get ulcer, they go operate, they die. They cut the stomach, they say cancer. They die.

(MY:1480) You know, Japanese people, they go Chinese store, buy, see. Chinese people, they no go Japanese store, buy. But Japanese people, they go to Chinese store, buy. So, they go in. “Mr. Lum, we like Home Run cracker. We like try because I heard that very good,” they tell him. “Nah, nah, nah, nah.” “Okay. We no buy cracker, then. We no like cracker. We like buy Home Run cracker.” They all go inside.

(MY:1482) They ask me, “Why you no go? You get the first preference.” So when I told the president that I cannot take that job, boy, he shake my hand, boy. He said, “You real good man. You loyal to one boss. That’s what I like. That’s a good man.” He no tell me no good. He tell me, “You good. That’s very, very good. You are very loyal to your boss. That’s what’s good.”

(SU:1567) Well, at that time, yes. But since our days over, they start, I think, changing the policy that as long as the surname is Japanese, you can play, which is, I think, good idea. Because only Japanese boys alone, you cannot because there is lot of half-breed, eh? So, they get a chance to play, which was good idea, I think. Very good idea.

(SU:1568) Very good. Very good. I don’t have to worry anything about it. When myself and “Peanuts” Kunihisa took the Red Sox baseball team over to Japan in 1951, we played against the non-pro and the University team. We clean sweep win. We had a strong team that time. And then, I supposed to stay–myself and “Peanuts” supposed to stay–only one month, but we stay over than one month. Almost couple months. He stayed in different hotel, I stayed in different hotel.

5.29.3.2 veri BAD

There are two canonical examples of veri and BAD:

(AK:670) My ghost experience in Waipio is not very bad. It was down the beach, yeah, I saw ’em. When I go out fishing, I see another man poling up in front of me. Just when you get near, you lose ’em. That’s all. But in the Kona one, really, that I did see that. Kona, I seen ’em with my own eye, and I talk to the person. That darn thing wen disappear right in front me, like this. That terrible, no. That thing came out as a human being, like you and I. And I did see it with my own eyes. And I follow, right behind, right next to ’em. I can touch, you. But my hand never touch the guy. Just come just around the corner, it disappear right in front of me. “Where you?” Not there no more. Oh boy, my hair went up that way. And then it come dark, I run. I run.

(OC:10) I think I was looking for something the other day. Let’s see, where’s that thing. We have a letter here. The Hawaiian Trust is very, very nice to me, 1959 when business was very bad and here’s what my son wrote to the Hawaiian Trust to do a favor.

5.29.3.3 veri BIG

There is a single canonical example of veri and BIG:
(AK:608) Just a small one, we didn't have to have a very big one.

5.29.3.4 veri SMALL

There are two canonical examples of veri and SMALL:

(AK:640) Well, they used to have a store over there. And, I don't know, that's only good place for everybody hang around. They pau church, they come over there. Then afterwards, then we move up to the school. Because before that, they had the school, but very small playing ground. Then, when they had the FERA and WPA for a project, that's when we opened up all that. Behind the school used to be all nothing but guava bushes around there. So when we work over there, we opened up the ground, then we use that as, you know. Every Sunday everybody come to church. That's the only time you see all Waipio. They all come down and meet there. Everybody, old and all.

(WK:693) Their own land, but very small. A portion of an acre, I think.

5.29.4 Examples of rio

5.29.4.1 rio GOOD

There are a substantial number of canonical examples of rio and GOOD:

(AK:627) And she rub that lemon on the salt, Hawaiian salt, rub, rub the outside, everything, all. Maybe you get 'em and then you put 'em in the jar, maybe in one gallon. Then you add salt. Then you dry 'em on the roof, in the sun. One week up, then you turn, then you leave 'em down, then leave 'em couple months. That thing going turn brown, real soaked, black. That real good. I don't know if I still have some.

(AK:634) Kala. Solomon Kala. Joe Ke'a's father, I think. He used to be real good saddle maker.

(GF:321) "...I think Waipio, that's the last place anybody want to lend money. Because lot of people raising taro but very few guys paying taxes." "How you know?" "Oh, when I go pay my tax in Hilo, at the tax office, I know some Chinese people there. They working in the office. Some Japanese. They real good to me. They ask me, 'How many people raising taro down Waipio? Five, six guys?' I say, 'No, about 30, 40 guys raising taro.' 'Well, you give me the names. Why?' 'Well, nobody paying taxes.' I say, 'No, no, no. That's not my job. I don't want to cockroach on them. That's you folks job.' They say, 'Gee, that's why Waipio cannot get road. Because nobody pay taxes.' ..."

(MY:1482) So when I told the president that I cannot take that job, boy, he shake my hand, boy. He said, "You real good man. You loyal to one boss. That's what I like. That's a good man." He no tell me no good. He tell me, "You good. That's very, very good. You are very loyal to your boss. That's what's good."

(NC:134) He get good carpenters too, see. Because Chinese real good carpenter you know. For build up house like that. In no time they put 'em up. You'd be surprised, when they build house, the scaffold. You see how they put the scaffold up? But I wouldn't dare go on top though. But they go. I said, "Ho, when we build house and we make scaffold, we make sure he solid." But theirs, only bamboo only. Just tie them up and they put up the house.

(NC:161) Then I started all over again planting. I had a real good crop. One section I get about, well, the first harvest's supposed to be around 2,000 to 3,000 bags. I get 6,000 bags all together. Three thousand bags could be harvested right along until the other 3,000 was ready. The first crop of 3,000 bags I haven't taken off even a single bag. It goes right back to the dirt. No market.

(NK:921) Yeah, yeah. Just like da kine green kind taro. I think, poi taro not green, but they purple. When you make poi, they say pala'i'i. Pala'i'i, some is real good, but some is not. They are lau-loa. Because the poi come all swell up.
5.29.4.2 rio BIG

There are a substantial number of canonical examples of rio and BIG:

(AK:655) I plant in October. That’s the only month I don’t want to plant taro. But I cannot help, I got to plant if I get the hull, I have to plant. But the taro is big, real big. But no more babies. But somebody, they plant in October, they get lot of babies. Well, you know me, oh, how many years I try. Same thing.

(GF:338) Apii. The white taro. Green stalk. Eleven, 12, 13 month, we harvest big taro. That taro big. When he cultivate his taro, when he run the water inside there, just like river running in there. He doesn’t believe in small amount of water. He wants plenty water. Fresh water, clean water. Clean the ditches, clean the sides, make the water circulate. Taro stalk, ho, real big. Tall.

(NC:162) No, this is after the tidal wave. I replant. I go all over again. The tidal wave one, I just forget. We were pulling taro then. Do you know where Andrew’s section is? All that section was planted and the taro was real big. He got so disgusted he joined the Army Ready for harvest, you know, and the taro was really big. You know, one taro get six to seven pounds. Some of the taro were still there but cannot be used; the salt water got them. So I start all over again, planted, and got about 6,000 bags. The first 3,000 bags I didn’t pull any, and the second 3,000 bags, I only harvested about, I think 1,200 bags, that’s all.

(WK:705) They used to have big park in the back there. Big. Real big park. Bigger than Kukuihaele Park.

5.29.4.3 rio SMALL

There are two canonical examples of rio and SMALL:

(GF:346) If you make mother seed, you come June or July, the seeds tassel. When he tassel, get flower come up. The seed, the mother seed you plant flower, see. When it flowers, half of the taro going rot. The stalk going drop off, and the seed going come real small. So I don’t make mother seed. I make all baby seed. So when he come tassel time, the thing too young to tassel. He won’t tassel.

(NC:137) And when they prepare the thing, they get one lamp with oil and light up. And they use one wire, must be wire or something. They roll that thing more like cooking. That thing come big and then they put ’em on the part near the small hole. They play with the thing. He come down and then put on again. More like cooking it, eh? After that, then they stuck ’em in by the hole. The hole is real small, just enough for the needle. They poke the hole, they press the opium in, they pull the needle out so that the opium still yet get smoke. They put that hole to the fire; they suck, they smoke that.

5.29.4.4 rio MANY/MUCH

There is a single canonical example of rio and MANY/MUCH:

(AK:661) Yeah, from the ranch. Those days, the poi was cheap. It was big. About 24 pounds a bag, I think, those days. Poi real plenty. And then, my grandfather always buy the hard paiai. It’s a poi paste, you know. Something. We just smash the taro, just that, never mix the poi yet. We buy that. They were all wrapped in ti leaf.

5.29.5 Examples of rili

5.29.5.1 rili GOOD

There are a substantial number of canonical examples of rili and GOOD

(AK:599) Yeah, we all do that. You know these long stalk from the pandanus tree? That, we strip and dried. That really good tight thing to tie.
No. Only I know those years when I was living down there, and no such thing as that. Was just what I say, the Filipinos, they were good. You know, most time, Filipinos, they try to do something, but no. Even if they drunk, they always really good. We all share together. We never did hear anybody stealing.

The girl. [name deleted]. I used to the kin' chop for her. She used to give me bread. Eh, that bread was REALLY good, you know. The skin, I like the skin.

That's only Fannie. She's still, that's why I'm sorry for that girl. If Kanekoa is really good to her, she would be the happiest woman in this world. But he is so selfish. Poor thing, my daughter.

Mock Chew. Mock Chew taught me. My father-in-law. He was good to me then, when I came back. In fact, he like me real good. But I don't want to put it down. I don't want to record it. He was really good to me, the old man. He liked me.

Waipio get plenty Hawaiian musicians, you know. Plenty good singers and they really can strum the guitar and ukulele. They really good. In lessons, they're not too good. But music, oh boy, come natural.

And then, below that, used to be this Bluebird Cafe. And after that, I don't know. Because I cannot see, so I don't know after that. That's a good spot, though. Really good spot.

Yeah, that's why I say. Let me clearly explain to you because those days, we have really good boys, you know, No trouble. Everybody get together talk story. Talk story, everybody goes home, and go to sleep.

5.29.5.2 rili BAD

There is a single canonical example of rili and BAD:

(MT:1183) Not to go let this taro rot. Was a situation, was unreal. I don't know. But I'm not going all full 100 percent fertilization. Only on certain patches where the rot is really bad. That's what I'm using.

5.29.5.3 rili BIG

There are three canonical examples of rili and BIG:

(NC:162) No, this is after the tidal wave. I replant. I go all over again. The tidal wave one, I just forget. We were pulling taro then. Do you know where Andrew's section is? All that section was planted and the taro was real big. He got so disgusted he joined the Army. Ready for harvest, you know, and the taro was really big. You know, one taro get six to seven pounds. Some of the taro were still there but cannot be used; the salt water got them. So I start all over again, planted, and got about 6,000 bags. The first 3,000 bags I didn't pull any, and the second 3,000 bags, I only harvested about, I think 1,200 bags, that's all.

(NK:952) More, really big. We have to climb on the tree for pick the coffee. Yeah, the kids climb on the tree; the parents, they stay down. But those days, they get da kine ladder, eh–stick ladder–when they go. So, we pick on the ladder, pick under. What can pick, you pick. Some kids, they like climb on the tree.

(SU:1550) I used to take care the Indian wrestler, Agi Singh. Big bugger, over 300 pounds. Really big bugger, you know. That guy, when the guy eat, he eat about double of the–triple. And Al Karasick paid all the bill. He said, “Sam, give ’em all they want to eat.”

5.29.5.4 rili SMALL

There is a single canonical example of rili and SMALL:

(MM:322) No. Where I'm talking, the plantation store and the Chinese store was in a different camp. And where I was born and where we was living, they had one small Japanese store. Really small, you know. Maybe what they sell is only, what, candy or something like that only.
5.29.5.5 rili MANY/MUCH

There is a single canonical example of rili and MANY/MUCH:

(AK:630) They get lot of herbs, though. They got lot of plant, you know. But I don't know if they got, because I never did try to whatever, get this thing to help any people that. Maybe I can, I know, but I don't want to just tell you and then that's not correct. I got to be sure before I go tell. But for certain medicine, maybe I know something. There were lot of herbs, Hawaiians. Really plenty. Like cold cough, alaala puloa they call 'em, is another good one. Uhaloa they call that, same thing. On Kawaihae Road, on the other side of the island, they have those plants. They call that alaala puloa or uhaloa, can be two ways. See, you pull from the ground, and then you got to get the roots, you wash the roots; either you chew or you boil, same thing. Mountain apple bark, the same thing. The mountain apple bark good for cold. The lehua tree bark and all those. Or the lehua buds, the young shoots. The wild guava, that good for medicine. You know that guava, the young shoots, that, you get sore stomach, or something, you chew that.

5.29.6 Summary

We have found in our corpus examples of the following valences:

- VERY GOOD
- VERY BAD
- VERY BIG
- VERY SMALL
- VERY MANY

5.30 WHEN

5.30.1 Primitive Syntax

Temporal adjuncts are required in the following contexts:

[(AT) (BEFORE/AFTER) (d1) TIME], SAY-CLAUSE/DO-CLAUSE/HAPPEN-CLAUSE

They are optional elsewhere:

((AT) (BEFORE/AFTER) (d1) TIME), THINK-CLAUSE/WANT-CLAUSE/FEEL-CLAUSE/KNOW-CLAUSE

Many of the examples listed below will use the following syntactic frame:

WHEN CLAUSE1, CLAUSE 2

As argued in W (1996:132), this frame is semantically complex and may be decomposed in the following manner:

AT SOME TIME BEFORE NOW, CLAUSE1
AT THIS TIME, CLAUSE 2
Examples in this frame therefore count as near-canonical examples.

5.30.2 HCE Candidates

In HCE, the three primary lexical exponents of the NSM primitive WHEN: wen, taim, and samtain.

5.30.3 Examples of wen

5.30.3.1 wen SAY-Clause

There are a substantial number of near-canonical examples showing wen linking with a clause headed by the primitive SAY:

(AK:613) Baseball or volleyball, softball, whatever game. They all enjoy that. When we had that, they used to tell me, the older ones used to tell me, before they have sports, they used to go play cards. They challenge, you know each section, he playing cards. And after that, they make party. Or, they go swim. Jump – you know they get high place, they jump in the water and challenge each other.

(BB:009) Yea, he do all the kin’. 1937 I think, him and my mother went Japan. Everytime they stay send the money to the brother to buy property. Buy mountain like that. My father like plenty mountain with plenty trees. He can cut the kaki no ki, kuri no ki and all the good kin' lumber, eh. He make into shoji like that – nice kin’, eh. He buy the kin’ and plenty the kin’ rice patch. ’A’s why he wanted to go take a look how many land he get with the money. So when they wen reach Japan, Japan guys say, “How come you folks came back?” “We came to see our property.” “What property?” “We send money to the brother for go buy the yama and the rice patch.” He say, “You no mo’ money. Your brother get PLENTY land. They don’ know how the brother wen make money for he can buy all the kin’ land.” “So you folks was sending the money?” “Yea. So he brought the property.” My father wen go to the brother’s house; first thing he went to the altar, you know, for go pray. And the brother wen pass behind him. Hoo. I hear they had a big fight – the two brothers.

(BB:013) ’A’s why go get box from the plantation store or something and pack ’em up inside there – raincoat, working shoes, and working clothes, holo holo shoes and the clothes holo holo kin’ eh, bring that down. So, I brought that down. When I went over there, he tell me, “OK.” Komeya Hotel, Hiroshima ken, eh - we went. And then he say, “From here you go to the Consul, Nuuanu, go straight up and go by Kuakini; they got a big mon aru ke; you can see and go expatriate.” I said, “Why?” He said you dual citizen and he said Japan is gonna get war. Train after train everyday soldiers goin’ up to Manchuria.

(BB:019) Yea, just before WWII, because my father knew already. ’A’s why when he came back already; ’at’s what my father said come down quick, expatriate. As soon as I wen expatriate, I called my brother down to expatriate.

(BB:020) When Japan like that, he told me, “Come down already.” His intention was to go back and bring the family back over here. ’A’s why he goin’ quit making coffin like that – quit.

(BB:026) Yeh. He died at the hospital. He had diabetes. I told my brother to go home eat, so we go take chance watch him. When he came back he told me, eh, now you go home you go eat. I go watch him. They came to take blood from my father. Soon as she— the kin’ take the blood, my father all white. He died right there.

(EB:1135) Yeah. And, you know, those days, when harvesting the rice, you know small kids, eh? My father tell me, “We go cut rice.” Magani, eh? Say, “Okay.”

(ER:772) So, I walk on. Bumbai I walk up there, my aunty see me, ’cause my aunty she know me. When my aunty tell to the husband, she tell, “The boy look like Ernest, yeah, coming up.” My uncle tell, “Nah, that’s not him. He no stay Lana’i.” “But look like that’s him. He coming.” Bumbai, I see, I come near the house. I laugh, I make my hand like that.
Any kind grass. Before over there all dirt, eh. Any kind grass that get seed, we cut 'em, we load up the Ford truck. Then after that, when we get 'nough load, then he say we go. So us three young boys, we stay behind. While he driving the truck all by the dirty place we throw all the seed. You know, what we wen cut, we throw all the seed. Any kind place we go where get grass seed, we stop, and go cut. Cut and throw all by the dirt place.

Well, when I small, I like ride horse. When they been telling me go over here, go plant grass over here, go up the mountain, and when my cousin tell me, “You gotta go ride horse today,” ho, I no tell no. I like ride horse. Tell me...

Before when I come over here, the Hulopoe, they only tell Cut Mountain.

Yeah, especially when you dry the patch for two days; you know, kind of sticky, eh, already, kind of stuck, eh, the mud. And then you can just easily move. We argue sometime, but I no like, you know. I just let him do what he want to do and at times, when he find something wrong, then I tell, “That's why I tell you every time that.” I had experience with my parents. My dad used to do that. If the soil is, it floats sometime. You can feel when you get in the patch. That thing is so soft, just like the soil is not rich enough to plant the taro.

When I was in Japan already, my friend was telling me, “You cannot talk stink about the tenno heika.” He said, “The tenno heika, you gotta stay down, the law.” So, we talking English. The cab driver no can understand English. So we talking stink, any kind. “Oh, no worry about that guy.” If the driver know, boy, he take us to the....

So, when I came back, about a month after that, he called up one morning and tell me, “Nelson, how much more more taro you get?” I said, “Oh, I get quite a bit. About 700 bags up Olepau’s place and I get about 2,000 bags down side.” He said, “You keep all that for me.” I said, “You sure you can use them all?” He said, “Yeah. And don't sell to any Honolulu poi factories. You can sell to Hilo, but don't sell to Honolulu.”

Zippy’s? Right there used to have Tanaka Appliance. Mr. Tanaka and I used to be good friends, see. So he tell me, “Ey, Sam, I think you might as well put ‘Smile Cafe,’ though.” I says, “Okay.” That's how we started, see. Put “Smile Cafe.” And then, when I put Smile Cafe, everybody tell, “Ey, you got to smile every time.”

When I was working for Akioka, we put Smile Cafe, too. The Parker Ranch order plenty. We do that.

Yeah. When I was working for Akioka, we did too. The Parker Ranch order plenty. We do that.

For blessing. Like, Hawaiians today, I don’t see they do that. Hawaiians, if you have little bit trouble, something is in your home here, or something happened. They come back, you get a glass of
water. They put little Hawaiian salt. They say word of prayer. Then you sprinkle in the house, every room. Then the rest, you throw on the top the house. That clears out all the devils, or something like that. Hawaiians used to do that. And then, whatever funeral you go, then when you come back, they do that to you too. Take away all the bad. Cleaned away all the stuff. Majority of old Hawaiians do that. But today, they don’t do that.

(BB:010) The sheet metal. He cut ‘em, eh and he make ‘em into one tank like. For make the okolehau machine, you gotta make ‘em like that. He make just like a mass production way, he make. When he tell me, he do this all one day. And then you know the funnel kin’, the kin’ funnel like that, come down kin’, eh; he say he make that too. What he cut, eh he solder ‘em that night. Mass production; not he go make this, he complete one; not complete one, he make all different kind sizes. Now he got ‘em all made so he just get this two together and he solder. And he get the other one, put over here. All half done.

(MM:372) Uneven, yeah. So we tell ‘em, “You fellas, try push good. Try push all.” But when you tell them, they go do that for little while, and then they go back again. So, you burn up with that one.

(YA:1046) That’s how he build the dike, see? Before, in the river, you can build your own dike, but not now. Before, we used to build the dike in the riverside. We no need go catch fish. The dike like this, high, eh? We live one place where the water come over, you know, on the top. We put one big bamboo basket outside the other side, the waterfall. Nighttime, we tie the basket against the rock. And right on the waterfall — down below get big stones hold up the basket, and the water come, shoot down, and go through the basket. The water no can stay, eh? So, after that, maybe about one or two o’clock in the nighttime, you go over there, collect. Ho, all da kine river mullet. Da kine all go over and stay inside the basket. You no need go catch, you know. They trap, eh? And when you build the dike, you do that, see.

(YA:1057) He asked me, “You like sell this lot to me, I build one house for my boy. My boy going get married.” At that time, he was only about sixteen, seventeen years old. I was so kind, you know. I said, “All right. I sell ‘em to you.” I sell ‘em to him with the net price was only $750. I buy ‘em $500, I get one house. I sell the other one for $750, I think I making little bit money already. So, if I never sell ‘em to him, I build one house for rent, oh, more good, you know. The housing in front of my eye all the time. But no, I sell ‘em to him. When I sell ‘em to him, what he do? He put two houses in the lot for rent. He catch me. All kind tricks, anyway. People are like that. No can help, eh?

5.30.3.3 wen HAPPEN-Clause

There are a few near-canonical examples of wen combining with the NSM primitive HAPPEN:

(ER:755) Yeah. Happened to me. I know happened to me when I was...

(FD:287) That’s why I always tell to people, “Well, there’s a saying in the Bible say, ’There’s a day will come, there’s this day of starvation, when everybody is going to suffer.’” And it is already now, it’s starting. When the wind come blow everything we don’t have fruits. And then now, the rotting taro, rot in the taro patch now, everybody is suffering. So everybody today’s knowledge, they try to use all kind chemical, everything to mix with the soil, to better themself. But I don’t. I tell my husband, “You know, I always remember this saying, ’There is a day come, the day of starvation, it happens when the land so all over the place.’”

(FD:295) When we going pass to one new world, I don’t know what going happen to the second set of children, what they going do. To come to think nowadays, kids, they have everything just like this. That’s what happened to my granddaughter. She didn’t tell me what happened to her Friday. I call up the school, she was missed from school. To listen to what other kids say, her friends.

5.30.3.4 wen THINK-Clause

There are a few near-canonical examples of wen and THINK:

(AK:637) You see, this is the whole tree. The whole tree is this, eh? Then this is the branch going out. When he picks his choice, whatever, he think this is good.
But sometime when you come home, the small mice, eh, they make puka. They make puka, eh, but you no see. But he go inside, eh, inside the poi, stay inside the poi. So you come home, you eat the poi, you know. But when you see one lump, you think you mix poi, eh, get lump. You push 'em away. Bumbai one guy, he push the thing and see the tail, “Hey, get mice in...”

Well, you young boy time, eh. Down there, every time you look, no more nobody, and people used to talk story, eh. They talk story sometime in the evening, or early in the morning, plenty mynah birds make plenty noise. Certain place, plenty mynah bird. So when you think da kine, you think ghost, eh, obake. The way they... Tell how come the bird all make noise like that. They tell maybe get da kine, eh. So you come scared. When single boy you stay here, all nighttime, they talk story, eh, the old people talking story, you go listen. Sometime you think too spooky, ah, more better go home for sleep. You no like listen, bumbai you come scared, eh.

Because he’s so rough, eh. He doesn’t respect people. When he drinks, he thinks he’s one of the bull in Waipio Valley.

Taro is a lot easier than rice. I wouldn’t go into rice again-never! If I had to, I don’t, because I know I cannot take it because you had to worry so much. You worry when the heavy rain come. You worry when wind come, especially these kine winds, strong wind like day time. when the rice is ripe, when wind like this comes in, you think how much grain going to drop down. I wouldn’t grow rice again. And when heavy rain comes down, the rice all going to slip down and it’s funny, the rice come lighter. They’re not so heavy, plus hard to harvest. Instead of picking two at one time, you have to pick one at a time and plus, it is hard, too, on the back.

5.30.3.5 wen WANT-Clause

There are a few near-canonical examples of wen in combination with WANT:

So he took he and I right in the police station. We never know what was his idea, so he and I stayed on the car. So, you can smell liquor, you know. But everytime we look, one police come back and go inside the station. Then he and I tell, “Eh, we stay in police station or what?” “What the hell he no come out?” Then when we get mad with him, we want to go for him, to give him licking over there. Then, afterward, here comes out one big Hawaiian policeman. Coming right up to us. He said, “Eh, what you get over there?” “Nothing.” This guy tell, “We take two go inside there.” Just like that, they fill up all the bottle, we deliver all to the police patrollers, we give all that. And it’s his idea, you know. Give the Captain, free, for nothing.

Chee, the plantation, I don’t know. I don’t know how much they make. But when they tell me work for the ranch, I like go, I like cowboy. I like ride horse, ’cause when I small, every time, I like ride horse. Every time, I get chance ride horse, I like ride horse. So that’s what I was doing. When they bring me over here, cowboy, we go plant grass. Then we go take care the mountain. We take trees every day, we go up the tree. Every day we go plant trees, my wife brother, he older than us.

Yeah, bumbai after that, they make chute. They make chute down there. Then the boat come right on the side, then from on top here, the thing go inside the chute. The guy, he slide right down, eh, because they make 'em down. No make 'em straight. Make 'em go. See, when they come inside there, they like turn back, but as soon as they go inside there, they slide down.

Maybe in the '29 or '28 had movie. But I know that time, when we pau hana from Munro time, us guys young then, we go down there play basketball. When we pau hana, we like pau hana early every time. We run away sometime. We go down there, we play basketball. We get team, eh. The city get team. They get about three teams. Us guys, we get cowboys for team. We go down there play.

We go with the torch, we go burn the panini, burn all the kuku. The Caterpillar knock 'em down, the cow go eat 'em. All the cow stay inside, they eat. First time, you scared, eh, because every time you go burn, the cow come behind you. He like eat. Me, I come scared because sometime plenty cow all around you, when you burn, they like go eat. I come scared. Then they make two Caterpillar,
they get big chain. And the two guys just go like that and knock 'em down, all the panini. They knock
down, the cows go eat 'em.

(OC:5) Then when go a little further on, she want to buy a new car. That car getting old, so that way
there she wanted more money.

5.30.3.6 wen FEEL-Clause

There are a few good examples of wen linking clauses with the NSM primitive FEEL as its main predicate:

(EB:1140) So, we come. That was June, I think, was. No more ripe, the coffee, yet. It’s still green, yet.
Then, we come. We ride the Humuula. I don’t know if you remember the Humuula. No more
Humuula. The steamer, the Humuula. The old one. The old Humuula. From Honolulu to Kona. Yeah.
Kailua. So, boy, that time. Funny thing is, when I come from the Philippine, come to Honolulu, I no feel
dizzy. But from Honolulu to Kona, oh, just like the house spinning around. Two days, boy. Yeah, funny
thing. Hoo, the house just like the propeller of the airplane. Yeah, when I see 'em, look. Oh, I close my
eye when I lay down.

(FD:285) We argue sometime, but I no like, you know. I just let him do what he want to do and at
times, when he find something wrong, then I tell, “That’s why I tell you every time that.” I had
experience with my parents. My dad used to do that. If the soil is, it floats sometime. You can feel when
you get in the patch. That thing is so soft, just like the soil is not rich enough to plant the taro.

(FD:291) He said for keep him moving, and then he don’t have to suffer. He knows that when he
doesn’t work one day in the taro patch, the next day he can feel his arms just like heavy. Every day, just
like every day you got to exercise.

(GF:348) I go behind there, they baptize me in the stream. When I came out, you know, my whole
body was tingling. Just like electric. From head to toe. When I came out, I went home. I tell, “Gee, I feel
funny, I feel so good.” So light, you know. Different. Gee, I go swim in there everytime, but I no feel like
that. When I went home, I felt so good. I change my clothes, put on dry clothes. And about 1 o’clock we
had lunch.

(SU:1527) And then, sometimes, I used to get lazy. I used to get sister go school together with me. I
told her to go ahead and carry my kappa, and my book, and everything. Me, I go through the cane. Now,
when I feel that, oh, I feel sorry, but too late already, eh? But she was a husky girl, see.

5.30.3.7 wen KNOW-Clause

There are a number of examples of wen in combination with KNOW:

(AK:600) We put in big baskets. That way, you got to be really careful because they don’t put it in
the sack then, they are really careful how they do it. The Chinese are very clever in doing it. So they
teach us how to use it. That’s why, when we put on the mule, we got to know how to put the rope over
that, on the pack saddle. Then later on, then we started putting the bags.

(AK:617) Yeah, yeah, you can see how much the water come out. If one flooded, too. Too much
water going out. When the water goes down, then you know how much water to come down, how
much water go that side.

(AK:632) I don’t know. Till now, now when somebody missing horses too, they don’t know where
the horses go to. Some outsiders must be going down there and catch the horses.

(ER:757) Too much rascal. Every time get licking. That time I go school, I no study too much, I don’t
know. Even when I come over here work, eh, I don’t know how to write too much. Only I learn from
people what they talk. Then bumbai I write little bit, I read little bit. But sometime, I don’t know. I don’t
know how to spell the word or what.

(ER:798) Then bumbai the dog know every time he gotta stay behind. They come smart. Sometime,
they no bark. He just go behind, bite by the leg. When the cow jump, you know one dog wen bite 'em,
because they too slow. They no bite in front or make 'em blood, only by the leg behind, yeah.
(ER:807) All the boys, every time **when** anybody stand up, go, we **know** why they stand up. They no going come back. They going for find another seat. So we go on top, we sit down little while, we sit down by the seat, little more, all the cowboys on top the seat, sitting down.

(MM:375) We start fire with that 'opala. We bunch 'em up, eh? I see lot of plantations, they get small torch, eh? We tried with a torch, too, but humbug, too, the torch. **When** you pau, eh, you don’t **know** where you going to 'em. You got to bring 'em way the hell where to put 'em away, eh? But if only with 'opala, when you pau, you pau. You got nothing to store away. And it’s easy to get the 'opala.

(NC:149) Oh, yeah. **When** I was six years old I **know** how to cook rice. And then after that little by little I learn how to common kind of dishes. Like cooking watercress and all da kine. That’s duck soup. That’s just like playing. I don’t know. Cooking is just like playing to me.

(OC:7) In those days, **when** I was fourteen years old we don’t **know** how to count the money and all that thing there, so.

### 5.30.4 Examples of taim

#### 5.30.4.1 taim SAY-Clause

There are numerous canonical examples of the combination of **taim** and SAY:

(BB:010) The other guy used to make, eh- his one is all join, join, like that. They say, ooh kore, they no like this kin’. Like one chee! straight down, eh, no more bump, you know. All straight down. He get the two soldering machine, eh. Those days never get electricity. ‘A’s why only torch, eh. So, he get two torch. But he no tell. “Oshite kure,” every **time** they **say** they goin’ give him so much, eh.

(ER:751) Yeah, they put 'em on top. And they bring 'em down slaughterhouse. Every time I used to go follow them, eh. Sometime pau school, then they go up, I go, too, I ride. But sometime come dark, I scared because bumbai I get lost, eh. But every **time** he **tell** me if I no can find them, go by the track. Stay by the track, so they can find me on the track, eh.

(ER:762) That’s why, if you take his fish, the shark going broke your net. Because, that’s your boss, eh. That’s what I hear, I don’t know, I never see. Then bumbai morning **time**, they **said** when the shark, he come hit the beach, he come man. And from the water you can see the foot mark going. And this guys, they feed, you know, the boss guy, he going feed this one. And this one he go back again. Just like come one shark. They call ‘aumakua or something like that.

(ER:811) Yeah, same time I take da kine meat for my girlfriend house. Every **time** he **tell** me, “We go down my house,” my friend--the brother, eh. Every time, “We go down over here.” “Ah, more better we go tomorrow morning then.” So we go shoot goat, we take them, get something for eat eh. “Ah,” he tell me, “okay we go in the morning.”

(ER:817) Yeah, sing, and when you pau sing, maybe you go put down what you like put down, quarter or half dollar. Every **time** they **tell** us, just like one group. You get your own group, you go sing. And them guys, they get judge, you know, the minister.

(ER:831) Yeah, every **time** he **tell** me, “We go down, we go down,” ’cause every time he like make me go with him, eh.

(ER:856) Yeah, you know the paddle, tie ‘em on top, the shirt, put ‘em up and hold ‘em up little while. The house guys they look, they tell, “Eh, them guys get turtle, gotta go make fire.” They go make fire. Every **time** they **tell** us, “When you get, no wait. Make quick so can come home eat.” Sometime even we come little bit late, the fire already down, eh. And then over there they go get coconut leaf and rip ‘em up and they go get what you call, the kauna'a, that tree, that’s because moist, eh, put ‘em inside the fire underneath.

(NC:145) They brag if they cut half a day, eh. That’s four hours. They got five mamaka they call it. Two bundles is one mamaka, eh. They say, “Oh, I cut five mamaka today only four hours.” I tell, “What this. Well, I could try.” I went up to seven. Bumbai one **time I say**, “Hey, I go search first what banks get good grass, everything. I could make a record.” One time go up to 14. Fourteen. That’s 28 bundles. Then
they used to tell my brother, Ah Kong, he beat me out; he get one more than me. That’s when I went up to the Mainland, eh. Then he say, “Hey, I break your record. I get one mamaka more than you.” I came back. I tried to make it. I cannot. We not in trim, eh. Cannot.

(NC:163) He said, “You plant a hundred bags a week for me.” The wife said, “No, too much. One hundred bags is too much, 75 bags all right. We cannot use 100 bags because we have other taro.” I said, “Okay. I’ll plant 75 bags a week for you. You make sure.... ” He said, “Oh, I’m sure. When the taro is ready, you let me know.” I said, “Okay.” When the taro was about one month more to harvest, I called him up. I went down six times. Every time, he tells me, “Oh, you wait another month or so.” Keep on like that. Every time, I didn’t get any satisfactory answer from him.

5.30.4.2 taim DO-Clause

There are substantial numbers of canonical examples combining taim and DO:

(AK:622) No. Only I know those years when I was living down there, and no such thing as that. Was just what I say, the Filipinos, they were good. You know, most time, Filipinos, they try to do something, but no. Even if they drunk, they always really good. We all share together. We never did hear anybody stealing.

(AK:665) Yeah, inside the stone wall. Something like stone wall. Like now, she or he wen die, they stay put the money on top the eye. One dollar. We go there, we go look, eh. Broke down the stone wall, or whatever thing. We did that how many time.

(AK:670) Was just plain that way. That time never have all this other pests come in. You know, in those time, that’s why I say, that time they never try get something to do with that. Instead of letting it grow. Before, no more guava bush Waipio, like that. Then all kind vine now. Before, you going Waipio, as soon as you going down, you see everything. All plain. You go down the beach, you look up, all. Now, even down the beach, you look up, you see tree, you no see anything.

(BB:017) Stop. Down below red you see, you gotta put your red up. Then the guy goin’ stop. Otherwise no can see the flag down below. ‘A’s why when it’s white eh; and if down below is red and you white, the darn thing still goin’; ‘A’s why by-n-by get accident. Important that one; ‘a’s why kick out, and they tell me you did that one. I never make one mistake – they tell me you good. So, they send me to the Landing. You know, from the boat to the landing, that one. I was taking care of two machine.

(FD:252) Well, when he pounded, you know. One, two, and then they wet the hand and they used to make noise, you know, underneath the stone. I can do that too. You know, wet the stone and then you make that noise like that. Eh, make big noise. You ask Roy. Maybe Roy he did that one time, eh. He demonstrate to you folks, eh? That’s how my dad used to do. But my dad, he’s a husky man. And he’s not black like me He’s not brown like me. He’s fair, you know. I think Roy remembers seeing my dad.

(GF:325) No, sugar company get nothing to do. But sometimes the farmers, they not so good to one another. Especially, like Toledo, eh? He go in the river, he dredge the river. He damage other people’s property. Toledo did that to me lot of times, though. But I didn’t do anything to him. That’s up to him.

(MM:327) Yeah. And then, because plenty fellas wen go take a look, he go, and he go up, and then circle ‘round, land. You know, he did several times for the people look, eh?

(MT:1174) So far, no. Because it’s a stream like, see. Once in a while, I go in with my tractor and kind of clean all that. You know, get shrubs growing over. I just clean out the ditch. But it’s very — I did it maybe only one, two times yet, so far.

(NK:933) And when we climb up the hill—you know, as you going down and go to the beach, when you go down the rock road and you down–we come up the hill, we look up Napo’opo’o School. The flag up. Ah! We no going school. We go back, we go swimming, swimming all day down there. Nobody catch us. Then, we come up, we look, the flag down, go home. We doing that all the time. Bumbai, the policeman come down.
(NK:946) But when this Hawaiian people, the Lono family stayed down there... Us, we hardly stay down the beach, see? Because get mahi'ai place, get coffee land. That's why, my father folks, no can go in beach all the time. So, that's why. Only when we go beach sometimes, when we like go holoholo down the beach, we go. That's when he go fishing. I don't know what happened--what da kine did at that **time**. So, this Hawaiian people down there broke the fence and fence another small fence way outside by the roadside, pili to the road, and come up. And then, they say, oh, they let go calf inside there, cow. Because they used to keep mama cow; and the baby cow, they put inside there.

5.30.4.3 **taim** HAPPEN-Clause

There is a single canonical example of HAPPEN occurring with an explicit **taim**:

(MM:373) You make the fire break, yo. You get the push, eh? You going to make the fire break and go right around. And all depend which way the wind coming. If you get this trade wind like this, you go to the back side. Mostly, you got to go in the back side and work your way out, eh? Otherwise, if you going to work from the top, if you going burn from the top, the wind going carry and he going jump on the other side, eh? That's why, we get, lot of time, jump fire, too. If a big field, if next to where we going to burn is another field and it's big cane already, it's almost ready for harvest, but we no like 'em jump in there, we get the water tank stay take care by the road there. In case of jump, eh, we shoot water, yo. Lot of **time happen**, too, you know.

5.30.4.4 **taim** THINK-Clause

There are three canonical examples of **taim** occurring with the NSM predicate THINK:

(AK:600) Well, It's simple. Really. That **time**, I **think** to myself, “How come they do that? They have the bag, why don't they put in the bag?” But they said, “No, it's 'lot of more waste more time.” To me, it's just about the same but when we reach there, we got to broke the taro and put in the cooker. So, we the young generation, the one that did show them to put in the bag and more easier. Easier to handle and easier to work. Then, from that time on, we put in the bag.

(ER:777) Well, I don't know. That **time**, I no **think** nothing. I only think for go work. I only think work. And when I come over here work, I only start with eighty cents a day. For eight hour, you know, only eighty cents.

(ER:786) He tell, “You look this one, you compare this one to this.” So I look what's the difference. Then he tell you what the difference. You look, but you tell him, “Shee, I don't know the difference. To me, look like the same.” “No, this one narrow, this one heavy build, bull, short, heavy. This one long, no more.” He tell you all this kind, and you gonna **think** every **time**, eh, how they tell you. What kind big, what kind this one. And then, he tell you, “This one how many pound, you think?” So, like me, just like I guess, yeah. I tell 'em, maybe this one 500 pound, and he tell you how you know if 500 pound.

5.30.4.5 **taim** WANT-Clause

There are numerous canonical examples of **taim** and WANT:

(ER:750) To the tree someplace. But usually every **time** they **like** try reach over there because nighttime cold, eh, 'cause come daytime going be hot, eh. Or sometime they pull 'em till near by the cane track, and they load 'em up on top the, what you call da kine, the empty kind, you know the sugar cane kind car

(ER:754) I no like go school too much. I **like** go ride horse every **time** with my father.

(ER:754) Maybe they tell my father, but my father he no bother me. He no say nothing, eh. Only he tell me, “You gotta go school tomorrow.” That's only what they tell me, but that **time**, I never **like** go school. I like ride horse. Every time I like follow.
Yeah, pear. I used to go climb pear for this guy Cockett. Lloyd them grandfather. His yard get pear. And every time, he like me go climb pear. They like me go climb there, maybe only six only like this, six 'nough. He no like put all down, eh. He put six. That one, maybe he give me ten cent, sometime he give me fifteen cent.

Maybe in the '29 or '28 had movie. But I know that time, when we pau hana from Munro time, us guys young then, we go down there play basketball. When we pau hana, we like pau hana early every time. We run away sometime. We go down there, we play basketball. We get team, eh. The city get team. They get about three teams. Us guys, we get cowboys for team. We go down there play.

But we go Keomuku, with me, he good, you know. To me, he good. Every time I like go Keomuku, I go ask him one car, he lend me. He lend me car go Keomuku, Sunday come home. Then every time I go ask car. Every weekend he see me, “What, going Keomuku?” “Yeah. I like borrow car.” “Yeah, okay.” And least he lend me car, though. Every time I go, Saturday, go down and use the truck. Get one small truck and one Ford car. Until bumbai I buy my own jeep, then pau, I no borrow car, I go with the jeep.

Every time we like make kalua. Every time we go down there, we can kalua. Maybe somebody no like go fishing, eh, somebody like go shoot goat, so they go shoot goat. And when they come home, they see the fire get going, oh, the goat put inside the imu, too. Put the goat in the imu with the turtle.

Then bumbai I make one more net, I make one more net. I go throw fish, I catch, catch fish. Yeah, you know, catch, catch fish with my net. Them guys tell me, “Eh, your net good luck.” “No, you guys tell me my net manini. You guys, I no believe this kind. I no believe what you guys tell me. I no believe.” Then they tell me, “No believe anything you make. You no believe what people tell you. You believe your own self what you think your net get.” Ho, bumbai Uncle Sammy, eh, every time he like go fishing too, but he no more net so I let him my net. He catch plenty fish. Bumbai me and him come out, we come by the shoreline, get plenty fish, so we go eat.

Yeah, Lucky Luck. Every time, they like look that show, eh, Lucky Luck because he talk Hawaiian, too, eh. And so when that show everybody go home. But if get cowboy, ah, they like look cowboy. But if no more cowboy, then.

Only once a week. Then bumbai, then we get the whole week kind picture. Then they get two show, eh, 5:30 and 7:30, I think, 7:30 or 7:00. Between there. So us guys every time we like pau hana early, too, because we like go 5:30 show.

There are only two canonical examples taim combining with FEEL:

No, I never cut cane. I never cut cane. First job was cut seed, no? Cut seed, throw fertilizer, hapai ko. I don’t know if, maybe, for that reason now, I feel pain all time on my shoulder.

But the poi shop was gaining because we didn’t know the weight at that time. We didn’t have no scales, see. Then, when I went into the scales, scaling all my taro and stuff, then I took notice how much I was losing. But actually, at that time, as long as you make money, you don’t feel it. But at present, right now, every farmer grumbles.

There are three canonical examples of taim combining with the primitive KNOW:

Then bumbai the dog know every time he gotta stay behind. They come smart. Sometime, they no bark. He just go behind, bite by the leg. When the cow jump, you know one dog wen bite ’em, because they too slow. They no bite in front or make ’em blood, only by the leg behind, yeah.

Yeah, but all full. You no can go through. Even me, when I work, I go drive cattle, I lost inside there. I no can come outside. The panini so thick. Only the cow get trail, eh, go inside and they
know where the water trough. And the cowboys who know over there, every time they know how go outside. Me, I go inside there, I get lost, they gotta come find me.

(MM:353) And then, we make bigger car, bigger than three tons sometime, whenever the car is getting less, yo. Sometime during the day, if the mill get trouble like that, they don’t grind, that’s why the car is fill up with cane, eh? So, less cars coming out. Da kine time, well, we know already, ey, the mill get trouble. Only few cars. We watch the locomotive. When we can see the locomotive, ey, only few cars came. And when the few cars come, how we used to work is, majority of the fellas, we get what they call piler boys, see.

5.30.5 Examples of samtaim

5.30.5.1 samtaim SAY-Clause

There are several canonical examples of samtaim combining with SAY as a temporal adjunct:

(AK:602) Yeah, Wednesday we go to the poi shop. Nobody to work taro patch for pull taro, whatever it is. Sometime the boss tell, “You go this way.” But most time we go to the taro patch. Sometime, something else the boss want you to go, you go do that.

(ER:786) He say why no good, because the bull, just like lean, no more weight. You raise ’em up maybe two year or three year, by the time you kill ’em, no more weight. And this other one, you look the body, broad. This guy, even small, he get weight. They go according to weight because you going sell the meat by the pound, eh. They go by the weight. So you study. Me too, I study, I look how like that, how the bull. Then sometime he tell you, “Okay you pick up ten.” So you go inside there you look. One guy follow you, eh. So, you think this one maybe get, you point. You just point, this guy take ’em away. Maybe two guys stay follow you, they go try take ’em away, separate ’em, eh, from the bunch. Then you look, you point, you say this one, this one. Maybe he tell you pick up ten. That’s why you pick up ten, they put ’em inside one pen.

(ER:811) So we go shoot goat, we take them, get something for eat eh. “Ah,” he tell me, “okay we go in the morning.” Some guys, they go in the night. Because down there kind of big, the people used to stay. Kind of plenty people, eh. And down there get good fun, too. And sometime he tell me, “Ey, we go down tonight.” “Nah, I no like go down nighttime. I like go down daytime, so I can go get some meat.” Give some fish for them guys. Only me I go, and I go eat free kaukau, no good, eh. And then I tell, “Nah, we go shoot goat. You and me.” Sometime he like go in the evening.

(ER:887) Then bumbai, I study little bit then I catch on, eh. Sometime, they tell me, “You go S3-17.” I stay look, I tell, “What place the machine stay? Fifty-three this side, or below or way down the top?” They tell me, “The straight road going up.” You know from the station, going up one straight road, you go straight up there, then you going see the machine. The machine all inside, you go look what number you supposed to go. Then that’s how I go learn.

5.30.5.2 samtaim DO-Clause

There are several canonical examples of samtaim occuring with DO as an adjunct:

(AK:634) You know, in Waipio those days, they had lot of horses. Lot of people have horses. And then, some of them, they like go out catch the horses. You see horse are here and there, they hanging. A rope on the tree. Make one loop on the tree. Then you drive the horse. While they all go through that, he choke on the rope. That thing come back, eh. That’s only way they can catch the horse. Or sometimes, they catch somebody’s horse. They catch wild horse too. You know, sometime you do that, you hurt somebody’s horse, see. But those days down there, had lot of boys, they go out catch horse. They harm somebody’s horse. I know, I had some horses, I lost horses from like that.

(AK:659) Well, anything you think you like sing, eh. We do that sometime, with the boys, they come down. They used to get lot of young boys down Waipio. Then, instead of they going home to their
place and live with the parents, they live with me and my wife. I been keeping lot of them. I take them
look like my children, you know. Because my brother-in-laws, they were young, eh. They all come play.
But they all stay. They can take us like father and mother. Or they call us “Aunty” and “Uncle.” Stay
with us. Oh, everyday. They no go home.

(GF:304) Sometimes we do.
(MT:1192) Well, no. Actually, I have things to do too sometimes. Well, actually, I gain on the
hauling. The trucker over here charge the shop 73 cents a bag. So when I haul 25 bags to Hilo, I getting
73 cents plus, plus this now. So it comes out to this price. So it kind of pays the gas and whatever I have
to do in Hilo.

5.30.5.3 samtain HAPPIEN-Clause

There is only a single canonical example of samtain combining with HAPPEN as an adjunct:

(AK:617) No, not too bad, though. We had happen sometime but we go up there, “Eh, too much
water, I think, this side, we got to need little bit more water.” Then we block little bit so we get water.
We block with stones, you know. Pile stones little bit, the water come down this side. Most time, we
never had problems.

5.30.5.4 samtain THINK-Clause

There are two canonical examples of samtain combining with THINK as an adjunct:

(ER:824) They talk story sometime in the evening, or early in the morning, plenty mynah birds make
The way they.... Tell how come the bird all make noise like that. They tell maybe get da kine, eh. So you
come scared. When single boy you stay here, all nighttime, they talk story, eh, the old people talking
story, you go listen. Sometime you think too spooky, ah, more better go home for sleep. You no like
listen, bumbai you come scared, eh.

(NC:155) Yeah, they take 'em home. Eat 'em. You know, sometimes I think it's superstitious. After
you take 'em home, then they offer like that. They say that thing already eat and everything. How can
you tell if they eat or not? That's one thing I cannot see. They say they eat. How can you tell me they
eat?

5.30.5.5 samtain WANT-Clause

There are numerous canonical examples of samtain occuring with WANT as an adjunct:

(AK:595) Shrimp, that gori, oopu and all those things. Of course, that's good, they fry but sometime
the family wants to eat those things raw, eh? And I cannot. I taste but, not bad. After I try, all right, it
was good. Because Waipio, you have the warabi there, you know that warabi. They had lot of wild
watercress. Oh, never let get anything starve there, you get.

(AK:620) Wherever, we having a luau here, then we hold that over here. Sometimes we, the club,
like get little bit more money, we make a concert. We make open little concert. Get the old people into
the program and all that. Get little bit money, maybe $1 a ticket, we make that. Everybody come.

(ER:766) But that time 'opelu and akule cheap. You can buy fifteen cents, maybe forty, forty they tell
that's one ka'au, eh. I don’t know what one ka'au means. But they count forty, and they sell you. They
tell fifteen cents or quarter. Sometimes when you go over there, you like buy fish too, eh. Then when the
fish come inside, you just go with them. You tell you like buy fish. How much? A quarter or half dollar.

(ER:786) Mrs. Forbes. She's the secretary, yeah. So that's how they keep record. They keep record of
the cow, how they growing, what the breed. Then sometime maybe, they like change breed, maybe
over here come inbreed, yeah, like that. So they buy bull from Parker Ranch. They buy maybe ten bull,
then you keep 'em.
(ER:815) The company had big garden over there, so Sunday morning sometime, we like eat spinach. Most time we go get spinach.

(ER:821) Ah, that, I don’t know too much. But, I only know when I go Keomuku, my mother-in-law make Hawaiian medicine. She and the father make Hawaiian medicine. Every time when I go down there, they make. Even me sometime I get sick, they make. Sometimes I no like take sour, huh, but I take. They give me Hawaiian medicine. Even my sister, my half-sister.

(ER:868) Yeah, the spy or what. That’s da kine guys we scared. Sometimes we stay go, maybe we look, “Eh, one man walking over there. That’s one man.” You know da kine Japanese, the one they stay Keomuku, sometime they holoholo by the beach, yeah. We look, “Eh, Papa, you no can go. You gotta stay home inside the house.” Sometimes he like go by the sand, go look, eh. Most the time when we stay down there, most Japanese, might be them enemy, you don’t know, eh. That’s why me and him, we look, we see Japanese, we stay hide, yeah. We like see, maybe in the water, they make sign or what. We watch him, eh, until he go already. Maybe he tired stay in the house, he go walk by the beach, yeah. We thought maybe they go make signals, eh, maybe these all Japanese, eh.

(ER:881) But in the morning, you gotta go stand in line, what they call picket? Yeah, picket. You gotta go picket until all the labor yards kind of cool off, yeah, then you go eat, lunchtime. Evening time you can go eat. But still yet, you gotta go show up by the union hall. Sometimes they like you go picket, then you go picket. Then you go stay around; if not, you come home. Bumbai, you gotta go down. They going tell you what time for come around.

(ER:882) So the strike time, never affect us, nothing. Only I heard the harbor guys sometime they like go work, eh. The boss tell go work, they go work. So up here guys, they go down and they go lick ’em. They told me that they jump all inside the water. All they guys. They jump inside the water because they go down there. But us, we never go. Us guys, the ranch guys, they never bother too much.

(ER:893) You don’t know who come around. Because sometime we no stay every time cars come around, eh. Sometime they come around, they look dead end, they go back. Then some guys, they just come in the yard, they tell, “Where this road going?” I tell, “You no can see the road? Over here stop, no more road. Dead end. If you like you can go right through in the tree. This is only for these two house, this road.” Sometimes they like go up the mountain, eh. I tell, “You gotta go by the cemetery way or go this way, go up. Gotta go reach the cemetery and then go up.” Every time they come over here ask me, eh.

(ER:898) Before we go down Maunalei, eh, we go sleep, we go camp. Morning time, we come home. We go evening time. We take only bread. Carry bread. Go down there, go catch crab or what, pulehu. Put ’em on top charcoal, pulehu, eat, sleep, by the beach. Early morning time, maybe eight o’clock, wake up, come home. Walk, come up the hill. But that time, you young, eh, just like nothing, eh, only walk, walk. Sometimes you like run. Go down time, more easy, eh, go down the hill. Then morning time, you gotta come early, bumbai come hot, yeah, you no like walk, go up. Us guys, every time we come home early. No like stay late, bumbai come hot. And we no stay evening, bumbai come dark, we no see. You go walk down there. We used to walk till by Maunalei where the house stay.

(YA:1073) Go downtown, fishmarket, King Street. And then, go walk around Chinatown, buy something, come home, eh? Or sometimes you like go Waikiki, you just ride the bus all the way down Waikiki. And if you like go different place, you just transfer. Before, I no more sixtyfive, I no can get the pass. Later on, I get pass. I no need ask for transfers. I just go to the place. I like go different place, I get off, I catch another bus. Just show the pass only, see? So, that’s how da kine life I get. Good life, you know, but. I no worry, see.

5.30.5.6 samtaim FEEL-Clause

There is a single canonical example of samtaim combining with FEEL as a clausal adjunct:
(FD:274) Yeah, that thing just like the tea leaves. Small leaves. And then have the small little pokeys. Sometimes, if only one loose in the pants like this, you can feel that thing. Oh, you can feel 'em, eh? That plant.

5.30.5.7 samtain KNOW-Clause

There are several canonical examples of samtain in combination with KNOW:

(AK:656) I use. Remember sometime I forget. Sometimes I know what moon come in, sometime I forget all about it. Really hard, though.

(ER:757) Sometime I no understand, you know, the Hawaiian. You no understand but you listen, bumbai sometimes you ask. You ask them, they tell you what. Then, when I marry my wife, I asked her any kind Hawaiian word, she know plenty, then she tell me most about the Hawaiian word. So now, yeah, I can understand Hawaiian, but I no can talk too much. If the people talk, I know what they talking about. But for me answer them, sometime too hard for me. The easy kind, I can, you know the regular common kind, but the hard one sometime I don't know.

(ER:824) The chief cowboy tell me, “Every time this guys, they talk ghost kind story, you no believe them. No believe what they tell. If you believe, you catch 'em.” Sometimes the guys believe, that's why they catch 'em. No believe what they say. That's why, every time when I go, sometime I no like believe.

(ER:863) That's why now I no believe now days in any kind. He tell me you only believe you get only one God, the Father and the Son. That's what he tell. That's why, me, anybody tell any kind, eh, I no listen. I no like believe them guy what they talk. Because I know my friend he wen tell me the god idol. Just like idol, eh. Everybody get any kind. Sometimes you don’t know. Stay inside your house, they keep da kine, eh, stay inside. So, the house going get spook because he keep. He keep and then go on the children, on the children's children. He said, no believe. You believe, then going be strong in you because the thing can work because you believe. That's why, me, I no believe anything. I only believe one Father and the Son. You pray, you pray to the Son. If the Son he okay, he go to the Father. Then the Father the one take care. That's what he tell me.

5.30.6 Summary

We have found evidence for NSM syntactic configurations:

(AT) X TIME, SAY-Clause
(AT) X TIME, DO-Clause
(AT) X TIME, HAPPEN-Clause
(AT) X TIME, THINK-Clause
(AT) X TIME, WANT-Clause
(AT) X TIME, FEEL-Clause
(AT) X TIME, KNOW-Clause

All possible NSM combinations were found in our HCE corpus.
5.31 AFTER

5.31.1 Primitive Syntax

AFTER occurs in the following syntactic configuration:

AFTER (d1) TIME/THIS

W (1996:133) suggests CLAUSE1 AFTER CLAUSE2 could also be a universal frame. One can wonder, however, whether one can decompose this valence in the same way as interclausal WHEN:

CLAUSE1
AFTER THIS, CLAUSE2

I will therefore consider such examples to be near-canonical examples of the valence AFTER THIS.

5.31.2 HCE Candidates

For the primitive AFTER, there are at least three possibilities to consider in HCE: bambai, aefta, aeftawad(s).

Bambai is a basilectal form in vigorous usage. I will argue that it is in fact, not primitive.

There are some contexts in which bambai does indeed seem to be compatible with the primitive AFTER:

(EB:1138) Yeah, yeah, yeah, I went. I went, yeah, I went. So, I went to the field, hanawai. They said “hanawai”–water the sugarcane. Okay. But bambai, I water the plant, but the field boss–the Japanese–he show me any kind, talk any kind, I don’t know how, eh? He don’t know how to talk English, too, just like me. Only kapakahi. And I don’t know kapakahi English, too, before. He said, “God damn you.” I told him, “What’s the matter with you? You scold me for nothing. I don’t know what you talking.”

(ER:768) We take home, then my mother clean. But sometime us go clean, too, inside the sea, eh. Just let ‘em float, eh, like that so all the sand go down, eh. And then you just grab the limu, you just go there, you throw ‘em down a little bit then you make like that. All the sand go away, eh. And you put ‘em in the bucket. Then bambai she go home, then she go make again to find if get little bit rock, sometimes stay stuck on top the end.

(ER:855) Every time I like go Keomuku, I go ask him one car, he lend me. He lend me car go Keomuku, Sunday come home. Then every time I go ask car. Every weekend he see me, “What, going Keomuku?” “Yeah. I like borrow car.” “Yeah, okay.” And least he lend me car, though. Every time I go, Saturday, go down and use the truck. Get one small truck and one Ford car. Until bambai I buy my own jeep, then pau, I no borrow car, I go with the jeep.

(EB:1138) They brag if they cut half a day, eh. That’s four hours. They got five mamaka they call it. Two bundles is one mamaka, eh. They say, “Oh, I cut five mamaka today only four hours.” I tell, “What this. Well, I could try.” I went up to seven. Bumbaui one time I say, “Hey, I go search first what banks get good grass, everything. I could make a record.” One time go up to 14. Fourteen. That’s 28 bundles. Then they used to tell my brother, Ah Kong, he beat me out; he get one more than me. That’s when I went up to the Mainland, eh. Then he say, “Hey, I break your record. I get one mamaka more than you.” I came back. I tried to make it. I cannot. We not in trim, eh. Cannot.
Nevertheless, *bambai* has a very strong causal component:

(ER:751) And they bring ’em down slaughterhouse. Every time I used to go follow them, eh. Sometime pau school, then they go up, I go, too, I ride. But sometime come dark, I scared because *bumbai* I get lost, eh. But every time he tell me if I no can find them, go by the track. Stay by the track, so they can find me on the track, eh.

(ER:766) I know when I go down, I scared *bumbai* I no like go. Every time when he get good luck, plenty, plenty fish and the boat too heavy, he make you jump all inside the water. He tell you jump inside the water, you hold the boat. Ho, you think about shark, boy. And you know me, I scared like that.

(ER:868) Yeah, they pull me and Alex. From me and him work ranch, eh. They pull us go down there. The boss tell us gotta go down there work. They give us horse and they give us one truck. Sometime we no go on the truck, we ride horse. Ride horse more better go slow, eh, easy eh. Right by the beach. But only trouble, us guys we no scared car, we no scared nothing. Any kind no scared. But we scared da kine alive man. *Bumbai* they get gun, they shoot us, what?

(NC:170) In week he was well already, strong. He said, “I can go home?” He said, “Oh, no. You cannot go home. You gotta stay, or *bumbai* you get relapse, get worse. Relapse, you will die. I cannot cure you any more.” And that’s true, too, but I think main thing is that he wanted to make a little bit more money. That’s the main thing. Then he said, “Okay, I’ll stay.” So he stayed and when he said, “Okay, now you can go home.” That was one week again.

(YA:1031) The Chinese say, “Oh, I eat that, *bumbai* my eye blind.” So, next time he come ask for us, “You get any more da kine shrimp for sell?” “No, no more, no more.” We no sell ’em, see? We dry ’em up. We dry ’em up, *bumbai* we put ’em inside another basket, you know. And when it comes very dry, the shell already crispy already, see? Put ’em inside another basket. We use one da kine guava stick, about my hand size. Rock ’em. You know? You rock ’em up, and then you.... Those days, no more fan. No more electric fan, any kind. So we put one big tray underneath here, and you put the strainer on top, see? Then you bring the shrimps. Wait till the strong wind come. You pour ’em down like that. The shrimps fall down, and the shell fly away, see? That’s how they make shrimps.

I would like to propose that all instances of *bambai* can be accounted for rather straight-forwardly through the simple NSM formula:

(119) * after some time, because of this

The component *after some time* would help to account for the observation that one never uses *bambai* in a punctual context:

(120) * hi go jump aen bambai hi faw dawn.

‘He jumped and he fell down’

Therefore, *bambai* must be eliminated from our list of potential HCE candidates for AFTER.

5.31.3 Examples of *aefta*

5.31.3.1 *aefta* TIME

This has been a difficult valence to find. There are examples of *aefta* with a measurement of time:

(AK:602) I guess the ranch do that because they working for the ranch. Most, majority of the customers is the ranch employees. But we have some outsiders. Sometimes they pay us the money, most time, they take the money down to the office. We don’t handle too much of the money only. And *after*
the month: like that, then, when the ranch makes the check, then either I give me or give you for bring back to the boss. That's how we do.

(FD:265) Well, one year. I stayed with him, after one year I didn't have no child yet. One year and six months that's why I had my oldest daughter. But after that, one year six months, one year four months. How you like that? And you know, we didn't have doctor. Like today you can stop 'em. I didn't want to have so much children.

(NC:193) Lotus, you have to plant, you know. Put 'em in, the first thing. Whatever is left. So, every year, by the time the leaves die off and ready to grow, I dig the lotus. I transplant 'em here and there. Every year, he grow so much only. Then, after three years, I get the whole pond filled up. For three years, I didn't take anything. Not even for eating, you know. Just only plant.

(WK:719) No, no water. Just let 'em dry like that. So that the dirt get hard and the roots get more chance to hanapaa the dirt. If you get water, the dirt too soft, eh? The root get hard time to bind to the dirt. So that's the reason why you dry about two weeks, and after two weeks, you let the water in, and then you can force the water in. Then after that, you going see the young shoots will begin to come up. And then after that, you run the water.

There are examples of aefta with a point in time:

(AK:611) I asked somebody to lend me the net and they show me how to use it and throw it, and I practice. And I asked my wife's grandfather how to mend the net; he shows me. Because every Sunday, he comes down with us, talk story like that. And then, after lunch, he goes back. Every time he comes down I always be with him, talking Hawaiian with him. He's very fond of me, my wife's grandfather.

(SU:1555) Yeah. After two o'clock in the morning, we used to get Dairyman's milk deliver guys used to come around. Because myself Barbecue was the only place open, eh? Of course, you go to Bluebird, they don't have the full meal, eh? KC Drive Inn, they don't have a full meal, eh? But my place and Barbecue used to have full meal, so they used to come down.

There is a only single persuasive canonical example:

(MY:1457) No, we all moved out. After a while, we moved out. So, we move to Kapahulu. Like I said, everybody start moving out because that's only lease land. You lease.

Presumably, await is decomposable as SOME TIME.

5.31.3.2 aefta THIS

There are no examples of aefta with an overt dis. There are a multitude of examples of aefta and daet used anaphorically. Here are a few:

(AK:613) Baseball or volleyball, softball, whatever game. They all enjoy that. When we had that, they used to tell me, the older ones used to tell me, before they have sports, they used to go play cards. They challenge, you know each section, he playing cards. And after that, they make party. Or, they go swim. Jump – you know they get high place, they jump in the water and challenge each other.

(AK:656) Just leave 'em like that. And they going grow back. Just rot the leaf. Not every leaf, you know. More like ripe, kind of yellowish and then, after that, they pau. All the taro patch used to get that. They call that “hapala.” The leaf part ripe.

(BB:006) At the end, eh, he had to poke 'em right through, eh. With the gauze go in and out like that my father say, “Eh, stop already. I like get sore,” he say. “I no care you cut off my leg, but you know, no make like that already.” After that my father take care, eh. He came good. Ohh, my father sweat you know when they make like that.

(BB:030) Yea. Around Kapulena. You can see on the road side. That’s where he fell down. My father used to tell, “Koko Yokoyamagashindando,”he tell me. I say, “Doushite shinda no? ” He said the fender bin catch 'im in the neck. After that my father wen pass over there and came back. Somebody came running — came with the horse; “Eh, the [name deleted] man the car huli.” So my father guys wen go over there help. But was dead already.
(EB:1141) Humuula, yeah. Then, we come up. They get that moemoe house in Honalo. Moemoe house—two-story house. Anybody can go there, rent, you get money. So, we went over there. We sleep over there one night, okay? Then, I went with my friend again. We go the other side for go find job. No more job. We go fishing. We caught some, enough for eat. But no more ice, huh? Yeah, okay. And after that, coffee season already again. So, I pick about two weeks, I think. “Ah, this one, hard living.”

(EB:1144) Yeah, yeah. That’s his ranch. I work in the pasture, and I work milk cow, too, in the morning. After that, if no more job in the bank, I go pull weeds down the pasture. You see? It’s a hard living, before.

(ER:773) Any kind grass. Before over there all dirt, eh. Any kind grass that get seed, we cut ’em, we load up the Ford truck. Then after that, when we get ’nough load, then he say we go. So us three young boys, we stay behind. While he driving the truck all by the dirty place we throw all the seed. You know, what we wen cut, we throw all the seed. Any kind place we go where get grass seed, we stop, and go cut. Cut and throw all by the dirt place.

(ER:783) The first time when I came over here. Then bumbai after that, when Vredenburg time, then they no put Lana'i City. They only mark the ear. They put, like now, ’87, eh, they put seven. By the time come another ten year, the thing all gone already. So they put one by one. One, two, three, every year.

(FD:277) And then all what they do is they have a camp to live in, and then they work for the plantation. Whatever job they give them, they work. They said, they work little by little, until they got used to. And then after that, the first year, when they started to harvest the cane, they used to bundle the cane, they used to pack on their back. They have pack animals, but they had the flume, eh? That’s the first time when they started to haul the cane, they had flumes, they lay flumes in the field, when he first started to work.

(JB:67) And we got to pull together. And you know, the taro farm is so deep, he come up to you, between the hips. And we used to struggle. After that, when we work so hard, he cooks for us. We eat with him.

(JL:16) No. no. Aftah dat, my pay came way up high. At doze day everyting poor but kau kau cheap.

(MT:1169) No, not at that time. After that, no one came in. But actually representation was for the community, because everybody was living up here.

(MY:1458) Yeah, Kiakahi. Then you have the Lau family. Then you have the school there. Waikiki School was there after that. On this side, you had the old cottages there. That people just stayed and, you know, it’s not a residence there, only cottages, old cottages there. So, we don’t know much of them.

(MY:1478) No, this regular. Little League regular. The one that all the Little League, get all the one—you know, Honolulu get all the Little League, eh? I was coaching the one in Kapahulu called, “Cardinals.” We get practice in Kapi'olani Park. After that I coached a American Legion team league, couple years. That’s how I know Richards good because his boy used to play for me.

(NC:151) Oh. yeah. You have to know how to take off. Otherwise if you don’t know how to take the thing is stiff, eh. You cut the tree the length you want then you split with the knife. Get little bit. Then you turn ’em over like that. You got to make it come down like that. straight down. You know, the bark. Go like that. So that he come all soft, eh. Then after that you soak ’em in the water. Then you dry ’em up. But rainy day that thing is slippery, you know.

(NK:954) Yeah. Most, the Japanese. Well, when they see coffee was good and coffee was the one that made the money, after that, the Japanese really made the money. Hawaiians, they only take care when they need, and they never care much for money. Really, our days, the Hawaiians, they no think, “Oh, sell and make money. Sell, and we can make money.”

(SU:1563) Yeah, but if the government try hard they could get the place. They could get the place right next to Sarashina Inn where they get the service station, and now they get the hotel down there, eh? Well, nothing but kiawe. They could get the place for me. And right across used to be nothing but kiawe tree. And then, after that, they clean up the place, make a skating rink, remember that? Skating...
rink. And right on the corner of McCully and Ala Wai they get one bakery, eh. Somebody made a bakery
down there, drive-in bakery, eh? They could get the place for me.

(TA:38) Uh huh. That's how all these farmers wen learn, see? All this time, these farmers didn't
know just what the price of the taro was. What those big shots give 'em, that's all. And then, when my
father start buying little higher, after that the price just....because these farmers get smart, see. Then
they start asking direct from the poi shop, how much one bag taro. All these Chinese couldn't fool 'em
already.

(WK:698) Yeah. We live poor life. We live poor. We not rich people. After that, all the children took
off. Went Honolulu, Mainland, all.

(WK:704) They have kids, children games. Whatever games they get for kids. And they have all kind.
You ride the calf, and you go get the pig. You know they grease all the pig up. All that kind used to have.
And then after that they have all laulau. Everybody go eat after all the games up. Waipio used to have
good celebration before. Honest, you ask all the old timers.

(YA:1026) On the ocean side, get one small beach, eh? The horse can go only, see? after that, they
started making one road. Before, no more road, see? Bumbai, when we moved down to Kahaluu, oh,
they get. They build one horse buggy road. They use a four-wheel wagon, just like in the Mainland they
call it “stagecoach.”

(YA:1035) Bumbai, the man trying to make the horse go, he no go. He even come down the road,
whip the horse, no go. He got to take the rope and then lead the horse, then the horse go. First
time he lead the horse, the horse no like go. Bumbai, after that, I don’t know what he talked about.
He talked some kind of words against 'em, eh? Then he lead the horse go over. See? Those days are
funny, you know.

The status of daet is currently unclear to me. It is possible that it is an allolex of THIS. At worst, it is
decomposable into a configuration containing THIS such as THIS OTHER.

5.31.3.3 Clause aefta Clause

We have found numerous examples of interclausal aefta in HCE. As mentioned previously, I will be
considering these as near-canonical examples of AFTER THIS:

(AK:592) Yeah, we did that. The ranch line of work, eh? After we shear the wool and all that, we
bale 'em up and then we take back the sheep, back to Hualalai again. Good job but the pay is real cheap,
eh, those days. But good, not bad; $30 a month. That's good enough.

(AK:610) Right in the back, that's the spring water; we used that as a water, and we bathe there
same time. Of course, that spring is big and the spring near. Then we dip up a place, a big place to wash.
You bathe in there. After we build that house now, then we make where we build up a shower and all
that inside, and a outside shower and all that.

(BB:006) After, you know, we take a rest little bit, eh, we get up, eh. ‘Cause all us ether, ‘a’s why we
all sleepy. After we go-tup, eh, the kin’, your father took us back. ‘A’s why I know your father, you
know. Yea. Your father was a jokey man, you know.

(BB:006) [name deleted] the first and then all under ether you know. After operate, eh he pass right
in front of us. OHH the face all RED, you know.

(ER:782) Yeah. Bumbai I go with them, I like da kine cowboy kind job. So after I go with them, then
bumbai the chief cowboy, he like me because I little bit lively, little bit quick. Then the other two first
guys, the two Sam, they kinda leave back go plant tree.

(ER:878) Yeah, the Pake wen take over, see. Then after Look, then Palumbo go stay. But he no raise
pig, only he live down there. I think he rent the place, eh, but not the pigpen. Only Look wen raise pig
after the ranch pau with the pig. Then Look wen take.

(FD:265) Yeah. He married again after we left, both of us divorce. And then she died lately. And
then now he has another lady with him. Even of my age, if my husband ever leave me or whatever, both
of us. I wouldn’t ever think to get married again. That’s what the sad part. I didn’t want to have family again. So I was with the clothes on my body, that’s what I had on me.

(FD:297) I have time to do my work. After school, when the older ones come back, I just leave the younger one with them, there goes the taro patch. That’s why I tell Deb, I do that. And today, I’m thankful that God had give us this strength and provide us with everything that I can think of. I’m thankful. We don’t go begging to anybody. “Oh, we get hard time, we need this.” I don’t.

(GF:305) Well, they have big pans. They put ’em in the basket with the lid. And the Chinese pack ’em on their backs, on their shoulders, with the stick. And then they serve you in the field. After you eat your fill, then they bring the rest back for the animals. Dogs or pigs or something.

(GF:324) They promise they going help Waipio people, and they going try to control the water so that Waipio won’t have damages. But after they get elected, you don’t see anything. They forget all about you. And when you go to Hilo to see them, they don’t know you. The only guys good was Samuel Spencer, he was good; and Kealoha was good.

(JL:18) So I went inside. My daughter tole me – Irene – “Boy, Penhallow came up.” “oh, we went look the pipi. He know I know all this cattle, eh?” I tole Irene, “He want me come back on da ranch.” “After you pension already?” “Leggo da pension. I go back. Help him.” So in tree days I let him know. I tole him, “I come back.” I work with him till today.

(KE:139) An after she was pau play in san, she was a’ dirdy.

(KK:112) An so he got ‘ome. “Okeh, honey o’skotch, afta honey we got take a bath. Afta no, we go get married... afta an an go get married den get all dem babies to name an an den to name em.”

(KN:137) Made it home, an den after da owl neva did i’ whey whey we lived,

(MM:344) But for Koloa side, I know it’s only two guys because I only see got two guys. And then, on top of that, they used to get one guy go every day throw lime. Because some guys, after they use the toilet, they no throw lime. You got to throw lime, otherwise going come real stink, see. Get one fella go all around the toilets and throw lime.

(MT:1167) When the agencies come to the meeting, they was in the meeting themselves, too. Well, we had to invite everybody. We cannot be — the agencies has to know what the problem of the farmers, too, in a sense. So the agencies came in and they said they cannot give this, cannot because freight is high. Some of them, they stucked on it little while, and after, they just gave up. The prices didn’t go that fabulous.

(MT:1192) I deliver my own to Hilo. So every Monday, I say I going to Hilo after I pau. Everything is loaded, I’m going direct to Hilo.

(MY:1454) Most of them all work hotel. Later on, after they got enough of hotel work, they all run their own business. Like Murakamis, the ran the taxi cab. And Matsushige, they run the taxi cab. My father, they run the taxi cab. And Takashige, chee, I don’t know what he ran, now. I don’t think he ran taxi cab. I think he still was at a hotel, I think.

(NC:129) No, get little bit water. They harrow the land and after, they let the water in. They make the ditch first, the space to walk, say about six or eight feet one row. Over here get one ditch about half a foot wide, I think. And the next bed like that. So I scatter this, you scatter this, one fella one.

(NC:155) Yeah, they take ’em home. Eat ’em. You know, sometimes I think it’s superstitious. After you take ’em home, then they offer like that. They say that thing already eat and everything. How can you tell if they eat or not? That’s one thing I cannot see. They say they eat. How can you tell me they eat?

(OC:1)... So after they know me, they said, “Say, why don’t you go to my friend’s grocery store. You can learn something there. Just stay there and he’ll give you the place to stay.”

(SU:1524) Yeah. Feed the pig, and then feed the chickens. And then, go to school. And then after we come back from school, me, I like sports, see. Everybody come home, so I run and come home. I run and come home to finish all the detail that I have to do. You got to feed the pig again, see, and chickens. Then, after I get time, I go in the pasture with all the boys, go play baseball. I do the same thing over and over, day after day, day after day, to help him out.
No problem at all. Those days, you don’t have no watchmen. You know, like now, everybody get one watchman, bouncer, eh? Those days, no more. But after business start to go good, then you have to get the watchman because the soldier and civilian fight, eh? So, you have to get bouncer.

I think so. Even this new one, I think the poi shop give the squeeze, going be same thing like the other one. Nobody like see, after you take care your taro for year and a half, you don’t want to see ‘em rot in the field. It’s not like plantation union go on strike. You get nothing to rot. Only you lose your paycheck.

Yeah, after I retired from working, I came down here and then I took over. Because lot of people come down, nobody over here. My father was living down Hilo.

Seven days. I used to keep my mother and my brother. Then, after my brother grown up, went to Honolulu, I went Honolulu too. Everybody went Honolulu.

Yeah. No. See, after I get one field plant, the rest of the field I don’t have to worry, get huli, eh? See? After I get this field plant, and I’m going clean up the next field, I get the huli from this field and you know, you get the next field.

They get a trail. Horse trail, see. You can get a horse wagon with four wheels, but the horse pull only. No more road, you know. All muddy roads. When rainy weather, the wheel go way down by the mud. No can go, eh? And then, no more stone wall, you know. On the side of the trail is a redwood post and barbed wire. Three barbed wires. But the horse buggy not so bad. If you drive automobile, you mistake, you go down. Boom, you go way down the bottom. No more hope. After they widen the road, then get car go, eh? That’s why they put stone wall on. Before, no more wall, you know. Only barbed wire.

So, we lived there. Bumbai, 1917 I think, after I marry, I go in the Army, everything pau. Then, when I see the price come up, shee, the house now going up the land. We can sell our house for $4,500. See? That’s 3,000 something dollar we buy, eh? Two, three thousand dollar we buy, see. Then, we sell ‘em for 4,000 something dollar, we make about little bit money already. Then we come over here, we buy this house.

5.31.4 Examples of aeftawad

5.31.4.1 aeftawad

Aeftawad is relatively restricted in its distribution with only 32 examples in the entire corpus. There are no examples of aeftawad in combination with TIME. In fact, there is only a single suspicious example of aftawad in combination with anything:

Abraham Kaula. They pick him up, go steward. So he go down there, he go learn. You know, learn about, what da kine. Then afterward that, he know all da kine, then he ask all the cowboy. We go join. Join the union. Because the union, bumbai the boss no can push us too much, eh. And then we going get raise. Yeah.

It is probably best to treat aeftawad as a portmanteau form whose meaning is AFTER THIS. Consider the following examples:

Well, they used to have a store over there. And, I don’t know, that’s only good place for everybody hang around. They pau church, they come over there. Then afterwards, then we move up to the school. Because before that, they had the school, but very small playing ground. Then, when they had the FERA and WPA for a project, that’s when we opened up all that.

Yeah, Rapid Transit get that kind, just like train track, eh. Them two guys wen go get that kind of job. They were working there. They never go school. We stay here, we don’t know. Bumbai afterward, we heard they wen take off from school. They no high school, they wen go work for Rapid Transit.
(ER:788) You gotta kill ’em. If not, he going lose weight already. If two year old, and you can get that weight, about there, about 500 to 600 pounds, between there, you can get the meat, you gain, making profit. See, every time, you gotta think that. So every time the chief cowboy, he call me. “You come. Okay, over here you look, you pick up.” So I start pick up. And afterward, all ten inside, then he go look. Sometime they take about five, half and half. He tell me, this one little bit long. No ’nough feeling. Some, the steer is all right, but they no ’nough grassy, no ’nough full. Smart, the old man, Kauila.

(MT:1196) And the plantation, that’s a flat income. You can’t go more than what the bracket is already. So you going to stay there for 45 years and what you going to get for retirement? Hardly nothing. So, he thought I made the wrong move. But afterwards he saw, I was making more than him, he was thinking twice. I don’t care. Today, everything is so high, which we have to meet the cost. You know, everything is unreal; prices and everything else.

(NC:141) Mmmm. Oh yeah, he joined afterwards. About one year or so.

(NC:163) Every time, he tells me, “Oh, you wait another month or so.” Keep on like that. Every time, I didn’t get any satisfactory answer from him. One day I stopped at Honolulu Poi and talked story over there. Honolulu Poi was nice enough, he told John Loo to take from me when he was short of taro. Don’t buy outside taro. He was giving me 20 bags or 40 bags a week. That was good, so it kept me going. Of course, I had quite a bit of taro left. That’s the 1,200 bags. No, that’s not. That’s afterwards, I think. So, he took them from me and ordered 20 to 40 bags a week.

(NK:952) Bishop, yeah. Lease years and years to Bishop. So, they work until they died, and then, my father took care. Those days, the lease was not too bad. Only five dollars an acre, coffee land. Five dollar, one acre. So, wasn’t too bad. But afterward, the lease came more up high, high.

(SU:1571) I was going to buy the piece of property toward to Downtown side, 14,000 square foot, two lots down there, with all holes and everything, kiawe and everything. So my mother told me, “For what you want to buy that kind of junk place? Going to cost you money.” I tell, “No, that’s okay. We can cut down the kiawe tree and then put sign down there, Fill in. Throw rubbish.” She didn’t like it but afterwards, she say, “Yeah, might as well buy.” But too late. So, Chinese people bought the place. They fill in, they put up apartment houses, they rent ’em out. Fourteen thousand square foot, two lots.

(WK:716) But the first thing I had in mind is, I told my mother, “You going put the land on me, I going buy ’em from you. If not, I’m not going back.” She said, “Oh, no, no. Since you going back, you go ahead, you take the land over.” See, afterward, you might not think afterward the family might come in. After you have the land all taken care of, and all open up, and the land really good. Taken care. The family might come in. Sure enough, right after I had the land all fixed up. They went even down the tax office, my brother-in-law. My brother-in-law is a policeman; my sister husband is a policeman, you see? Honolulu? They went down find out at the Bureau of Conveyance, you know where they take care the record. They said, “No, this land already, your brother already bought it from your mother.”

5.31.5 Summary

This study found examples of the following syntactic valences of AFTER:

AFTER X TIME
AFTER THIS

There are no missing valences for AFTER.
5.32 BEFORE

5.32.1 Primitive Syntax

BEFORE occurs in the following syntactic frame:

BEFORE (d1) TIME/THIS

W (1996:133) has also suggested CLAUSE1 BEFORE CLAUSE2 as a universal frame. I would like to suggest, however, one can decompose this valence in exactly the same way as interclausal AFTER.

CLAUSE1
BEFORE THIS, CLAUSE2

I will therefore consider such examples to be near-canonical examples of the valence BEFORE THIS.

5.32.2 HCE Candidates

There are two possible exponents for the primitive BEFORE: bifo and ago. There are about 40 examples of ago and over 400 examples of bifo.

HCE bifo is clearly the best choice as a primary exponent for the primitive BEFORE. Ago is restricted in its distribution and cannot occur in combination with THIS:

(121) * I wen do um dis ago.

‘I did it before this’

Ago is at best an allolex of BEFORE for some people.

5.32.3 Examples of bifo

5.32.3.1 bifo TIME

There are a couple of good canonical examples of bifo in combination with TIME:

(ER:770) Yeah, in Lahaina. I think they still get the place Lahaina. I think she stay rent ’em over there. That’s where we used to stay before I came over here. Stay going Lahaina Poko Road. I don’t know. Now I forget. Before Lahaina time, small boy, yeah, I go all around the place, but now I no go. I don’t know how many...

(ER:827) But before Munro time, get pig, eh, but one Japanese man, Kawano, no not Kawano, that’s the mechanic. Gee, I forget his name, but I know the one Japanese was taking care the pig up here. Only up here. Up here had pig, only for Munro time. Down there, when Vredenburg come, then he wen make pigpen.

(NC:129) But you have to check every now and then, maybe once or twice a day you have to look. Don’t let ’em get dry. That takes nearly a month, 20 some-odd days, before you ready to pull the rice to transplant. Before the time for transplanting, you have to dry the patch. Maybe today you dry about three, four hours, then you let water in again. Then the next day, four or five hours, then you let water in again. Nighttime they don’t drain the water, they let the water in. Only daytime they dry. For about a week.
There are numerous examples of *bifo* and *daet*:

(AK:596) Before, not like now, they stop you from drinking water right in the creek there. *Before that* there were a few, nothing, doesn’t affect anybody. Really. We go out and you thirsty, you just drink the water from there. Even down by the beach, you know the stream there. If you thirsty, you drink that water, but not today.

(AK:637) That was about 1939, I think I started getting saddle, I think was 1940, I think. He was doing saddle *before that*. Lot of people I think. I know, I think I got my saddle 1940.

(AK:640) Well, they used to have a store over there. And, I don’t know, that’s only good place for everybody hang around. They pau church, they come over there. Then afterwards, then we move up to the school. Because *before that*, they had the school, but very small playing ground. Then, when they had the FERA and WPA for a project, that’s when we opened up all that. Behind the school used to be all nothing but guava bushes around there. So when we work over there, we opened up the ground, then we use that as, you know.

(ER:840) But the horses know already, eh. When you go over there, you whistle, they come. They go in the gate. And then they go in the stable, get all the fence around, eh, the horse, you drive ’em over there, go in the stable. Then, some, you feed. *Before that*, they no feed. Morning time, you gotta go catch your own horse inside the pen. The first time I come, you gotta catch your horse, bring and saddle up and go. Then bumbai later, they build da kine stall. Then the horse, morning time, you gotta go feed. You go over there, you bring ’em all inside the pen. *Before that*, in the evening, you know you going go work, going be your chance. In the evening, you go fill up all the barley...

(ER:865) Kauila. Kauila, every time he go down there church, too. But, *before that*, when I come over here, had one down there yet.

(FD:279) So we move there. From there, that’s how I met this man. Because he has plenty friends over there. They have camps, eh, over there. That’s how I got to know him. But *before that*, they used to work. My husband used to work for the County. They used to be a trapper for the Board of Health.

(GF:329) That’s all Mock Chew’s pond. The whole section there. I don’t know how many acres. Maybe about 50, 60 acres. Mullet pond. He has his own pond. Catch his own fish. And Kawashima used to take care for him. And *before that*, he used to take care the pond. Then when he expanded, well, he cannot take care of the pond. He let somebody else take care the pond. Kawashima take care the pond.

(GF:348) Yeah. About three years now. Now third crop. *Before that*, well, tāro people been having rot, all kinds of rot. They harvest and they tell me that my tāro, how come my tāro is good, and the places they harvesting the tāro all rot. And my neighbor farmer come to me. He tell me, “Gee, George, how come my tāro rot? Your tāro no rot.” “I don’t know. Maybe God give me good tāro.” I telling you the truth. Everyday I ask the Lord. I pray before I cut the seed. You putting this down? That’s all right. I tell the truth. I pray before I cut the seed. I pray before I till the ground. I ask the Lord to cleanse the land. What’s no good in the land, take it out.

(MM:333) Yeah but way *before that* used to be Toichi, a different guy. Jack Shigematsu is way later on. And then, his job is to give out tools and give kerosene out. You know, to the plantation people, single man, they give the five-gallon can. Now days, you no see even the gallon can.

(MT:1167) Well, you had one trying to operate a poi shop–Araki’s poi shop–and you had another one *before that*, was Harrison Kanekoa folks had one, and we had one, Taro Farmers Association.

(MY:1480) So, soon as I paid, then they had this lumber company called, “Mid-Pacific Lumber.” So, and I good friends, see. He and I good friends, see, from before. So I asked him. UH graduate, see. I ask him, “Hey, you need workman?” Oh, *before that*, he asked me. “Anytime you like job, you come see me.” So I say, “Okay.” So I wen apply. I told him, “I like work.” He say, “You sure? Okay, I give you one. I pay you an advance so you no quit.” So, he paid me one month advance. And I work for there. Till I retired, I worked for him, you know.

(NC:157) I was watching the fish, waiting for him to turn around. My boy yelled from the roof, “Daddy, look down!” There were waves coming up. I swung my net on my back and I started make my
way home. My wife was on the porch, she tell, “Throw the net away!” So I tell ’em, “No, I think I beat the wave.” So I ran into the kitchen. Our kitchen is separated from the house, with the hallway I had to open the kitchen door, get in, close that door; open the other kitchen door, get into the hallway–of course, I had to close the kitchen door–then I opened the parlor door. The waves came, one big timber hit the T & G floor, knock off one whole. In no time, the water was bed high, to the bed, so I tell, “Gee it looks like...we better get away from here.” My boy said, “Another wave’s coming. It looks like it is going to cover the house.” I said, “Gee it’s bad if it covers the house because....” No, before that, he was on top, one wave came. That wave started rip the floor, took the kitchen and hallway roofing away. The kitchen went clear of the whole thing.

(SU:1521) Then finally, he teach me how to sharp the saw and everything. I catch on right away. Then I sharp my own saw. The new saw that I bought, I sharp that. But doesn’t go straight because don’t know how to use the file, see. So I asked him, “How come?” He tell me, “How much did you file?” “So and so, so and so.” “No, you should count. Every time when you go on the teeth, four times, you got to go four, four. Every one, four. And then turn around, you go four, four, four. Then you get. Then after you sharp, you get the needle and put the needle. If the needle slice right away, it’s okay.” That was that. Then before that, I think I spoiled couple of my saws, you know, at the plantation.

(SU:1558) Yeah. I bought the place, you know, before that. (TA:43) I used to come down here, off and on, before that. Then I subleased from Mock Chew. Even you plant one crop, that’s it. You know already. Then you go ask people how to run the water in there, when to stop the water.

(TA:43) That’s when I bought one old military jeep. Because the Army was stationed down here too. Had some military guys, they was watching the beach. So the Army wen bulldozer and try level up the road. Before that, you know the trail going up, is just like one step ladder. That’s where the mules step every time, the same holes. And then the road was real narrow, those days.

(TA:44) Yeah, on the bank. Before that, they all sickle work. And then the people find out how easy, herbicide. One big field, you can do in one day. You go by the sickle, man, take you weeks before you finish. By the time you reach the other end, the other end start growing already.

(WK:711) You know where Toni Araki live? Right. below. Before had a house there. Of course, now, they wen clean ‘em all up. The place is different altogether now. Where Tom, live is different altogether before that. They had couple sections around there. Old sections.

(YA:1029) Yeah, Chinese. Then they only get about two, three dollars a month. Maybe five dollars, three dollars, or four dollars, I don’t know how much. One month, you know, they work. They come here, they make five dollars, that’s plenty money in those days, you know. Make one dollar, one day. Plantation only pay you one dollar, one day. They give you firewood and everything, and house. Sugarcane field. But before that was more cheap. When the people strike for more pay, they foolish. The plantation give ‘em wood, and give ‘em free light, free house. And you no need buy water. Over there get good running water. And then, they get big house, big yard. They raise chicken, raise duck, any kind. And then, they no worry nothing.

(YA:1065) Oh, everything change over there, now. They get big kind cottage come up, you know. Up there, I don’t know. I never go up there long time, but the road been cut, eh? Oh, yeah, before that, was only taro patch.

Again, the status of daet in these contexts is not clear to me. It is very possible daet could be an allolex of THIS in this context. At very least, it is decomposable into some configuration which contains THIS.

5.32.3.3 Clause bifo Clause

There are numerous examples of interclausal bifo. As mentioned earlier, these will be considered near-canonical examples of the valence BEFORE THIS:
(AK:616) No. We don’t go out and do it without any money, so we had to. **Before** we do anything, we have to ask them if we can, or if they give us the help to help us.

(ER:840) They went Lahainaluna only little while **before** they run away.

(ER:852) They burn ‘em with oil, crude oil. Then you light the fire. Then the yardman, **before** he pau hana, he light the fire. He put the oil inside, only by drop, drop, drop in the fire.

(ER:898) **Before** we whack by the body or by the head, they run away. You no can find ’em.

(FD:277) The property was made on me. But I didn’t want to fight for property. So that’s why, Samuel get one other brother in Honolulu, eh? That’s Dukie’s daddy. Dukie Mock Chew. They are taro farmer too. So his daddy, I told him to go find out for the property. If I wanted to, if I was greedy, I would have all the property. So I just tell them go look **before** somebody get in, and they can claim. If you don’t keep up with the tax, somebody else can have the place. Because that place belongs to me. But I didn’t want to make trouble, so I’m just like their big sister because my grandma married to their daddy.

(FD:295) That’s why I was telling one of the teachers, because I know the girls. **Before** she go to school, I always tell them, “Check her every day.” This is almost lunch hour, they call me back. “She’s in school today and they question her where she was Friday. Because we call home, Grandma say you came to school, but you wasn’t present that day.”

(GF:305) Then after I finished high school, my brother wants me to go have a better education than high school. They want me to go to college but sheee, boy, I rather go work. Lot of fun, you know. So my brother told me, “Well, try two years, then.” And he say, “Well, you still too young. You got to be 18 **before** you can enter college. You still too young. You go stay back two years work.” After you stay back two years work, you don’t want to continue school already.

(GF:323) Well, sometimes we had five guys working. Not everyday. Sometimes we have four guys. Depend on the job. Because, you sees I get to the grass before the grass get me. That’s how we can upkeep with the job. Just like now, my daughter and the husband raising taro. I tell them, “Get to the grass **before** the grass get to you.”

(KK:115) An, “Kekoa! You ga put your head behine your head **before** you die. Oooo Kekoa wat a big nose you got dere. Let me see your face, Kekoa. O dat isn’t he’. Not that crooked, ‘keh. You n have to take to hospital. I know where you n get– you n get plenny mo baby-sitters, Kekoa. So you got hol your cwook, den you get em.”

(KK:115) Kekoa said, “Man, I gotta get my heya cut **befo** I die.”

(MM:333) No. Five-thirty. The locomotive come up before five, make ready for five o’clock; he blows the whistle. And then, 5:30, people go onto the cane car. And then, go out work. And then, who stay near to the railroad track where the train passes and unload the labor, if their working place is right close, he got to start work **before** the sun rise, see? And then, who stay to the end of the track, and from the end of the track he still got to walk maybe about a mile before he reach to the place where he work.

(MM:348) Well, I go early in the morning just **before** the sun rise. That’s why, the dog, they knock out, you know. You know the buffalo grass? The grass is high, eh? They got to jump, jump, and knock out, you know. They tired, eh?

(MT:1187) I talked to Jeri, Wednesday again. But see, the UH, according to him, it says before they can check the water for any kind of, you have to know what we looking for in the water, **before** they can sample it. Which, we don’t know. I don’t know myself. But I think has something to do with the water. You have this guava seed problem coming out now. Which, I never did get it.

(MT:1191) Yeah, all with the apii at that time. See, I made my contract just **before** I quit the plantation. So when I got out of the plantation, I had something to work with already. I have a guarantee for my family.

(MY:1459) Our days, we had lot of boys who go surfing. Today, Waikiki, you don’t see none of the boys now. Because most of the boys, now they have this new board. Our days, the board was real solid board, heavy board. When you go, you go across from our home to carry the board, you got to rest about five, six times **before** you can come home.
(NC:141) That I don't know. You cannot join, just tell, “I like join.” Got to get somebody to recommend you and that fella has to more like be a bondsman, or something like that before you can get in. And he must be a member of the church first before he can bring other fellows in.

(NC:146) That's the worse time, the birds hungry, eh. They come down. No matter how you try. And little bit rain, that's another time. You know, when drizzle. Hoo, they not afraid. One time they got me so mad I went home I get the 12 gauge. I wen blow them down. Drop 'em. You scare 'em, eh. But still yet they come. But at least they get scared. They fly away. But they have to fill their stomach before they go home to nest. Nighttime just before dark you see them going. Hoo--by the thousands. Going. Flock in the thousands going flying.

(NC:181) I don't know. Nobody knows. It is soft rot. Of course, the other one is guava seed rot. Guava seed rot, we know more or less, I know how to cure that. You fertilize, you lime up the patch first before you plant it and after that, you fertilize the thing before they start get keiki. Push 'em up. Even if you get a keiki only little bit under, the guava seed rot, if wouldn't go way up.

(YA:1040) And I see Dr. Cooper was manager for the labor board of the Navy. So, he take me in, see? He tell me, $3.20 one day. So, I quit the job over there. Before I quit, I go tell the Hawaiian Electric bookkeeper, “I get another job. I want you give me a recommendation.” So, he type me one recommendation, and I take 'em to Dr. Cooper. And I go in the Navy yard. Three dollar twenty cents one day. Bumbai I work little while, the superintendent in the Navy yard, he like me 'cause I good worker, eh?

(YA:1051) I was home sleeping that day. That was on Sunday morning. I get up, and I wash my face, brush my teeth. How come? What's wrong with those guns? They firing, shooting up. Bang, bang, bang, boom, bang. All over. You know? All of a sudden, I hear the radio say, “Turn out. Everybody turn out on the job 'cause somebody bomb here.” Then, I know Pearl Harbor was bombed, see. But they must have hit someplace else before they hit the hangar. They hit Hickam hangar, and Pearl Harbor they hit the Arizona.

\textit{5.32.3.4 ago \textit{TIME}}

Ago may appear in combination with a specification of a time period:

(MY:1482) Six years ago. I worked for him twenty-two or twenty-four years with him. But till today, I still sell for them, you know. The customer call me at home, I call in the order for them or I go down to the job. So, I give them. He knows. When he see the listing, he knows that I still work for them. He say, “Because, you, you do real good pub....”

(OC:8) He say, “Why is that too much money? Didn’t you sell?” I say, “Today's Sunday!” “What's Sunday got to do?” So I explain, “You know, two Sundays ago they only give ten cents for three.” “Oh,” he scratch his head, “that's right.” You know what he did? He just take a quarter and throw in there. “Have a good time!”

(YA:1069) Oh, maybe couple months ago. I think. Then, I run up the corner. I look where the fire is. I didn't know was a fire right in the back of the house.

It may also appear in the common phrase lang (taim) ago:

(ER:888) But, like the summertime, good, the sun way up, plenty time, eh. Sometime you can ride three horse. But when he come this kind time, the sun quick, yeah, go down. So when I come this kind time, I come home, maybe little bit dark like this, I come inside the house I go eat. I eat pau by the time, the horse stay rest, eh. And when I pau eat, I can go take 'em off already and go tie 'em and go bathe. The truck driver was more better. More better long ago I wen go truck driver.

(FD:295) This is almost lunch hour, they call me back. “She's in school today and they question her where she was Friday. Because we call home, Grandma say you came to school, but you wasn't present that day.” Because I called. She was a bad girl that day. Well, she admit she was wrong, that she listened to her friends. And, imagine, they went down to Hapuna and she just got her license not too long ago. Not even a year and trying to travel the kind places. You know, I'm afraid to travel Kawaihae.
(GF:308) But I was going quit from him, see? I wanted to quit from him. I don't want to work in Waipio, see? “You don't want to let me go?” He said, “No, you stay. You make good. You good boy.” This and that. I say, “No, I cannot live by praises. I got to look for myself.” You know the Chinese say, “Beware when people praise you, you going fall down. If somebody scold you, stick your head in the water, you can come up. But if somebody praise you every time, you beware of them.” That's what my mother used to teach us *long time ago*. And sometimes, I used to think, I used to go around in my life, I see other people, they have fathers and mothers scold the children, teach them.

(NC:135) Oh, that thing is busted *long, long ago*. I forget how *long ago*, already. You know that house, Lau Kong house? Behind, he get one small shack. I don't know if still there. Where Sonny Ah Puck used to stay. I don't think he stay. The lumber is from there, you know. From the rice mill. You'd be surprised.

I am not sure, however, about the status of *langtaim*. In the most recent version of the metalanguage, *A LONG TIME* is a primitive. I have suggested in the previous chapter, it should be treated as a combination of *BIG* and *TIME*. If I am correct, the above are canonical examples; if I am wrong, they are not.

### 5.32.4 Summary

We have found the following valences in our corpus data:

- BEFORE X TIME
- BEFORE THIS

There are no missing valences.

### 5.33 WHERE

#### 5.33.1 Primitive Syntax

A *PLACE* adjunct is optional with *DO* and *HAPPEN*:

```plaintext
[DO-CLAUSE/HAPPEN-CLAUSE ] (IN (d1) PLACE)
```

*PLACE* may also combine predicatively in the following manner:

```plaintext
[I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1) PERSON/(d1) THING/THIS] IS (IN) (d1) PLACE
```

#### 5.33.2 HCE Candidates

We need to consider four possible candidates for the NSM primitive *WHERE/PLACE*: *wea, pleis, sampleis, samwea*. The last two candidates are relatively infrequent in our corpus.

Most of our examples of *samwea* are clearly non-spatial:

(AK:606) Yeah, I forget what year was that. I think 1941, or *somewhere* around that had big floods that washed the Ah Puck house, washed the....

(AK:610) About *somewheres* in the 1940's.

(MM:329) I only remember one Filipino. Why I remember this Filipino is, this Filipino man was a young guy, although he was maybe about in his early '30s or so, or maybe late '20s, *somewhere* around there. He used to get gun, see. He go hunt in the afternoon, weekends, like that. He go hunt for the
mynah bird. And then, those days, it's not strict. And not only that, it's really lonely place over there. No more police or anything. So he can go shoot anything any day, anytime he like because nobody know.

(SU:558) Before nineteen thirty.... After the liquor, so maybe '35, '36, somewhere around there, anyway.

(WK:703) 1925. Yeah, somewhere around there. In the 1920's anyhow.

(YA:1026) I don't know. Maybe ten, fifteen years. Ten, somewhere around like that. So, after that, we come Honolulu.

The remainder of examples are compatible with the semantics of the primitive WHERE:

(BB:019) Somewhere around there.

(SU:535) Then, let's see. Takara. Well, he came from Hakalau. He worked at Honolulu Dairyman's. Then Mr. Oshiro, I don't know what kind of job he was doing. Then, Mr. Uyehara. He came from Pepe'ekeo Andrade Camp. He worked at the Moana Hotel. I don't know what kind of job he's doing, but anyway he got a job at the Moana Hotel. Then, Suzuka. He was a mechanic, Universal Motors. Then Aoki, taxi driver. Then Sakuda worked yardboy somewhere down Nu'uanu. And Matsuda, he was a driver for Carter. Ex-Governor Carter, yeah? And then, they used to have one store down there. I forgot his name.

It remains to be seen whether it is indeed semantically primitive. It would like to suggest that samwea in our examples could also mean something like:

(122) a place, I don’t know what place

There are not sufficient examples, however to determine this.

Sampleis is also a possible exponent of PLACE, however there are insufficient examples to determine this:

(AK:652) Yeah, I always had enough water. And every now and then, you have to go look at your water head. When we have rain, the river flowing over the river, you got to watch your water head. Maybe no 'nough water, broke someplace. The water run away, and your water coming down, no 'nough. So you got to go fix your water head. No depend on the next man to go fix. Because maybe he going wait for you, while you waiting for him. So you might as well go do it.

(GF:337) In Waipio. There's Chinese ladies from the.... yeah, I don't know where they from. Maybe Hilo or someplace else. You see, when I stayed down the valley, I get no time to go here and there so much. Only some boys, they rascal, they come get me.

(JB:69) We kick him out of Waipio Valley. And he had to move out of there. And he have to go someplace. I think he went to Maui. But he's back down in Hilo. He's about 80 years now, I think.

Although both samwea or sampleis are still possible allolexes in HCE for the NSM primitive PLACE, there is no evidence that either of them manifest the any of the primitive syntactic frames.

We do, however, have evidence for the HCE tokens pleis and wea.

5.33.3 Examples of pleis

5.33.3.1 YOU (ARE IN A) pleis

There is a single near-canonical example involving the primitive YOU and predicative pleis:

(GF:352) “...And keep the truck good. Use it as it is yours, not somebody else's.” Then he use the truck. Then, keep on going like that, keep on going. Then, one day, he borrowed my truck. Rain like anything, he borrowed my truck. I don't know what happened to his truck. He borrowed my truck. I say, “This truck here, when you come up the road on the hill, I notice you go very slowly up the hill, when the road is slippery. Don't go slowly. If you go slowly, you going to stay one place. Just drop plenty power. You come up on third, you go home. Go up on third.” “Ho, that's too fast.” “That's how you got
to go. That’s how I drive.” I don’t drive slowly rainy days. Rainy days, you go up one hill, you go slowly, you going stay there.

5.33.3.2 SOMEONE (IS IN A) pleis

There is a single near-canonical example involving an HCE semantic molecule derivable from SOMEONE and predicative pleis:

(MM:366) No. So far, lucky. Nobody got killed. Louis was lucky, too, I hear. Even on the government road like that, too, certain place where get hill like that, they get the cut like this, eh? Now, if this the road, now you imagine the garage there is the hill. So they got to cut ’em down like that. And then the thing bin happen right between the cut like that, you know. The train wen start run away with the cars, yo. And he stay inside the narrow place, between the car and the cut. So, if he been get dizzy or what and wen fall between the car, yo, he....

5.33.3.3 SOMETHING (IS IN A) pleis

There is a single near-canonical example involving an HCE term derivable from SOMETHING and predicative pleis:

(ER:887) Up there, all 54-00, this 54-00. And from that road below, go airport way, that’s all 55-00. Then bumbai, I study little bit then I catch on, eh. Sometime, they tell me, “You go 53-17.” I stay look, I tell, “What place the machine stay? Fifty-three this side, or below or way down the top?” They tell me, “The straight road going up.” You know from the station, going up one straight road, you go straight up there, then you going see the machine. The machine all inside, you go look what number you supposed to go. Then that’s how I go learn. So you ask ’em, “What road I going take, more easy for me?”

(FD:281) They didn’t want us to move her e, because they were wondering how come we get the place. Lot of them like the house, but they had some single men were staying in here. He said, well, “The single men we can put them to smaller place.” Like the kitchen all in one place. They used to have the camps over there, and they don’t need the big house like this. But you know what they were doing to us? We come in here paint the house; you know the mud, they used to paint ’em all over the walls.

(ER:824) They talk story sometime in the evening, or early in the morning, plenty mynah birds make plenty noise. Certain place, plenty mynah bird. So when you think da kine, you think ghost, eh, obake. The way they.... Tell how come the bird all make noise like that. They tell maybe get da kine, eh. So you come scared. When single boy you stay here, all nighttime, they talk story, eh, the old people talking story, you go listen. Sometime you think too spooky, ah, more better go home for sleep. You no like listen, bumbai you come scared, eh.

5.33.4 Examples of wea

5.33.4.1 SOMEONE (IS) wea

There are several near-canonical examples of SOMEONE in combination with predicative wea:

(AK:638) That used to be the Ah Puck family. They used to live there. They were the big family there. But the water took away the house. When we had the flood, way back. And where Steve Mochida is, that’s the Loo’s house. Very big family. Then, guy–Lia, Sam Lia family. And then, way up by the rice mill, there was the Chang family up there. And above us is another Hawaiian family, below us is another. Right behind, in the stream there, right behind us, is my wife’s uncle. We all were close. You can yell to each other. Those days, the people know everyone. And the store was right in front of us. Lui Hing Store, where Peter is, and right in the front there. That’s where the store is.

(AK:640) No. Waipio, we used to have the church up in the school. And the Mormon has the Mormon church. 1938, 1939, 1940, they were using the Mormon church yet. But the Protestant, they
were using the school. No more church, eh. That church building was there, right next to Peter. You know **where Peter is?** That's where the old Protestant church was.

(FD:251) And then had two Japanese boys. They used to stay down where Araki is. Uh, the father used to be Oshiro. I don't know what Oshiro is that. He used to stay above William. Get one house above the road, eh? They used to stay there. And where William is farming now, that o-san used to get taro patches. But over there, my dad have few patches too. That’s from the Bishop. You see how plenty taro my father used to take care? He’s a big taro farmer. You know **where Roy is now?** Where George Farm used to have. And where that little shack in front of Roy, my daddy used to raise all that. All over there used to be my dad’s place. And then his family from the Kala family where the family came from Hakalau.

(FD:295) That’s why I was telling one of the teachers, because I know the girls. Before she go to school, I always tell them, “Check her every day.” This is almost lunch hour, they call me back. “She’s in school today and they question her **where she was** Friday. Because we call home, Grandma say you came to school, but you wasn’t present that day.”

   We need to assume that *hr* and proper names are decomposable in terms of **SOMEONE**.

5.33.4.2 **SOMETHING (IS)** wea

There are several near-canonical examples of **SOMETHING** in combination with predicative wea:

(AK:638) That used to be the Ah Puck family. They used to live there. They were the big family there.

   But the water took away the house. When we had the flood, way back. And where Steve Mochida is, that’s the Loo’s house. Very big family. Then, guy–Lia, Sam Lia family. And then, way up by the rice mill, there was the Chang family up there. And above us is another Hawaiian family, below us is another. Right behind, in the stream there, right behind us, is my wife’s uncle. We all were close. You can yell to each other. Those days, the people know everyone. And the store was right in front of us. Lui Hing Store, **where Peter is,** and right in the front there. That’s **where the store is.**

(AK:640) No. Waipio, we used to have the church up in the school. And the Mormon has the Mormon church. 1938, 1939, 1940, they were using the Mormon church yet. But the Protestant, they were using the school. No more church, eh. That church building was there, right next to Peter. You know where Peter is? That’s **where the old Protestant church was.**

(AK:672) No. Waimanu and Waipio meet right above, you know **where Kawainui is?** Right above there is, that’s where they call the kapuai ekahi. You know, right above Kawainui, the place in Kawainui! Right above there, and Waimanu is right on the next side. Like that, they said one step, and you can go through Waimanu. But it’s not one step, kind of far. But that’s the end where Waimanu come in, and then, Waipio come in. They wanted to take the water through all that Waimanu water come through there, and come through here. I don’t know why they never did put the tunnel. You know where from Kawainui is? Just put tunnel, I don’t know. Might be, I don’t know how many feet get inside. Not too long, oh, go inside. The way I think is good to get that water in, and make a walkway for pass. Anybody like to go up there, and let ’em just walk in and walk out. But they never did do that. But then, they get all the water, the Waimanu water. All wasted for nothing. Going down the beach. Lot of water there. I think, they bring all the water, make a dam someplace, they get enough water to supply all. I think you can send the water all the way Kona, I think. Lot of water. You see, Waimanu is deep, big, eh. But they end up to one small little spot. But **where that pond is,** I never did go there, but my wife’s grandfather told me. Lot of them say one nice place to go, go visit. We planned to go, but never. I don’t know how come we never make the trip. I guess I’m too old now, to go up there.

(BB:003) No, no mo’. We never live over there. We live in Camp Five. You know **where is Camp Five?** They get one furoba over there, jabon tree, eh; right over there. The house before, wha-tyou-call, [name deleted] was living in that house. And then they moved to the other house, ’a’s how we took the house.
(ER:813) No, you go up this side. You going come down on top Maunalei Gulch. You know where the pump stay? Other side. You not going be the beach area. You only going stay on top. So if you going go through the mountain, you know where Hauola Gulch...

(ER:814) Yeah, the haole koa. You know all over here, all clear. All right around. No more the koa. But now, you no can go with the horse too much. Before, our days, with the horse, we can go all around. I go all around this area, right around Lana'i with the horse. No trail, because you know where all the cow trail come up. You know where all the water trough for the cow. Everyplace get water trough. So where the water trough stay, plenty trail for the cows to go up and down, because they go for the water, eh.

(ER:840) Yeah, way up there, where the school was, that's where they wen go school. And then when the two guys wen pau school, I think they no like the working hour, eh, they run away; they went Honolulu. They never go school Lahaina. And then Uncle Chester, too, I think one time he wen pau school, he went Honolulu. He wen work for Rapid Transit, streetcar kind.

(ER:852) Yeah, everybody go one place. Had one big toilet over here. Where my garage was, and where the wall stay like this, this side was the shower, where I wen put wall, over there was the shower room. And this side, everybody go wash clothes. They get plenty tub, eh, for go wash clothes.

5.33.4.3 DO-Clause (IN A) pleis

We do have some very good near-canonical examples of DO with a locative adjunct (which is presumably decomposable through the primitive PLACE):

(AK:615) No. You want to come in, you come in; you don’t want to come in, all right. We just simply organized this thing. You see, we organized the club for something that we need to do in Waipio. Might be, we need to divert the water someplace, or something like that. And then we can hold a meeting, then we can get somebody to, say, go to the Board of Water Supply and give our opinion. We need something to be done in Waipio, we go up there. And we did too. When we had the flood, we did too. We diverted the water, that Hiilawe Stream water.

(GF:303) Then later on, I come around with these boys. We go sell fish up at the store, my sister's store, eh? "Where you got the fish from?" By mistake, he say, "Your brother caught this fish last night." You see, that's how he say. "Eh, where is he now?" "Oh, he's in the car." Come for me. "What you doing in the car?" You caught the fish and you sell to the store. What's the matter with you, why don't you bring home?" She tell me that. I say “I don't own the fish. I went with them on the boat. I don't own the fish. And I never had any intention of catching fish. I never know I can catch fish.” So that's how.

(BB:031) Something like that. Too long 'a's why they bin cut.... You know the first [name deleted]? They call 'im the [name deleted]. He did something wrong in Japan, so they wen put 'im in a boat and the kin' American ship wen get 'im over here. They changed the name to [name deleted]. 'At's what I heard.

(EB:1133) Well, so far, they okay. We can survive whatever he's doing on the farm.

(MT:1192) Well, no. Actually, I have things to do too sometimes. Well, actually, I gain on the hauling. The trucker over here charge the shop 73 cents a bag. So when I haul 25 bags to Hilo, I getting 73 cents plus, plus this now. So it comes out to this price. So it kind of pays the gas and whatever I have to do in Hilo. But I have a little bit more drinking money.

(SU:1522) Yeah. So you get dollar and ten cents. But if you work twenty-four days, you don't get the ten cents. Well, those days was big money. So I decide. I tell Mr. Murakawa, “I better quit and go Honolulu.” He told me, “If you go out in Honolulu, you going be furyo shonen. You going be bum.” I tell, “Well, maybe, maybe not, I don't know but.” “What you going do, Honolulu?” I say, “I'm going to be carpenter.” “Who you know in Honolulu?” “I don't know nobody, but Mr. Shimizu”–this is another Shimizu, see

(WK:700) Oh yeah, yeah. We got to go home and do our job at home.
5.33.4.4 HAPPEN-Clause (IN A) pleis

There are a few good near-canonical examples demonstrating HAPPEN with a locative adjunct:

(ER:869) You go by the police station. They stay inside there, you go inside there. Get some guys every time stay in the office. They like know what happened down there, what get or light. They said two time one week in the night, we gotta come up, what we see gotta come make report, yeah.

(MM:366) No. So far, lucky. Nobody got killed. Louis was lucky, too, I hear. Even on the government road like that, too, certain place where get hill like that, they get the cut like this, eh? Now, if this the road, now you imagine the garage there is the hill. So they got to cut 'em down like that. And then the thing bin happen right between the cut like that, you know. The train wen start run away with the cars, yo. And he stay inside the narrow place, between the car and the cut. So, if he been get dizzy or what and wen fall between the car, yo, he....

(MT:1189) So I told her, “Let’s see the books on Honokaa Sugar paying the State, X number of gallons for X number of dollars.” She said, “I’m sorry, we don’t have nothing on record.” So now, coming back to that flooding situation, that’s why I say, the intakes that they have at the top of the valley, where they taking the intake through their pumps, when that thing gets plugged, the amount the excess water, that’s what’s happening to us in Waipio Valley. The overflow comes over.

(SU:1562) That place used to be big place, you know. You can hold quite a bit. Used to be lot of parties down there before, Lau Yee Chai. And what happened on the corner, they used to have a market down there? Piggly Wiggly?

5.33.5 Summary

Our investigation found the following NSM syntactic combinations in our database:

- DO-Clause IN X PLACE
- HAPPEN-Clause IN X PLACE
- YOU (ARE IN) X PLACE
- SOMEONE (IS IN) X PLACE
- SOMETHING (IS IN) X PLACE

The following valences were not found in our database search:

- I (AM IN) X PLACE
- PEOPLE (ARE IN) X PLACE
- THIS (IS IN) X PLACE

5.34 UNDER

5.34.1 Primitive Syntax

The predicate UNDER has the following syntax:

- I/YOU/(d1)PERSON/PEOPLE/(d1)THING/THIS IS UNDER
- ME/YOU/(d1)PERSON/PEOPLE/(d1)THING/THIS
5.34.2 HCE Candidates

There are three possible exponents of UNDER to investigate: *bilo, anda* and *andanit.*

It is difficult to find semantic differences between these forms. It is possible, however, that *bilo* is used more readily to relate two locations rather than two things. There seem to be counter-examples to this generalization, so the matter requires further investigation.

5.34.3 Examples of anda

5.34.3.1 I (AM) anda

There is one good canonical example of predicative *anda* and *I:*

(AK:658) Our house. I had made a stand. I made one shade, eh, and then stay under there. Put the stand, put the board, and here we stand up and pound.

5.34.3.2 YOU (ARE) anda

There is a single doubtful example of YOU possibly combining with anda.

(WK:711) I thought she was one witch. She come hunched, you know, hunched back. She look you, underneath you, we used to scared of her.

This last sentence has to be interpreted to mean that this lady looked at somewhere under you. In which case, *YOU* and *anda* are combined, but *yu* is not the semantic subject.

5.34.3.3 SOMEONE (IS) anda

There is one good near-canonical example of predicative *anda* and *SOMEONE:*

(ER:810) Yeah, the light post. Right over here get one light. And then the other side get the toilet. No more toilet in the house kind, only over here, one big toilet for everybody. So all the boys stay under here drink. The men, they sitting down there. Sometime pau hana, they drink down by the stable. Bumbai they kind of pau, they come way up here by the light. Then they drink, bumbai they go home.

Here I am making the reasonable assumption that the HCE token *boi* is decomposable in terms of *SOMEONE.*

5.34.3.4 SOMETHING (IS) anda

There are a couple of near-canonical example of predicative *anda* and *SOMETHING:*

(AK:664) You see, they put more like a pit. They build up, underneath all that, build up the wall, and all flat with stone. And the bodies all under there. They get a special door to get in.

(NC:138) Yeah, yeah. Over the hole. And that opium has a little hole too because from the needle. Otherwise he cannot go in, eh? And with the suction over here, the fire under here, they suck that thing and that thing start to melt like that. The smoke that they sucking is not the opium, you know. The opium going be more like charcoal inside here. And, you know, they call them san cha, the second one. They take this out from this side. They get one wire and go like that, more like one. I don’t know what you call that. They scrape ’em inside. They take that out and they put water or tea. They mix that and they drink that. Uhhh, I don’t know what they get out of it.
5.34.4 Examples of andanit

5.34.4.1 SOMETHING (IS) andanit

There is a single good near-canonical example of predicative andanit:

(BB:010) Yea, because you know why, [name deleted] is behind our house – policeman yo. OK. He's the guy he goin' tell my father that the inspector goin' come today. He get all the information. So no touch, all hide 'em some place where they don' know. I goin' take 'em away from your house. I know ALL the okolehau stay underneath your house. The bootleggers think my house is safe, so they stay bring under our house. Our underhouse was kin’ of high. Some of the kin’, wha-tyou-may call, my father stay dig underneath. The following example is probably not predicative, but attributive (i.e., There is a big place under the banyan tree):

(MY:1461) Oh, was held on ‘Ohua. Between ‘Ohua and Paoakalani, there used to be a big area there with a banyan tree. Oh, it’s a huge banyan tree. Underneath the banyan tree, big place.

5.34.5 Examples of bilo

5.34.5.1 SOMEONE (IS) bilo

There are a few good near-canonical examples of predicative bilo combining with SOMEONE.

(BB:026) No, [name deleted] is below [name deleted] and then [name deleted].

(FD:260) Everybody have their own taro patch. Even my son-in-law, Kanekoa. Where he is now, all the places where he get now. Above him get the grandparents. They used to have their own. And then he stay below now, where his working man, Dave. That’s all belong to his mother. Until today. That’s where he lives too.

5.34.5.2 SOMETHING (IS) bilo

There are a few good near-canonical examples of predicative bilo combining with SOMETHING.

(ER:775) William’s father, Kwon. He go over there, then the big boss tell him, “You get so many boys go with you. You take 'em mountain, you go plant tree.” So him the luna just like. So he go up there, he show us how you plant over here. Every time they take trees they plant near the fence. The cow stay below the trees, he plant 'em up. Plant up side. Just so...

(YA:1070) That time, I work in Pearl Harbor, yet. The flood. And the ocean over there, they already build that road over the ocean from Dillingham all the way down to the other side of Kalihi, eh? They had the road already. And when I work in shipyard, I go home four o’clock; three something, pau work, eh? I came home, oh, flooded. Nobody can go. All block up on top there. Damon Tract all full with water. Da kine car all stop, no can go. This side, we never know. I was going. You know, the water was just below the wheel, see? So, I keep on coming. When I come to over there, the second bridge, oh, boy. No can come this side, stuck over there. And then, the water come that deep, you know.

5.34.6 Summary

Our search has found the following syntactic combinations present in our corpus:
The following patterns were missing in our corpus:

YOU (ARE) UNDER
THIS (IS) UNDER

5.35 ABOVE

5.35.1 Primitive Syntax

The predicate ABOVE has the following syntax:

I/YOU/(d1)PERSON/PEOPLE/(d1)THING/THIS] IS ABOVE
ME/YOU/(d1)PERSON/PEOPLE/(d1)THING/THIS]

5.35.2 HCE Candidates

The HCE form an tap was the first form that I investigated. It is a basilectal marker par excellent. There are many examples in our corpus, a few of which seem compatible with ABOVE:

(ER:802) We get one box, like this, right here. From the pen, you open the door, the cow going run in the box. When the cow run in the box, then you shut the door. The door get da kine weight, eh. You just push the weight, the door slide down. Then we go on top, we go shoot ’em. By the hole we shoot ’em right over here.

(ER:813) Yeah, then you come little bit more the outside, then you come down. Come down by Sol’s them place. All inside there, you can come down. And all inside there, before, all before, no more kiawe tree. All clear from on top, you see, all clear, no more the kiawe tree. Kiawe tree come later. When I come over here first time, only little bit kiawe tree by the beach. Not too much. Then bumbai, the cattle eat the kiawe and take the seeds. That’s why most the kiawe come up.

(ER:877) But good though, the boss, that luna, I wen work for him two night. but he look the way I work, just like I know all this kind job, like rope kind job, eh, little more same cowboy kind job, eh, any kind thing, I hook up. He look me from on top, just like I know what I doing, what I work, I know.

(MM:335) You know, the first box, they get all the bees inside and the queen is in there, see. The queen. And the main purpose for the excluder is to keep the queen from coming up. If the queen come up, she is going to lay eggs in all those places, too. You no want the queen lay the eggs because on top is for the honey. So the queen, you like ’em stay all the time down. That’s why you get the excluder. The queen is little bit bigger than the working bee. So the queen cannot come up here because the screen is made only for the working bee to come up, see.

The overwhelming majority of contexts, however indicate that an tap is closer to SE on:

(ER:761) Yeah, we go make puka, we blow on the bread, put ’em on top the bread, eh, and put one more bread, you eat. Because the thing little bit sweet, eh, the condensed milk. You eat ’em with the bread. And like before days, the bread, they no slice like now. They get the whole like that. So you know behind the end like this, eh. So, you cut ’em maybe about that big, and you hemo the middle and then you blow the cream inside there, then you put back this one inside.
(ER:769) No more washboard, eh, that time. They get stone. So they hit with the club for make soft the dirt. They boil the clothes, then they put 'em on the stone, then they whack it, put the water over there, whack, whack, and then they wash 'em on top the stone.

(ER:842) By hand, yeah. By hand and they cook the tar, put tar on top when they was making the road. And so those Japanese, they work hard. They smart how they work the road. You know, they cut the stone only with the hammer and small little stuff. When you look, easy, they make 'em straight, yeah, all the stone. Just like carpenter. They know the grain of the lumber, how the way lumber run, just like they know the stone, how the grain run.

(ER:870) She tell, “More better I take you down their house.” I tell, “Okay, more better.” She tell me, the bus stop right under here, and from about three o’clock something, the bus going come around here, stop over here. She tell me, either one of them two guys stay on top the bus that kind hour. Stay going come over here, maybe that’s their last run going home. And one of them...

(YA:1027) Only thing I know, Mrs. March tell me one story. That was about, I don’t know how old I was, four or five years old, I think. She says, “This morning we going tell you the story about before, about Abraham Lincoln was president.” She says, “You know, Abraham Lincoln was the president. He rode his horse on top the horseback, go up the mountainside, look where people working. But those days, the white man no can hire somebody work. They no go tell somebody, ‘You come work for me. I pay you so much one month, like that.’ ‘They buy the slave. They buy the slave just like you buy one horse, see? You put ‘em in the house, you feed with the rice, the slave got to work for you for your lifetime. And no more pay, and nothing. Only just work, and work for you. That’s why, they called ‘slaves.’”

Roughly speaking, I would explicate an tap along the following lines:

(123) X IZ AN TAP Y ☢

a. some of X is in the same places as some of Y
b. some of X is above some of Y

Another candidate which was considered is ova. Although there were well over 800 examples of ova, only a very few could be considered potential examples of ABOVE:

(MT:1174) So far, no. Because it’s a stream like, see. Once in a while, I go in with my tractor and kind of clean all that. You know, get shrubs growing over. I just clean out the ditch. But it’s very — I did it maybe only one, two times yet, so far.

(NC:157) From my house. The house is way down, eh. I think it was around 7 o’clock in the morning and my wife blew the horn. You know what the horn? So, I tell them, “Gee, what’s wrong?” When I looked down, I stood up from where I was pulling taro and saw all the water going over the river banks, so I knew was tidal wave. But most time, tidal wave just come one or two or three at the most, see. I never come across tidal wave get 10 waves.

(NC:158) And the waves started to recede and then I look and I said, “Hey, we better get away.” So I jumped down the wave. The water was still chest high, a little higher than the chest. Then I tell my wife to jump and she says, “No, I won’t jump. I can’t swim.” I said, “No, we have to go.” At that time, Takeo came up. The Filipino. He asked if any of us got hurt and I said, “No.” He said, “Where you going now?” I said, “Oh, we better run. We better go up.” He said, “Wait, I go get my money and my clothing.” I said, “Look down!” Another wave was coming over the sand dune. So he follow us. In fact, he went ahead of us. With one other Filipino, he went ahead. So one Filipino cut short down to Emmalia Young’s house, but we cut upside, the higher place. He said “That house went, just like Kona wind. He said when he went go to hold that wall, that wall drop off. When he turn around this side, this wall drop off. ...”

(NC:183) Don’t pack ‘em too much and don’t put ‘em too high, so in case the big water come, it goes over the top part. Don’t let the poles go too high and don’t pack ‘em too solid so that in case there are rubbish those thing come hit that thing and knock it off.
(YA:1032) No, go myself. I get one burlap bag. You know, tie the two ear on the end, eh? Cut the little puka, you know. Put the rope **over**. Tie the bag and tie this end, eh? Put 'em over MY shoulder, see? And then, we carry with us. As we catch shrimp, we put 'em inside. Catch fish, any kind, we put 'em inside there. The shrimps, we no have to. We put 'em inside the basket. Put 'em on the side. But the fish, we gotta put inside, you know. Carry the fish with us.

(YA:1046) Before, in the river, you can build your own dike, but not now. Before, we used to build the dike in the riverside. We no need go catch fish. The dike like this, high, eh? We live one place where the water come **over**, you know, on the top. We put one big bamboo basket outside the other side, the waterfall. Nighttime, we tie the basket against the rock. And right on the waterfall — down below get big stones hold up the basket, and the water come, shoot down, and go through the basket. The water no can stay, eh?

(YA:1046) Lower, eh. The water go **over**, see.

The following two examples are probably the most plausible examples of *ova* serving as an allolex of **ABOVE**:

(NC:128) Faster, eh? Then you go plant and then go back come again, plant, go back come again. You get long place for go one time go down. You jump **over the bank**, keep on jumping over the bank all the way.

(OC:14) You see this school here, they have a mango tree right back of this here. Now the boys been throwing stone class and hid down there. Of course they didn't see that boys but happened one day I went out there, you know, the other boy he throw that stone **over the mango tree** and I follows this boy here and the boy run away from here and the teacher saw me. She reported to Mrs. Fraser but she didn't see the other boy, you see, but I didn't throw the stone, the other fellow throw the stone. But she reported so they call me in after recess and they get a ruler. She said, “My boy, I hate to touch you with anything and I know how you are and very, very...”

Throwing a stone **ova** a mango tree certainly implies the stone was **ABOVE** the mango tree. Consider, however the following sentence:

(YA:1026) Yeah, go on the side of the beach. On the ocean side, get one small beach, eh? The horse can go only, see? After that, they started making one road. Before, no more road, see? Bumbai, when we moved down to Kahaluu, oh, they get. They build one horse buggy road. They use a four-wheel wagon, just like in the Mainland they call it “stagecoach.” Four wheel with the four horses pull, eh? Pull the load. Go all the way up, that. Then they make the road climb up the mountain, go **over the Pali**, eh? Go the other side, downtown. That’s how they get horse and buggy.

If one goes **ova** the Pali, it does not imply that one went **ABOVE** the Pali. I conclude therefore, that **ova** should not be considered an allolex of **ABOVE**.

### 5.35.3 Examples of abav

#### 5.35.3.1 YOU (ARE) abav

There is a single canonical example of *YOU* combining with *abav*.

(BB:015) You know Kukuihaele side, when you go below the road, eh get plenty stone. But when **you stay above** the main highway around warehouse side, eh around there no more stone, you know. Good land all the way up to...

#### 5.35.3.2 SOMEONE (IS) abav

The following are three near-canonical example contains *abav* together with the HCE semantic molecule him.

(FD:251) And then had two Japanese boys. They used to stay down where Araki is. Uh, the father used to be Oshiro. I don't know what Oshiro is that. He used to **stay above** William. Get one house
above the road, eh? They used to stay there. And where William is farming now, that o-san used to get
taro patches. But over there, my dad have few patches too. That’s from the Bishop. You see how plenty
taro my father used to take care? He’s a big taro farmer. You know where Roy is now? Where George
Farm used to have.

(FD:260) Everybody have their own taro patch. Even my son-in-law, Kanekoa. Where he is now, all
the places where he get now. Above him get the grandparents. They used to have their own. And then
he stay below now, where his working man, Dave. That’s all belong to his mother. Until today. That’s
where he lives too.

(MT:1188) But I cannot. Jeri Ooka’s going back to Kauai, he’s going to try to see what can be done.
So it has to be something in the water, because everybody has it, has the rot problem. I’m at the top of
the valley, way in the top, I get the State land. Nobody is above me. I have the rot. How come? And
right below me is Roy Toko, George Farm, everybody gets it.

5.35.3.3 SOMETHING IS abav

The following three near-canonical examples contain abav together with an HCE term decomposable in
terms of SOMETHING:

(MM:330) Very few, yeah. As you go down from Glaisyer’s place, you know, kind of downhill. When
you hit the cane field, you go down little ways, they get road that goes to the left. One go straight down,
one goes to the left. The one goes to the left, there’s a reservoir over there. The road is above the
reservoir or below the reservoir. That, I don’t remember good. But anyway, that road that goes to the left
is to go to the Portuguese Camp.

The following non-canonical examples support the semantic proximity of abav to ABOVE:

(NC:137) Yeah, about three feet, I think, above the floor. They get the horse like that, two. And then
they place the board on top.
(NC:158) Takeo and I were in front and I was holding the baby, about less than two years old at the
time. So I tell my wife, “Climb the tree.” So my boy climbed way up high and the old man climbed the
second one and my wife cannot get up because the tree will come down, so she stood on one tree, has
the branch, a little over one foot above ground and she stayed there. She stayed there. Get two trees
right near each other. She hold, hang on the tree. Then Takeo climbed the other tree that’s about a good
30 to 40 feet away from where my wife was.

5.35.4 Summary

The following valences were found in our corpus:

SOMEONE (IS) ABOVE
SOMETHING (IS) ABOVE

The following valences were missing from our corpus:

I (AM) ABOVE
YOU (ARE) ABOVE
PEOPLE (ARE) ABOVE
THIS (IS) ABOVE
5.36 PART

5.36.1 Primitive Syntax

Although PART has been part of the NSM specification for quite some time, there are still questions regarding the proper syntax for PART. Currently there are two universal frames under consideration for PART (W 1996:142):

X IS A PART OF Y
Y, THERE ARE (d1) PARTS

Unlike most syntactic specifications, the fillers to X and Y are not spelled out. An educated guess would be that Y may be I, YOU, SOMEONE, and SOMETHING (and configurations based on SOMETHING).

5.36.2 HCE Candidates

Get is another basilectal marker par excellant. It is a highly polysemous form in HCE. The most prominent sense of get is probably the existential. There are examples which suggest that one sense of get which might be an exponent of PART:

(ER:776) Yeah. Us go weeding, go pull all the grass inside. The cane big, eh, big and get da kine thorn inside.

(MM:343) And then, they get the box in there. And the box get two handles here.

It may be possible to paraphrase the relevant sentences in the following manner: “Part of the big sugar cane are the thorns inside” and “Part of the box is two handles”. It is also possible to analyze these constructions as existentials: “there are thorns inside of the sugar cane” and “there are two handles on/in the box”.

While thorns/sugar cane and handles/boxes may be related as part to whole, the following examples are even less convincing:

(ER:838) And this house had one partition go outside, that’s the store. They get the store right by the cement. Get the cement come over there, that’s where our store. That’s for the ranch, you can go buy any kind inside there. Open Monday, Wednesday and Friday, every other day.

(MM:342) That’s a good one. Nobody get toilet in the house. And nobody get da kine toilet that, you know, where they dig that puka, eh? They get one, they used to call ’em “ice cream box,” you know. They get one toilet, and the best place is…. Let’s say, if this was sixty, seventy years ago, our toilet would be alongside the road there, you know. And the toilet get separation, get two rooms, see. In one room get two seat. Of course, one seat, but get two hole. One big hole and one small hole. One for children, see.

(MM:371) What they mean by “dry land,” they no more irrigation, see. They only waiting for the rain come down. So the lines are almost flat, yo. Only when they go irrigation field, the lines stay like this, eh? So, that’s why, they got to adjust, see. From one field, from unirrigated field you go to the irrigation field, you got to adjust your point, yo. The point, you got to put one up, the other one down, the other one up, so that the low one stay inside the line. And on the long point, the one go inside the line, get one big blade, we call it, knife, yo. And that thing, he slide on top the cane and then he cut only the cane, eh?

(SU:549) Yeah. All night. So, I find the old lumber, everything, I nail ’em up. Of course, kitchen had door and everything. So, at that time, nobody will steal anything. You just leave the things down there, nobody walk away with ’em.
Since I have presented here the most semantically plausible of the examples, I must therefore conclude that no sense of get should be considered an exponent of the primitive PART.

The only reasonable candidate for NSM PART is HCE pat.

5.36.3 Examples of pat

While pat seems to be the most likely candidate, unfortunately, there are only 62 examples of pat in the entire database. There are a total of five predicative examples in our corpus.

5.36.3.1 PLACE (IS) pat (OF) X

There is a near-canonical example of predicative pat in combination with PLACE:

(MM:318) Yeah, I was born in Lawa'i Stable. Well, actually, I call it Koloa because it is part of Koloa District, see. But Lawa'i Stable is far on the other end. I was born February 15, 1905.

5.36.3.2 PERSON (IS) pat (OF) X

There are three near-canonical examples of predicative pat in combination with SOMEONE:

(MT:1168) Well, the concrete things was one of them, better taro price, to begin with. Then, we want to fix our roads and to better the community, if we can help in community affairs, we-in the community itself, in Kukuihaele. We have no community association and we was kind of part of that, too. We used to go to the Hilo County Council, ask for them to fix our Kukuihaele Social Hall and stuff, which they did.

(NC:136) Still yet, that fella is a part of that Hui Nui, that cook. He is the owner, part, one of the company.

(SU:1567) No, no. Kalia didn't have a team. Not enough boys. See, at that time, when you stay in Kalihi, only Kalihi district guys play for Kalihi. Palama, Palama. Seibu is Liliha and part of Palama, and all Nu'uanu, all those guys. Nippon is Downtown guys, you know, Komeya, River Street, all the places down there. And then, Mo'ili'ili, Mo'ili'ili, see. And then, Kaka'ako, Kaka'ako, see. At that time, there's no such thing as McCully or Wa'ialae or...

5.36.3.3 THIS (IS) pat (OF) X

There is a near-canonical example of predicative pat in combination with THIS:

(MT:1165) Well, at that time, that's part of the trend of it; to stop erosion, to preserve whatever you have.

5.36.3.4 pat (OF A) PLACE

More frequently, HCE pat occurs as in the pattern (DET) part of Y. This pattern relates things as wholes to part attributively and not as the main predication in a clause.

This pattern applies to locations:

(AK:616) Yeah. Maybe, for instance, flood coming down or road need repairing or something like that. Then we go out, “How about giving us some money to clean certain, certain place.” And they tell you, “What part of the valley?” “Oh we have lot of bushes and all that.” Then they send overseers, or whatever. Engineers come down there to see.

(AK:670) I think it's good to leave as it is. You know, getting something else coming in. The only thing now is the bushes right around. That's the thing that keeping the place down. Come like a jungle. If they do clean up the place and open up, where people can see. You come down, you look, all this, all
vines, bushes, all that. That only good for only the back part of the valley. But other part of the valley, they should at least open it up. Like how Waipio was before.

(SU:1529) Part of the plantation, you go same thing. Cut the cane, hoe the grass, everything. They used to get all different guys. They used to get wahine gang, go around and hoe the grasses. And then, men go cut grasses, cut cane, all that. And then, they used to get another gang, mule gang.

In the following near-canonical examples, the place which pat relates to is not explicitly stated:

(ER:824) To Keomuku. Certain part sometime the horse no can move. That's why you certain place you go, the horse know. Just like they call one place over there, they name 'em, Pohaku'o. They tell 'em that's Pohaku'o. I never get that kind yet, over there, but all the people they pass over there, they tell the chicken crow inside there. That's why I come scared, eh. But the people, they hear, I never hear.

(ER:837) Well, when I came here time, only they live in Keomuku. Most, Keomuku. The other part no more people over there.

(MY:1460) Oh, yeah. No trouble. Everybody is one—everything is lot of fun. I even organize baseball. I started a league. We use the Thomas Jefferson School, the playground. I had all the one team, all the school students one team, and all the guys who stick around certain-certain part, one team. And I be the league manager. Then the ball game started at the Thomas Jefferson School. I go out and get all the sponsor for them. I get the T-shirt for them and all the prizes for them. I had the sponsor like Blue Bird Cafe, Blue Ocean Inn, Ibaraki Store. Had about five different sponsors, you know.

(SU:1561) I don't think so they lose. Maybe few feet or something like that, I think. Behind part, eh? The behind. Maybe few feet, I mean. Nice. The place down there now really worth money, you know, on the ma uka side. Ma uka side get the what? Get one restaurant down there, eh?

(YA:1056) One Japanese man contractor tell me, “Why not I jack the ho use up for you. Instead of one-and-a-half story, two-story high? And I build one big shack in the back for you can do all the laundry work for you.” Chee, $700 or something. Seven hundred fifty dollars, or what. I was so foolish. I never like to build. I didn't want to. If I wen let it go, today, I get nice two-story house with a big shack in the back. Then the man say, “What you going do with the downstairs?” Downstairs, they say, the front part, make just like one storage room, see. You can rent it for somebody to wash clothes, ironing, that kind. But I foolish that time, I don’t know, see. If I know that, I would do that.

5.36.3.5 pat (OF) SOMETHING

There are several near-canonical examples of attributive pat and SOMETHING:

(AK:628) We go and then Kohala side, down on the roadside, just before you going get to Puuanahulu one Puuwaawaa. I took him, we pick up one bag, we went to Kohala that same day. So I told him, “When you go, before we go, you got to get a ti root, one piece of ti root, you know that potato part of the ti root; one small piece ti root. But that medicine get to go with the ti root and the medicine. Only those two things with Hawaiian salt.” I made the medicine down over there and I took the medicine and I tell them what for make, how to do it, but they said, “No, no, no. More better you help us.”

(AK:670) Hawaiians, they call akualele. Well, they say, that stuff, when they come already, I don’t know. I asked lot of the olden people, “How come get that thing like that?” They say, “Well, Hawaiians they are famous for keeping all those things.” Maybe, you die, or something like that; they keep, maybe your fingernail, or some part of your hair, or something like that. They keep that, they worship that. And then, maybe they get ill feelings, certain party, or something. Then they start commanding for go them. And that thing fly. You see ‘em, one ball-like coming. When you yell, that thing all fall down. Before plenty, but now, I think, not. More of the old people all gone.

(MY:1469) The boys some of them, they know how to make coconut hat. They make coconut hat and they stay Kalakaua Avenue, sell ‘em to the tourists. Coconut hat, eh? Twenty–five cents, one hat. They steal all the center part of the tree from Kalakaua Avenue. Those days, the trees are short, see,
Kalakaua Avenue. Not tall. The highest—of course, the tip of the branches is high, but, you know, till the first leaf is only about eight feet, ten feet. So, no problem to go get. Easy, get coconut. In the following near-canonical examples of attributive part, the thing related to part is not explicitly stated:

(AK:656) Just leave ’em like that. And they going grow back. Just rot the leaf. Not every leaf, you know. More like ripe, kind of yellowish and then, after that, they pau. All the taro patch used to get that. They call that “hapala.” The leaf part ripe.

(ER:853) No, the yardman one other guy. Kwon, he used to be water man, the one go look all the cattle in the pasture, go look water. Him and Shin. He and one more other Korean, Soo. Them the one, they go check up all the water, and if the pipe broke like that, then they ask for cowboys. Cowboys go help, go fix the pipe. Then you gotta take one pack mule, maybe carry some pipe for the broke part, take down all the machine, you know the welder, I mean, the pipe wrench, then you go with them.

(FD:244) Well, something like Seiko’s. They used to have wooden but only underneath they have that heavy steel iron underneath. Just the underneath part.

(FD:252) You ask my sister-in-law, she know this. I used to cut grass and make the bundle like this and tie ’em with the rope. You know, we used to, like this, the bottom and you know the top. We used to make half and a half. And then we tie ’em with the rope. And then we used to poke with the stick. You know the stick for turn the taro, we used to poke to the two bundles. You see how the Chinese used to bundle the rice? The rice bundles? That’s how I used to do with my dad. Poke the stick in and then carry on the back, the shoulder part. I take ’em home. One animal would take a bundle we feed ’em.

(FD:266) And I told my mom, “How come I didn’t have my period?” She said, “Oh, I think you going to have a baby.” “Have a baby?” I told my mom that. “If we going to have a baby, we don’t have doctor, you know, mom?” She said, “I didn’t have doctor when I had my babies.” She tells me that. “How you going to do it?” And I tell her that, eh? But you know, those days, to tell you the truth, I was always in church Sundays. I have only God. That was my helper. I said, you know, “Look upon me. And I’m going to have a child through you, I’m going to have a baby.” Was easy. Just come out. You know, the baby all come out. And you know the cord part. I just tie ’em up. I make one near to the and then one more I tie. I tie two so stop bleeding.

(FD:266) And then I tell my mom, “How come?” She said, “Oh, you know, when get the water bag.” “What is that, the water bag?” I tell her. She said, “That’s going sign for you to have your baby.” “Is that so, mom?” And I keep cleaning the house. Oo, funny, I feel you know. Funny kind, the pain, you know. It hurts, the front part. I didn’t have to have anybody. You know what I did? I held on to the broom handle. When I feel funny and then my mom said, “Oh, better go inside. Go in the bedroom.” “What for?” “Well, I think you going have your baby.” And I just hear this thing, you know the water bag bust and then that thing flow down. And then we had something like the futon, the thick blanket. She put down on the floor. I just knelt by the side of the bed and I just had my hold hands like this. And I just held to my own hands like this. The baby came out.

(FD:288) And now, the rot now is funny. This is the plant, now, underneath, and then it have roots, and this is the much now is growing. Try look now, the underneath, it’s all eaten in the middle, it doesn’t have the guava seed, you know the brown spots, eh? But it eats right there, and it clears out and it starts to grow. And you try cut that part, the taro is nice. Try ask Fannie that. Just last week, the husband pull the patches below, below my taro patch. He pulled out some taro and he brought to my gate, and we were looking. I scrape the underneath, it’s all already rotten, but already dry, the underneath. And then the second cut now, and I try cut, the thing don’t have guava seed. It’s really clear and it’s the good part now, it’s growing. You see? That’s the part. That’s why we tell the boys, “Try and check good. We like to know.”

(FD:290) And that patch is shallow too, the one down. I guess the topsoil is not as rich as the bottom soil. I think we have to scrape the top. Dry ’em and then it doesn’t take long, and still you can still put back the seed. Maybe the under part is better than the top.
No. You just plant according to the square of your patch. If your patch is square, well. If it's not square, you make 'em square. You find the part that it's going to square your planting. See?

Now, you imagine this is one field, one narrow field. You going to push only one way. But when you come to one ordinary wide field, you going to push from two side so that you can make a good pile, eh? All right, now, when you do that, some fellas, they make kapulu, yo. They push from one side, they go so many feet, and then they come back and they push from the other side. What we tell them, try and push right clean underneath. You not going to push and then from this way, inside here, not push, eh? And if inside here not push, the loaders, they grumble, yo. “Ey, that guys, they kapulu. You see the cane, eh? Inside here, no stay push.” And how you can tell that is when they grab and load, this center part, the cane stay all sticking out like this, see. Because you can tell already, they never push.

Yeah, you make sure you don't bend the root part. Otherwise he die. So you catch like that and you poke 'em down with your two fingers go down, because the thing is soft. Your two fingers go down the thing then you bring your finger up and the rice stay because the dirt is going to close up. You don't plant it too deep, not more than one inch, less than an inch down. So you plant one, two, three, four, five, six, like that and from over here you come back one, two, three, four five, six planting this way. All the way come back. You back up every time.

Yeah, yeah. It's all rounded and it's more like one ball, you cut 'em in half or something like that. And the under part they set. The thing get groove so that they can set that iron plate in there. And they set that stone stuff a certain degree, so many degrees. Every time, that thing doesn't hit in the center. He hit right near the side. He hit like this, naturally the rice going move; every time you hit, move. Keep on like that, that thing go, just go.

This thing is hollow and he get one small hole at the bottom. And up here is wide. I think the hole is about quarter inch on top. They use the cloth and plug 'em into that bamboo pipe. Plug 'em in there. And when they prepare the thing, they get one lamp with oil and light up. And they use one wire, must be wire or something. They roll that thing more like cooking. That thing come big and then they put 'em on the part near the small hole. They play with the thing. He come down and then put on again. More like cooking it, eh? After that, then they stuck 'em in by the hole. The hole is real small, just enough for the needle.

The frog come like this. Behind that you catch 'em right between here. That's where. And that's why if you don't know how to catch, you cannot catch. If you catch the head part then he going to slip right off; he go away. Lot of fun catching frogs. Takeo, he was catching downside Umi.

That tower has four sticks, eh. Posts. High. The tower is about 16 feet I think. Anyway from 12 to 16 feet about the ground. And then that's another four or five feet more up, see, because you get the platform over there. That, on top part we used to put a bag to shade out the sun, eh. Get so many bags. We sew 'em together. Cover on top so that the sun won't hit us. And then get all the line, eh, all come to that place. That take care of so many, I think maybe about 10, 15 lines, eh. Get all cans and rag tied on. You strip rags—you tie on. Every time you pull, that thing shake. The birds scared, eh. And that noise. The birds scared. They fly away.

Eight. You know, you plant one, two, three, four, six, eh. One is called one bunch. So you can hold eight bunch. We cut four rows one time, you see. You go catch two. Two, two, eight. The hand full already, eh. So you got to turn that thing. Turn this way. Then you get to cut 'em like this. The straw this way. This part with the rice there, you spread 'em on top like that. You know what I mean?

That we used to get every time, eh. That thing is about five feet long. You put under. You put one bunch under. You see, here the rice and here the stalk like that. You put 'em about two inch away from the rice. You put the straw over here. You put one bunch. The second bunch you put 'em little bit more this side. You get the under part stay over there, eh. And the third one you pile 'em straight. Real tight. When you carry the thing comes straight. If you put 'em even together the middle one is going to slide out. You know, eh. You no understand? You know why. The rice, they had to bound, push the rice. Pile 'em up, eh. You pile up so much small bunches like that.
(NC:181) Yeah, little bit taro. You know, that thing has, anyway, he tell you where to cut. He get the line over there, the growing part. He can see where to cut. Like us, we get so used to it. Some fellows, cut seed, with a knife straight down like that. Us, we just poke the knife down like that and bend ‘em over.

(NC:183) Don’t pack ‘em too much and don’t put ‘em too high, so in case the big water come, it goes over the top part. Don’t let the poles go too high and don’t pack ‘em too solid so that in case there are rubbish those thing come hit that thing and knock it off.

(YA:1044) You know, there’s a shipyard, eh? After that, he build his own boat. Buy the big log. He cut the log, eh? He chip, and chip, and chip, and make one sailboat. Then, bumbai, he get together with four or five men, make his boat. They all work together, fix the boat. And then, they get together, and then they chip the boat, make the boat good, and everything pau. They go buy all the parts from Hong Kong, see? English place. Then they build the boat up.

5.36.3.6 pat (OF A) TIME

There are several near-canonical examples of attributive pat and TIME:

(AK:656) On the moon is good. Like, full moon time, the best time to plant. You get the full moon, and the early part of the moon. Between the early part of the moon, and the full moon, best time for plant.

(FD:289) I think ending part of last year, when we first moved the water on this side. Since all the disease we was having, you know, the taro. All rotten the up side. You remember, eh, you know when you took the picture of the taro patch? You know how nice, you remember those years? Well, that little patch over there, when you took the picture, you know the patch over there. You think how many bags we used to get, over 70 bags, to tell you the truth, that little patch. Now you guess how much? Took us only about 30.

(GF:300) Together. We used to raise pineapples for Honolulu Fruit Company, long time ago. Was way back in the 1920’s and the early part of the 1930’s when Depression break got us. Everybody don’t know what to do. We went broke.

(NC:118) After you break up the soil, then you have to prepare seed beds where you get the rice to start. It’s really not easy work, you know. See, you get the high place where floods doesn’t catch. Of course, Waipio floods our section always catch. Get real big water. But my father is pretty smart man, I think. He just can tell when it’s going to be raining. He can plant rice so that he meets certain parts of the year that doesn’t have storm. That’s how lucky he is. Of course, maybe he can foretell more or less the climate.

(NC:193) Cannot harvest all. Because by the time we started digging them, they already start to rot. Certain part of the year, only to certain extent it grows.

(TA:41) I think was around the 1950’s, middle part of 1950’s. I don’t know exactly. And then they made that poi shop. The co-op made ‘em.

(TA:44) Oh, I don’t know. Maybe he start using about late part of 1930’s. I think. Because he came down here in about 1935 or 1936. I know he had a big row with Chun one time. Because we get a ditch, run my father’s land and then go to Chun’s and all those places over there. And then Chun folks, they using that water for home use, eh?

(TA:44) Oh, it took me quite some time. The patch was ready made already. Only thing had full of grass. That’s when, early part of 1940’s, my father was the first one to introduce herbicide down here. Ho, he used to get big trouble down here. Because lot of people use the ditch for home use, see, the water.

In the following near-canonical examples, the time which pat relates to is not specified:

(AK:632) No. In the early part. They always there. But it came almost to the last part, later years. Then, somebody had to....horse rustlers, I think, take it away.
You know what... your father was a taxi driver early part. Me, this guy [name deleted], and ah [name deleted] and [name deleted] – four of us, you know we wen go cut tonsil. Your father took us and my mother went with me too, but we wen go cut tonsil. The young one first – [name deleted] went the first.

The guys was — the early part, you know what? They were afraid. They thought Japan was goin’ take over over here. 'A’s why HOO they cutting the price. In fact this guys was already about three grand....

Yeah, they go down there. They come, they like early part, because had what you call, Lucky Luck, I don’t...

There is one near-canonical example of attributive pat and THIS:

Well, maybe you don’t believe it, but she say, if anybody would hurt us and we just give 'em the aumakua. You know aumakua is our god, eh? And if we on the right part of that, you know. And it’s going to hurt them plenty. You know, the next party. So the thing going fall on them. That’s what I mean our ali. What they call that?

This is not a possible NSM universal frame. Nevertheless, I felt it might be important to mention that there are a large number of examples of pat which relate to situations:

Yeah. I don’t know when I came time. Maybe they had, or no more. But I never hear story. But when I come here, I look all the cowboys, they shoe their own. And who no can shoe, eh, maybe somebody help them shoe the horse. Maybe some guys too old, eh, and they no can shoe, no can carry. So the young boy, yeah, every time they make us, “You come over here, go over here, hold 'em.” Make you learn how to shoe. So I go learn. But only the hardest part, I no can hold the back leg. I scared, bumbai, kick me. That’s why they tell you how to follow the leg. You know sometime the horse pull back, eh. Just hold ‘em and lift ‘em up little bit. You lift ‘em up like that, they no like kick because they get the weight on top here. But if they jump up the two leg back, yeah, then they kick. But if not, he only going try move, but his weight stay on top this side. That’s what they tell me, the weight. And sometime when he shake-shake, you gotta try lift ‘em up. Hold ‘em up, no let ‘em go down. He go down, then he get the weight, he can go down. So you gotta try hold the weight.

You just close the inlet and don’t let so much water come in. For instance, three intakes are about a foot wide. We slow ‘em down, we cut ‘em down each time. Quarter way cut-off, then another quarter, and then that leaves only half and another quarter; use only one quarter more to do the last part. That’s how we do it. You either raise the intake up, or lower the intake. When you lower the intake, the water comes more. Planting taro is hard, too. Plenty fellow can plant taro, but slow.

No. Because I rather plant api. Better. I did plant some other varieties, but very hard, you know. They produce taro. But, when the pulling part, oh boy, hard. If you don’t dry ‘em, you pull ‘em just like that. And you don’t dry the patch up. Oh boy, you turn the whole thing upside down. It’s very hard. The roots, the hair very long.

Yeah, ho hana and pull. Some by the wide place like this, you can hoe. But some inside the plant they no like you hoe. You gotta go cut ‘em. And that’s the itchy part. All the cane, just like, ho, the itchy. You go home, ho boy, more better go inside the sea. Just clothes and all, I go inside. You no like wear the clothes again go work, eh, next day. Itchy that thing. Me, I no reach home, like that, I jump inside the sea. Everything. My mother tell, “How come you make like that?” “Ho, itchy this clothes. No can wear this kind clothes go work.” Then more better go wash ‘em inside the sea. Then bumbai go make fresh water. I usually jump inside the sea because we stay near the sea, eh. Jump inside the water.
Oh, that part, I don’t know how he came and then he got to get acquainted with my mom. That part I didn’t know how. I don’t know with who he was staying but I know he has a step-sister. She was a, what you call, she used to be the Keomaka. But she used to be the Hauanio. That’s my step-aunty, my daddy’s step-sister.

Uh, I don’t know if my dad came together with her or, I don’t know that part.

Uh, the paying part I don’t know. I don’t know how much she was getting paid. But they liked the job.

She sew. She used to sew my clothes. But the only part I never like, when she sew she make the neck too tight. I used to cut ‘em.

Well, when you come to that certain age. But I almost died only for menstruation. Sixteen years I didn’t have. I almost died. The thing all came out from my mouth. I almost died with it. That was the sad part. All came out from my mouth. Well, we didn’t have doctor that time. But that was one Japanese man. And he told my mom...some kind of leaf to boil it, and then. So they give me that, what you call? They used to boil that orange leaf, eh? Orange leaf to make it like a tea.

My ex-husband, he made some kind story that I went with this Filipino man, that’s how I got my last daughter. Then when she was born and compare with the family I had with him, he went back and he told my family for get me back. I wouldn’t go back after I was all, you know. After dirty part of my life was already told to everybody and for me to go back, I wouldn’t like. That’s how I had her over here. And she loves this father more than her own. When I think about those days I cry, you know. Even until today. Nobody, I think, would ever have my life when I left my parents. I was happy, I had everything. I didn’t have to worry. I never go out begging. Some of my family, oh they had hard time. Didn’t have things to eat, they was starving, and all that kind. I said, “No, I happy.” I had everything.

Yeah. He married again after we left, both of us divorce. And then she died lately. And then now he has another lady with him. Even of my age, if my husband ever leave me or whatever, both of us. I wouldn’t ever think to get married again. That’s what the sad part. I didn’t want to have family again. So I was with the clothes on my body, that’s what I had on me. And to have me, you know, together, was my brother, my oldest brother. He was working for the plantation so I moved with him in Kapulena.

You know that part, I cannot refuse anybody. I said, “Yeah, I had all my children home.” To tell them the truth. It’s not an easy life but I didn’t know, I didn’t care to have a doctor with me. I just stand by myself. And just me and my mom. You know I had my first one.

Oh, because of my father and mother, when they drink, no. That’s the only rough part that we have, when they start drinking. And when they don’t care for the children.

Dat part I don’t know. I tink Carter got dese. No odda manager like Carter.

On da las’ part he was die, ya?

Uh, now you like da par when da gir’ had da straight suit on?

That I don’t know. I cannot remember that. That part I wouldn’t know.

Well John Loo has always been the agent. We just, tell how many bags. Of course, the money part they send directly, and sometimes they send John Loo all the checks and John Loo pass it out. Right now they send all to John Loo. Before, they send directly.

When I was up in the Mainland, I was taking up automobile, studying at Sweeney Auto School. So I didn’t like the greasy part of the course. I liked the electrical part but not the mechanical part. I know, I can handle a car all right. Those days cars were easy, not like nowadays, complicated. You don’t get instrument, you cannot work. Those days you can fix car with hardly any tools. Like Model T, I used to strip ’em and put ’em back, but nowadays cars, you ask me to strip ’em, I wouldn’t dare.
5.36.4 Summary

This study was able to find an exact semantic equivalent in HCE for the primitive PART. It also found substantial evidence that the HCE exponent may be used in a variety of domains, as one would expect with the primitive PART (W 1980:29).

In the corpus, we found evidence for the following NSM frames:

X (IS A) PART (OF) Y

We are missing evidence for the frame:

Y, THERE (ARE) X PART(S)

5.37 KIND OF

5.37.1 Primitive Syntax

There are two primary valences which we will be looking for in this section.

X IS A KIND OF Y
X IS THE SAME KIND AS Y THERE ARE d1 KINDS OF Y

Like the syntax for PART, the syntax specification for KIND (W 1996:141-2) is somewhat sketchy. Exactly what the fillers of X and Y are is not spelled out explicitly anywhere. An educated guess is that these may be semantic molecules based on either SOMEONE or SOMETHING. I assume the subject position is also fillable by the primitives I, YOU, and THIS. And presumably, the slot Z is fillable by the same class of determiners used in the analogous valence for PART.

5.37.2 HCE Candidates

The HCE form kain is a prominent marker of basilectal speech. Unlike its SE counterpart, HCE kain is tangled up in a fascinating but mind-boggling web of polysemy. At the same time, I would like to argue that one sense of kain is indeed an exact semantic equivalent for the NSM primitive KIND OF.

At first glance, it seems as if HCE uses its exponent of KIND in more contexts than one would in SE.

(AK:626) Mullet, yeah, Big kind mullet, though. Even the front pond, lot of people go steal fish.

(ER:795) Get inside there. Then, from over here, you go from this lime tree, you know this lime tree over here, this side, this side all our garage. The long kind garage, the one I was telling you the other time. The long garage, from Pablo house, the store...

(ER:807) Yeah, good kind kaukau but sometime we play basketball, the workers like that, they know what restaurant get the good kaukau. They tell we go the Chinese boardinghouse get good kind kaukau. We walk to the Chinese one, go eat.

Big kain mullet, lan kain garaj, and gad kain kaukau do not refer to big types of mullets, long kinds of garages, or good types of food. These phrases simply refer to big mullets, long garages and good food. This sense of kain is almost superfluous in these contexts. Its meaning is rather elusive, but I would suggest its role is a kind of emphatic and can be explicated something along the following lines:
There is another pattern of *kain* which could be confused with the primitive one:

(ER:825) No, that’s why, no more car, only wagon trail. Only the *wagon kind* over there. The automobile like that, no can. No can go down. Till later, bumbai some Filipinos they started make, follow the wagon trail and go down. Then they reach right by the beach. They reach by the beach right over there, get sand hill. And when they come back, they no can climb up the sand. The sand come soft, then they try throwing stone, they try make the road so they can go down.

(ER:858) We go spear. We walk until soon you see the back, the head come up because sometime the water little bit red, eh. Only the back come out. You chase ’em over there, you see the back, hit ’em with the spear and the handle, the row *kind boat*, the handle, that’s how we make. You hit ’em, the spear go down. He come up, eh, because heavy yeah, the spear. I used to go grab ’em like that, you know. You look the other guy, you watch where the head stay, he go like that, you come from behind. You poke your hand, right over here by the back, you poke your hand on top the back over here, he squeeze, they make like that, and then stuck, you only press ’em down, he go right up.

(NK:934) Oh, he had plenty tools. That’s what we used to think. You know, those days, when you lend people, they no come back, you know, the tools. That’s why, minamina my father tools. He get *iron kind*, he get the stone kind. And some, they get wood kind for dig.

(SU:1528) You know, the *man kind hoe*, the top little bit big, eh? We used to steal that. We used to go nighttime. We used to go down somebody’s house, go steal. Nighttime, we go down there, three, four boys, we go down, we go steal the hoe. And then come home, we knock off the blade, and we cut the wood. We used to do that.

I would like to suggest that this pattern of *kain* can be explicated roughly:

(125) X *kain* Y ⇔

a. I think about this kind of Y
b. when I think about X

The X slot can be filled with a wide variety of nouns, which the speaker uses to help identify the particular kind of Y he is referring to. Again, this construction may indeed have something to do with KINDS of things, but it is clearly not semantically primitive.

The following examples demonstrate more accurately the sense of HCE *kain* that we are looking for:

(AK:610) Well, we come to Kukuihaele for all these other *kind* of foods. You come out, most time the main important things is your salt, your sugar, maybe you need rice, all those things, eh? That’s the most important thing you need in Waipio. And the rest, you don’t have to. If you want some canned stuff, you buy canned stuff. But we do buy canned stuff. We come up Kukuihaele for those things. Or Honokaa here. We come, we changed vegetables for foods, because I had nice vegetables, those days. We bring ’em to Honokaa – cucumber, all that.

(AK:614) Well, before, in that corner where that big monkeypod tree, that section was very deep before. Up there, and very deep. Well, that’s where they challenge. Otherwise, they have to go the other side. Way over that waterfall. That section challenge this section, or the upper section challenge. They jump more like high dive, you know. Them guys, they told me all that. And then dancing. They get that old

Hawaiian dancing. Not this other *kind* dancing, they get old Hawaiian dancing.

(ER:854) Yeah, merry-go-round. I think only swing and the merry-go-round. I think that’s all, only two *kind* for the kids. Oh, and sandbox, you know, the beach sand, go play sand. They make sand for their castle.
Well, before we didn't have, we didn't have these kind of things happening to us now. We didn't have. Even like sickness. Never have so much sickness like before.

Go one different place. And then the whole stream bed dry up. We just pick what we want to. Then, after we get enough, put the water back. Plenty fish. All kinds of fish.

Twelve feet. They get two kind. Twelve and fifteen. Yeah, twelve and fifteen, they have.

They got to make adjustment. So, they have two kinds, see. All the plantations, they had what they call the “irrigation field” and the “dry-land field.” What they mean by “dry land,” they no more irrigation, see. They only waiting for the rain come down. So the lines are almost flat, yo. Only when they go irrigation field, the lines stay like this, eh? So, that’s why, they got to adjust, see. From one field, from unirrigated field you go to the irrigation field, you got to adjust your point, yo. The point, you got to put one up, the other one down, the other one up, so that the low one stay inside the line. And on the long point, the one go inside the line, get one big blade, we call it, knife, yo. And that thing, he slide on top the cane and then he cut only the cane, eh?

They had, but people don’t know. Because like us, we know because we go there, look. The other kind people, the gaijin like that, they don’t go look. They don’t know what’s going in the camp. Like us, anything is something different, we go there and look. Fighting chicken.

Chinese dinner. Like get chicken, duck, chop suey. Some kind of fish, some kind of vegetables. All kinds. You get about seven, eight kine stuff on the table.

5.37.3 Examples of kain

5.37.4 X (IS) kain (OF) Y

Despite the frequency of kain in our database, there is only one clear example of predicative kain:

(SU:1545) Well, same like beef cutlet. Cut ’em thin, and then you put the bread crumbs, and then fry ’em. And then, pot roast beef, stew, curry, corned beef, corned beef hash, all those things in the menu. Scalops, fried oysters, you know, all those. Steaks. Those days, we don’t know nothing about this T-bone steak, or porterhouse steak, or what. But as you go, you learn. Ah, porterhouse steak is this kind of steak, T-bone steak is this kind of steak, New York cut is this kind of steak, sirloin steak is this kind of steak, rib steak is this kind of steak. You know, as you go buy, you learn, see? But those days, everything was cheap. T-bone steak only dollar and a quarter. Really, take big man to eat big T-bone steak, you know. Porterhouse steak is worse, bigger. Of course, get little bit more bone, but. Most of the time we used to sell sirloin steak and rib steak. Rib steak, it really tastes good because of the little bit fat in, eh? But we don’t know nothing about New York cut, filet mignon. We don’t know those things.

5.37.5 X (IS) THE SAME kain (AS) Y

There is a clear example of kain occurring with SAME used as a relator in a single clause:

(SU:1552) Okay. And then, toward to Downtown side, used to have Sarashina Inn. Serve same kind of food, but they are all different booths. So you can bring the wahine, go down there, eh? You know. And then, further down, you go to, of course, KC Drive Inn and everything, but further to Waikiki side, you have the Bluebird Cafe. You know that?

(YA:1052) Oh, same kind. Mostly, you know, repair da kine for the ship. You know, when they assign you one job, you make bearing for certain kind of job. You know, bearings, they pour by the lead already, see? All you have to do is put on machine and cut the bearing into two half. Then, you make ’em to fit, eh? That’s all, see.
5.37.5.1 THERE ARE X kain (OF) Y

There are three examples of kain co-occurring with the primitive THERE ARE:
(YA:1062) Da kine bird. **Get kinda little long-legged kind.** And then, they fly by flock on the side of the beach, eh?

*Nomoa* is a portmanteau form containing both THERE ARE and NO:
(EB:1134) Oh, New Year’s, too. We make candy—the Philippine candy, like that. But **no more this kind wrapping** on, you know.
(YA:1058) Oh, we only catch squid. **No more other kind.** Because plenty people over there, you know. Sand Island. Now, no can tell. I no can tell how Sand Island look like now. All fill up already. No more one island over there, see?

5.37.6 Summary

Examples of the following syntactic valences for KIND were found in our corpus:

X (IS A) KIND (OF) Y
X (IS) THE SAME KIND (AS) Y
THERE (ARE) X KIND(S) (OF) Y

There are no missing examples.

5.38 LIKE

5.38.1 Primitive Syntax

The following is the syntactic specification for LIKE:

I/YOU/PEOPLE/(d1)PERSON/(d1)THING/THIS IS LIKE
ME/YOU/(D1) PERSON/PEOPLE/(D1) THING/THIS

SOMEONE/PEOPLE/SOMETHING LIKE I/YOU/THIS (OTHER/ONE/TWO/MANY)
PERSON/THING

SAY-CLAUSE/HAPPEN-CLAUSE/DO-CLAUSE LIKE THIS: ...
CLAUSE1 AS (LIKE) CLAUSE2

5.38.2 HCE Candidates

There are two competing forms in HCE to consider for the primitive LIKE: *laik* and *jalaik*. There are at least six senses of the HCE token *laik*:

One sense of the form *laik* is an exponent of the NSM primitive WANT:
(BB:021) I had to work in the pineapple field. I was planting pineapple, picking pineapple; I was making good money over there. Wahiawa. [name deleted] man make good story about us. The boss came one day. He say, “[name deleted],” he say – he’s the boss, eh K5 “what kind job you **like**?” I

A related sense of laik is decomposable in terms of good feelings:

(ER:782) Yeah. Bumbai I go with them, I like da kine cowboy kind job. So after I go with them, then bumbai the chief cowboy, he like me because I little bit lively, little bit quick. Then the other two first guys, the two Sam, they kinda leave back go plant tree. Then me, every time, I go with them. That’s how I learn cowboy. Every time I go with my cousin, he like take me, too, eh. I follow him, Bill, Bill...

It is clear that WANT would not fit in the above context.

There is a sense of laik used for listing examples:

(MY:460) I had all the one team, all the school students one team, and all the guys who stick around certain-certain part, one team. And I be the league manager. Then the ball game started at the Thomas Jefferson School. I go out and get all the sponsor for them. I get the T-shirt for them and all the prizes for them. I had the sponsor like Blue Bird Cafe, Blue Ocean Inn, Ibaraki Store.

There are examples of laik which are used for incomplete enumeration. It is possible that this usage may actually cover several different senses, as indicated by preliminary attempts at explication, but I will not attempt to explain this any further in this study.

(BB:023) Yea. He fix the kin’ — he fix the houses like that. 

Laik may also serve as an interjection:

(GF:348) Gee, I go swim in there everytime, but I no feel like that. When I went home, I felt so good. I change my clothes, put on dry clothes. And about 1 o’clock we had lunch. They told me, “George, I want you to eat anything on the table.” Well, we had fish, we had chicken, we had pork, we had meat. Anything you can think of. These guys, when they came from Hilo, they bought lot of food. And, like, we get plenty chicken and ducks. Pork, meat. All the time down there. Fish.

There are numerous examples in our text of laik being used to introduce topics in discourse:

(ER:762) Hawaiian, Filipino, Japanese. That kind guys, they surround, the old man. They surround. And before I hear da kine story. Like you, you one boss for the akule. Him one boss for the akule. But if this akule belong you, and he go surround, he no get nothing. Only what’s stuck in the net again.

(ER:788) Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, “Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta be good to all the people. No come mad.” Like me, I wen go school, eh. I no learn in school. But I learn all from work. What I work, I learn from the old people, I try pick up from them.

There seem to be a number of phrasemes involving laik.

For examples, the phrase laik ai sed:

(MY:457) No, we all moved out. After a while, we moved out. So, we move to Kapahulu. Like I said, everybody start moving out because that’s only lease land. You lease.

There is also the form fio laik:

(SU:565) It’s almost double size. I had one room especially for this Press Club. You know, all the newspaper guys, Press Club, yeah? Exclusive for them for use, with the soft chairs and everything. They can come in and out, anytime they feel like when we’re open.

There is the form luk laik:

(ER:786) He tell, “You look this one, you compare this one to this.” So I look what’s the difference. Then he tell you what the difference. You look, but you tell him, “Shee, I don’t know the difference. To me, look like the same.” “No, this one narrow, this one heavy build, bull, short, heavy. This one long, no more.” He tell you all this kind, and you gotta think every time, eh, how they tell you.

There is the form sein laik:

(SU:544) Well, same like on a restaurant. Hamburger, hamburger steak, veal cutlet, pork cutlet, and turtle cutlet. You know, those days, you can get turtle, eh?
It would be hard to be comprehensive in my coverage of the polysemy of laik without a significant additional investment in time. Nevertheless, I think the point is made that laik is a complex polysemous form.

There is a sense of laik which is close to the primitive LIKE. In the following examples, mi serves as kind of a surface object to laik, but it also serves as a kind of underlying subject:

(BB:015) I worked in the field. You know [name deleted], he’s the contractor, eh. I was one of fastest hoe hana guy. So, when I came over here too, eh they see me hoe hana, eh – Shee!, the guy tell me, he never see one guy can hoe hana like me. You know Kukuihaele side, when you go below the road, eh get plenty stone. But when you stay above the main highway around warehouse side, eh around there no more stone, you know. Good land all the way up to...

(JB:65) Oh yeah. Filipino. See, my father was a Spanish-Filipino. My mother was a Hawaiian. My mother has a royal blood. We had the alii blood, you ever heard of alii? But I don’t know how to explain what is alii mean. Alii is some kind of legend that the Hawaiian people, I don’t know how to explain it, but I can try, though. Because my family, we are from the alii family. Alii means .... that’s why I wanted my wife to come back. Because she knows the Hawaiian most. She doesn’t speak like me but at least she knows something. I have the alii blood, I have Hawaiian blood, I have Filipino blood, I have the Spanish blood. Oh, my mother is not pure Chinese, only partly I think.

The following frame involves ai as the subject of a matrix verb containing a LIKE adjunct:

(NC:150) She doesn’t. She try to go out one time. Try to cut rice. Just for the fun of it. But she cannot. Cutting rice is hard. Dai Ho is good cutting rice. One time Ah Kong was telling, “Oh, if I can hold so many thing like you folks. You folks cannot catch me.” So one time Dai Ho said, “Now you can hold eight.” He said, “Go ahead. We race.” Ah Kong look at him, he say, “Just because you faster than me that’s why he tell me.” Dai Ho is fast cutting rice.

Presumably, this sentence may be paraphrased in part as:

(126) I AM LIKE you folks
(127) I can hold so many thing

The HCE token jus laik (or alternately jalaik) has a much less complicated polysemy.

In the non-primitive sense of jus laik, there is a NP following jus laik.

This NP serves as a kind of underlying subject:

(KK:111) She was walking jus like one egg.

(NK:921) The ‘ula’ula. That’s lau-loa, that. We no make much da kine for poi. Because they all come up, swell up, just like baking powder. When you make pancake, they all...

(i.e., All of them swelled up like baking powder would swell up)

This NP may also serve as a kind of underlying object:

(ER:816) No, I used to go down every time with the brother. Me and him every time, most weekends I go down. So, Rebecca father and the mother, I every time go down there, they treat me just like their son, too, eh. They keep me, I go down there and then I take goat. Sometime we go buy cracker from over here. We take ’em box of cracker. Sometime we reach down there, smash, eh. All grind, smash eh. Sometime I go buy flour, and take flour. She fry pancake. So every time I used to go down there. So them guys, I think they take me just like one boy, too, for them. Me too, I think them, that’s my father. That time I no marry her, eh. They my father and my mother. I think them just like father and the mother for me.

(WK:710) Ohelo berries. The tea. The leaves, the young shoots. You boil it just like tea. (i.e., you boil the leaves like you would boil tea)

There are a very few similar examples with laik:

(TA:46) Yeah, you work by hand. You don’t push the whole thing up like the bulldozer.

(i.e., you don’t push the whole thing up like a bulldozer would push the whole thing up) The following is an example of the other major non-polysemous sense of jus laik:
So I look what’s the difference. Then he tell you what the difference. You look, but you tell him, “Shee, I don’t know the difference. To me, look like the same.” “No, this one narrow, this one heavy build, bull, short, heavy. This one long, no more.” He tell you all this kind, and you gotta think every time, eh, how they tell you. What kind big, what kind this one. And then, he tell you, “This one how many pound, you think?” So, like me, just like I guess, yeah. I tell ’em, maybe this one 500 pound, and he tell you how you know if 500 pound. How you know? Then you tell, “Oh, because he look bigger than this guy.” No. He tell, “No, you wrong. You look by the weight. You figure out how much weight this guy. You no guess.” You gotta come close, eh, when you figure out.

Roughly speaking, this example means it is like I am guessing.

5.38.3 Examples of laik

5.38.3.1 I (AM) laik X

There is a single canonical example of \(I\) as the subject to a predicational \textit{like}:

(FD:250) Victor Hauanio. He come from Puna, my dad. You look my daddy, he’s not like a pure Hawaiian. Too bad I don’t have the picture. I don’t know if my sister got the pictures. Maybe one of my sisters had the picture. Maybe some day, I’ll ask her for the pictures. Try look at my daddy. Handsome looking man. And even my mom. He get high cheek bone and you know his complexion, is real smooth and light brown. I used to be like that when I was a young girl. When I play so much, you see my face, I have rosy cheeks. Even my nose. All red. That’s what they told me. I’m not pure Hawaiian.

5.38.3.2 SOMEONE (IS) laik X

There is a single canonical example of \textit{SOMEONE} as the subject to a predicational \textit{like}:

(MM:320) Yeah. Those days I think a lot of people was like that.

5.38.3.3 PEOPLE (ARE) laik X

There is a single canonical example of \textit{PEOPLE} as the subject to a predicational \textit{like}:

(YA:1057) Yeah, yeah. Then I sell the other one to that old man, the painter. He asked me, “You like sell this lot to me, I build one house for my boy. My boy going get married.” At that time, he was only about sixteen, seventeen years old. I was so kind, you know. I said, “All right. I sell ’em to you.” I sell ’em to him with the net price was only $750. I buy ’em $500, I get one house. I sell the other one for $750, I think I making little bit money already. So, if I never sell ’em to him, I build one house for rent, oh, more good, you know. The housing in front of my eye all the time. But no, I sell ’em to him. When I sell ’em to him, what he do? He put two houses in the lot for rent. He catch me. All kind tricks, anyway. People are like that. No can help, eh?

5.38.3.4 SOMETHING (IS) laik X

There are two canonical examples of \textit{SOMETHING} as the subject to a predicational \textit{like}:

(AK:666) No, no. That time, never damage nothing. That thing was just like that. Whoever like go in, they go in. They no care. But, only the old people said, “Whatever you do, whenever you go inside, you better not touch around and take anything from there.”

(GF:350) Well, I don’t know. The Lord says, “In the last days.” We in the last dispensation now. Everything near the end is going to be like that. Lot of pestilence.
5.38.3.5 X (IS) laik ME

There is one clear canonical example of predicative LIKE with a me object:

(FD:277) Just like me. I named my, my namesake is Fannie. I don’t know how I had call her my name, only my English name. But my Hawaiian name, I didn’t name to not one of my children.

The following is also a near-canonical example of predicative LIKE. I have included this example, because presumably us contains ai in its explication.

(FD:285) Yeah. That’s why I figure, as the patches go, just like us, eh? When we eat some stuff, and no more nothing already the taste eh, everything, just like fruits you plant, sometime. Every year doesn’t bear good fruit eh?

5.38.3.6 X (IS) laik SOMEONE

There is a single good canonical example of laik with PERSON as object:

(YA:1022) Well, I believe, I think so, but they no tell me yes or no. You know, could be, eh? I don’t think about they no believe me, but when they heard, they say that to me. One man tell me—one fella that I told him, I don’t know, when I was kinda old man already. Forty, fifty years old already. He tell me, “You sure you saw a menehune?” “Yeah.” I say yeah, you know. Then, they say it’s all menehune, they never see. But no, they see Indian only, you know. So, bumbai, they tell me menehune is a small, little man, see? They just like a person, but they small, little man, you know. Just like some kind of a people that you cannot see, eh? But so small, eh?

There are two near-canonical examples of the valence:

(AK:621) Filipinos, they had; what they have, they always invite all. They invite everybody up the valley, whoever con go. You always welcome to. We are like family down there, before, in Waipio those days. We like one family. Never had any kind of trouble. We always like one family. Always helping one another.

(FD:283) They play around the taro patch. Go in the stream. And I had my oldest boy, he worked with that, with my husband. They pull taro, the three of them, Adloph, and then the one in Honolulu, and then one up the Mainland. I had the three boys. And my oldest daughter, my grand daughter’s mom, she’s a hard working girl. Those kids, you never hear them asking money, they want to go movie, or they want to go carnival. They are like his own son. I was lucky, I had good children. You can tell Fannie this. Didn’t bother nobody until they grow up. Even I had Catherine, that was the baby of the first family. Well, she loved this father more than her own. Because she was kind of dark, eh, they think that Filipino baby, that.

5.38.3.7 X (IS) laik THIS

There are canonical examples of predicational like relating people anaphorically. Presumably, the object daet is decomposable into the primitive THIS:

(FD:250) Victor Hauanio. He come from Puna, my dad. You look my daddy, he’s not like a pure Hawaiian. Too bad I don’t have the picture. I don’t know if my sister got the pictures. Maybe one of my sisters had the picture. Maybe some day, I’ll ask her for the pictures. Try look at my daddy. Handsome looking man. And even my mom. He get high cheek bone and you know his complexion, is real smooth and light brown. I used to be like that when I was a young girl. When I play so much, you see my face, I have rosy cheeks. Even my nose. All red. That’s what they told me. I’m not pure Hawaiian.

(MM:320) Yeah. Those days I think a lot of people was like that.

(YA:1057) Yeah, yeah. Then I sell the other one to that old man, the painter. He asked me, “You like sell this lot to me, I build one house for my boy. My boy going get married.” At that time, he was only about sixteen, seventeen years old. I was so kind, you know. I said, “All right. I sell ‘em to you.” I sell ‘em to him with the net price was only $750. I buy ‘em $500, I get one house. I sell the other one for
$750, I think I making little bit money already. So, if I never sell 'em to him, I build one house for rent, oh, more good, you know. The housing in front of my eye all the time. But no, I sell 'em to him. When I sell 'em to him, what he do? He put two houses in the lot for rent. He catch me. All kind tricks, anyway.

**People are like that.** No can help, eh?

(AK:666) No, no. That time, never damage nothing. That thing was just like that. Whoever like go in, they go in. They no care. But, only the old people said, “Whatever you do, whenever you go inside, you better not touch around and take anything from there.”

5.38.3.8 X (IS) laik SOMETHING

There is a single near-canonical example of predicational like with an object expression decomposable into the primitive *SOMETHING*.

(MM:369) Oh, what was different? All right. The first thing, well, before the trucking, we had already, we used to have this sling. They get two cables. That was lousy kind of work, too. You get cables about thirty feet long, I think. And then, on the end of the cable they get one kind of hook like this, see, on both side. And then, the hapai ko man, they got to go get that inside the car, you know. They get 'em all inside the cane car. Because when they finish one field to the other field, they load 'em all in the car, see. So, the hapai ko man got to go get that damn thing. And the cable is pretty big, and all stay twist around like this, eh? It's not like string or cable like this. That's why I say, on the end they get one iron ball like that. And that thing is weight, eh? They got to go get that and then line up two, yo. And then, they got to load their cane on top that sling, you see. We call 'em “sling,” yeah?

5.38.3.9 X laik ME

There are two canonical examples of laik relating ME:

(AK:670) Waipio is not so bad. My ghost experience in Waipio is not very bad. It was down the beach, yeah, I saw 'em. When I go out fishing, I see another man poling up in front of me. Just when you get near, you lose 'em. That's all. But in the Kona one, really, that I did see that. Kona, I seen 'em with my own eye, and I talk to the person. That damn thing wen disappear right in front me, like this. That terrible, no. That thing came out as a human being, like you and I. And I did see it with my own eyes. And I follow, right behind, right next to 'em. I can touch, you. But my hand never touch the guy. Just come just around the corner, it disappear right in front of me. “Where you?” Not there no more. Oh boy, my hair went up that way. And then it come dark, I run. I run.

(YA:1025) Oh, the pork, da kine. When my father moved down Waiahole, no more house, yet, see? Down there, no more houses. In Honolulu, only the Mayflower bring the flour, the pork, any kind utensil, any kind. Hackfeld. You know, American Factors? That's German people own that. And then, they call Hackfeld, that's only one name. So, Hackfeld, they get somebody, young fellow like me, go around get order.

There is a single near-canonical example of laik relating ME, assuming that as is decomposable in terms of *I*:

(ER:826) Saddles, the stable boy, everything on the stable, that's his duty. He take care the stable, but he get one helper. One young guy like us going helper one week, every week he get one helper for him.

5.38.3.10 X laik YOU

There are several canonical examples of attributive laik relating YOU:

(AK:670) Waipio is not so bad. My ghost experience in Waipio is not very bad. It was down the beach, yeah, I saw 'em. When I go out fishing, I see another man poling up in front of me. Just when you get near, you lose 'em. That’s all. But in the Kona one, really, that I did see that. Kona, I seen 'em with
my own eye, and I talk to the person. That darn thing wen disappear right in front me, like this. That
terrible, no. That thing came out as a human being, like you and I. And I did see it with my own eyes.
And I follow, right behind, right next to ‘em. I can touch, you. But my hand never touch the guy. Just
come just around the corner, it disappear right in front of me. “Where you?” Not there no more. Oh boy,
my hair went up that way. And then it come dark, I run. I run.

(FD:263) But they felt sorry, too. They said, well, for me to get married, maybe stop me from
working. That was his plan. He look. I work so ha rd and then he didn’t want me to work. And I was too
young to work. I said, “Aren’t you happy that what you doing I can do?” And I tells him that. He said, “I
know, but it’s a man’s job. It’s not for a girl like you.” And then I used to come back, come back, come
back. And he felt sorry. He took me back in the house.

5.38.3.11 X laik SOMEONE

There are several near-canonical examples of laik relating SOMEONE:

(KO:119) He like a boy like Hale.
(KK:112) She neva can learn how she ga big nose like Pinocchio.
(JL:23) I don’t know. Dat part I don’t know. I tink Carter got dese. No odda manager like Carter.
(FD:275) That’s the kind, you know, that. So, with my mom and my dad, they do believe because my
daddy is a Catholic and my mom is something like Protestant. Just like Roy, and the LDS. All that
kind. They do believe that God above is our healer. Because God is every where, if you do believe there’s
such thing as God above to help. And then man made, you know, this knowledge to these people that
they can heal too. But my mom never say nothing.

Again, I am assuming that the above objects to laik are all decomposable in terms of SOMEONE.

5.38.3.12 X laik SOMETHING

There are numerous near-canonical examples of attributive laik relating SOMETHING:

(AK:603) Something like Chinese food. Most time Chinese food. They have all kind food. Everybody
eat the same food. Only Sunday, sometime, we get little bit more different food than the old
Chinese. But not bad.

(AK:665) Yeah, inside the stone wall. Something like stone wall. Like now, she or he wen die, they
stay put the money on top the eye. One dollar. We go there, we go look, eh. Broke down the stone wall,
or whatever thing. We did that how many time.

(AK:667) Everybody can go and visit, eh. Could see, something to look at that. Too bad. Anybody
can see. Did you ever go down to Puna side? Keau side? Did you two go over there? I tell you, this is a
rock, something like a leg here. It stay in the ocean. It flaps this way in the ocean. Only small. More
like a swivel stay holding this. If you ever go, I think the only way you can go and see that, you go down
to the Shippens, at Keau.

(FD:266) And I keep cleaning the house. Oo, funny, I feel you know. Funny kind, the pain, you
know. It hurts, the front part. I didn’t have to have anybody. You know what I did? I held on to the
broom handle. When I feel funny and then my mom said, “Oh, better go inside. Go in the bedroom.”
“What for?” “Well, I think you going have your baby.” And I just hear this thing, you know the water
bag bust and then that thing flow down. And then we had something like the futon, the thick blanket.
She put down on the floor. I just knelt by the side of the bed and I just had my hold hands like this. And
I just held to my own hands like this. The baby came out.

(FD:272) No, no. That cheesecloth, something like cheesecloth. And they have big bundles, eh?
Something like the gauze. In school we used to have that, Waipio School, we have those. So we good
with the principal, we ask him, we could have some because once in a while they have doctor go down
down for any school kids, they get hurt like that.
Before days was good because we don’t use no chemical down Waipio. Especially that poison. All over the place we can, all clean. We just clean ’em and then bunch. Tie ’em up and then hang ’em, dry ’em. And then when we like, we just, maybe one whole plant, maybe big the plant. We just roll ’em and roll ’em. And then put ’em in a kettle, big kettle. And then you boil ’em. They used to get plenty. Even the mango leaves, even the coffee leaves, they used to use that for tea. But my mom them, they have that kookoolau, remember that plant? And now is the other one, **something like kookoolau**, I have that one stay in Kukuihaele. We use those things.

Was the apii. Apii and the, what you call that already. Most, that eating taro. They used to have that haakea, **something like the apii**, the white one. And they used to take the pololu, the one Araki has. Well, I tell them, “That, we have that in Waipio, but we don’t use that for poi.” But Mr. Kaneshiro used to mix his taro before with some. And that thing, you cannot put in the machine when it’s cold. That thing is so tough, solid eh, the taro.

Yeah, yeah, like slides. Yeah, **something like slides**. You know, they put the slide in, and then little while, they change it, put another one.

Yeah! You know, it’s hard to explain. But when nice hot days, when they burn the cane, you know from the joints, **something like molasses** come out, you know.

No, no. No taro land. That was way back. Maybe some of the oldtimers, they know. That was a racetrack, where I had. And they used to raise pigs and coffee. **Something like a coffee farm and stuff.**

No I haven’t, because they not dependable. I think some of the farmers are using them, which they have problems at certain time. When you have a order to go to a shop, whichever, **something like a contract**, you have to fulfill it. And with this kind of people, you cannot depend on them because today they might be working, they won’t come work three or four days later. Another day, they might be back again.

You know, they have **something like dams** up there. Which have screens which takes the water to the inlets for their pumps. When this thing get plugged, the thing goes over that dike-like. And comes into the valley. You have that, but actually, we have the water come from the Kohala side now, coming down. Which, the main amount of water is coming from the pumps on the top.

**something like dominoes.** What they call that? Tingnau, Chinese call them. It’s more like dominoes but different arranging. They get all red dots and white dots on top that stuff. I don’t know how that thing works.

Again, I am assuming that the above objects to laik are all decomposable in terms of SOMETHING.

5.38.3.13 X laik THIS

There are several canonical examples of laik relating THIS:

Yeah, **something like a table like this**. You put like this, you stand one side, you pound. Easier.

Yeah. They play record, eh? You don’t see that. Once in a while you see in the TV, though. The big—you know what kind I mean? With the big **speaker like this**?

No, actually, I don’t have inlets. Of my entire area, this is the whole area that I have. I had a side ditch going right down, so they have all small paddies **here like this**, eh. Then you have one other ditch coming over here which supplies everything. Each patch can be dried at any time that I want to, because I’m taking the water from the side of the ditch. And each have a center road coming up, like this here. Which divides the patches.

Oh, anyway, when you small time, you got to fight for fun, anyhow. No can help, eh? And then, come big, then they know, see? They know each other. Some of them, they used to fight with me. Oh, I was small time, I think. Oh, about ten, fourteen, twenty years, I think, you know. **Small kid like this**, eh? And when I was small, all like that, too. We fight, eh? The mother and father take ’em to Oakland. You know, Portuguese town, eh? Oakland, California.
Oh, they can hold plenty. You know, they get one box like this, eh? You know? And then, the back is open with a door, eh? And then, the two sides fenced up, see? They make the driver in the front here. And then, the horses in the front. Then, over here, the seat for the driver can sit down two or three people. Then, they get about one seat, two seat, three seat, four seat. Every seat can seat four people, see?

There are several near-canonical examples of laik relating THIS:

Yeah. Just because the way they tie the rope. You had to get a rope loop, and hang on a tree. That’s the trail for the horse to go. Then you put that right over there. And then, you drive the horse, the horse go through there. Okay? Sometime too big the loop, he go right back, catch the leg. You know, sometime catch the hind leg, or something like that. Broke, eh?

No. Only we sing some songs, the boys come around, we play around. Tapping the stone, we sing something like that.

Good. Really, something like pod. But if you put more pod, then you taste more of the pod. But you put less pod, then you’ll taste little bit different. Kind of, taste like the flour, something like that.

Like Koloa side, I know mostly all the fields and the roads. I used to know, eh? But the Grove Farm side, that’s new to me. So, I study the map. What fields is located where and where the road is. And the roads got to be pretty big, you know. It’s not for small trucks; it’s for big haul-cane trucks, see. So, I have to go check the road and see if I think the road is suitable for the big trucks. And if not, I got to report, and then have it fixed, see. And some places, you got to make a bridge or things like that, eh? That was all under my kuleana, see.

Then when I come Honolulu, I find out the Japanese make cabbage, easy. They no need put outside, the sun. They just put ‘em inside the kitchen. They put hot water and cook ‘em little bit. Then put ‘em inside the container, and then put little bit Shoyu or vinegar or something like that. Afternoon, they take ‘em out, they eat ‘em. See? That’s why, I learn how to make cabbage, salt cabbage. No need overnight. My father keep ‘em one month before he bring ‘em out.

Just go see what they look like, eh? So, I carry my blanket with me and my coat. When I pau eat, when come dark, I go by the bench over there, the side. I go by the corner, where the corner end of the house, and I lay down on the corner and sleep. Put the coat over me, that’s all. And the blanket or something like that. That’s how we go sleep, you know. No more rooming, no more hotels.

Here, I am assuming that daet is decomposable in terms of THIS.

There are several clear examples of laik linking a SAY-CLAUSE with the primitive THIS:

This guy [name deleted], the carpenter boss, he tell my father, go inside the shop over there and go make one coffin. He tell like that to my father. So my father went, he say, “Give me the size.” So he gave ’em the size; he made. And then my father, he put the glass on top right on the coffin and he bolt ’em down, eh. He tell those guys, when you put the dead man inside and then you bolt the glass down, and then you put the board on top, then the smell no come out. My father make like that.... Eh, the guy tell like that.... You know [name deleted] was a carpenter to, you know... He tell my father, “You make better job, you go over there, you take the job.” So my father took the shop.

Yea, because I was working the kin’ too. But then after, when I be taxi driver, like that you know, I moved out from there and used to live with my friend. The mother was gonna come from Maui so I told my brother-in-law go look for me house.... near Kuakini, the hospital. I told him like that.

No. They no tell me like that because me kolohe boy, you know, that time.
Bill, yeah. 'Cause every time I look at him, he make net. I go over there, look, bumbai he tell, “You like learn?” “Yeah, yeah.” “Here, make like this, like this, like this.” Pau. Then I learn. Then, the old people said if your first net you make, and you go throw and catch the fish, the first fish you catch, you gotta go eat ’em. They tell me like that. What this kind, I don’t know. But they tell me the first fish you catch from your net mean you going get good luck because you eat the fish. Because the fish you wen catch maybe you get ten, eh, inside, but the first one you catch, that’s the one you gotta keep. And you gotta eat that fish. That’s what they tell me.

Let me see, Fannie knows all the boys and she used to call them and say, “Oh, we need help.” And they come, they check, they say, “Some kind disease is going around.” And, you know.... So I tells them like this. Something must have been wrong, maybe I neglect God, maybe I owe Him. But in my way of thinking, I don’t. Whatever I had I used to keep, and keep, and I’m good and ready, I hand over to Roy. That’s just like my gift, there’s a time that you have to give. What I do with my hands, with the strength of my God, what it says, I think of God. Well, if I fall on the wayside, the only thing I got to do, ask God, “What is this?” Everybody is suffering.

Yeah. I changed. I cannot get Then, I had Filipino working for me. He told me like that, “I told you no raise lehua.”

Then, I talk to the processor last month. I say, “Hey, how come you raising up the price of poi, and then you not raising up our taro?” “How much you want to charge me? You put it on the bill, I pay you.” He told me that. I said, “I want you to pay me how much you think the taro is worth.” Then he tells me, “Gee, when you were younger, you squawk like anything. Now you no care for money?” He tells me like that. I say, “Yeah, money isn’t everything. I cannot pack with me. I don’t have much, but when you got anybody age come to 70, no use make too much money. I get no more children.”

And if they wanted to come over and take over the business. When they came, well, “You try. From November to December, January. If the job no good, you can go back where you came from. Go find other jobs.” I think he came in October, you know. Then I told him, “All right. You sure like the business now?” “Oh, I love to raise taro. That’s good. That’s easy. Easy. That’s nothing to it.” Then.... It’s all right I tell you like that, how they started? Or you don’t want.

Yeah, they enjoyed for the while. You see, I told him like that, “You and I sharecrop, half and half. I get you the truck, the company pay for the truck. After the truck is paid up, it’s yours. I don’t want it back. But if the truck is not paid up, it’s still yet mine, that’s my down payment. You pay me back my down payment if you quit.” “Yeah. Okay, okay.” “But I don’t have to put it down black and white. You and I know. As long as you know in your heart, I know in my heart, and in my mind. In your heart, and in your mind you know it. And keep the truck good. Use it as it is yours, not somebody else’s.”

In the above examples, it is not clear to me whether daet is an exponent of THIS. At worst, it is a semantic molecule containing THIS.

There is a single canonical example of laik linking a HAPPEN-CLAUSE with the primitive THIS:

(JL:9) I don’t know if my sista stay home. I tink she still home yet. She gotta– I lend her but she never return, huh. I neva know dis ting would be happen like dis.

There are two clear examples of laik linking a HAPPEN-CLAUSE with the primitive THIS:

There are two good near-canonical example of the combination of the primitive DO, laik, and the primitive THIS:

(KK:114) An Kele said, “Oh ma, don do a ting like dat! Ek ’e kiss you!”

(TA:48) And to clean the patch, that’s another job. I leave little bit water but I don’t let the water run. Let little bit water come in, little going out. Maybe about inch or so water. Lot of people they dry,
then easier to pull. You see, we dry the patch long--this soil is clear soil--he packs hard again. Then you have to go disc, harrow or do something like that. But as long as get water in there, the paddies won't come hard. Like me, I no more machine. So if I hire you guys over there and you go work for me, I have to pay 'em. Just keep little water in there so the ground stay moist all the time.

In the above examples, it is not clear to me, whether daet is an exponent of THIS. At worst, it is a semantic molecule containing THIS.

There is also an interesting example of a similar syntactic frame:

(NC:172) Because those days, they get some strong fellow, they carry the taro, two bunch taro. They carry it, they lift, put on top the arm over here and then throw on top. Then he get one fellow by the name of Tom Kua. He's a big Hawaiian guy. He just swing 'em like that, he put 'em on top, without putting on top here. So those boys know I am strong, but they don't know if I get heart or not, so he kidded me, he “I like see the rice farmer do like what Tom Kua did.” I said, “Well, how did he do?” He said, “You know, he lift the taro, he just go like this. He put 'em on top here.” I said, “Don’t put on top here?” He said, “No.” You know, most of them, they swing, they put them on top here, then from here they swing them on top. I said, “No, I cannot.”

5.38.4 Examples of jasley

5.38.4.1 I (AM) jasley $X$

(FD:277) Yeah, his father. My grandma married the father. So just like I’m a big sister to them. So that's why when she died, she had a property. The property was made on me. But I didn't want to fight for property. So that's why, Samuel get one other brother in Honolulu, eh? That's Dukie's daddy. Dukie Mock Chew. They are taro farmer too. So his daddy, I told him to go find out for the property. If I wanted to, if I was greedy, I would have all the property. So I just tell them go look before somebody get in, and they can claim. If you don’t keep up with the tax, somebody else can have the place. Because that place belongs to me. But I didn't want to make trouble, so I’m just like their big sister because my grandma married to their daddy.

(NC:161) They told me, “You don’t have to pay what tidal wave takes away. Because that's Act of God. That's not your fault.” I said, “Gee, how would I feel if one of them hangs himself? I'll be just like a murderer.” I told them. They said, “No, it's not your fault.” I said, “I know it's not, but it's easier for me to pay them than keep me worried.” So I paid.

5.38.4.2 SOMEONE (IS) jasley $X$

(WK:695) Uh huh. Take care the irrigation. He was just like the boss like.

(YA:1049) Bumbai, I work for I don’t know how long. Maybe couple years, see. Then, another quarterman come around. The quarterman taking charge. The quarterman is higher than the leaderman. Leaderman is just like straw boss, eh? So, the quarterman say, “Can you do this machine work?” I say, “Yeah, I can.” They put me one job. He write one slip, see. Tell me go down the storeroom, get the materials. Then he say, “Here you stay. This machine, you going work.” And I said, “I don’t know how to run the machine.” They show me how to handle the machine. So, after that, I put the job on, I make the job come good.

5.38.4.3 SOMETHING (IS) jasley $X$

There are two canonical examples of SOMETHING as subject to jasley:

(AK:666) No, no. That time, never damage nothing. That thing was just like that. Whoever like go in, they go in. They no care. But, only the old people said, “Whatever you do, whenever you go inside, you better not touch around and take anything from there.”
(FD:272) I think you know this crawling vine. Waipio get. The crawling vine–by my place, they have on the taro patch. That thing just like rope. The kids used to use that for jumping rope, before. But they had one more other one, it’s the white one. The leaf is not too green, it’s kind of light color. And that thing has white flower, just like the morning glory, eh? I think they pick four or five flowers, you know the dry ones, the ones already closed and the ones open, and the leaves, dry and the green one.

There are three near-canonical examples of something as subject to jaslaik:

(EB:1140) Then, we come. We ride the Humuula. I don’t know if you remember the Humuula. No more Humuula. The steamer, the Humuula. The old one. The old Humuula. From Honolulu to Kona. Yeah. Kailua. So, boy, that time. Funny thing is, when I come from the Philippine, come to Honolulu, I no feel dizzy. But from Honolulu to Kona, oh, just like the house spinning around. Two days, boy. Yeah, funny thing. Hoo, the house just like the propeller of the airplane. Yeah, when I see ’em, look. Oh, I close my eye when I lay down.

(YA:1024) Just boil ’em. Take the skin out and eat like that. Just how you eat potato. The taro is just like one potato. You take the skin out and eat ’em like that. When I went to school, I don’t know how old I was already. I know my schoolteachers, Mrs. March, that’s the one that she own all the place. I don’t know if she owned it or was the government or what. She owned a big one schoolhouse.

(YA:1026) Regular, house. They build. Only they can build da kine house is like this, see? You know?

5.38.4.4 X (IS) jaslaik SOMEONE

There is one canonical example of jaslaik with SOMEONE as object.

(YA:1022) I don’t think about they no believe me, but when they heard, they say that to me. One man tell me–one fella that I told him, I don’t know, when I was kinda old man already. Forty, fifty years old already. He tell me, “You sure you saw a menehune?” “Yeah.” I say yeah, you know. Then, they say it’s all menehune, they never see. But no, they see Indian only, you know. So, bumbai, they tell me menehune is a small, little man, see? They just like a person, but they small, little man, you know. Just like some kind of a people that you cannot see, eh? But so small, eh?

There are several near-canonical examples of jaslaik relating SOMEONE.

(FD:247) Then he moved to Hilo. We were all together. We were just like family, when they had their poi shop. And then my brother used to work for them. He worked all over the place, my brother. So that’s how we get to know everybody. So I told the boy, “Yeah, you better be good boy, help your father. Your father say, you a spoiled boy.” He doesn’t care to work.

(FD:277) Yeah, his father. My grandma married the father. So just like I’m a big sister to them. So that’s why when she died, she had a property. The property was made on me. But I didn’t want to fight for property. So that’s why, Samuel get one other brother in Honolulu, eh? That’s Dukie’s daddy. Dukie Mock Chew. They are taro farmer too. So his daddy, I told him to go find out for the property. If I wanted to, if I was greedy, I would have all the property. So I just tell them go look before somebody get in, and they can claim. If you don’t keep up with the tax, somebody else can have the place. Because that place belongs to me. But I didn’t want to make trouble, so I’m just like their big sister because my grandma married to their daddy.

(GF:305) Yeah, he tells me what to do. He tells me what he wants me to do. He’s the boss. He tells everybody what to do. Those days, the old man doesn’t work. He’s the boss. All the Chinese just like kings down there.

(NC:161) They told me, “You don’t have to pay what tidal wave takes away. Because that’s Act of God. That’s not your fault.” I said, “Gee, how would I feel if one of them hangs himself? I’ll be just like a murderer.” I told them. They said, “No, it’s not your fault.” I said, “I know it’s not, but it’s easier for me to pay them than keep me worried.” So I paid.

(WK:695) Uh huh. Take care the irrigation. He was just like the boss like.
(YA:1049) Bumbai, I work for I don’t know how long. Maybe couple years, see. Then, another quar-
terman come around. The quarterman taking charge. The quarterman is higher than the leaderman.
Leaderman is just like straw boss, eh? So, the quarterman say, “Can you do this machine work?” I say,
“Yeah, I can.” They put me one job. He write one slip, see. Tell me go down the storeroom, get the
materials. Then he say, “Here you stay. This machine, you going work.” And I said, “I don’t know how to
run the machine.” They show me how to handle the machine. So, after that, I put the job on, I make the
job come good.

5.38.4.5 X (IS) jalaiik YOU

There are several canonical examples of jalaiik with YOU as object:
(FD:269) That’s why all my children today. They look at me. I going be 67 on the 24th of this
month. They all look and cry at me. “Mom, you so strong. To look at you, Mom, I wonder if we going be
just like you. Of your age and we can still, you know. With all the children, you had all of us.” And they
all started to cry. And then my oldest one she said, “Aren’t you folks all happen to see our mom, she’s
stronger than us?” And they all started to cry. Even the one from Hilo. He started to grab me, you know.

5.38.4.6 X (IS) jalaiik SOMETHING

There is a near-canonical example of jalaiik with SOMETHING as object:
(EB:1140) Then, we come. We ride the Humuula. I don’t know if you remember the Humuula. No
more Humuula. The steamer, the Humuula. The old one. The old Humuula. From Honolulu to Kona.
Yeah. Kailua. So, boy, that time. Funny thing is, when I come from the Philippine, come to Honolulu, I
no feel dizzy. But from Honolulu to Kona, oh, just like the house spinning around. Two days, boy.
Yeah, funny thing. Hoo, the house just like the propeller of the airplane. Yeah, when I see ‘em, look. Oh,
I close my eye when I lay down.

(FD:272) I think you know this crawling vine. Waipio get. The crawling vine–by my place, they have
on the taro patch. That thing just like rope. The kids used to use that for jumping rope, before. But they
had one more other one, it’s the white one. The leaf is not too green, it’s kind of light color. And that
thing has white flower, just like the morning glory, eh? I think they pick four or five flowers, you know
the dry ones, the ones already closed and the ones open, and the leaves, dry and the green one.

(FD:273) Just like the piston of the anthurium, that plant. It’s just like a cabbage. I think, on my
taro patch bank, I usually have. But now I don’t know if Araki’s have. That thing grow flat, just like
cabbage leaf. I think she remember seeing. I don’t know, my backyard used to have.

(FD:274) Yeah, that thing just like the tea leaves. Small leaves. And then have the small little
pokeys. Sometime, if only one loose in the pants like this, you can feel that thing. Oh, you can feel ‘em,
eh? That plant.

(GF:337) Oh, near the taro patch banks. You know, when you get dirt that’s damp, the ground is
damp. Always damp. The dirt is just like clay. But if you have dirt covered with water, it turn to mud.

(TA:43) Every weekend I come down. That’s when I bought one old military jeep. Because the Army
was stationed down here too. Had some military guys, they was watching the beach. So the Army wen
bulldozer and try level up the road. Before that, you know the trail going up, is just like one step
ladder. That’s where the mules step every time, the same holes. And then the road was real narrow,
those days. Now is kind of wide, they fixed it. That’s when they come down with their jeeps too. Since
the War, when the car was going up and down.

(YA:1024) Just boil ‘em. Take the skin out and eat like that. Just how you eat potato. The taro is
just like one potato. You take the skin out and eat ‘em like that. When I went to school, I don’t know
how old I was already. I know my schoolteachers, Mrs. March, that’s the one that she own all the place. I
don’t know if she owned it or was the government or what. She owned a big one schoolhouse.
There are two clear examples of jaslaik with THIS as object:

(AK:666) No, no. That time, never damage nothing. That thing was just like that. Whoever like go in, they go in. They no care. But, only the old people said, “Whatever you do, whenever you go inside, you better not touch around and take anything from there.”

(YA:1026) Regular, house. They build. Only they can build da kine house is like this, see? You know?

5.38.4.8 Clause jaslaik Clause

There are several good canonical examples of jaslaik relating two clauses:

(ER:777) Yeah, I think me more old than him. But that time, Lana'i, he was working first, just like him more old than me, eh, what, they seniority.

(ER:842) By hand, yeah. By hand and they cook the tar, put tar on top when they was making the road. And so those Japanese, they work hard. They smart how they work the road. You know, they cut the stone only with the hammer and small little stuff. When you look, easy, they make 'em straight, yeah, all the stone. Just like carpenter. They know the grain of the lumber, how the way lumber run, just like they know the stone, how the grain run.

(ER:859) He tell me, “The people talk, you no believe. You believe what you think you make.” He tell me, “No believe what people talk. When they talk any kind, they make you just like you no more fight on your net.” He tell me, “No believe.” Bumbai I tell 'em, “You guys all bullshit.” “I no believe you guys.” Just like bumbai my net all come junk. Then bumbai I make one more net, I make one more net. I go throw fish, I catch, catch fish. Yeah, you know, catch, catch fish with my net. Them guys tell me, “Eh, your net good luck.” “No, you guys tell me my net manini. You guys, I no believe this kind. ....”

(ER:877) That company. But good though, the boss, that luna, I wen work for him two night. But he look the way I work, just like I know all this kind job, like rope kind job, eh, little more same cowboy kind job, eh, any kind thing, I hook up. He look me from on top, just like I know what I doing, what I work, I know.

(FD:267) Really, that thing is big too, afterbirth, you know. You should know. Big but you don't see when even when you get your baby in the hospital. That thing is big after the birth. Then after that we did everything. Well, that time we didn't have bathroom upstairs. So my mom had to, you know she has all that lau hala mats in the house. So she put me on the side of the bed. Near to the bed side. And then she tell me for get a tub of hot water. And then she make me take a bath upstairs. And then, after that I get all myself. Just like didn't have no baby. And here me, walking all around. She said, “No, you don't do all that.” I said, “Why? I'm all right.” She said, “No. After you get your baby, you come dizzy, eh?” “No, I'm okay.” I had all my babies like that. I do 'em by myself, me and my mom. And nothing happened.

(GF:345) And I had some hippies with me, on the truck. I drop over the hardware store, bought some material. I told those boys load it up. Kelly came there. “Say, you crazy or what? Why you hire this kind lahui?” Lahui mean nationality. “Why? You want to work for me? You come work for me. If you can work for me, I won't hire them.” That shut his mouth. When they look at me, when they pass me by, they don't even look at me. They angry. So I hired them. I tried them. I teach them. Just like they were my own son, I teach them everything.

(YA:1027) She says, “This morning we going tell you the story about before, about Abraham Lincoln was president.” She says, “You know, Abraham Lincoln was the president. He rode his horse on top the horseback, go up the mountainside, look where people working. But those days, the white man no can hire somebody work. They no go tell somebody, ‘You come work for me. I pay you so much one month, like that.’ They buy the slave. They buy the slave just like you buy one horse, see? You put 'em in the
house, you feed with the rice, the slave got to work for you for your lifetime. And no more pay, and nothing. Only just work, and work for you. That’s why, they called ‘slaves.’”

5.38.5 Summary

A search of our corpus revealed the following NSM syntactic patterns present in HCE:

I (AM) LIKE X
SOMEONE (IS) LIKE X
PEOPLE (ARE) LIKE X
SOMETHING (IS) LIKE X
X (IS) LIKE ME
X (IS) LIKE YOU
X (IS) LIKE SOMEONE
X (IS) LIKE PEOPLE
X (IS) LIKE SOMETHING
X (IS) LIKE THIS X LIKE ME
X LIKE YOU
X LIKE SOMEONE
X LIKE SOMETHING
X LIKE THIS
SAY-Clause LIKE THIS:
HAPPEN-Clause LIKE THIS:
DO-Clause LIKE THIS:
CLAuse1 (AS) LIKE CLause2

There are two missing patterns.

YOU (ARE) LIKE X
THIS (IS) LIKE X

5.39 BECAUSE

5.39.1 Primitive syntax

The primitive BECAUSE links two clauses together:

CLAUSE1 BECAUSE CLAUSE2

CLAUSE1
BECAUSE OF THIS, CLAUSE2
W (1996:138) suggests that the following might also be a universal valence for BECAUSE:

BECAUSE OF (ME/YOU/(d1)SOMEONE), CLAUSE

5.39.2 HCE Candidates

The two primary candidates are bikaz and kaz. There are two possible portmanteau forms for the combination BECAUSE OF THIS: aezwai and so.

5.39.3 Examples of bikaz

5.39.3.1 bikaz (OF) SOMEONE

There are several near-canonical examples of bikaz occurring with SOMEONE:

(BB:016) Yea, the cable bring ’em up. I used to work over there. I used to be the flag man over there. **Because this guy** – you know [name deleted]? [name deleted]?

(EB:1140) Well, because of one of my lolo friend.

(JB:69) Oh, **because of my father and mother**, when they drink, no. That’s the only rough part that we have, when they start drinking. And when they don’t care for the children.

This last example however is probably the most convincing one, because the entire consequent clause is included in the same utterance.

(SU:1544) That’s why, I never used to get shortage of anything, see. Like pork, steak, hot dog, butter, egg, ham. I used to supply some of them to KC Drive Inn. You know where the KC Drive Inn used to be? Well, he and I used to exchange. He doesn’t sell meat too much, steak too much. But me, I sell lot of steak before **because of the defense workers**, eh? I used to give him hot dog, hamburger. That’s his business, eh? But I used to take his ham and steak. Exchange with him.

5.39.3.2 Clause bikaz Clause

There are numerous canonical examples of bikaz conjoining two clauses:

(AK:603) Well, he just sit around, that’s all. Once in awhile, go look around the patches like that. When we work, we get three meals a day. We get paid $1.60 a day **because** we have three meals. Saturdays, you don’t work though, you get three meals. Sunday, you don’t work, you have three meals.

(AK:604) Yeah, you get poi. You can have poi, all the poi you want. If you want to take home, you just tell them what. But majority, we don’t take poi **because** everybody have their own poi at home. We don’t take poi home. Sometime we take, sometime we don’t. But you can have poi, you can have all the poi you want.

(BB:029) He help them, the kin’ pig but.... He know who wen steal ’em, **because** he wen teach ’em which one is the good watch. Now the good ones all gone. So, he know who he wen teach, eh. He know but no more the evidence, eh? He never catch ’em a’s why.

(BB:030) Yea, he had car. Over there get — from Waipio come the big ditch, eh? Over there get one ditch – they stay make with wood **because** get a bridge over there. They no can make with cement. It’s wooden bridge where the water pass, on top there.

(EB:1132) Oh, she’s babysit now. **Because** she get three children. And the husband is a farmer. Plant rice, corn, whatever.

(ER:764) I ride bike because my place too far, eh, for go. Then I bring home the fish. I give my father. I never ride horse because slow, eh, the horse. Bicycle more better. And bicycle those days, yeah, us kid, we can hang on the car. You know, the car stay pass like over there. No more sports car, eh. The car pass, yeah, we chase the car, then we hold ‘em behind, and stay by the side. The car pull you go.

(ER:849) No. We no can grumble because we had nowhere for go. We gotta stay on the job. We no more job and we like cowboy job, eh. You never hear nobody grumble about the late hour. Maybe they grumble among themselves, with everybody, maybe we grumble, but I forget. We go, how come we get like that. But the boss he come maybe smart. Sometime we come home quick, he give us pau hana. He tell us pau hana.

(FD:284) Not that I know of. Our taro always moving. And we used to get outsiders, people they come, and then they want to buy so much. And we just pull for them because the taro is so easy to pull.

(FD:284) Well, those days we had no choice because the rice was cheap, the taro was cheap, everything was cheap. And we get everything we can think of. The taro was like that too. That’s why rice, we didn’t have to buy. We used to work for the Chinese, who used to have rice field. Chun folks, they used to have. We used to go work for them. Those days, you know, Waipio was, we never care for food at that time.

(GF:303) Chinese people. Old Chinese people from China. They all people from China work down there. Some Filipinos from Philippine Islands too. They quit the plantations because down there they cannot find food cheap.

(GF:324) They speak at the school house. But I very seldom go because they only bag of wind.

(JB:67) Now, supposing the other fellow is Ilokano and he says the Ilokano dialect. My father couldn’t speak the Ilokano dialect because it’s kind of hard for him. The only one that he knows is the Visayan language. That’s the reason why he got to speak only Visayan with the Ilokano fellow. Whoever the Ilokano fellow may be.

(KK:123) Acta, das how people call her acts, because she was in love wit two.

(LE:140) an den dey neva see da hook man because ca hook man wen go on top da roof,

(MM:325) Yeah, charge. Everything is charge because the fella who come with that, that’s their business. They living on that.

(MM:340) Yeah, yeah, yeah. A fella. The fella who take care the furo. They get a job, too, because they gotta take care the firewood, eh? They supposed to get lot of firewood all the time. So, that’s not too easy, too.

(MT:1174) Actually, take notice in the valley; everybody’s raising api. That’s white taro. Certain people, like Samoans like white taro because they like to eat the taro by itself. When you come to poi, now, you have to have a color, to me. So I went into the red. So if you don’t have red, you have that darkish, pinkish, or whatever color you call that. So I went into that. So that’s why my place is all with red now.

(MT:1196) I do part-time work for people who want, but it’s not like before. Because people, as I say, is giving up farming. They not improving their place, they not doing anything, they just letting the land idle. So, what I’m doing right now is only opening land for people who trying to raise prawns. That’s about all.

(MY:1458) Ewaliko. Asuka. Already they moved from Paoakalani because the place was all taken over.

(MY:1471) I don’t know if this was the Daisy or not, but there was one elephant. But maybe the first one, I think, they killed because she wen injure somebody, you know, one time.

(NC:126) Yeah, you make sure you don’t bend the root part. Otherwise he die. So you catch like that and you poke ’em down with your two fingers go down, because the thing is soft. Your two fingers go down the thing then you bring your finger up and the rice stay because the dirt is going to close up. You don’t plant it too deep, not more than one inch, less than an inch down.

(NC:180) Tractor. We have to hire tractor those days, the kine, from Andrade. I don’t have my own tractor. Like nowadays, I get, but we cannot, uh, our tractor too small. We cannot grade land with it.
Ours is just for leveling and tilling and that’s all what we need for now because the patch is already made.

(NK:940) Yeah. Uh huh. They most down the beach. They live down there all the time because they no more coffee land ma uka. Only they go ma uka when the people need them pick coffee. They go up, pick coffee for somebody else like that. Only people who have their own coffee land, they stay ma uka. And then, when they like go fishing, they go ma kai. Down the beach. Us, we have place down the beach, so we stay down the beach.

(NK:950) When people come in, like that, only her there because all the other people, they go out; they do this; they do that; and then, not time. When this people come and when the king sit down and talk with the other people, they drink. So, she entertain them. She oli and she chant at the same time. Sometime, she only oli. Oli in Hawaiian, ooh, the.... Too bad we never learn. Anyway, our sisters, not interested.

(OC:6) When it come to the newspaper, to auction certain place where, you know, how big a area and all that’s in there, why, plenty people wanted to buy it because it’s auction property.

(OC:7) He said, “Well, anybody else want to bid over that?” Oh everybody want to kill On Char because he want to bid too much.

(SU:1525) Yeah. You know, the cane field, eh? Well, how much can we do? But just kill the time, we go down there. And then when it come to lunch hour, there’s no such thing, half an hour. We go place where they get some guava, we go down there pick up guava. Place where they get, what they call, you know the mountain poha, eh? Maybe one hour. The boss doesn’t say anything to us because he knows it, eh? But he told us, he said, “Make sure the big boss no catch you.” That’s what I did.

(SU:1550) No problem at all. Those days, you don’t have no watchmen. You know, like now, everybody get one watchman, bouncer, eh? Those days, no more. But after business start to go good, then you have to get the watchman because the soldier and civilian fight, eh? So, you have to get bouncer.

(TA:42) Well, I couldn’t say exactly. At least he made the taro farmer little smart. Because, about my father and the co-op and all the stuff, Harrison know more than me because Harrison used to go with him all the time. Used to travel to Oahu, Kauai, with my old man. My old man take him because my old man wouldn’t understand too much English, eh? He can understand what they talking, but.

(TA:47) See, when you plant, only get little bit water go in because the huli would drown if you put too much water. The water would be over the huli. So when he get about two, three leaves, then you start putting water. Then till about eight months or so. Then you start gradually stopping the water.

(WK:718) In a certain month of the year, you have to plant; for instance, we take in June, the month of June. June, July, August, you have to plant it little closer; we say about one foot space. Little close because the reason why is there’s no keiki, no baby that come out, the eye. They don’t shoot up too much. Very few keiks, very few babies. Like May, June, July, August, September. Then we come to October, November, December, January, February, March; have a lot of babies. Then, the space you have to get ’em little wide, little wider. We say about 16 inches apart, the huli. You get one here, you get about 16 inch apart. That’s how, that’s what my uncle taught me. Because the reason why they plant it little wider space is because there’s a lot of baby coming up from the mother, and then they need to get bigger, they have to get bigger. If you get ’em too close, they won’t get bigger because they all crowded together, and it won’t, you won’t get the taro too big.

(YA:1048) Classified labor, that’s a higher pay labor, see. That’s what Mr. Cooper–he’s the manager of the labor board–he tell me that, see. “They cannot give you no job as any other job because we have machinist union here.” Those days, they have machinist union. Come from the Mainland. So, they not allow anybody work on the machine shop to run the machine. Only the union, machinist union, can run, see?
5.39.4 Examples of kaz

5.39.4.1 Clause kaz Clause

Kaz occurs less frequently than bikaz. Nevertheless, there are a number of canonical examples of interclausal kaz in our corpus:

(ER:750) Oh, that I don't know. When I small time, I never hear what he work. I don’t know what kind job he get. 'Cause that time, us born time, he old man already, all white hair. See, I don’t know about his story.

(ER:751) Ah, no. They get the stable. The stable man take care all the mule. Them guys no take care the mule. Sometime, daytime, they only stay home sleep, 'cause nighttime they work most of the time.

(ER:752) Most time only me and my oldest one, Johnny. I think the two youngest one, they no go, 'cause they was too young.

(FD:262) You know, when you have a boy friend. That's how she got us. She tells me that. 'Cause I was the only one in the house. And then, I didn’t care. I didn’t care. I would have a boy friend. Chinese. But I didn’t care. My days, I didn’t care, to tell you the truth. Until I left the valley and went back to Hilo. I didn’t care for boy friends.


(MM:335) Yeah, extractor. So you gotta crank ’em pretty fast, see. The faster you make it, better it is 'cause that thing going to fly ’em out, fly ’em out. And that thing is good, you know why, too? It’s fast. And after you get through, you can put the thing right back into the box where the bees going to put the honey in again.

(MY:1483) Yeah. And then, I couldn't get retired. 'Cause the boss don’t want to let me go. He tell me, “No. You come one week, only two weeks, all right, you work for me. You come half day all right.” All conditions, he gave me.

(YA:1040) Before I quit, I go tell the Hawaiian Electric bookkeeper, “I get another job. I want you give me a recommendation.” So, he type me one recommendation, and I take ’em to Dr. Cooper. And I go in the Navy yard. Three dollar twenty cents one day. Bumbai I work little while, the superintendent in the Navy yard, he like me 'cause I good worker, eh?

(YA:1067) Gulick Avenue, the river come down this way, see? And then, on this side of the Gulick Avenue, they raise pig and you know. And then, they get the houses over there build up for slaughter. Then when the flood come over, they wash all the pigs all down in the ocean. 'Cause, before, no more road, you know, over here. Only ocean. And the water go way up Sam Damon Park.

5.39.4.2 Clause aezwai Clause

BECAUSE OF THIS appears to be a crucial valence for NSM theory and there is no HCE form bikas dis or bikas av dis in our corpus. It appears that in HCE this valency is realized as the phraseeme aezwai. This form occurs frequently and is found in the speech of nearly all the speakers in our corpus. Here are some canonical examples:

(AK:602) Sing on the way? Oh yeah, we sing along the way, talk story, sometime we sleep on the animal. Slow, eh, you go on there, you sleep. That’s why, when you get in the forest, you have to watch the animals. The animals going eat grass, sometime you miss some animals. Sometimes we miss, we had to go back and look for it. Most time, not bad. Before we get out, it has a gate there, all the animals going stay right at the gate. So you count ’em; if we took 14 or 16 animals, all the 16 there, well okay. But if one missing, you have to go look for it.

(AK:606) John Wayne and all those cowboy shows and all that. They used to have a theater in Kukuihaele, too. That’s why we come up, like weekdays, they have shows in Kukuihaele, we come up. If we want to come up, we come up.
The other man said, “[name deleted], gohyaku en yaru ke are oshite kure.” He said, “Gohyaku en ima boku ga morotara, ashita you goin’ teach somebody and you can get your $500 back,” so he no’ goin’ teach. If I teach, just like I — because you go teach the other guy, ‘A’s why he never teach.

My father. Hilo guys, [name deleted], all Hamakua coast. The other guy used to make, eh-his one is all join, join, like that. They say, ooh kore, they no like this kin’. Like one chee! straight down, eh, no more bump, you know. All straight down. He get the two soldering machine, eh. Those days never get electricity. ‘A’s why only torch, eh. So, he get two torch. But he no tell. “O shite kure,” every time they say they goin’ give him so much, eh. “Ima yaru yo,” he said the money, ahead of time and you teach me. My father said, “No.”

Well, I am unhappy because I like go school, but I no can go. I help because about our living. That’s why I bin quit.

My father bin give me little bit money. That’s why, it happen I get the car. Chevrolet 1929 or ’28. Yeah.

Kamehameha III School. I went up to fifth grade, that’s all. I no go school until now. That’s why I no more, no more smart now. Don’t know too much pencil and paper.

Yeah. He tell, you make on the floor first. Smart though, how he make. You make from the floor bumbai you get the floor, then you like do the wall, up. You take from the floor, you measure, then you cut your board. Then bumbai when you stand ‘em up, everything all right. You measure from the floor, that side and this side. Not easy kind. He teach me. That’s why I know how to make carpenter, too, little bit.

Yeah, they put the bag poi in there. Well, that is all wrapped up already, see? Well, we knew why they do that. They wrapped the ti leaves out to keep that thing cool because, you know, the bags is not plastic, eh? Plastic only when you get all the air out, that thing will stay there. But these bags, so thin sometimes. Well, when get hot, it gets dry when the sun hit. That’s why they wrap the leaves and sisal. Too much job.

Well, those days we had no choice because the rice was cheap, the taro was cheap, everything was cheap. And we get everything we can think of. The taro was like that too. That’s why rice, we didn’t have to buy. We used to work for the Chinese, who used to have rice field. Chun folks, they used to have. We used to go work for them. Those days, you know, Waipio was, we never care for food at that time.

Oh, the banks is about seven feet wide now. Water cannot leak unless you cut a ditch through. That’s why I can raise good taro. And lot of Bishop land, my father-in-law had from long time ago, they cannot raise taro. They always have new growers there. People move there, they start to raise taro, they cannot raise one crop taro. Cannot sell the crop because the banks all leaking. So I hired bulldozers. I get Andrade to do the job, Freddy Andrade. He has two bulldozers. I hired his bulldozers. I had no money but he trust me. I told my wife, my wife angry. “You get no money, how you going hire bulldozers to work?” “No worry. That guy trust me. And I’m trustworthy to him. I’m going to pay him.” “Oh, what if the crop don’t turn out good?” “Well, never concede failure before you do anything. If you going think you not going to make a go of it, might as well stop now.” Chinese people, my father and my mother, say, “If you think you going fail, don’t do it. Don’t go one step anymore. You stop right there. If you think you can make it, go right ahead.” Oh, my wife angry with me every time. So we got first crop. I pay Andrade off. Then Andrade tell me, “Say, you get some more job? Any time you like work, call me. I come help you. I make for you.” But Andrade, he doesn’t charge you only for the working time, he charging for maintenance time too. He double the charge on everything. That’s why lot of people bought their own tractors. That’s why, even me, I bought one small tractor.

This is May. May and June. Come May, June, July, the taro start a tassel. You see? The mother seed, tassel. If you make mother seed, you come June or July, the seeds tassel. When he tassel, get flower come up. The seed, the mother seed you plant flower, see. When it flowers, half of the taro going rot. The stalk going drop off, and the seed going come real small. So I don’t make mother seed. I make all baby seed. So when he come tassel time, the thing too young to tassel. He won’t tassel. That’s
why sugar cane, when they raise sugar cane, they spray the cane. They don’t want the cane to tassel because they lose sugar. Taro same thing.

(JB:65) Oh yeah. Filipino. See, my father was a Spanish-Filipino. My mother was a Hawaiian. My mother has a royal blood. We had the ali`i blood, you ever heard of ali`i? But I don’t know how to explain what is ali`i mean. Ali`i is some kind of legend that the Hawaiian people, I don’t know how to explain it, but I can try, though. Because my family, we are from the ali`i family. Ali`i means.... that’s why I wanted my wife to come back. Because she knows the Hawaiian most. She doesn’t speak like me but at least she knows something.

(MM:326) No, no more nothing. Not even pasture. Only foxtail grass. Foxtail grass is a grass that comes up, sticks out like this, and on here get one kind of foxtail like, you know. That’s why they call ’em “foxtail,” eh? The grass is short. And then, the tail sticking up. Sticking up like this.

(MM:357) Yeah, rainy days, you hapai ko. All wet. Hapai ko, kalai, too. Very seldom we go home, no? That’s why, today, you no see people they carry raincoat and go work. Those days, everybody get raincoat, they go.

(MM:359) About? Ah, I was youngster and I only small guy, too, that’s why, I figure maybe, I was carrying maybe seventy pound or eighty pound. Let’s say even eighty pound. To load one ton, eh, how many piles you got to go up and down, you know?

(MY:1474) I come home, I develop my own. I used to get darkroom. I used to make my own. That’s why, when my senior year, I used to be president of the McKinley High School Camera Club. That’s why, I used to catch hell from the Japanese school. When I used to go Makiki Japanese School, I get scolding from the teacher because he said, “You every time, go dancing. Every time, high school, dancing, that’s why you come school late.” But I don’t dance. But I go to the Camera Club. See, I got to take care all the prints. After school, they make prints. I got to put ’em away for them, so that I come school late. So, grumble, that guy. Grumble so that I used to get disgusted with the teacher sometimes.

(MY:1484) Yeah, because I had a friend. He’s an architect. He and I were in army together. He’s a very good friend of mine’s. He died already. I told him to help to design my own. I said, “Make room in the front yard and make room in the backyard.” That’s why, the house is like that, like that. So you get room in the front yard, and you get room in the back yard. But that way, you get more ventilation. All rooms with no more partition. So, house is cool.

(NC:136) For instance, you get two houses, yeah? One house they use ’em for kitchen, eh? Get I think three or four tables. Round tables. One table seats about 10 people. And if you move little bit out, you can add another one in; you move little bit out, can add another one in, you know. Round table. That’s why the Chinese say, “Round table you can put up to 15.” And Chinese they use chopsticks, eh? So they can either place the food in the middle set the food in the middle like this. This side one set, this side one set. The people from this side take this set and the other fella from the other side take different set. They eat like that.

(NC:190) Keamalu, the wife own that Umi section. And the wife, she say, “Hey, look at that Filipino.” He’s on top the hill, eh? He look down. “Look at that Filipino, he cutting all the taro. He must be crazy.” That’s how he tell. Then I happen to cross over there. He tell, “Nelson, look that Filipino. He cutting all the taro. He must be crazy, or what.” I said, “He not crazy. The taro is sick, that’s why he cut ’em.” He said, “How did he get the idea to cut ’em.” I said, “He asked me what’s the best thing. I said chop’em down and plant again.” He said, “You’re another one.” That’s what he told me, you know.

(NK:923) Well, some of them don’t have beach place. They just go down and go home. If they can lease a place down ma kai from the Bishop, then they stay ma kai. Some Hawaiians, they only stay ma kai. They no go taro patch. That’s why, some Hawaiians get taro patch, they go ma kai, they change fish and...

(NK:923) Yeah, they live just farm, that’s all. They no go beach. They only go beach maybe once in a great while, they go beach. And then, that’s why, they used to order my father. If he get fish, come up and sell to them, see? That’s how my father can get little bit more money.

(SU:1529) Yeah. My father was mule gang, but different gang, that. He used to pull the small mule, you know. They call it “pack mule.” Load up the fertilizer, lumber, everything, and then one, he rides
and go around, all around the places. So, all the work is done by the mules that he pull, eh? So he just ride and go. That's why he get chance to go, after the work, his own place. And then, clean up the place, hole hole the place, hoe the grass, and everything, see.

(SU:1547) Yeah, yeah. Daytime. You know, daytime, nighttime, because at that time, you come in the morning six o'clock, and then you go home about two o'clock, and come back about four o'clock, five o'clock. Broken shift, eh? But now, you cannot do that, see? You have to give them straight hours, eh? That's why, need more men. Those days, no. Those days, slack time, you only get two, three girls. Busy time—in the morning, busy see, you get big bunch of girls, and lunchtime. And after the lunch, about two o'clock to four o'clock, not too many guys eating, so we can get less girls work and less cooks. Get one cook, one dishwasher, 'nough, see. Me, I stand by, see, I learn. That's why, my time is no limit.

(TA:47) Oh, when the taro mature. You dry the patch to make easier to pull. You know, all the root would rot. You just go over there, you kick the taro, everything drop. That's why they dry the patch.

(TA:49) Sometime the people down here, you really need the water.... well, you see them up there. That's why, if you on the tail end of the ditch, when you need water you no more water. Little bit water come. When you no need, everybody throwing the water in your ditch. Enough water. That's why, if you get long line of ditch and all the farmers over there, if you the first guy you can do what you want.

(WK:710) Kahuna is a guy, a person that really had power. But his power is evil power. The power is with Satan. That's why they call kahuna. Yeah. The evil. That's what kahuna means, you know. They like to kill a person for just, oh, “I want that guy to be killed.” They have power but that's all evil power, Satan's power that.

(WK:713) No. No. The women all scared me that's why I no date 'em.

(YA:1024) They cook the taro. They take the skin out. They put 'em inside one tub, see. And they get one da kine pounder. The Hawaiian sitting over there, pounding the taro, pounding the taro. Put a little water inside. Add a little water, and pound the taro. And then, he get sweat. He rub his head, like this. You know? And then, he sweat, eh? He wipe the sweat out from his face or anywhere. Then he go pound again. Then I say, “Ey, I no like eat da kine.” That's why, I no eat poi.

(YA:1035) No more road, you know. All muddy roads. When rainy weather, the wheel go way down by the mud. No can go, eh? And then, no more stone wall, you know. On the side of the trail is a redwood post and barbed wire. Three barbed wires. But the horse buggy not so bad. If you drive automobile, you mistake, you go down. Boom, you go way down the bottom. No more hope. After they widen the road, then get car go, eh? That's why they put stone wall on. Before, no more wall, you know. Only barbed wire.

5.39.4.3 Clause so Clause

Another possible portmanteau realization of BECAUSE OF THIS is the form so. Consider the following canonical examples:

(AK:603) He does. But most time, afterward, he was getting sick so he doesn’t bother. So the wife start to run the business.

(AK:605) With his truck, he has a truck. I could drive so he asked me to take so I drive down.

(BB:027) Kuakini. I was over there and I never eat. My father passed away so I was over there for a while.

(EB:1135) So, I went with him. I harvest little bit. Then, I heard kids playing around there, someplace. So, I run away from him. Oh, that’s the time he beat me up again. And that evening time, again. So, ready to go home, everybody go home, oh, he so damn wild. He take the– I don’t know what he bin take– he beat me again. That's when my auntie bin worry like that. That's all. You know, small kids, when you hear something playing, you gotta sneak, run around, eh? That's how it happened. That's why, most of the time, even my father was come home in our town, most of the time I stay with my auntie.
Yeah, I was working in—when I reach Hawaii—Waialua. Yeah, yeah. I work right away in the plantation. Because my father and the boss, Mr. Sinclair, he was a good friend with him, so. The boss in the plantation, he recommend me to the office in Kawaiola so I can work in that plantation. Then, the big boss in Waialua, he say okay. So, I bin work couple of months.

No. Me by myself. I no go with other guys. I run away by myself. Yeah, by myself every time. Sometime go inside the cane field get mango, eh. Go in there, climb, you get. So long you can eat, no hungry, eh. Go inside the cane field, climb mango, stay on the mango tree, eat. Then get enough, you go down. Those days you know where all the mango stay, eh, then you climb on top. And then sometime da kine guys on the road, they take mango, they sell. But they no can go. I pass by, “Boy, you can climb mango?” “Yeah.” So I go climb for them. Pick up for them, eh. They give me quarter. Quarter, that's plenty money, eh. So I can go movies, sometime. Get quarter. Only ten cents, eh, down the theater. Bumbai the guys on the road, every time they see me they know I can climb mango. Bumbai tell, “You come Saturday. You go climb mango?” “Okay.”

Yeah, yeah. Go church Sunday. And pau church, we go fishing. Usually church ten o'clock. Then ten o'clock, just like they go school for learn. Then eleven o'clock they give their high mass. That's why, this church, they go take three one time. Everything one time pau. Like some church they go in the morning receive their service. Then they go afternoon. Then they go in the evening. They going get three, so they go. But ours one, we take one time all, one hour, one hour, one hour. Take one time that three and finish.

Well. I guess when they were young, they were raising taro too. Because when I came to understand.... I was going to school, we used to go there too. We used to stay there, with Mrs. Nakanelua’s husband. That’s where they live, below Harrison. You know Harrison’s house over there? Had one shack down side. One house below Harrison. That’s belong to my mom them. So, all the families had their own so we didn’t care how that property went. So, my oldest aunty, gave it to her son, James Nakanelua. So we didn’t want to make no fuss. Let him have the place. So that’s where we used to go back and forth. That’s where my grandparents were, over there; my mom’s mom and dad.

Weekends. Because my brother worked, so my husband worked. So only weekends and we go down there.

Your good taro, number one, you get different price. Number two, different price; number three, different price. But theirs is good too. Theirs is good. But I so used to with Honolulu Poi, no bother. So I just go on with them. As long the taro go. We didn’t have to worry the taro, you know.

Well, he taught us how to handle the, when we dig the taro, how to handle the taro, for seed. When you pull the taro for seed, you must not crush the stalk. Handle it carefully. You can hold the taro, but don’t hold the stalk. So when you bring the taro out after it's nice and clean, the stalk is just as firm as it is growing on the ground. And when you cut it, well, you got to have a certain way to cut.

Oh, wash the taro patches out. Cover with the grass and rubbish. The farmers usually pay for their own damages, expenses. Once in a while, the County help. For instance, like down the ocean, they help dredge the ocean, the stream, so the water can run through. Maybe once or twice, he help fix the water head where the water come down to the taro fields. County helps.

Well. My grandfolks—my grandfather came from England. Two Lindsey – no, one Lindsey came here. He met a Hawaiian girl in Honolulu. Those days, the laws, no can marry in Honolulu. So he get boat. He went outside three miles Diamond Head, he marry this Hawaiian girl.

So, however, is a highly polysemous form. Although many of the above examples may be ambiguous between an AFTER THIS or BECAUSE OF THIS reading, the following examples appear to favor the AFTER THIS reading:

They go chase cow, they go butcher for the plantation. In the evening sometime they go, because sometime they no can catch all the cow because all in the bushes, eh, all up in the mountain. So the cow come out in the evening. So in the evening sometime they go, they go rope ’em and they bring ’em down to right where Mala Wharf stay.

The ranch, no, no more. Only the pineapple. So Sunday morning, we like some, we go over there borrow some. Go get some round cabbage, pick up one, cook with your salt meat. Sometime we get
pig, too, yeah, pork. Mix 'em up with the goat meat, you know da kine salt meat, then cook 'em. Put cabbage inside. Mix the poi. But sometime, us guys, you know before you only get da kine crock. But us, da kine crock, the top broke, eh, already, the cover. So we only put rice, eh, inside rice. But sometime when you come home, the small mice, eh, they make puka. They make puka, eh, but you no see. But he go inside, eh, inside the poi, stay inside the poi. So you come home, you eat the poi, you know. But when you see one lump, you think maybe you mix poi, eh, get lump. You push 'em away. Bumbai one guy, he push the thing and see the tail, “Hey, get mice in...”

(FD:282) Yeah, the poi shop was down there, see. I used to work for him. I worked for him, I think, was about nine years. Then he close up the business. Then he had recommend me to Mr. Kaneshiro, that I was a good worker, knows how to do everything. Then I was the first on the list, when he put up his business, he call me to work for him. I didn't want to go back work right away because I wanted to rest, eh. So I worked for him 15 years, then I retire.

(JB:72) But usually, when they have that MIA, they call it in the Mormon church. We goes to the church and then certain times they put you on the side. Maybe that's the night they have the church night and certain night they have the musicians night. So when I got in touch with this fellow, he was the one that taught me how to play this music and how to sing and so forth. And I begin to... but we didn't even learn the generation now, you know, these kind of chords they use. We used to learn that, in the 80's, they call it. In 1918, those old type of holding the chords. Not this kind of type that we playing now. So when I learn from him from the old chord, then I begin to go on my own.

(JL:18) Bymbly we came home, my daughtah Irene she already cook. We told Penhallow, “How about having lunch with us?” And he said, “No, He gotta go home.” And he tell me, “You know why I came up here for?” “No, I dunno.” “I want you come back. After I pau pension, I want you come back.” I tolle him, “Let me tink it owa first. All right, I let you know one week time.” He said, “Too long, About three days.” So, all right tree days. So I went inside. My daughter tolle me – Irene – “Boy, Penhallow came up.” “oh, we went look the pipi. He know I know all this cattle, eh?” I tolle Irene, “He want me come back on da ranch.” “After you pension already?” “Leggo da pension. I go back. Help him.” So in tree days I let him know. I tolle him, “I come back.” I work with him till today.

(MM:321) Yeah, yeah, yeah. Up on the hill. On the left-hand side, on the hill. So, when the Japanese school finish, it's almost dark already. On the way going, we count, “Hey, look the star there. Look, 'nother star there.” Nevertheless, there are numerous examples of so which are unambiguously causal:

(MM:344) That's why I say, ours, a big family, so we had our own. Yeah, we had our own. And outside, you know. Everybody. That's why, you go in the camp, you can smell them. Because they right alongside the road.

(MT:1164) Well, that's a question which — I'm a tractor operator, see? In trade. So I just saw how the other farmers had theirs done. So I just did it.

(MT:1172) I cannot do it. So I'm going through a permit to get that thing cleared.

(MT:1191) Well, like right now, everything is slow, so my crop is not coming out the way it's supposed to be. So I'm just giving 25 bags a week. So he understands the problem, he knows the situation. So no problem.

(MY:1457) No, we all moved out. After a while, we moved out. So, we move to Kapahulu. Like I said, everybody start moving out because that's only lease land. You lease.

(MY:1462) No. Nami-no-Kai is the surfing. Nami means “wave,” see. Kai means “club.” Wave club, eh? Nami-no-Kai. So the baseball league was just Waikiki Community Softball League. Ours, we call Waikiki Community Softball League. We have all the different category of players belong to the certain gang. I divide 'em up equal so that everybody can play. I'm the manager of the team, so they got to listen to me what I tell them guys. No trouble at all.

(MY:1462) Oh, was old. Some, you can imagine. The small one was all the young boys, yeah? I used to even stop the peddlers. You know, the peddlers? Old days, they have the peddlers come sell food to the camp. So I used to tell ‘em, “O-san, you can donate one gallon shoyu for door prize?” “Yeah, okay.” Anything to get something for the door prize, you know.
(MY:1462) They had races, get-together, running prize. Not much, only it's a get-together. In fact, our days, old days, was a treat because they go far place. They don't go down Ala Moana Park. They go far place. But now, I don't know if that. And I remember, they used to go–oh, one time, we went with that O'ahu Railway. But now, I don't know. That was way back, so we forgot already where.

(MY:1465) Me? Well, I'm going school, so I cannot work too hard, eh? So I help 'em maybe deliver. That's why, we're lucky because they had that business. So we can go school with good clothes. That's why, guys in school used to tell me, “How come you come school with nice clothes every time?” “Well, cleaning business, you can wear nice clothes.”

(MY:1470) Yeah. Yeah, inside there. Yeah, 'o'opu. And they had da kine fish inside there. It's a cross with some kind of fish inside. To tell you more rascal, you see, on the river there, you put stone. Put stone so you can run on top that. So, you go steal pigeon, see. You put peanut inside the–make a ring, eh, to let the pigeon come outside from the park, come on top there. Soon as you pull 'em, the pigeon get caught. Catch the pigeon and run across. The guy, the watchman cannot catch you because he got to run across the river, eh, on the stone, eh? Boy, I tell you, that was fun, boy.

(NC:133) Yeah, yeah. It's all rounded and it's more like one ball, you cut 'em in half or something like that. And the under part they set. The thing get groove so that they can set that iron plate in there. And they set that stone stuff a certain degree, so many degrees. Every time, that thing doesn't hit in the center. He hit right near the side. He hit like this, naturally the rice going move; every time you hit, move. Keep on like that, that thing go, just go.

(NC:148) Pretty soon they land in the guava. So they go into the guava instead of coming to the thing, eh. And they try to watch. If you not there, little by little fill one time. Maybe about 10, 15 or 20 one time come, go inside, eh. They try to sneak in, so you keep on scaring. Keep on. You have to be wide awake. Otherwise they be eating before you know.

(NC:151) Oh. yeah. You have to know how to take off. Otherwise if you don't know how to take the thing is stiff, eh. You cut the tree the length you want then you split with the knife. Get little bit. Then you turn 'em over like that. You got to make it come down like that. straight down. You know, the bark. Go like that. So that he come all soft, eh. Then after that you soak 'em in the water. Then you dry 'em up. But rainy day that thing is slippery, you know.

(NC:154) No, no. That temple, my father was the one started that. It used to be one way the outside. So that one all broke down and everything. So nobody think that, my father said, “Ah, let me start.” So he get the people together to make one book for donations, eh. Everybody dig up so much, put down. I think all our brothers get our name in there too because each of us give so much, eh.

(NK:922) Yeah. Only the beginning, when we first open our place, like that. No more huli. We no more taro, because no more taro, huh? The taro come all make and hard. No more place to plant, so my father used to go buy from some Japanese. Because they stay ma uka all the time, they get.

(NK:941) Yeah, my mama always have Hawaiian medicine. For babies and for us. That's why, she never believe going doctor. Even when she was about 80. Anyway, she was kinda sick, so we thought we call doctor come see her, eh? No, she no like. Well, we cannot help. We don't know how to take care of her, so we call the doctor come down the house. When doctor came down the house, oh, she was so mad. She no like take the doctor pills.

(NK:945) Yeah. Took care of my father. So, that's why, he had the land, so when he die, he said that's his land. So, when he died, my father was–I don't know how old he was–but he never..... He know, he heard the tutu tell he own the land. But he don't know. After that, he came big boy and he never think about land. So, Kalokuokamahele...

(NK:956) No, not live with the Hawaiians. But Hawaiian people like us, we had coffee land, eh? So, Japanese people came and ask my father, “Oh, can we lease your coffee land?” So, my father said, “Okay. You folks like, you fella can at least pay me da kine.”

(OC:11) Yeh, Hawaiian Trust was the agent of that. All that time there, after the time was up and this fellow didn't want to buy, didn't want to pay any more rent, so I gave all the equipment – over $15,000 worth for all that equipment – to McKinley High School.
Now it was a very peculiar way how to get this place here. At the beginning, under the lease—oh, 1918 and then about 1920—she want to come up to town all the time so she want buy automobile because the one they get was get old. Then she need more money. So only thing is, I haven't got the money so I have to go to the bank to show what can I borrow the money. She wanted six hundred dollars so I go to the bank and borrow the money, then I have to pay installments to the bank. The reason I did that—buy the automobile was she give me ten yeas more lease. You know, longer lease, so the bank can say, "Well, that thing is safe because you get the long lease and time to pay." So that's how we come to extend the lease.

You know, he stayed there until about one o'clock Sunday to collect all the boys who get newspaper they want return so they can give a piece of paper. Suppose you but twenty paper, you only sell sixteen, you got four more so he give you one good for next day.

Yeah. Feed the pig, and then feed the chickens. And then, go to school. And then after we come back from school, me, I like sports, see. Everybody come home, so I run and come home. I run and come home to finish all the detail that I have to do. You got to feed the pig again, see, and chickens. Then, after I get time, I go in the pasture with all the boys, go play baseball. I do the same thing over and over, day after day, day after day, to help him out.

Oh, about '46 or '47. So, I cannot help, so I have to build on Kapi'olani.

Yeah. Because he get experience in cooking, everything. Him and another Teruya is the co-owners of this Hibiscus Cafe on Bethel Street. He tell me, “You folks, instead of loafing, you better do something.” So he just help me out and do everything for me, see. I was young boy that time.

No problem at all. Those days, you don't have no watchmen. You know, like now, everybody get one watchman, bouncer, eh? Those days, no more. But after business start to go good, then you have to get the watchman because the soldier and civilian fight, eh? so you have to get bouncer.

Harry Stroup. He used to help me. In one way, if Asing never turn around, I still stay down there. And I get piece of about 44,000 square foot down there, so I could sell or lease the place to some big hotel owner or whoever want to build the hotel or not. I be rich man today.

Yeah. And then he didn’t have enough men work for him so that land was idle. He told me if I take the land, he'll plow for me and everything. So I told him, “Okay.” So he put his men over there, he plow for me. Then I just fill 'em tip with water. Everytime I come down I clean the land. Only two days I can work. Sunday I have to go back and go work Monday. I usually come down about Friday evening, Friday afternoon or Saturday morning.

I used to send about 600 pounds. That's too much work so I cut down about 300 pounds.

This year, 1978, I didn't harvest nothing so far. When I start harvesting this year, I think I'm going to harvest only about 60, 70 bags. That's all. Next year I going get plenty, maybe 300, 400 bags. Last year I had plenty. So this year I planted so you going to get one 1979 crop. I only get one patch this year to harvest. June sometime, that's all. I only get small place. If all my patches over here poi taro, then I get seven patches. That's all leaves. I don't harvest that. Then I get more patch to harvest.

I worked for Nelson Chun. Clean stable. Horse manure. You know, every morning you got to clean the stable. They used to have mules. Well, the mules used to haul taro before. So, they cut the grass and put 'em in the stable. And the morning time, you get to clean all the manure with the wheelbarrow, take 'em all throw away.

No, no job, those days, Waipio. At plantation, they was paying worse; 75 cents a day, plantation. So I decided to go Honolulu and my oldest brother call me, “You better come down.” So I went. They got a job for me. He used to work for Hawaiian Dredging. He used to be Dillingham Corporation. We was superintendent over there, my brother, the oldest boy.

Just go see what they look like, eh? So, I carry my blanket with me and my coat. When I pau eat, when come dark, I go by the bench over there, the side. I go by the corner, where the corner end of the house, and I lay down on the corner and sleep. Put the coat over me, that's all. And the blanket or something like that. That's how we go sleep, you know.
Bumbai, I work for I don’t know how long. Maybe couple years, see. Then, another quarterman come around. The quarterman taking charge. The quarterman is higher than the leaderman. Leaderman is just like straw boss, eh? So, the quarterman say, “Can you do this machine work?” I say, “Yeah, I can.” They put me one job. He write one slip, see. Tell me go down the storeroom, get the materials. Then he say, “Here you stay. This machine, you going work.” And I said, “I don’t know how to run the machine.” They show me how to handle the machine. So, after that, I put the job on, I make the job come good.

Hour. That’s pretty good already, see? Then when I come out from the retirement, $200 a month, retire. So, they ask me if I want to leave back percentage for my wife. I ask my wife. My wife say, “No. you better take ‘em all.” So, I take ‘em all. I get $200 a month. And then, come up, cost of living go up to $900 today.

5.39.5 Summary

In summary, our investigation has found examples of the following valences in our corpus:

Clause1 BECAUSE Clause2

Clause1
BECAUSE (OF) THIS Clause2

BECAUSE (OF) SOMEONE, Clause

We are missing examples of the following valences:

BECAUSE (OF) ME, Clause
BECAUSE (OF) YOU, Clause

5.40 IF

5.40.1 Primitive Syntax

The semantic syntax of IF is very straight forward:

IF CLAUSE1, CLAUSE2

5.40.2 HCE Candidates

There are three candidates in HCE for IF to consider: if, sapoz, and zero-marked conditionals.

It would be very difficult to implement a computerized search for the zero-marked conditionals. A manual search of the corpus has turned up the following examples from a single speaker:

Oh, yeah. Safe. Because not like today, make sure you got to watch your kids and this and that. Those days, they leave the kids alone. They don't have to teach 'em to go study, they all study. Today, you don't tell 'em study, they no study. Our days, we study. Come home from school, we study, do our lesson, and then go play.
No more fresh water inside the ocean, no more, you know. You got to get fresh water come into the salt water, then you get. If no more fresh water, no more ogo. So, I used to go get and I used to give out.

The highlight of the zoo was the lion. Lion and the elephant, the monkeys. You go tease ’em, the guy, oh, they get mad, you know. The lions and the ostrich. You go tease ’em, oh, boy, they get mad. The caretaker scold you.

And then, Mrs. King, she get big ruler. You do something no good, bang, she whack you. I used to be the rascal one. You know, the kamani leaf, you know how big, eh? Kamani leaf, eh? When I see dog shit, I cover the kamani leaf on top there. The guy come pick ’em up, he got to pick ’em up, eh? He don’t know. But when he pick ’em, he mad like hell. “Who wen do that?”

It is difficult to identify any intonational or prosodic clues which mark this construction. Probably, the only possible linguistic marker are the clauses themselves, which are transparently related to one another as condition and consequence.

Sapoz as a marker of conditionals is very rare in the corpus, there are only two examples:

Well, if I was Ilokano and my father is a Visayan, my father have to speak the Visayan word and the Ilokano guy have to say the Visayan dialect that how my father is saying. Now, supposing the other fellow is Ilokano and he says the Ilokano dialect. My father couldn’t speak the Ilokano dialect because it’s kind of hard for him. The only one that he knows is the Visayan language. That’s the reason why he got to speak only Visayan with the Ilokano fellow. Whoever the Ilokano fellow may be.

You know, he stayed there until about one o’clock Sunday to collect all the boys who get newspaper they want return so they can give a piece of paper. Suppose you but twenty paper, you only sell sixteen, you got four more so he give you one good for next day.

It would therefore be difficult to regard it as a widespread exponent for IF.

The form if, however, is widespread throughout the continuum and is therefore our best candidate.

5.40.3 Examples of if

5.40.3.1 if Clause, Clause

There is only a single NSM valence to investigate, and there are numerous canonical examples. Here are a few:

If you want poi, we eat poi. But most time we have rice or, we rather have.

Right now in stores, get plenty kookoolau tea. That good for anything, all kind. And you have this mamaki is good for high blood pressure. Mamaki is a really good medicine for high blood pressure. If you can take it the fresh is okay. But if you rather take when dry all right, the leaves. That really good for high blood pressure. If you get real high high blood pressure you take mamaki; you take that thing go right down.

Stop. Down below red you see, you gotta put your red up. Then the guy goin’ stop. Otherwise no can see the flag down below. ’A’s why when it’s white eh; and if down below is red and you white, the darn thing still goin’; ’A’s why by-n-by get accident.

’A’s why my wife get extra job. But she do good job, you know. Boy, you know—my daughter eat, eh; she was eating from here. But if the food ever go into her lungs, ’a’s a big operation—operate the lung, eh. So the doctor made a hole over here, so the food no go in the lungs. Until she dies, she gonna have to feed her through here. ’A’s why she got a job. Hard....

Well, businessman, hard. Because when you start businessman, you gotta get plenty money; you gotta get good education. See? You no can go businessman if you no more education. No ’nough money.

Yeah, yeah. That’s his ranch. I work in the pasture, and I work milk cow, too, in the morning. After that, if no more job in the bank, I go pull weeds down the pasture. You see? It’s a hard living, before.
That time we no more icebox. We just bring 'em and leave 'em inside the bottle, in the salt. No more icebox. Just leave 'em like that until that thing come dry. If dry, no good, I throw 'em away.

Dog, they take good care. If you own two dog, they take care, they feed, they put 'em on the truck and bring home. They no make the dog walk home pau hana. Pau hana, not for man ride. Only for the dog.

Only me and my daddy. And then if the boys get through pulling taro, his working men, they go help. So I didn't have to do that. But I go get the animals take home. I work hard, you know.

So his daddy, I told him to go find out for the property. If I wanted to, if I was greedy, I would have all the property. So I just tell them go look before somebody get in, and they can claim. If you don't keep up with the tax, somebody else can have the place. Because that place belongs to me. But I didn't want to make trouble, so I'm just like their big sister because my grandma married to their daddy.

Well, if that is not your line, you don't want to stay there. Just for fool around, to kill time. Those were Depression days. So many years, we had depression, hard time days. Looking around for job, spending the time. You figure, “Well, I'm still young yet. Plenty time.”

No. You just plant according to the square of your patch. If your patch is square, well. If it's not square, you make 'em square. You find the part that it's going to square your planting. See?

Some other things like digging ti root. They usually dig the ti root, now. And they have to dig the ti root above this pali here. Below of Hiilawe Falls. And that's where we roll the ti leaf down. But we don't make the, we cannot make an okolehao with the raw ti root. We have to cook it, we have...Hawaiians had an imu. We have to put it in to put it in the there for about maybe, if we going to do it tonight, maybe tomorrow afternoon, we going to take it off.

Yeah, they do. The only time they had a trouble, when they over drink themself. Then when they so drunk, that's when they get the trouble. But if they control themself, as far as the trouble concerned, they don't get into that trouble.

We use rope cattle nighttime at Keamoku side. We wait moonlight. Dey come down steal watah. You see da plenty wild cattle up Keamoku doze day. Dey come down steal watah, well, we go stay ova dere. No go wheah da wind is. If da wind catch a smell, dey no come down.

You know, if he kidnap, das mean he wans you fo good, too.

Ova deya da devil—if stay down da beach, he go stab you,

Yeah. If big one, you got to chop 'em.

Yeah. And another thing where is hard, too, this Van Dreser, he tell, “Wait till that thing is really dry, then burn. No burn when you only half.” I tell 'em, “Well, that's lot of places danger.” They like everything so and so, you know. So, we make a firebreak, but usually, if a big field, let's say over here is the hundred-acre field, we start from the back and work our way this way. If the next field is maybe almost ready for harvest or maybe about seven-, eight-month cane and get ‘opala, the fire, if it go inside there, he going burn, see.

They just go by the bags. They get paid by the bags. But the shop will know, more or less. They have scales down there. If it's not enough, they going let you know, don't forget about it. But if it's over, they won't say nothing. That's how they do it. That's one thing, the present right now, things look favorable, but not that good yet.

No, it's kind of impossible. We get plenty stone. It's really — if you have all dirt banks, maybe then you can use lawn mowers or something. But this situation, you cannot.

Because down there already, when I was in Japan already, my friend was telling me, “You cannot talk stink about the tenno heika.” He said, “The tenno heika, you gotta stay down, the law.” So, we talking English. The cab driver no can understand English. So we talking stink, any kind. “Oh, no worry about that guy.” If the driver know, boy, he take us to the....

Not like the old Waikiki where you can go down the beach and enjoy. Get parking space. Today, you cannot find no parking space. Even if parking meter have, you cannot go down there, find parking meter because everybody goes down the beach. Even if they allow you to, parking meters, you cannot find parking meters.
(NC:167) He called me two times. After that, he still called me. I said, “No, I cannot do such business. If I sell to you and I take the taro and sell to the other fellow, you don’t like that, too.” And then he said, “Oh, yeah. It’s hard. You cannot find some for me?” I said, “I told you that I don’t do business for the other fellow. I do my business for my own only.” So he came up, he scout Waipio. He went try to look for dry land taro. I don’t know if he got any or not.

(NC:183) You just pack ’em down so much. Don’t pack ’em too far down so in case a flood comes, it knocks ’em off, and don’t make ’em too high. You see, the top, we always have just enough to hold guava stick or whatever branches we put on, then we put the grass and everything to hold the water. In case the flood comes, it knocks the top off and then if too big a flood, it going to knock everything off, so as long as a portion goes off, the water is going straight down. If the thing is solid, naturally the sand will all go in our ditch.

(NK:955) No, they no like work out because if they going work out, they no can take care their family, plant taro, or do their own work, or go fishing, like that. That’s, more or less, they said, well, if they have to go work for money, you gotta spend money for buying all other stuff. So that’s why, they go mahi’ai, themself. Work their taro patch themself and go down the beach catch fish themself.

(NK:957) Yeah, have to, have to. My mother them no can stay home one Sunday. Gotta go. Even if we have to walk how many miles, we gotta go with lantern. Four o’clock, leave the house, walk Honaunau.

(OC:11) Yeh, City Photo. They was very, very, very nice. You see, some other company, if you cannot run your business, well, you just pack and move – get out – and you have to take care, but they were very nice.

(OC:9) I know the newspaper and I know the value of that land they get there, the big building – the Advertiser. When come to business, good – better; they sold that – I think their stock went up to seventeen, eighteen dollars and all my friends sold it to somebody else. They didn’t tell me, see, but I told them before, “If you want to sell, tell me so I can get the money. I know how to go and borrow money from the bank.”

(SU:1531) Yeah. He don’t tell you how much, you know. You pay so much. That’s all. If you can afford two dollars, you pay two dollars.

(SU:1552) No, no. We cannot take those kinds, too big. The place cannot hold. No weddings, no nothing, too big. So maybe, I would say, the biggest party maybe seventy-five. Less than 100, though. Sure, if I have a bigger place, I could take. So, that was the biggest I can hold, and most of the time was all occupied.

(TA:49) When I need the patch to be harrowed, or something like that, I hire the Filipino. Most time I hire the Filipino. I like his buffalo. Slow, they make good job. Most of these farmers used to use horse. So if I cannot hire him, I go rent one horse. I pay so many hours for the horse.

(WK:694) Yeah, throw ’em in the fire. Kill the guy’s power. If you worship something and that thing get power, they just take that thing and throw ’em in the fire and that thing flame.

(WK:718) He said, “You better....” That’s why I told you, you get to cut the huli certain way, and you get to pull the huli certain way, that they won’t get soft, so that it won’t die. If you squeeze the huli, you grab the huli and you squeeze it, then they would die. Supposed to be real solid, the huli supposed to be solid.

(WK:718) Oh, irrigation? Well, regulation of water is, when you begin to put your huli in the field, in the patch, when you planting, first two weeks you have to dry the patch up. The reason why you do it is, because you want to get the root attached to the dirt, because if you get too much soft mud, the roots wouldn’t have the strength to grab the dirt. You know what I mean? To grab the dirt it isn’t too strong. But if you dry within two weeks, the dirt would be solid and the roots would have better chance to get stronger. Get the root stronger.

(YA:1043) Well, the blind date, you know, da kine. They bring ’em each other, and then they get together and talk, eh? If they no get together and meet and talk, they don’t know who they are, see?

(YA:1052) They appointed so-and-so people. So many people go up to operate certain guns, you know. So, you have to, see. Maybe I’m not the one that operating, but some other people ahead of me
operate. I got to be around with them. If a bomb hit him, he die, I operate ’em too. I take over, see? Another guy take over like that, you know.

5.40.4 Summary

This investigation found numerous examples of the valence:

**IF Clause1 Clause2**

There are no other valences.

The NSM primitive **IF** is completely unproblematic in HCE. The HCE token **if** is widespread and there is no lack of examples of its predicted syntax.

5.41 NOT

5.41.1 Primitive Syntax

**NOT** combines unrestrictedly with clauses.

Therefore, this section looks for examples of negation in all NSM clause types.

5.41.2 HCE Examples

The primary forms we will be considering are: **nat** (non-past), **no** (non-past), **neva** (past), **di’n** (past), and **don** (non-past).

5.41.3 Examples of **don/di’n**

5.41.3.1 **don** THINK

Although I argued earlier (in section 2.7.2.2) that the combination of **NOT** and **THINK** should not be a universal valence, I am including a search for **don** and **THINK** for purposes of comparison since other cross-linguistic NSM investigations would likely include this combination. The following canonical examples use the form **don** to negate **THINK:**

(AK:596) I don’t think so. In Waipio, I don’t think that anybody went hungry. I think if he went hungry, he just too lazy to move around and do it, I think. But if he move around, I think he’s be way ahead.

(AK:620) Yeah, lot of outsiders come in; especially when we have luaus, like that Lot of Honokaa guys come down. They really enjoy to come; they like to go down Waipio. As long they hear having something in Waipio, even the Fourth of July, they always go to Waipio. They don’t think they had to stay up here Honokaa. They rather go Waipio because Waipio is better.

(ER:828) No, I don’t think so. Because, those days, if no too much busy on the cowboy, eh, each cowboy go shoe their own horse. When they no busy go outside, no more job like that, so you go shoe horse.

(FD:287) But, to me, I’m getting disgusted. Come, same thing, they say, “Oh, nothing shows on the taro.” I guess maybe the water, or whatever. They take the water, nothing shows the water. The dirt, nothing. I say that’s the only one thing I do believe. That’s why I tell, “You folks don’t remember that? That’s a saying in the Bible said, ‘There’s a day will come, day of starvation.’” And they all look at me. I think Roy, he’s a minister of this church. I don’t think he will tell you folks this.
(GF:337) No, they don’t have. Those that are single, they stayed single. And then, I don’t think they care very much for ladies. They think of good times.

(MM:334) Well, I don’t think transfer. I think his own will, he came over here, see. It’s not like some jobs that when they get transferred, the company, where you going to, they furnish all your expenses and everything. But no, in those days, if you like move from one place to another, well, you gotta see your own transportation, everything. So it’s hard. And then, not only that. They never get truck or anything. You know, the small little carriage? So, big family, how many trips you gotta go back and forth. And it’s not near from Lawa’i Stable to here.

(MT:1195) Well, the future can be good if they lick this disease problem. It can be real profitable, it’s a future to stay. It’s to stay. But, as I say, if they don’t get this problem controlled, I don’t think it’ll be here.

(MY:1469) Ah, but most of the teahouses was on the other side, no? John ‘Ena Road side. On our side, I don’t think you had teahouses.

(NC:167) Yeah. Only short while. Only when she run short. I don’t think it’s more than six months. Every time when she run short, she call me up and she want so many bags.

(OC:14) But anyway, they say they hate to touch me but they say, “Some teacher reported that you throw stones at mango, but even I don’t think it but I have to do it just for the reason that report. I have to do it.”

(SU:1568) Let’s see, Angel Maehara quit. I think right now, used to be Columbia Inn, but Columbia Inn I don’t think so they go that far, I think. Because my customers went to Columbia Inn, you know, most of them.

(TA:54) You folks went walking around. You can see the taro patch that gave up. You see all kind trees growing inside already. So, I don’t know. Maybe 25 or 35 years from now, I don’t know if anybody would be planting taro. And about 25 years from today, all these kids going be more smart than what they graduating now from high school. And I don’t think they come down here plant taro. I know my kids won’t come down here. I know that.

(YA:1022) Well, I believe, I think so, but they no tell me yes or no. You know, could be, eh? I don’t think about they no believe me, but when they heard, they say that to me. One man tell me—one fella that I told him, I don’t know, when I was kinda old man already. Forty, fifty years old already. He tell me, “You sure you saw a menehune?”

5.41.3.2 don/di’n WANT

Although I have argued elsewhere (in section 2.7.2.2) that WANT does not universally allow for negation, I have included it in this survey to facilitate comparison with other cross-linguistic NSM investigations. The following canonical examples use the form don/di’n to negate WANT:

(AK:594) I wanted to pay but they don’t want me to pay. But, whatever I work and I get something, I give them to buy some food. You know, stuff, whatever they like to buy.

(FD:265) No way. Maybe, some people they have da kine medicine. I don’t want to ruin myself.

(GF:339) Yeah. I don’t know so much about that. I wasn’t in that co-op. I don’t want to be bound to nobody. I wanted to be free.

(JB:62) But because I have to, of this rough life that we have, and I have to quit school to take care of my poor brothers and, I didn’t have sisters at the time. I only had my brother. And to be honest, I didn’t know about changing baby diapers and sewing clothes. The reason I don’t want to say it much, because I felt so sorry of how we used to live. Pretty rough. Sometimes, I talk to people and they see me having a tears out. They know that I went through that rough life that nobody did go through the rough life.

(JL:21) No, I don’t smoke. But I didn’t like stay up dere, see. I no wanna stay. Only me da Hawaiian boy, might catch hell wid da odda men.

(KE:139) An-an dead man on da riverbank didn’t like to go to bed.
Actually, there’s a lot of family operation in Waipio Valley. Mostly is all cousins, uncles, and, you know. Maybe they don’t want to fight each other, so they kind of stick together. But if they have somebody in their group who represents them, they 100 percent behind them. We had the associations down here, three different associations, till last year. Everything failed. Why? That’s the question.

Yeah. And then, I couldn’t get retired. ’Cause the boss don’t want to let me go. He tell me, “No. You come one week, only two weeks, all right, you work for me. You come half day all right.” All conditions, he gave me. But my wife tell me, “Like you, you go inside one time, once you get inside, you no can come home already because you get your customers, you going to take care.”

No. They don’t bring. One fella come relieve you. You go home, eat then you come back again. Because those days we don’t like eat cold food, eh. Not like nowadays, all cold lunch. Before always home lunch, warm food.

Yes, that business was a partnership and then come in later on, not making money so everybody didn’t want to own anything.

Yeah. If you don’t want to pay.... Because those days, no more money. But the guy used to make money. Because everybody come.

No, he don’t tell the Chinese. He talk to the farmers. Trying to get their taro. But he didn’t want to take ‘em all. Just so much for each order go out. They were selling to the Chinese folks too, eh?

No, she was Honolulu. My uncle was taking care the Waipio land, so my uncle finally up, Harrison’s father. My mother tell me, “Eh, uncle going give up so you go back.” “Eh, I don’t want to go back. I got my job. Fireman steady. eh?” She said, “No, put the land all on top you. You go back.” “No, I no like verbal, you know. How you going put on me? You going will? No.” She said, “I go will on you?” “I go buy from you.” I told my mother. I buy ’em $1 and love.

Yeah. After that, I went downtown again, Honolulu again, with my brother, see? Then my brother see all da kine ghost stuff on the papaya tree. The horse no like go, eh? You remember? The horse don’t want to go, you know.

The following canonical examples use the form don/di’n to negate KNOW:

I don’t know if you’ve been down there. To show you, above the school, further up the other side, toward the beach.

Yea, because you know, I don’t know why but, wha-tyou-call maybe they have a club and they still work. They say the Japanese grave the cleanest grave among all the Christians, the Mormons and all kinds. The Japanese grave the cleanest.

Oh, my father, he say, “Waialua is good.” But no, no. My father, he was sick in the hospital. He was sick, then he wen go to the hospital. And stay there about–oh, too many–I don’t know how many months he stay. And then, the company bin send him to the Philippine. See? Because about his sickness. So, they send him to the Philippine.

We take hospital, but they no can do nothing already, too late. I don’t know what wen happen.

I don’t know. Because I was adopted from my grandmother. And her name is Kaiawe. but I didn’t know who was her English name but she married to the Mock Chew man, you know, what you call that already?

I don’t know anything about it. They always been fighting. Fighting among themselves. I never attended one meeting.

Right, right. The school is on the back. But not anymore. Because it’s all covered up and maybe it’s all broken down. And then, when we come on the night of Saturday, that place is packed. You don’t know where the people come from. That’s how we had the party. And I really enjoyed it.
(JL:15) Well, firs we went in Schofield. We stayed dere; we didn't go to the war. Then pau the war. I was undah – I didn't know he was goin' com govanah – stainback. I was orderly for him.  

(MM:339) I don't know if you know who Shigeru is. Matsumoto.  

(MT:1181) I don't know what you mean, “method.” I get spacing, in a sense.  

(MY:1471) I don't know if this was the Daisy or not, but there was one elephant. But maybe the first one, I think, they killed because she wen injure somebody, you know, one time.  

(NC:137) They get mat. Only mat, you know? I don't know how they can sleep.  

(NK:946) No, Kaloku. Kaloku told him, “Go Honolulu and get the paper.” He said, “He mau kala no kela.” He said that's money for him to spend. He had to go and pay. You know, he don't know how much he had to pay. And when he first paid his tax, was cost three dollars only.  

(OC:7) In those days, when I was fourteen years old we don't know how to count the money and all that thing there, so.  

(SU:1572) Saboten is big leaf like that with lot of thorns on. Yeah. I don't know what they call in English, though, that. Big difference.  

(TA:51) Nothing. They don't know how to get rid of ’em.  

(WK:695) No, not exactly. My father died when I was only 11 years old, and I know my mother told me he came from Fukuoka, Japan. I don't know where is that place. Maybe I go now, I going see, eh? We going, eh?  

(YA:1069) Oh, maybe couple months ago, I think. Then, I run up the corner. I look where the fire is. I didn't know was a fire right in the back of the house.  

(MT:1166) Well, it's hard to say. At present, it's very hard to say. Everything is all closed up, enclosed already. Manpower is out of the question. Manpower maybe only can cut the trees on the sides. But what about that material in the stream. Which is, you know, the gravel is piled up to meet the banks, the original taro patch banks. You know, it's gradually coming up. Some people say the State supposed to own the rivers. I really do not know if they really interested about it.

5.41.3.4 don FEEL

The following canonical examples use the form don to negate FEEL:

(FD:291) I don't know. They not here with us. That's why I tell them, “Don't feel hurt when you folks hear somebody is taking over the place.” Because I can still put somebody on take care and still we can have share. But I figure, if we put on you or whoever, because I have my two sons here near to me, and my two son-in-laws. I know they are willing, but I look first at mine instead I...

(MT:1175) Kind of hard to say on figures, because quite some time ago. Before, we used to just fill the bags till it’s ears – we call that “ear” on the top where you hold it. I made pretty good, actually. But the poi shop was gaining because we didn’t know the weight at that time. We didn’t have no scales, see. Then, when I went into the scales, scaling all my taro and stuff, then I took notice how much I was losing. But actually, at that time, as long as you make money, you don’t feel it. But at present, right now, every farmer grumbles.

The following canonical examples use the form no to negate FEEL:

(EB:1140) Then, we come. We ride the Humuula. I don't know if you remember the Humuula. No more Humuula. The steamer, the Humuula. The old one. The old Humuula. From Honolulu to Kona. Yeah. Kailua. So, boy, that time. Funny thing is, when I come from the Philippine, come to Honolulu, I no feel dizzy. But from Honolulu to Kona, oh, just like the house spinning around. Two days, boy.

(TA:50) This area, as long as get water in there, not much weeds grow. That's one thing, you got to be ahead of the weed all the time. Once you leave it, you say, “Ah, tomorrow I go pull.” Tomorrow, that thing is about a foot long. So my taro patch, I don't give weed chance. I see couple growing, I just walk in there and throw 'em out. Not like lot of those patches over there. Oh boy, you need hunting dog for find taro. When you go make huli, you see plenty grass in the taro bed, you no feel like go pull over there.
5.41.3.5 don/di’n SAY

The following canonical examples use the form don/di’n to negate SAY:

(AK:595) Hard, no more work. Like no more money to buy anything so they had to weave hat. I almost start weaving hat, you know. When we were going school, a friend of mines smokes, wanted to go school, and he has no money, he asked me for money so I lend him some money. And then one time he didn’t tell me that he was learning how. The sister showed him how to weave hat. So one night I went over the house without him knowing, I caught him weaving hat. So I asked him, “What you doing this for?” “You know I get no money, I like buy cigarette. I sell one hat, I can get cigarette.”

(AK:631) Like now, if you are sick, you had to forgive. You don’t tell me what kind of trouble you have if I’m the one to come to help you. All what you do is you forgive yourself to the Lord, or something like that. Then when you clear yourself, then I give you the medicine, the medicine works right. Smoothly. But if you wrong, anything no can, eh? It’s a belief that you had to think to it.

(GF:307) Yeah. You know Chinese, they match-make, eh? So, he didn’t tell me that. He brag, he tell plenty people that. So, of course, Waipio had school, before they had school dances sometime, socials. And I like to dance, ballroom dancing. I like that; so, we used to go. You putting that down too? They didn’t say nothing. By the time they drink and everything, pay about seven dollars, eight dollars, they pay. The girls used to make lot of tips. Lot of girls used to make lot of tips.

(SU:1531) Yeah. He don’t tell you how much, you know. You pay so much. That’s all. If you can afford two dollars, you pay two dollars.

(SU:1554) They work overtime, so you charge them. They never say a word. All they need is food, those guys. Thanksgiving time come, turkey, we used to roast about ten, fifteen. From night before, we roast. Otherwise, cannot keep up, eh? And we charge five, six dollars, serving. They don’t say nothing. By the time they drink and everything, pay about seven dollars, eight dollars, they pay. The girls used to make lot of tips. Lot of girls used to make lot of tips.

(WK:694) She never tell me what kind aumakua. She didn’t say what kind aumakua. But there’s all kind different aumakua, Hawaiians, they believe. Certain people, they believe. Like ours is ali‘i, see. And the other one is akualele. Akualele is if you do wrong and you and I have a quarrel, a fight, eh? So I send my god to hurt you. They call that akualele.

5.41.3.6 don/di’n DO

The following canonical examples use the form don/di’n to negate DO:

(AK:614) It was before I got there. When I got there, they didn’t do that any more. I learned little bit of the Hawaiian dance when I was in Kona. I did go in the class, we went up dance.

(GF:325) No, sugar company get nothing to do. But sometimes the farmers, they not so good to one another. Especially, like Toledo, eh? He go in the river, he dredge the river. Toledo did that to me lot of times, though. But I didn’t do anything to him. That’s up to him.

(JB:61) Well, when you don’t do your lessons right, you not interested, he pound you on the wall. That’s the kind of life we went through.

(MM:338) No, no. My mother didn’t do that. That was kinda later on when they had kinda lot of Filipinos already here. When we moved here, you know.

(MT:1165) So I’m trying to get a grading permit, actually, to go in and restore the bank again, which was lost. I had lawyers and everything out here already. Honestly. Which, other people are squawking because they say I’m diverting the water, which I’m not. I’m just trying to keep my banks in line. Because the gravel goes down and plugs somebody else’s, fault is not my fault; that’s act of God thing,
now. The floods come in and take that material down to someone else's place, and if they don't do nothing about it, well that's their fault. But they trying to but the blame on me, right now.

(NC:187) That thing doesn't work. You know I get some now, the one I harvesting. We didn't do crops for two years, a little more, three years. We didn't plant anything. And then we work on it. It still get sick. They say we didn't rest the land. I say, “It's been over two years and not been used. How do you account for that?” You know, the University guys, they cannot tell me. They came up and one of them is a doctor a Filipino doctor

(WK:694) Well, she say, “Son, if I was you, don't do anything to hurt other people. Just ask them for forgiveness.” She always believe in church work too, you see. “When other people hurt you, you just forgive them for their wrong doing, whatever they do wrong. Just forgive them, that's all. Let God take care the rest.”

(YA:1052) Not, I didn't do it. I just only go together with the gang.

(WK:700) Our assignment is. My grandfather used to tell me, “Eh, after school you come back, eh. Go do your job, you know. Before you go play, you do your job.” And they very strict about it. “And then, if you don't do ’em, you won't have no supper, you know.”

5.41.4 Examples of no

5.41.4.1 no THINK

The following canonical examples use no to negate THINK:

(ER:900) I no see. Get water maybe only hole for the goat or for the rain water. But I no think get fresh water for drink. Because I went way inside there, way inside till the end, the road. walk, go inside but narrow. Get water inside there, but I think maybe that’s rainwater. That’s not spring water.

(FD:289) But I told him, “I seen that already, but I didn't want to tell your uncle. I told him when the leaves is yellow, is showing that some kind of disease is attacking the taro.” But he doesn't believe. He just go pull the grass, and then just no think nothing. I say, “Well, I have to pray harder.” For put something in his head to think, “Oh, I think my wife is telling me something different so I better try.” He doesn't want anybody to tell him what to do.

(ER:900) Yeah. Hauola, I no think so get water.

(YA:1053) In the machine shop, they no think about it. Outside of that, in town, they think I was. But in the machine shop, they no think I was a Japanese. But Japanese think I was Japanese, though. When I walk on the street, all Japanese, they bow their head, they say, “Good morning,” and all kind. Because they think I was Japanese, too, eh?

(YA:1067) I don't know. But I never thought of how many get die or no die. I no think about that, see? Somebody get killed, but, you know, we no pay no attention. That's small stuff. We only care for ourself. In case our house no push away, we lucky, that's all.

5.41.4.2 no WANT

The following canonical examples use no to negate WANT:

(ER:799) Yeah, everybody. They take turn. Maybe if you no like go, eh, you tell you no like go. I go take your place, I go work Sunday.

(AK:668) He's the only eyewitness that saw the tidal wave. Ah Puck. If you try ask him, he tell you. Because he went down the beach, when he saw that. He saw this waves, big waves, eh. He no want to go out. He take his family, run. The family, he came by my house. And then, Robert Kahele was. The uncle, Solomon Kala, was. And two of the nephews, I think was. One Filipino.

(AK:614) The one who want to go help. They call that limalau, to get together and work. They had, those days, that one. But, like today, with this younger generation, you tell them, “Oi, come help me clean my side.” They no like you come help clean.

(ER:754) I no like go school too much. I like go ride horse every time with my father.

(FD:292) Well, I don’t know. Maybe they like, but the wife. But the one in Hilo, he like, but he get good job, he no like leave his job. He work $11.60 an hour. He get good job, good job that boy. He like.

(GF:341) So they start out talking about me. “God damn, my boss raise all lehua taro. I like him raise apii, he no like raise apii. He like raise lehua because lehua better money. He get 50 cents more on every bag.” I told him, “Well, I think you can get me some apii seed.” “How many?” “Oh, 10,000 all right.” “Ho, what’s the matter, too much now, one time?” “Well, if I going raise apii, I might as well start big. So the next crop I don’t have to go here and there and look for seed.”


(JL:10) Well, when I was a young boy – nine year old, I tink; nine or ten – Alfred Carter send me to Kamehameha School. He was our manager here dat time. Before Alfred Carter was Paul Jarrett. Das during Sam Parker’s time. Paul Jarrett. Bymby, Mr. Carter – they appoint him guardian for Richard Smart’s mother, Thelma. So, Mr. Carter run the ranch. He put all dis pipeline here from top till top Mauna Kea. Mr. Carter no want.


(MM:358) No, I had lot of shirts, yeah, but that’s why I say, only Monday and Wednesday we change, eh? We no can change every day. And then, you know, you pity your old lady. Not like today, you get washing machine. Oh, those days, all go like this, eh? You no want see your mother every day.

(MM:359) Hood, yeah. Because, you know, the sticky, eh? Your neck get sticky. Yeah, they used to make. But the thing hot, I no like. You know, the thing cover your head and ear, eh? Hot, you know.

(NK:931) But we say, “We no like eat the daikon, bumbai fut, fut.”

(TA:52) I don’t have ’em in my patch yet. That’s why when I get seed, when I go borrow seed, or buy seed, I look where the taro, the seed come from. I no like bring ’em over here. Sometime I leave my patch empty for four, five months, until I get the good seed. I no like bring the disease this side.


(YA:1066) Real dirty. They take the first coat for eat; the second coat for make ice cream, da kine, eh; and pau. Another one, they no like, see. That’s how they make salt cabbage, salt meats, salt pork, any kind. They use that.

(YA:1040) I don’t know how much, I forget already. Little bit, anyway. So, I wen go Hawaiian Electric. Hawaiian Electric open. They pay me forty-five dollar every two week, I think, you know. Then I no want to take the job, see? Too small. Bumbai, they tell me, “No, you have bonus.” So, then I take the job for little while. Was good job, but I no like. They send me out, go house to house, go read meter. Uh, the house to house. Da kine grass, like that tall. You go walk all over. The water wet. You wet your feet. You won’t last long. Bumbai, you get rheumatism. You no can walk bumbai. So, I quit the job.

5.41.4.3 no SAY

The following canonical examples use no to negate THINK:

(ER:757) No. They no tell me like that because me kolohe boy, you know, that time.

(ER:775) I no say nothing.

(ER:777) Well, when I small, I like ride horse. When they been telling me go over here, go plant grass over here, go up the mountain, and when my cousin tell me, “You gotta go ride horse today,” ho, I no tell no. I like ride horse. Tell me...
(ER:877) Big money the stevedore, because they get overtime, too. I think almost hundred ninety dollar. So I take home my paycheck my first week and show Uncle Lew them, he tell me, “Eh, big money you make.” And then bumbai, I no tell him I winch operator already, eh.

(YA:1048) The superintendent said, “This boy do more work than my machinists can do. But he do good work.” Bumbai, down from the labor board, he send one application down to the office. The superintendent tell me, “Come in the office. They want to see you in the office.” I thought, “Chee, now they going fire me.” You know. No, I go inside the office, they tell me—they put the blank out—and they tell, “You sign here.” And I signed there. He no tell me, “You get promotion,” or what. And then, bumbai, little while, pay day, I get more pay. Then I think, “Oh, how come?” Then I asked the superintendent. “What I sign the paper for?” “Oh, you get promotion.”

5.41.4.4 no DO

The following canonical examples use no to negate DO:

(NK:924) Yeah. They no do that. Because they always...

(NK:924) ...or knife. Hawaiians, they no do that.

(NK:942) She said that. Because she no do hard work. No more outside pull grass, like that.

(YA:1047) You got to go fry ’em up. You clean ’em, you know. Take the guts out and clean ’em nice, eh? And they no more scale, you know. Catfish no more scale. Cut the head off, cut the tail off, and put in the frying pan. Fry ’em crispy, see. Fry ’em very crispy. And then, put ’em inside the pot with half pot of water. Then put da kine black beans inside the pot, see. But the black beans, already soaked, you know, inside another container. Then put ’em together. Then boil ’em. Boil until the fish all melt, soft already, everything. Then, the soup so good. And then, everybody drink one bowl of soup. Ooh, the ono, da kine soup. Yeah, that’s all. That’s all we do in our days. We no do nothing. We learn how to make shrimps, learn how to make dry fish, eh?

5.41.4.5 no GOOD

There are several canonical examples of predicative GOOD being negated through no:

(AK:637) Saddlemaking, well, maybe anybody can make. But the idea of making saddle is, when you get everything all done like this. Or, you get everything all completed, and you put on the animal’s back. Some saddles doesn’t fit. You know, some horses, they’re broad, some horses, they small. And then, when you put on horse, like around here, this place here, it start eating the horse back. Get hurt, eh. Then, maybe the saddle no good, see. Sometimes the saddle glide on the horse neck you know. Even though you get the hinge on. It goes down. But some saddle doesn’t run, you know.

(AK:656) After they bar out the Prenite, so you cannot use Prenite anymore. So they come out with diesel oil. Then they come out, now, they have Paraquat and they have all kind poisons. Those poisons are good in one way, some not. Maybe someplace for something. I think Waipio, for kill grass. But I think for the taro patch no good.

(BB:011) They pay my father with the liquor because they no mo’ money. That’s why my father he don’ know where for put; so, he dig underneath the house and bury ’em. And plenty guys they come my house for buy the okolehau, because they know my father get plenty. [name deleted], is the guy, wha-you-call, he’s my father’s boss. ‘A’s why you know, “Hey, hey no make the kin’ already Ibara, by’n’by you get caught no good. You come make coffin, down there.”

(EB:1142) Yeah. Because this not contract. You can fill up one bag, two bag. If you like go home, you can go home. The owner of the coffee say, “You no can go home.” Up to you. Not like the plantation, eh? After that, I think, “About this coffee, no good.” No can do. I was thinking to go back Honolulu.

(ER:768) That time we no more icebox. We just bring ’em and leave ’em inside the bottle, in the salt. No more icebox. Just leave ’em like that until that thing come dry. If dry, no good, I throw ’em away.
(ER:786) Most time they get from Parker Ranch. Parker Ranch, the bull, then they keep. Then sometime, they keep some over here. The young ones they try keep. Then if they look good, then they keep 'em. But if they say no good, then they butcher. That's how they...

(ER:786) That's why you pick up ten, they put 'em inside one pen. Then the chief cowboy, he go look. He look, he look. If he think okay, he tell you, “Okay you get 'em all, good.” But if he think this one no good, then he call you come. He tell, “You look this one, you compare this one to this.” So I look what's the difference. Then he tell you what the difference. You look, but you tell him, “Shee, I don't know the difference. To me, look like the same.” “No, this one narrow, this one heavy build, bull, short, heavy. This one long, no more.” He tell you all this kind, and you gotta think every time, eh, how they tell you.

(ER:788) Yeah. He teach young boys, too. He teach, and he good. He no mad, this man. No matter what you do to him, he no mad. Hard old man for get mad. You get mad with him, you can grumble grumble, no, he no say nothing. Bumbai he tell you, “Why you come mad like that. No good. You gotta be good to all the people. No come mad.”

(ER:811) Yeah, kickapoo, the pineapple kind. They make, they drink. And sometime they come in the stable. Sometime the cowboys, they make their own with da kine rice, I think, yeah. But no good, the cowboys' one. Sometime when they ready for it, they go inside there, plenty cockroach. They make the cockroach like this and put the...

(ER:811) And sometime he tell me, “Ey, we go down nighttime.” “Nah, I no like go down nighttime. I like go down daytime, so I can go get some meat.” Give some fish for them guys. Only me I go, and I go eat free kaukau, no good, eh. And then I tell, “Nah, we go shoot goat. You and me.”

(ER:813) I don't know. He like for the cattle. But the koa no good because the time I young I see plenty ranch, they no like. They like try hemo 'em. But he maybe like koa for the cow. But he no think the koa going come big. Bumbai, the stick about like this, you no can go through. Hard, you know. If only the young one like that, all right, the cow can eat 'em, eh. But now, you look, all hana pa'a. Hard for go through.

(ER:815) One guy he push that thing, he think that's when the taro come get da kine lump, maybe we no strain 'em good, eh. Bumbai he push away, he see the tail, he say, “Ey, we eating rat!” “Where?” “Look the tail!” “Eeeeeeee.” Everybody run outside, go ah, ah, no can. Tell, “No sense, you eat already.” Bumbai some other boys tell, “Ey, we no say nothing. Leave 'em go the other guys go eat.” “Nah, no good, throw away. No eat 'em, throw away!”

(GF:324) “...Then we got to haul our grain over the mountains, down the valleys and till we reach there, take us about one day. And what cattle we sell, we pay tax. What pigs we sell, we pay tax. And then you folks cannot help us?” Kealoha, he say, “How much you want? You quote how much you need. You go hire somebody and the County pay.” See, Kealoha was good. And Mahuka was good. Sam Spencer, he was good. Otherwise, other guys no good. They only....

(GF:339) Yeah, I sell to other markets too. When I sell to other markets, they want more. I tell, “Well, that's all I get.” Then they tell me, “Damn good taro.” But my father-in-law say, “No, your taro no good, no good.”

(GF:339) Yeah, selling to Mock Chew. I was raising for the fun, just to learn about taro. Whether it's good, or no good, he always say no good. “Not good grade, not good grade.”

(MM:348) Sit down, and you coach 'em, coach 'em, eh? Then he start to stand up and start to walk. You can see 'em already, knock out, you know. He just go slow walk, eh? I think to myself, “This is no good already. More better we go home.”

(MM:360) Dark, you know. And then, who way in the end of the track, when the train stop and that fella still had to walk about half a mile yet to the working place, he going start late, eh? He going start maybe about 6:30. So, the manager, he come check, you know. Yeah, he wen come check with me one time. But good thing, I seen him first. If he seen me first, no good. I seen him first, see.

(MT:1177) And with this kind of people, you cannot depend on them because today they might be working, they won't come work three or four days later. Another day, they might be back again. So then you have to go and do it yourself. Make sure you have a schedule. Any manager has a schedule he has to
follow. He has his things to do. With these people, you cannot depend on it. Some of them, I don't say all, some of them is pretty good. But not all. I figure 25 percent is good, 75 percent is **no good**.

(MY:1482) So when I told the president that I cannot take that job, boy, he shake my hand, boy. He said, “You real good man. You loyal to one boss. That’s what I like. That’s a good man.” He no tell me **no good**. He tell me, “You good. That’s very, very good. You are very loyal to your boss. That’s what’s good.”

(MY:1475) We catch all the fish, we put ’em inside one big da kine fish trap. Then, this guy from Yanai, the peddler, he come buy the fish. I tell my grandfather, “The peddler crooking you.” Japan, when they come, they no more scale. They get da kine weight. The thing here is long, so they balance it with a.... “I think the thing **no good**,” I tell him.

(NK:918) No, no good. Yeah, the taro root will cut, and then taro **no good** for poi. They come all spoil. So, that’s why, we were saying, seven month, leave the taro like that, cover all up. And we no work no more.

(NK:932) Yeah, **no good**. The kids. Ho, if you miss one lesson and if you make mistake, they call you, “Stupid, stupid.”

(SU:1521) Then, hammer. We don’t know. So I just bought the hammer. I figure, well, light hammer is better. No, light hammer is **no good**. Medium-size hammer is good. So every time when you near, you smash your finger, see. Then, same time, when you use the kanna, you don’t know how to use the kanna. You know, Japan kanna.

(SU:1525) And come home time, we run. Because in the morning when you run and go, we sweat, everything, **no good**, eh? But come home time, we don’t care, sweat or no sweat. That’s what we used to do. But me, fortunately I was lucky because I had my uncle at Hilo. Yeah.

(YA:1073) We move over here, we stay here till now. I still living here. And now, my wife passed away, but I still no like move away from this place here. I like to stay in the house myself. My daughter tell me move up her house and stay. Aiea. I say, no, **no good**. Go up Aiea, you not convenient. You no can catch the bus. You no can. Over here, you just walk outside there, get the bus, see? That’s why I like live here.

5.41.4.6 no PLACE

There are no canonical examples of negated predicative **PLACE**. There is a single good near-canonical place predication negated with no:

(ER:772) So, I walk on. Bumbai I walk up there, my aunty see me, ’cause my aunty she know me. When my aunty tell to the husband, she tell, “The boy look like Ernest, yeah, coming up.” My uncle tell, “Nah, that’s not him. **He no stay Lana‘i.**” “But look like that’s him. He coming.” Bumbai, I see, I come near the house. I laugh, I make my hand like that. My aunty tell my uncle, “Yeah, that’s him, look, he waving.” I go in there.

The following is also a possible example of a near-canonical place predication negated with no:

(ER:847) Oh, Munro time, yeah, we work about eight hours, and we start about six o’clock and we go out. We go out maybe we pau hana three o’clock like that, eh, we reach home three o’clock pau hana. We **no stay** outside three o’clock and pau hana and come all the way. Maybe where we stay, maybe one hour for us stay come home. By the time reach home going be three o’clock. Three o’clock or four o’clock. I think four o’clock we pau hana.

5.41.5 Examples of neva

5.41.5.1 neva **THINK**

The following canonical examples use **neva** to negate **THINK**:
Well, the horse sick, I don’t know. There’s no more doctor. We never think of taking to horse doctors. Well, so far, my horses never get sick, though. They die by old age, or maybe....

(ER:754) No, I never think about that. I only think about work. I gotta take care two brothers. I never think about school.

(NC:158) Broke off from the hallway. You get a hallway about six feet and just went off, all wrecked into pieces. My boy said, “This one looks like going cover the house.” I says, “Gee, cover the house. You better get inside. It’s better to die in the house than.... nobody can find our body if we stay outside.” I never think the house was going to wreck because it is well built. So he said, “No, it won’t cover the house. It will reach about the window high.” And that’s pretty high because the window is about seven feet from the floor the top of the window. Another foot and you hit the ceiling. So all of a sudden I hear a crash and I said, “What happened?” He said, “We sailing!” The whole house went.

(NK:954) Yeah. Only for the family for eat. And they never think of selling. But when the Japanese people came in, well, they find out. Well, they go out, they contact to other people where they can sell. Hawaiians, where they going contact? They don’t know nobody in the Mainland, nobody in Japan. Like Japanese, they come Hawaii, they can write to their family. See? What they making here and all that. And then, contact, they send.

(NK:945) Yeah. Took care of my father. So, that’s why, he had the land, so when he die, he said that’s his land. So, when he died, my father was—I don’t know how old he was—but he never.... He know, he heard the tutu tell he own the land. But he don’t know. After that, he came big boy and he never think about land. So, Kalokuokamahele...

(NK:954) That’s why I said. The Hawaiians never think, those days, what to do to make money. Because they don’t know where to sell all what they going to make. Only they plant cabbage and all da kine for themself eat. Even like vegetable...

(YA:1063) So, when they come eat, we tell ’em, “This is rabbit, this is chicken.” Everybody pick up one for try. They come back. Everybody eat rabbit, no like the chicken. That time, I work shipyard that time, you know. Get friend, eh? I never thought he say, he no like eat. But when he eat one time, he say, “Good.” “Oh,” he said, “better than chicken.”

(YA:1069) The back all burned, the house. And all, inside, all da kine mattress and everything, burn up. The Samoan people live there. His kid go play match, catch fire. That’s all I know, see. I never know was one house burning away. I hear the fire engine call. Ambulance, you know, all come over here, fire. And I go look. I never thought was a fire.

5.41.5.2 neva WANT

The following canonical examples use neva to negate WANT:

(AK:666) But the entrance, to get inside, you have to crawl to get inside. And then, when you get inside, then you can stand up. You walk quite a ways inside. When I went in there, I had see a canoe was in there. I saw a canoe. I never like go more in. Kind of get scared. I never did touch nothing. I just look and I come out. Nice place. Good place. Too bad they never see it.

(ER:830) Yeah, him the one knock off that. He never like down there, he like only up here.

(ER:880) The people, they went—who like go anyplace and go any kind ranch, work. And this cowboy place over here, they recommend you go any kind place where you like. If you like go Hawaii cowboy, if you like go Honolulu, you like go Maui, so the company, the ranch company over here, they go recommend you, where you like go work. Because they ask, if they like cowboy there. So they ask us if we like go, what place we like go. I never like go. I say I going stay Lana’i, go work plantation. So some guys wen go Maui. Some guys went Hawaii. Some guys went Honolulu.

(GF:308) “...The plantation ask me lot of time to work for them and I never go back work.” You see, the olden days, most of the Chinese people, the plantation, they have Chinese people sugar boiler in the mill. So they asked me to be an apprentice, work in the mill for sugar boiling. I never wanted to work for somebody. We always had been on our own.
Oh yeah. They get their know-how. I never learn from him so much. Because, he and I, we speak different dialect. And in the first place, he never wanted me to marry his daughter. His daughter was already spoken for.

But she neva like, so...

Yeah, my father never like that. That’s why, she never keep up. But she used to do that, she said, when no more people entertain the...

5.41.5.3 neva KNOW

The following canonical examples use neva to negate KNOW:

(Bottle) Glass. I know me and my partner here, this one and this guy, when he came from Hilo, we were partners. He know all the Hilo policemen. So one time we went on one old Chevrolet car. We had about five of those kinds, demijohns. So he took he and I right in the police station. We never know what was his idea, so he and I stayed on the car. So, you can smell liquor, you know. But everytime we look, one police come back and go inside the station. Then he and I tell, “Eh, we stay in police station or what?” “What the hell he no come out?” Then when we get mad with him, we want to go for him, to give him licking over there.

(Like before, those people in Waipio never thinking of anything going be happen, they can make good. They never know that cars can go down. I think, if they only know that car could go down, maybe they ask for something big, eh. But they never know. They were thinking that they was all. No more nothing, no more car, no nothing go down.

(No, no. I never know even your name. My sister was telling me [name deleted] or something. Yeah. And I told my mom, “The baby is out.” My mom said, “No. That’s one more thing. Just like the baby big.” And I never know was the baby big. That thing is big too. Really, that thing is big too, afterbirth, you know. You should know. Big but you don’t see when even when you get your baby in the hospital. That thing is big after the birth.

(Well, after that, my second family, I think, only my oldest son, I used to boil that you know the leaves for boiling tea. They have that plant, plenty, you know those leafy thing they use for tea. They have, you know that thing sticks on the clothes. You know that pokey-pokey thing? I never know that thing is a good tea.

(Oh yeah. My family, my father was the manager of the Naalapa team. But I never know how to explain the alapa. Oh, “naalapa” is “the light.” My father was the manager for all of my brothers. We had all the family, all of my brothers. I had one stepbrother now. But he passed away. We were nine of us and the sport that played. My father.

(Yeah. I was big already, like this, eh? Five years old, I see the small, little Indians running around. They no big, you know. They black, eh? No more clothes, nothing on. And they crawling around just like da kine small baby, like, you know. That’s all I know, see? If they never tell me that, I never know that was one–small baby Indian is menehune, see?

(I stay, one bus came, another bus came. I think about number four bus came. Then he come, he open the door. I look, eh, Uncle Chester. He look me, I make my hand like this. Yeah, and he go shut the door. I make my hand like this. He look again, then he open the door. He make come, so-I go on the bus. On the bus, he wen tell me, “Eh, I never know was you. I look, just like was you but I no sure.” Then bumbai, he broke one ticket, he tell me, “Here, you put inside here.”

(The goat all on top, eh. And me, I never know that.

5.41.5.4 neva SAY

The following canonical examples use neva to negate SAY:

(I never tell them where I go. Only I tell my cousin. I tell him, yeah, but they told me go work, he tell, “Ah, no need, they not going find one boy, they no going lose one guy.”
(ER:882) No, no. They **never** tell nothing, no, no. They no bother us. But they know the ranch, yeah, just about being supposed pau too, eh. The ranch was kind of pau already, going down, eh.

(FD:275) So, with my mom and my dad, they do believe because my daddy is a Catholic and my mom is something like Protestant. Just like Roy, and the LDS. All that kind. They do believe that God above is our healer. Because God is every where, if you do believe there's such thing as God above to help. And then man made, you know, this knowledge to these people that they can heal too. But my mom **never** say nothing.

5.41.5.5 neva **DO**

The following canonical examples use neva to negate DO:

(AK:649) But today, you get hard time get seed from all these other farmers, they no give you seeds, you know. Unless they finish with their place, they think they all right. Then they give you. Before, you help yourself. So I said, before is really different than now. Now, maybe even they tell you they sell you, 15 cents one seed. Well, you had to pay. Before, you **never** do that. You don't pay anything. Before you get 'em, and nothing. You help, you ask, “You using your seed?” I said, “No.” Because sometime we pull we no use the seed. We break it, just break it and throw it. “Why, you like seed? Yeah, you come. You can get all the seed you like.” Then, he gets the seed.

(BB:019) That's when my father folks went to Japan and found out that they no mo' nothing land. He said never mind, because if the brother **never** do that, maybe my father stay make the house over there and we stay move over there. And we the kin’ Japan citizen, eh, so maybe we dead. 'A's why he said, “You folks alive; so, I prefer this way,” he said.

(GF:331) When I was in Waipio. When I was living down there, I used to raise lot of chickens and lot of ducks. When I first came to Waipio, people were raising chicken, you know. The mother or hen set the eggs, and then just let 'em run loose. Then, when I was in school, I took agriculture in high school, for two years. I learned about the hatchery, chicken raising, poultry. And learned about animal husbandry, little bit. But actually doing it, I **never** do it. At our own home, where we used to live with my parents before, we had lot of chickens. My job was to gather eggs every day. I was so tired of looking at eggs.

(GF:325) No, Bishop Museum **never** did anything. They're not responsible for anything.

5.41.6 Examples of nat

5.41.6.1 nat **GOOD**

There are a few examples of predicative **GOOD** being negated through nat:

(AK:644) Oh, about a gallon. All depend. You could get more, you know. But if you keep too much milk without refrigeration, that's **not good**, oh. So we only take just right.

(AK:663) Clay. That's clay, eh that, that regular crock. That’s the best place to put pod. Like some, they put in a wooden barrel. But you use that, we got to clean the barrel, wash the barrel, all that. The barrel, you no can use right away because you got to soak it in water, and all that. That's why, the air is **not good**, inside over there. That's why the crock is the best one.

(MT:1177) And I just talked to Jeri Ooka, Wednesday. He’s from the Experiment Station in Kauai. He was with me almost three-quarters of the day on Wednesday, because, you know, taro disease and stuff. And he was talking about the machine in Kauai again. Got to modify 'em again, it's **not good**. If the thing comes out, well, the farmers might be lucky, if the mechanical harvester comes through. But actually, according to the today figures, it can harvest 100 bags an hour. But not the way we see.

5.41.6.2 nat **BAD**

There are several canonical examples of predicative **BAD** being negated through nat:
Shrimp, that gori, oopu and all those things. Of course, that’s good, they fry but sometime the family wants to eat those things raw, eh? And I cannot. I taste but, not bad. After I try, all right, it was good.

Sing on the way? Oh yeah, we sing along the way, talk story, sometime we sleep on the animal. Slow, eh, you go on there, you sleep. That’s why, when you get in the forest, you have to watch the animals. The animals going eat grass, sometime you miss some animals. Sometimes we miss, we had to go back and look for it. Most time, not bad. Before we get out, it has a gate there, all the animals going stay right at the gate. So you count ’em; if we took 14 or 16 animals, all the 16 there, well okay. But if one missing, you have to go look for it.

Something like Chinese food. Most time Chinese food. They have all kind food. Everybody eat the same food. Only Sunday, sometime, we get little bit more different food than the old Chinese. But not bad.

No, just about the same. They are not bad, about the same.

Not bad. Because, might be little too hard for them to work. More easy to clean. That’s true too. You put poison, easier. I had to go sickle.

Everytime I ask her if she was suffering, she say, “No. not bad.” But everytime I see that she not seem to be good. So I told my wife, “We better take her to doctor.” And so, just to bring her up to the doctor I had to go find my horses. And the day for those kinds, you got to go far, and find the horse. Get the horse. Then bring ’em up, get a car.

Yeah, sublease. Maybe if I lease 20 years from Bishop, I can lease 15 years to the other people, eh? Then, when pau them, and then come back, that’s mine. Till pau and I lease over again. That’s how, those days before, they can do that, you know. That’s why, Hawaiians was lucky, not bad. Ma uka taro patch, we pay only four dollars an acre.

And I wen check my girls with the watch. How much time they can pack in one bag, a 30-pound bag. All open like this. Take them over hour and a half. When I send to Kulana, like that, I put about 40, 45 pound, eh. I shove ’em down. Kulana used to take 200 pounds every week, see? Just press the leaf down like that. I put about 40, 45 pound in. Like them, not bad, see. I can do that because they going to use the leaf. Like Seiko them, I cannot press ’em down because they have to sell the leaf. That’s mostly Kona market and stores like that.

Two dollars a bag for digging. That’s not bad.

There are a few canonical examples of nat negating predicative KIND:

(EB:1145) No, no, no, no. Nobody watch me. So long my boss, he say, “Go do this,” I go do it. Not da kine people, they watch your ass every time, no. When my boss wen go Honolulu, I take care everything. Only myself in the house and only myself in the ranch. He told me, “I will go Honolulu with my wife. So, you take care everything.” See? That’s how it goes.

(ER:830) Ah, only Vredenburg time, then they wen go borrow the guys. But Munro time, no. Only he ’nough, all his guys. He never borrow man from the city. Only Vredenburg time. Even sometime he go borrow boys for go fix fence, ’cause that time he came, he like all around. All around the pineapple, he like da kine net wire, net wire fence. Not this kind fence.

(FD:244) Well, the poi shop they had was just a plain building. Not the kind fancy kind. Just like the one Araki get down there. You know down there. It’s bigger. But that thing go with that big wheel.

(FD:253) When they make parties, they always call on me to bake cake. And I make my own recipe, you know. I used to mix ’em with my own hand. Not the kind you buy, the cake mix. I used to have the Gold Medal flour and that’s the kind I use. And didn’t have to buy eggs or what. My mom used to make our own butter too. She makes our own butter and to make it yellow she use the egg yolk. After she has
all in a big bowl, like that. And then the egg yolk she mix 'em like that and come yellow. I never know, she does that. My mom. Too good, eh?

(FD:263) I guess she didn't tell me those things because I didn't have nobody with us. Until I left them and I come home, that's when I got to meet this man. To tell you the truth. We had friends but not the kind go and sleep together. You know what I mean? That's why she didn't have to tell me those things. Because I'm always with them. We were happy. I tell you the truth, I was happy with them. Honest. Honest. Tell you the truth. I was happier with them than when I got married. I felt so sorry I got married.

(NC:178) Fourteen to 15 inches, I think, and the other one is about 19 to 20 inches wide space, but nowadays, we space 'em all about the same, about 17, 18 inches. Some poor patches, not rich kind land, maybe make it more narrow.

(SU:1569) Oh, what—still today, lot of pilikia, eh? I don't see why they cannot do it. You know, don't have to be fancy kind of a parking stall. Just put 'em on. Don't have to be on the side.

(WK:697) They have beds, yeah. They make their own beds. This kind here. No, no, not this kind. Those days, they make their own beds. Da kine wooden beds.

(YA:1066) Yeah, they do that. They make salt pond, see. Flat pond, just like. Not deep kind, you know. A regular bedlike, bed. And make bank on the edge. All around the edge, And then, about this high, see? Then they fill up that pond over there with water. Let the sun strike 'em. Bumbai, all the water dry up, eh? Down below is salt. And then, they scrape. When they scrape that salt, they scrape the top, you know. The top one is the clean one. The bottom one, they scrape 'em, they put in the back. They go make ice cream. That's how they use 'em.

5.41.6.4 (IS) nat ABOVE

There is one possible negation example involving ABOVE:

(MT:1188) Jeri Ooka's going back to Kauai, he's going to try to see what can be done. So it has to be something in the water, because everybody has it, has the rot problem. I'm at the top of the valley, way in the top, I get the State land. Nobody is above me. I have the rot. How come? And right below me is Roy Toko, George Farm, everybody gets it. I think is something to do in the water, I don't know.

In this case, ABOVE is negated by negating the subject.

5.41.6.5 nat LIKE

There are a few canonical examples of predicative LIKE negated with a nat:

(AK:642) I think, the people down there, I know before is not like today. Today is very different. In those days, before, everybody they get together. It seems to get together before. They don't snob you, at anytime. Even if you go up there, they always invite you, call you, come in. We were very kind, you know. People were very kind. Today, you do your own, I do my own. Everybody start to thinking of their own self now.

(FD:262) Well, he was working for that Akioka. They were working all over there. But you don't go together with them. You know what I mean? Like today, eh? The life of today is not like before. When I went to Hilo, if I wanted I would have got friends in there. So much in Hilo. But no, I came back to my mom.

5.41.7 Examples of nating

5.41.7.1 nating HAPPEN

Our only examples of negated HAPPEN use the form nating:
(FD:269) I don't know. But the rest, just they say give 'em one spank by the okole. I say, “What for?” I didn't have, I didn't do that all to them. But they were okay, nothing happened. Like this one, well he got in accident, that's why he died.

(FD:279) That's how I met this man. But I wasn't poho to have him, I was lucky; I wish I had him from the start so I don't have to ruin myself, go in the water and wash clothes and do everything every day. But that's why I say, “Thank God.” With all the hard work I had do for my family, the first family. Came to my second family, well, I had Fannie in Kukuihaele. Nothing happened.

(NC:170) Giving up to die already. So his friend told him, “Why don't you try this Chinese doctor? I haven't heard of a Chinese dying of the flu.” He said, “Oh, I'd do anything. Do you know of any?” He said, “I know of one stay way down but how good he is, I don't know. You can try.” He said, “Oh, I try anything.” So he went down talk to this doctor and this doctor say, “Oh, no. I won't handle Army people. I don't want to get sued. If you die, what?” He said, “Oh, I give you written thing that if I die or anything, you don't have to worry. Nothing will happen to YOU.” Then he say, “Okay, but one thing I tell you. If you want me to be your doctor, you have to stay my hospital.”

5.41.8 Summary

Our corpus yielded examples of the following valences:

NOT THINK
NOT WANT
NOT KNOW
NOT FEEL
NOT SAY
NOT DO
NOT HAPPEN
NOT GOOD
NOT BAD
NOT KIND
NOT (IN A) PLACE
NOT ABOVE
NOT LIKE

There were no examples of the following kinds of negation:

NOT UNDER
NOT (A) PART (OF)

There are two kinds of NSM clauses for which we have no negated examples: IS NOT UNDER and IS NOT A PART. A third clause type is problematic: IS NOT ABOVE. Considering the number of clause types under investigation, this is a very positive results. The problematic clause types all involve primitives which are relatively rare in our corpus.
5.42 CAN

5.42.1 Primitive Syntax

The following is the syntactic specification for CAN:

CAN THINK-CLAUSE/SAY-CLAUSE/DO-CLAUSE/HAPPEN-CLAUSE/GOOD-FOR-CLAUSE/BAD-FOR-CLAUSE

5.42.2 HCE Candidates

Unsurprisingly, kaen is the best candidate in HCE for the NSM primitive CAN.

5.42.3 Examples of kaen

5.42.3.1 kaen THINK

There are numerous canonical examples of kaen in combination with THINK:

(FD:250) Oh, about garden. You talk about garden. Everything you can think of, We had cabbage, beans and everything.

(FD:278) So, Duldulao. So, when I stayed with him, when I was lucky. Not like my first husband, Fannie's daddy. We had hard life, though, down Waipio. But good thing my parents, I didn't have to worry. They have everything I can think of. I didn't have to move out from there, but I thought he forced me to go home and stay with his stepmother. That wasn't his real mother. When we got married and I moved in with him. You must know where that Yubon's place.

(FD:296) If you do things by your own self, you know the value of things, that is going to help you too. There's so much things, that when you-raise taro, there's so much things that you can think that, that taro would help you. I know for myself. Like, if you have some bills to pay. You have not enough like now, we get our income. Everything is so high. Like us, our foodstuff is very expensive to have, everything when you buy. Is not enough. So we have taro like that; we can put away something, some of our savings and some we can spend for our own use. Taro is important to me.

(FD:297) So I told Papa, “Well, I don’t know them.” And they were resting right, you know the first sign way up, before you come down. They were over there, and they were facing out towards the ocean. Well, that's what my feelings are of Waipio. And then it's a valley of aloha and then full of love. And when I was born and raised there, I had everything that I can think of without spending money. Everything was really from the land, what we raised. The valley. Like taro and everything.

(GF:348) And about 1 o’clock we had lunch. They told me, “George, I want you to eat anything on the table.” Well, we had fish, we had chicken, we had pork, we had meat. Anything you can think of. These guys, when they came from Hilo, they bought lot of food. And, like, we get plenty chicken and ducks. Pork, meat. All the time down there. Fish.

(MT:1188) I’m at the top of the valley, way in the top, I get the State land. Nobody is above me. I have the rot. How come? And right below me is Roy Toko, George Farm, everybody gets it. I think is something to do in the water, I don't know. That’s only the last thing I can think of. It's not the land; well, certain areas, maybe the land. But like my land is not that, you know, hasn’t been in production for so long.

(MY:1458) Cartwright. Then that’s when all the ‘Ohua Sasaki Camp had to move. So they moved from there. Then they moved. So, see, the Matsuzawas, they all moved. They bought a place there, Matsuzawas. Then you have the DeFries. Then you have the Kawasaki again, but this Kawasaki is different Kawasaki. Yeah, this is the Tenrikyo Kawasaki. You know, the religious Kawasaki. Then, you go there, then you come to the Sasaki Camp with about the same people living there. And then, Nora
Spencer family. Right after that, on the other side, then you have the Fujika family. Then you have the Nadamotos. Already they moved from Waikiki–‘Ohua–they moved there. Nadamoto. Then they moved there. Then you have the Kosakis, Esther Jackson. And on the corner, you had the Ornelles. They had some more family, I forgot now. Yeah, think about all can think of.

(MY:458) So, see, the Matsuzawas, they all moved. They bought a place there, Matsuzawas. Then you have the DeFries. Then you have the Kawasaki again, but this Kawasaki is different Kawasaki. Yeah, this is the Tenrikyo Kawasaki. You know, the religious Kawasaki. Then, you go there, then you come to the Sasaki Camp with about the same people living there. And then, Nora Spencer family. Right after that, on the other side, then you have the Fujika family. Then you have the Nadamotos. Already they moved from Waikiki–‘Ohua–they moved there. Nadamoto. Then they moved there. Then you have the Kosakis, Esther Jackson. And on the corner, you had the Ornelles. They had some more family, I forgot now. Yeah, think about all can think of.

(SU:572) I think people should take care more tourists, though, I think. They should take care. I think Honolulu can improve some more other places where tourists can go, though. Like Hanauma Bay, and Blowhole, and where is the place down there they get dancing? Way up down the countryside? La'ie. And Nu'uanu Pali. I think they can improve the places, though. Where else can you think of it?

(YA:1072) Bumbai one Korean guy come up, jewelry man. He go sell, make watch, that kind, I think, you know. He says if get twenty-dollar gold piece, they like buy. So, they buy all the gold piece from us. Twenty-dollar gold piece, they give us two dollar extra. Chee, we sell 'em all. We foolish. Whoever can think about that. If you only hold 'em today, thousand dollar, one, eh?

5.42.3.2 kaen SAY

There are numerous canonical examples of *kaen* in combination with *SAY*:

(AK:637) I don't know. That, I cannot tell you. See, he goes out in every guava tree. And the guava tree get branch, get two branch like this. That's the one he cut for make this.

(EB:1138) Well, I no can tell you that. Because I heard the story, I think, most Ilocano come in, than Visaya, I think.

(FD:283) I had the three boys. And my oldest daughter, my grand daughter's mom, she's a hard working girl. Those kids, you never hear them asking money, they want to go movie, or they want to go carnival. They are like his own son. I was lucky, I had good children. You can tell Fannie this. Didn't bother nobody until they grow up. Even I had Catherine, that was the baby of the first family. Well, she loved this father more than her own. Because she was kind of dark, eh, they think that Filipino baby, that.

(FD:284) No, they come and ask. To tell you the truth, we had plenty taro. And you can tell Joe Kala, you can ask them. My father is a big taro farmer in Waipio.

(GF:331) I walk away. I let them steal. I let them go. I never want to press charge or cause any trouble. Because when they took my chickens or ducks, I figured they need it badly. What I going do with over 100 ducks? I cannot eat 'em. I see lot of them. Some of them still walking around here. I see. If you not recording, I can tell you who. I don't want to put those things in there.

(GF:347) No. I dry it sometimes. Put water, dry sometimes, put water. Keep the patches clean. But now, I cannot say what I going do because cannot catch up with the job. I going cut off some lands. Give up some of the leases. You know, some places I pay rent, I think, about $100 one acre. See, Parker Ranch land, I use only about 1-1/2 acre. I pay $250, plus tax. That's too high, Parker Ranch land. And then, that's five acres, but most of it is swamp.

(KH:133) So uh... you can say now, tire a ready.

(KK:117) An Kekoa say, “Oh ya? I can say dat to you again.”

(KK:117) Say, “Heya I can say dat again. Oh Maile Maile Maile. I'm nakid!”

(MT:1184) Well, that's what I wanted before. Let 'em set up one temporary experiment station down here. If they paying four or five guys in Kauai at the regular experiment, send one down; they get
apartments right here. They want to take cultures or something, they always can ship it out the next morning or so. Get somebody steady doing it, one guest at one person’s place, and from the time you plant it till the time you harvest it, and really know what the situation is. This way, you come and go, come and go; we can tell ‘em what is what, but something like you folks, only take notes. But actually, for them to see themselves, it’s another thing. So they aren’t doing a damned thing.

(MT:1192) Well, I don’t know. Somebody’s talking about there an agent over here, but I really do not know. I cannot say.

(MT:1195) So that’s another industry is good to think about it; but main thing is the market. We had couple of guys from the University came out give us slides and talk to us in Hilo. The market is wide open, they take anything that you have. Everybody can say that, but actually, when the time comes and you start harvesting that thing, that’s another question. But taro should stay. I think taro should stay. But if they don’t get this disease problem licked, I don’t know. I won’t be raising.

(MT:1196) Well, I would like to but, as I say, today generation is a generation which you cannot tell them what is what. What to go into, even to go to school or anything. You cannot tell them, “How about taking this?” if they don’t like it. They have to like the thing that they doing. Then, they have more initiative to better themselves, I think.

(MT:1196) Well, expand in a way, if you have younger farmers come in, yes I can see that. But with this old generation and stuff, well, I don’t think it can expand. It’s pretty hard. That’s why I said, if this disease problem was licked, lot of these farmers, they’re part-time farmers, their children won’t go out to work, they would work on their own farms. Would be better income than working outside. That’s one thing I can say. Because you your own boss, you do what you want. You work what you want, when you want. This other way, you have to work for somebody eight hours a day. Take all what the people has to say; the person you working for.

(MY:1455) Yeah. But like the one where I was born, well, you cannot say “home.” But we stayed there for a while because we work. But actually, the one in ‘Ohua is where we all raised.

(MY:455) We stay in Waikiki, but since my dad had the business, we move out to Kalakaua Avenue. We stay in Waikiki all the time. So, actually, you had three homes in Waikiki then? The one by the Royal Hawaiian area. Yeah, that’s where I born, yeah. The one on ‘Ohua. Yeah. Then, later on, nearer to Kalakaua Avenue. Yeah. But like the one where I was born, well, you cannot say “home.” But we stayed there for a while because we work. But actually, the one in ‘Ohua is where we all raised.

(NC:187) That thing doesn’t work. You know I get some now, the one I harvesting. We didn’t do crops for two years, a little more, three years. We didn’t plant anything. And then we work on it. It still get sick. They say we didn’t rest the land. I say, “It’s been over two years and not been used. How do you account for that?” You know, the University guys, they cannot tell me. They came up and one of them is a doctor a Filipino doctor

(NC:192) But, how can be every fellow get hard luck. When the flood comes, he sweeps everybody. It affects everybody. You cannot tell me everybody get hard luck. It’s just nature’s work. That’s one thing you cannot stop. If a flood coming down, how you going stop? It’s just impossible to stop. They ask me one time, “What if was human being do that?” I said, “I shoot that fellow down.”

(OC:5) So only thing is, I haven’t got the money so I have to go to the bank to show what can I borrow the money. She wanted six hundred dollars so I go to the bank and borrow the money, then I have to pay installments to the bank. The reason I did that – buy the automobile was she give me ten yeas more lease. You know, longer lease, so the bank can say, “Well, that thing is safe because you get the long lease and time to pay.” So that’s how we come to extend the lease.

(SU:1547) No, all over. I get lot of University boys, though. I cannot say that because I don’t know. Most of them come down with the foot, eh? From all neighbors. And University boys, football players, baseball players, all that.

(SU:1557) Yeah, evening time, we used to use tablecloth. Until pau at eight, nine o’clock. So we must have some tourists coming in, which I don’t know. I cannot say, “You tourist” or “Not tourist,” eh? Maybe we used to have.
No, all over. I get lot of University boys, though. I cannot say that because I don’t know. Most of them come down with the foot, eh? From all neighbors. And University boys, football players, baseball players, all that.

Yeah, evening time, we used to use tablecloth. Until pau at eight, nine o’clock. So we must have some tourists coming in, which I don’t know. I cannot say, “You tourist” or “Not tourist,” eh? Maybe we used to have.

You go your own, you free. That’s why, I like, see? You do what you want. If now, I like go downtown, I just catch the bus. If I no like go downtown, I leave ‘em alone. I no go, see? That’s the kind place I like. But when I moved over here, I satisfied, you know. But the best place is Judd Street. Liliha Street below Judd Street is a better place, but no can help. When I had a place already, I sell ‘em. I think I making money. So, I no make money. I live there long enough, eh? Yeah, that’s about all I can tell you any more.

There are numerous canonical examples of kaen and DO:

Yeah. No restrictions at all, you can any time you want, you can do anything you want. And they never had any restrictions.

To peel only. Help us to peel. They are faster than what us men can do, those days.

No, no. But today is different. You cannot do that or, the next man he get angry with the other man. If you try to do that by yourself, they get ill feeling with you for doing all that.

You know my father he made that and then, shamisen... you know the shamisen; Okinawa ken – the man play the shamisen mostly with the snake skin. One day the Okinawa man came, eh to my father, “Kore naoshite kure.” yuu ke. He know my father can do any kin’. So, he said OK and he wen go fix ‘em. He stretch ’em, eh, my father; he get a stretcher and stretch the darn thing, all like that and he make his own glue you know.

My father don’t have to go to the grave because, you know – dig grave because he go fix watch. Because by’n’by his hand come like that no can fix... once you get the the hand shake like hell, no can do nothing. My father stay home, so I did the work.

Oh, they just go around, talk story. They no can serve coffee because no more coffee. They no can serve coffee, or tea, or whatever. See? You no can tell them, oh, “Come eat lunch.” You know what I mean? We no can do that. Because not like Hawaii now–invite your friends for come dinner, or lunch, or breakfast. Not in the Phili —maybe the big shot can do that, but not us. Yeah.

Yeah, until he wake up. I no can carry him. Him too big. No can do nothing, so I gotta sleep over there too, until he get up, then we go home. So my mother used to scold me every time I follow him. But him, every time like take me go. He like make me one cowboy, I think.

They no can grumble, that’s all we can do, and you got to try make your best, eh. Then when people grumble, grumble, okay, us was working down there, “Who grumble?” Bumbai we going report the boss, “You know this guy, he grumble too much. Give him chance go cut meat.” Give him chance go cut meat, he go divide the meat.

We take hospital, but they no can do nothing already, too late. I don’t know what wen happen.

Well, when he pounded, you know. One, two, and then they wet the hand and they used to make noise, you know, underneath the stone. I can do that too. You know, wet the stone and then you make that noise like that. Eh, make big noise.

Well, before everybody like the hand pound. They rather have the hand pound. But today, well, we cannot do it. Get so many things you got to work hard to get your money. You know, today is so high cost living. You cannot be pounding poi all the time. Even me. I couldn’t help. I have to buy.

So when I came back, when this man came and wen go ask my daddy. You know, had plenty, had lot of these boys wen go ask my daddy. I refused to. I said, “I might as I stay.” That’s just like
tomboy, you know. Be his boy, be his son and his daughter. “Aren’t you happy to have me with you all the time? I can do what you can do.” I tell him that. He said, “I think it’s about time.” That’s how I got married to this guy. He came to ask my mom and my dad and said, “Ask her.”

(FD:269) Yeah, the last two I had ’em in the hospital. Same thing. They didn’t have to help me. I did it by myself. You know, they come over there and they ask me. “No, I can do it by myself.” When the baby come out, “Now I need you folks help. You folks can do the rest.”

(GF:306) I don’t know. I want something better. With the high school education, I don’t know if I can do paper work. So, might as well do all kinds of work. Try what you think is good, the way to make money, way to get ahead in life, that’s all.

(MM:356) That’s the only way you can do. What you going do with dollar?

(MM:373) That’s why, I always make it little short. I always make little short, then if no ’nough, I take one small little piece, maybe one acre or two acre, burn ’em off. Just to keep me going for the day, see. That’s way hard. But these guys, no. Easy, that kind. Anybody can do that kind.

(MM:377) Some plantations, they make a profit. But if they go down to twelve, the one they talking about, twelve, they no can broke even even. Any business, if you no can broke even, you no can run the business. So, I hope Spark and Dan, and Akaka can do something. Now, even Waialua going close down. O’ahu going get plenty unemployment, no?

(MT:1168) We discussed our problems—the road, water, taro prices, how we can improve quality. You name it, we try to do whatever we can. That’s why we have a good road now. We have signs coming up. It takes time, everything takes time. Nothing can be done overnight. It was good in a sense. We had people from the State, from Department of Ag, come down and look over our cattail situation. We stay put money in to kind of control the thing. But the money lapsed. You know, wasn’t enough.

(MT:1172) I cannot do it. So I’m going through a permit to get that thing cleared.

(MT:1172) I would just re-take all this material out from here, and keep that at a even rate. That’s all the thing I can do. I cannot change the water.

(MT:1181) Actually, I can do it by myself, but why should I struggle. You have to walk back and forth on each, line. When you have two people on one end come together, it’s faster. Might take me eight hours, when we can do it in two hours with two people. Who knows? That’s why, I go down in the afternoons when I have to plant and stuff.

(MY:1480) So I used to paint all the sales signs for the store. So the man knew I can do it, so he told me, “Why don’t you go try, since your father gets...” Okay. So I went. So I told ’em okay. They gave me one truck and I go sell cracker. Since I’m the youngest boy inside there, they give me all da kine junk kind stores, where they no can sell kind.

(MY:1483) But my wife tell me, “Like you, you go inside one time, once you get inside, you no can come home already because you get your customers, you going to take care.” You know, any business salesman, when you get your customer, you got to take care. And me, that’s one guy, I no like the guy feel bad. I got to take care until he’s satisfied. I said, “The only thing I can do, I take the order from my house. My home office, and I do for you. Is that all right?” He said, “Well, no can help, eh?” I say, “You no have to pay me.”

(NC:150) Not our days. Our days if they can do it, they do it. The girls, well, the girls hardly work. Of course they work little bit but I don’t see hardly work. But they don’t work like the boys. They slow compare to the boys.

(NC:201) Waipio, they get good cooks, you know, Chinese cooks. My mother ran about the best down Waipio, for cooking. She can cook without tasting. Anything. Season just right. I cannot do it. I can cook but I have to taste. My mother just put certain things together inside: I say, “How do you know if it taste right?” She say, “Try it.” Taste right.

(NK:953) Well, what we going do? We cannot do nothing. We not there, they just take the bag and... If we take our own coffee bag and take ’em down the mill; you pour your own coffee, or you scale ’em, pau, and you pour your own coffee; then you can tell what and what.

(NK:957) Yeah, sublease. Maybe if I lease 20 years from Bishop, I can lease 15 years to the other people, eh? Then, when pau them, and then come back, that’s mine. Till pau and I lease over again.
That's how, those days before, they can do that, you know. That's why, Hawaiians was lucky, not bad. Ma uka taro patch, we pay only four dollars an acre.

(SU:1540) Well, I hung around there. He teach me how to make.... At first, I go wash dishes for nothing, you know. I go wash dishes. Well, anybody can do that, see. But you got to know the art. Then, he tell me peel potato, peel onion. And then, cut the vegetable. And then, after he get through with that one, he show me how to fry hamburger, veal cutlet, pork cutlet, all that meat, everything, right in the front of the stove with the chef right next to me, see? That's how I learn. I don't know nothing. Absolutely I don't know nothing. I don't know even how to fry the egg.

(SU:1555) Nothing I can do. All I have to do is to pick up the cash, close up the place. Nothing you can do. And some of the stuff that we have in the icebox, I have to go down there, use at home. Because going be rotten. No matter how long you put in the icebox. If the freezer, all right. But ordinary icebox, you cannot keep too long. Yeah, that time. So, I used to go in the morning, about couple hours, and fix up things, all this, everything. So I said, “I cannot do like this all the time.” So I have to go get the permit to reopen the place. So Christmas time, we open.

(SU:1556) We used to serve 6 to 700 personnel about three hours. Eleven o'clock we open; about two o'clock we close up. At first, all one time they used to come, you know. So I tell 'em, “Chee, they all come one time, we cannot do nothing. So why don't you stagger the hour?” So they did. Eleven o'clock come, eleven thirty, you know, they stagger the hour. Then, we can take care.

(TA:48) Well, we had, right above me was William's patch. They had a long ditch go right down. So from that ditch, everybody take the water. Then whatever what we don't want, from your patch, you throw 'em back in the ditch again. The way my land was set over there I can do that. But some land, the ditch high like this and the taro patch stay like that. Well, they have to throw 'em away someplace. But my land was good see. Level with the ditch, so after the water go through the three patch, I can throw 'em back in the ditch.

(TA:49) Sometime the people down here, you really need the water.... well, you see them up there. That's why, if you on the tail end of the ditch, when you need water you no more water. Little bit water come. When you no need, everybody throwing the water in your ditch. Enough water. That's why, if you get long line of ditch and all the farmers over there, if you the first guy you can do what you want.

(TA:56) Take them over hour and a half. When I send to Kulana, like that, I put about 40, 45 pound, eh. I shove 'em down. Kulana used to take 200 pounds every week, see? Just press the leaf down like that. I put about 40, 45 pound in. Like them, not bad, see. I can do that because they going to use the leaf. Like Seiko them, I cannot press 'em down because they have to sell the leaf. That's mostly Kona market and stores like that.

(YA:1067) The pond full. The water overflowed, see? Come way over on my place, but the water only can come over here. No can go no more. Come back over here, it go back the other way, eh? It go back to the Dillingham, see? Of course, this side high; this side high. The water no can go this way, see? In the back no can go. They come over here, they fill up over here just like one pond, eh? That's all we can do.

(YA:1072) Ride the Greyhound bus, with me, and my wife, and my children. When the bus driver reach up New York, he asked where do we want to get off, uptown or downtown. I said I don't know what is uptown or downtown means, see? What I can do is just tell 'em, oh, downtown. So, they take us way downtown. And then, we go, get up in the morning.

5.42.3.4 kaen BE GOOD

There is a single canonical example of kaen in combination with GOOD:

(MT:1195) Well, the future can be good if they lick this disease problem. It can be real profitable, it's a future to stay. It's to stay. But, as I say, if they don't get this problem controlled, I don't think it'll be here.
5.42.4 Summary

Our corpus yielded the following syntactic combinations:

CAN THINK
CAN SAY CAN DO
CAN (BE) GOOD

The following combinations were missing from our data:

CAN HAPPEN
CAN (BE) BAD
Chapter 6

Analysis and Conclusion

In this chapter, we will be examining the raw results of our corpus search together with my own native intuitions to evaluate the viability of each of the syntactic valences in HCE.

A gap in our data, that is, the absence of examples of a given syntactic valence, requires explanation. We need to explain why it is there and whether it should be interpreted as serious evidence against the existence of a particular valence.

A gap might be incidental, the result of a defect in the NSM syntactic specification. Also, since the syntax of some primitives is unsettled, occasionally two alternative universal frames are proposed for the same meaning. For example, the frame YOU (ARE A) GOOD PERSON is a proposed alternative to the standard frame YOU (ARE) GOOD. Presumably, finding either one of these frames will establish that HCE has access to that meaning.

A gap may be accidental, that is, we have so few examples of a given primitive that the probability of finding an example in the appropriate syntactic frame is relatively small.

On the other hand, a gap may be systematic. If the gap manifests itself systematically for a particular class of syntactic constructions, this would indeed be persuasive evidence against the existence of a particular syntactic valence.

For example, the most recent version of NSM (which has not yet been as thoroughly investigated) contains the primitive FAR. Our corpus contains examples of YOU (ARE) FAR, but no examples of I (AM) FAR. Should this be regarded as an accidental gap in the data? Or is there a real problem with the proposed valence? Both native intuition and common sense reject the latter possibility. First of all, FAR is relatively rare in our corpus. Secondly and more importantly, there is no principled reason why, in a given language, one would be able to say I (AM) FAR but not be able to say YOU (ARE) FAR. It simply doesn’t make any sense. Suppose, however, FAR was never predicated of people in HCE, but always of places. This kind of gap would be far more serious.

6.1 YOU, I, SOMEONE, and PEOPLE

There were no problems with YOU, I, and SOMEONE as subjects to the mental predicates THINK, KNOW, WANT, SAY, and FEEL.

There is, however, a possible problem with the primitive PEOPLE. Earlier, I argued that contrary to the NSM proposal, the primitive PEOPLE did not combine with the NSM determiners and quantifiers. While determiners and quantifiers allow us to refer to individuals, the primitive PEOPLE does not. In the same way, is it possible that FEEL is a property of individuals and not of groups? I don’t think so. I think rather the absence of the combination PEOPLE FEEL is an accidental gap. Both FEEL and PEOPLE are relatively infrequent lexical items. More importantly, sentences such as the following sound perfectly fine to me:

(128) pipo fio baed if dei no kaen heop m aut

‘People feel bad if they can’t help someone out’

(129) pipo fio baed if no mating fo du

‘People feel bad if there is nothing to do’
6.2 SOMETHING and FEEL

SOMETHING as a complement to the mental predicates in HCE is well-established with one possible exception, the combination FEEL SOMETHING.

It is not possible to discuss this exception without also including a complete discussion of the syntax of the mental predicate FEEL.

As mentioned elsewhere, FEEL has been regarded as a kind of “problem child” of NSM. Because of this, two alternate syntactic frames have been proposed for FEEL: FEEL SOMETHING GOOD/BAD or FEEL GOOD/BAD. It is this latter valence which is found in HCE.

SOMETHING is also found in another NSM syntactic frame for FEEL: FEEL SOMETHING LIKE THIS. This component is used extensively in the explication of emotion terms. This exact frame is also not found in HCE, but a similar frame is: FEEL LIKE THIS. Notice that in this frame (FEEL LIKE THIS) and in the other simplified frames (FEEL GOOD/BAD), the element SOMETHING is simply omitted as superfluous.

If all of the other frames involving FEEL and SOMETHING have an alternative phrasing, then is the valence FEEL SOMETHING really needed?

In my opinion, it is not needed. While there are numerous examples in the literature of W using the component FEEL SOMETHING GOOD, FEEL SOMETHING BAD, or FEEL SOMETHING LIKE THIS, I cannot recall of a single example of W using the naked FEEL SOMETHING.

The same argument also applies to the other two missing frames, FEEL THIS and FEEL THE SAME. I am unaware of any explication where the component FEEL THIS is used. Furthermore, it seems to me that the few instances of the component FEEL THE SAME in the NSM literature could be easily replaced with the component FEEL LIKE THIS.

In brief, the missing frame FEEL SOMETHING as well as FEEL’s other missing frames are unnecessary.

6.3 The other mental predicates: THINK, KNOW, SAY, WANT

Four types of complements are common to the NSM syntax of all mental predicates. Two of these complements are well-attested in HCE for all members of the mental predicates:

Clause

SOMETHING

The complement THIS is attested for the HCE exponents of the predicates THINK, KNOW, and SAY. The last complement, THE SAME is not attested at all. We will deal with that problem later in this section.

THINK, KNOW, and SAY allow for a topical complement associated with their syntax. We have found the following specific valences in HCE:

THINK (ABOUT) SOMETHING
KNOW (ABOUT) SOMEONE
KNOW (ABOUT) SOMETHING
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) ME
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING

Although none of the individual primitives manifest every possible syntactic configuration, all of them collectively manifest most of the syntactic frames we are looking for.
One missing frame is the ABOUT YOU frame. Is the absence of this frame an accident of the data, or is it reflective of a serious deficiency in the combinatorial apparatus of HCE? It does not sound credible to me that HCE should manifest the ABOUT SOMEONE and the ABOUT ME frames, but not the ABOUT YOU frame, and in my estimation, sentences like the following are perfectly acceptable:

(130) ai neva teo/sei (nating) abaut yu

‘I didn’t say anything about you’

The topical complement is relatively rare in our corpus, so the absence of ABOUT YOU is unsurprising.

The other missing topical frame is the ABOUT PEOPLE frame. Once again, the primitive PEOPLE is giving us some difficulty. Since both the frame ABOUT and the primitive PEOPLE are relatively rare, it seems likely that this gap is accidental. The following HCE example shows pipo as a topic but this is neither a canonical nor a near-canonical context:

(GF:317) I think so. Maybe he learned from some Hawaiian people down here, too. I don’t know. You see, he used to tell us stories about the Hawaiian people. When they plant the taro, they plant ‘em on full moon night. The Hawaiian guys. They don’t have big kind paddies like us. That’s why, when we first came to Waipi’o, I got one place over there; 72 patches. This Clark Mills’ place; 72 patches.

In any case, the following sentence is acceptable to me:

(131) ai no abaut pipo, samtaimz no kaen tras

‘I know about people. Sometimes, you can’t trust them.’

I therefore conclude that the absence of ABOUT PEOPLE is also an accidental gap.

Since the topic complement for THINK, KNOW, and SAY is unproblematic, I think we can be fairly confident that all of the expected valences are present in HCE.

In fact, there are numerous examples of both the mental and the topic complement, occuring together in the infamous “double-barreled” configurations:

THINK SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING
KNOW SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) ME
SAY SOMETHING (ABOUT) SOMETHING

The addressee complement of SAY is totally unproblematic in HCE. All of the valences are solidly attested:

SAY SOMETHING (TO) ME
SAY SOMETHING (TO) YOU
SAY SOMETHING (TO) SOMEONE
SAY SOMETHING (TO) PEOPLE

At this point, we do need to turn our attention back to the troubling systematic gap in our data. There are no examples of the following valences in HCE:

334
THINK THE SAME
KNOW THE SAME
SAY THE SAME
WANT THE SAME

This does not appear to be an accidental gap since both the mental predicates and the primitive THE SAME are fairly frequent lexical items.

In fact, the following sentences sound somewhat marginal to me:

(132) ? ai tink (da) seim (ting)
(133) ?? ai no da seim (ting)
(134) ? ai sei da seim (ting)
(135) ai laik da seim (ting)

After much consideration, I have come to the conclusion that the following is an acceptable way in HCE of expressing the meaning of the above missing NSM canonical sentences:

(136) ai tink daet tu
(137) ai no (daet) tu
(138) ai sei daet tu
(139) ai laik (daet) tu

While there are no examples of exactly these kinds of sentences in the corpus, there are similar sentences:

(BB:018) Was on the landing already and they start cutting the meat out; over there. Plenty guys—they said you like too? I say, “Uh, I no like.”

(ER:766) Aku, kawakawa. That's da kine Lahaina guys more. But that time 'opelu and akule cheap. You can buy fifteen cents, maybe forty, forty they tell that's one ka'au, eh. I don't know what one ka'au means. But they count forty, and they sell you. They tell fifteen cents or quarter. Sometime when you go over there, you like buy fish too, eh. Then when the fish come inside, you just go with them. You tell you like buy fish. How much? A quarter or half dollar.

(ER:833) That's what he tell me, the boy. He listen what the guy tell me, you know, the Japanese style says, you have to count from one year. And now you gotta go back one year. I marry '32, but just like we wen marry from '31. He explain me. Ah, so, I like go play ball too, I tell, “Okay, okay.”

(ER:859) Ho, bumbai Uncle Sammy, eh, every time he like go fishing too, but he no more net so I let him my net. He catch plenty fish. Bumbai me and him come out, we come by the shoreline, get plenty fish, so we go eat.

(ER:898) And then when I reach over there, I take the lady horse and my horse, I run. I run, already come halfway maybe by Hauola, I change horse. I ride the lady one, I come up. And then when I reach over here by the corral, the two horse, I let 'em go. They going come home, and you going get 'em by the gate. Then the horse you ride, he see the other horse run, more he like go too, eh, so follow up.

(GF:309) Yeah, she said okay. And I tell okay, too. We went in front of the judge and the judge married us. Judge Forbes of Waimea married us. I never had five cents with me when I got married. Never had nothing.

(FD:256) You try ask that to Fannie's daddy, my ex-husband. You ask him that. He know the living over here before. And he tell you the story. He might know the story too. Yeah. I never used to sit on my okole. I used to be a hardworking lady, to tell you the truth.
Yeah, the bull, they butcher the bull. But this other bull come in maybe two year, they going send for breed. Then they look how the meat, how heavy the bone or that one. They go by the weight, eh. They look this one, maybe smaller, eh, smaller body or what. Not enough, they butcher. Every time, they pick up like that. Then us guys, eh, the boss, the chief cowboy, he train us. Train us, look this one, what the body, some big, some broad. See, the broad kind, that’s heavy. That’s da kine they like. They like because they figure get weight, yeah, on the meat, when you take to weigh. Some they look, narrow, they say no good, this bull. Then sometime us guys, we don’t know too, we ask questions. Why no good? He say why no good, because the bull, just like lean, no more weight. You raise ’em up maybe two year or three year, by the time you kill ’em, no more weight. And this other one, you look the body, broad. This guy, even small, he get weight.

Yeah. He tell, you make on the floor first. Smart though, how he make. You make from the floor bumbai you get the floor, then you like do the wall, up. You take from the floor, you measure, then you cut your board. Then bumbai when you stand ’em up, everything all right. You measure from the floor, that side and this side. Not easy kind. He teach me. That’s why I know how to make carpenter, too, little bit.

The above sentences are not quite as semantically simple as we would like, but they can be explicated fairly simply along the following lines:

(140) a. someone else knows how to do carpentry
    b. I know the same thing

I submit therefore that HCE does, in fact, have a mechanism to realize THE SAME in combination with the mental predicates.

6.4 Activities and events: DO and HAPPEN

All of the following valences for DO were found in our corpus search:

DO SOMETHING
DO THIS
DO THE SAME
DO X (TO) ME
DO X (TO) YOU
DO X (TO) SOMEONE
DO X (TO) SOMETHING

This leaves us two valences unaccounted for:

DO X (TO) PEOPLE
DO X (TO) THIS

The situation is identical with the primitive HAPPEN. A search of the corpus uncovered convincing evidence for the following NSM syntactic configurations:
SOMETHING HAPPEN(ED)
THIS HAPPEN(ED)
THE SAME HAPPEN(ED)
X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) ME
X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) YOU
X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) SOMEONE
X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) SOMETHING

Two valences are left unaccounted for:

X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) PEOPLE
X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) THIS

The first absent valences of both HAPPEN and DO are accidental gaps in our data. The following sentences sound perfectly acceptable to me.

(141) dae gai, hi du onli baed tings tu pipo
   ‘That guy only does bad things to people’
(142) hau kam, laes wik, so mach baed haepn tu pipo
   ‘Why did so many bad things happen to people last week?’

The second valence, I would like to argue, is unnecessary. The combination DO X (TO) THIS THING (which is subsumed under the frame DO X (TO) SOMETHING) is an alternative to DO X (TO) THIS. Likewise, the combination X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) THIS THING (which is subsumed under the frame X HAPPEN(ED) (TO) SOMETHING) is an alternative phrasing of X HAPPEN(ED) TO THIS.

6.5 Determiners: THIS, THE SAME, OTHER

6.5.1 THIS

The following combinations were found in our corpus:

THIS OTHER X
THIS/THOSE TWO X
THIS PERSON
THIS THING
THIS PLACE
THIS TIME
THIS KIND
THIS PART

We are missing evidence for the following combination:
I would like to argue that this valence is incidental, i.e., that it is not needed in NSM. The reason is the bare \textit{THIS X} is already inherently singular. If this is so, what semantic contribution does it make to the whole expression?

\textbf{6.5.2 THE SAME}

We have found textual evidence for the following valences:

\begin{itemize}
  \item THE SAME PERSON
  \item THE SAME THING
  \item THE SAME TIME
  \item THE SAME PLACE
  \item X (IS) THE SAME KIND (AS) Y
  \item X DID THE SAME (AS) Y
\end{itemize}

The following combination was missing:

THE SAME PART

The absence of this combination is accidental. First of all, we do have an example of a determiner combining with \textit{PART}. Secondly, the primitive \textit{PART} is rare in our corpus. In fact, we shall be missing \textquotedblleft \textit{PART}"s elsewhere in this study as well.

\textbf{6.5.3 OTHER}

Our search uncovered the following combinations:

\begin{itemize}
  \item OTHER PERSON
  \item OTHER THING
  \item OTHER TIME
  \item OTHER KIND
  \item OTHER PART
\end{itemize}

The proposed valence \textit{OTHER THAN} was the only one missing from our corpus. There are substantial number of tokens of \textit{ada} in our corpus (almost 500), so I do not think that its absence is accidental. W's endorsement of this valence is somewhat luke-warm, and indeed I think that this valence may be decomposed along the following lines:

(143) \textbf{SOMEONE OTHER THAN JOHN} ⇔

a. another person, not John
6.6 Quantifiers: ONE, TWO, MANY/MUCH, ALL

6.6.1 *ONE*

All of the valences of *ONE* were found in this study.

*ONE PERSON*

*ONE THING*

*ONE TIME*

*ONE PLACE*

*ONE KIND*

*ONE TIME*

*ONE PART*

*ONE (OF) X*

*ONE PART* was somewhat problematic, but indirect evidence was found. Again, as stated above, all missing combinations involving *PART* are likely to be accident gaps because of the rarity of *PART* in our data.

6.6.2 *TWO*

The following NSM syntactic combinations were found in our corpus:

*TWO PERSON(S)*

*TWO THING(S)*

*TWO TIMES(S)*

*TWO KIND(S)*

*TWO PART(S)*

*TWO (OF) X*

The following combination was missing from our data:

*TWO PLACE(S)*

The evidence for *TWO PARTS* is sparse and indirect, but, I believe, sufficient. The absence of *TWO PLACES* is accidental, I believe. The following sentence sounds fine in HCE:

(144) ai kaen go fish onli tu pleisaz
   ‘I can fish in only two places’

6.6.3 *MANY/MUCH*

The following combinations involving *MANY/MUCH* were found in our search:
MANY PERSON(S)
MANY THING(S)
MANY TIME(S)
MANY KIND(S)
MANY PLACE(S)
MANY/MUCH (OF) X
X KNOW MUCH (ABOUT) Y
X SAID MUCH (ABOUT) Y

The following valence was missing from our corpus:

MANY PARTS

I believe its absence is accidental; the following sentence is perfectly acceptable:

(145) da ting get pleni pat insai

‘There are lots of parts inside of this thing’

6.6.4 ALL

We have found examples of the following NSM syntactic configurations in our corpus:

ALL PERSON(S)
ALL THING(S)
ALL PLACE(S)
ALL TIME(S)
ALL (OF) X
X KNOW ALL (ABOUT) Y
X SAID ALL (ABOUT) Y

The following syntactic configurations were missing from our corpus:

ALL KINDS
ALL PARTS

ALL PARTS is likely an accidental omission. The following sentence is perfectly grammatical:

(146) ao pat get ras

‘All parts have rust’

As I argued in my critique of NSM (section 2.7.2.3), the combination ALL KINDS is not an expressible meaning in any language, so its absence is inconsequential.
6.7 Evaluators: GOOD, BAD

This investigation found examples of the following valences for GOOD in our corpus:

GOOD PERSON
GOOD PEOPLE
GOOD THING
I (AM) GOOD
YOU (ARE) GOOD
SOMETHING (IS) GOOD
THIS (IS) GOOD
X (IS) GOOD (FOR) ME
X (IS) GOOD (FOR) YOU
X (IS) GOOD (FOR) SOMEONE
X (IS) GOOD (FOR) PEOPLE
YOU (ARE A) GOOD PERSON
SOMEONE (IS A) GOOD PERSON

Currently we are missing only a single valence:

PEOPLE (ARE) GOOD

I regard this as an accidental omission. The following sentence is acceptable:

(147) no gud, pipo. dei ao pilau bagas

‘People are not good. All of them are rotten so-and-so’s.’

For BAD the following syntactic configurations were found:

BAD PERSON
BAD THING
PEOPLE (ARE) BAD
SOMEONE (IS) BAD
SOMETHING (IS) BAD
THIS (IS) BAD
YOU (ARE A) BAD PERSON

A fair number of syntactic configurations for BAD are missing:
BAD PEOPLE
I (AM) BAD
YOU (ARE) BAD
X (IS) BAD (FOR) ME
X (IS) BAD (FOR) YOU
X (IS) BAD (FOR) PEOPLE
X (IS) BAD (FOR) SOMEONE

I must regard all of these absences as accidental. BAD is a rare form in our corpus. Furthermore, the fact that we were able to find all the valences of GOOD (with one exception) should make us suspicious of these absences. Although I will not list out in detail example sentences, generally BAD may occur in the same contexts where GOOD is found.

6.8 Qualities: BIG, SMALL

Our survey found examples in our corpus for the following NSM syntactic frames:

BIG PERSON
BIG PEOPLE
BIG THING
BIG PLACE
BIG PART
I (AM) BIG
SOMEONE (IS) BIG
SOMETHING (IS) BIG

The following NSM syntactic frames were not found during our survey:

YOU (ARE) BIG
PEOPLE (ARE) BIG
THIS (IS) BIG

I regard the omission of YOU (ARE) BIG as accidental since BIG is also relatively rare in our corpus. The valence PEOPLE (ARE) BIG is also an accidental omission, but in this case it is more difficult to verify this with an example sentence. Nevertheless, the following sentence seems to be an acceptable context for this:

(148) bifo taim pipo waz smao, naudeiz dei big
‘Long ago, people were small, now they are big’

The valence THIS (IS) BIG is unnecessary, I believe. One can access the same sort of meaning through the configuration THIS THING (IS) BIG which is a subtype of the SOMETHING (IS) BIG valence. This study found examples for the following NSM primitive combinations:
SMALL PERSON
SMALL THING
SMALL PLACE SMALL PART
I (AM) SMALL
YOU (ARE) SMALL
SOMEONE (IS) SMALL
SOMETHING (IS) SMALL

The following combinations were not found in our corpus:

SMALL PEOPLE
PEOPLE (ARE) SMALL
THIS (IS) SMALL

Using the same arguments as above, I conclude that SMALL PEOPLE and PEOPLE (ARE) SMALL are accidental gaps in the data and that the valence THIS (IS) SMALL is not needed.

6.9 Intensifier: VERY

We have found in our corpus examples of the following valences for VERY:

VERY GOOD
VERY BAD
VERY BIG
VERY SMALL
VERY MANY

There are no missing valences.

6.10 Temporal: TIME/WHEN, AFTER, and BEFORE

We have found evidence for the possible NSM syntactic configurations for the primitive TIME/WHEN:

(AT) X TIME, SAY-Clause
(AT) X TIME, DO-Clause
(AT) X TIME, HAPPEN-Clause
(AT) X TIME, THINK-Clause
(AT) X TIME, WANT-Clause
(AT) X TIME, FEEL-Clause
(AT) X TIME, KNOW-Clause

There are no missing configurations.
This study found examples of all of the possible syntactic valences of \textit{AFTER}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{AFTER X TIME}
  \item \textit{AFTER THIS}
\end{itemize}

There are no missing valences.
We have found all of the possible valences for \textit{BEFORE} in our corpus data:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{BEFORE X TIME}
  \item \textit{BEFORE THIS}
\end{itemize}

There are no missing valences.
The temporal domain has proven especially unproblematic.

\textbf{6.11 Locative: PLACE/WHERE, UNDER, ABOVE}

Our investigation found the following NSM syntactic combinations for \textit{PLACE} in our database:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{DO-}Clause \textit{IN X PLACE}
  \item \textit{HAPPEN-}Clause \textit{IN X PLACE}
  \item \textit{YOU (ARE IN) X PLACE}
  \item \textit{SOMEONE (IS IN) X PLACE}
  \item \textit{SOMETHING (IS IN) X PLACE}
\end{itemize}

The following valences were not found in our database search:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{I (AM IN) X PLACE}
  \item \textit{THIS (IS IN) X PLACE}
  \item \textit{PEOPLE (ARE IN) X PLACE}
\end{itemize}

Predicative \textit{PLACE} is also relatively rare in our corpus. The valence \textit{I (AM IN) X PLACE} can be therefore regarded as an accidental gap in our data. The second valence \textit{THIS IS IN X PLACE}, I believe is also unnecessary, because the same meaning can be expressed through \textit{THIS THING (IS IN) X PLACE} which is a subtype of another valence (i.e., \textit{SOMETHING (IS IN) X PLACE}).

The last valence \textit{PEOPLE (ARE IN) X PLACE} is problematic. You can say:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{(149) pipo stei dis pleis}
        ‘People are in this place’
\end{itemize}

In this case, however, it seems to me that you are talking about individuals and not \textit{PEOPLE} in general. I suspect in this case, the NSM specification may be incorrect. While \textit{GOOD} or perhaps even \textit{BIG} may be predicated of \textit{PEOPLE} in general, predicating locations of \textit{PEOPLE} in general may be stretching things a bit too far.

Our search has found the following syntactic combinations for \textit{UNDER} present in our corpus:
I (AM) UNDER
SOMEONE (IS) UNDER
SOMETHING (IS) UNDER

The following patterns were missing in our corpus:

YOU (ARE) UNDER
THIS (IS) UNDER
PEOPLE (ARE) UNDER

Since UNDER is also rare in our corpus, it is reasonable to regard the absence of YOU (ARE) UNDER as an accidental gap in our data. I regard the absence of THIS (IS) UNDER as incidental, as its semantic load may be carried by the combination THIS THING (IS) UNDER. I am skeptical of the valence PEOPLE (ARE) UNDER for the same reasons I am skeptical about the valence PEOPLE (ARE IN) X PLACE.

The following valences for ABOVE were found in our corpus:

SOMEONE (IS) ABOVE
SOMETHING (IS) ABOVE

The following valences were missing from our corpus:

I (AM) ABOVE
YOU (ARE) ABOVE
PEOPLE (ARE) ABOVE
THIS (IS) ABOVE

Since ABOVE is very rare in our corpus, it is reasonable to regard the absence of YOU (ARE) ABOVE and I (AM) ABOVE as accidental gaps in our data. Likewise the absence of THIS (IS) ABOVE is incidental, as its semantic load may be carried by the combination THIS THING (IS) ABOVE. I am also skeptical of the valence PEOPLE (ARE) ABOVE for the same reasons I am skeptical about the valence PEOPLE (ARE IN) X PLACE.

I should mention at this point that it has never been clear to me why two separate primitives are needed UNDER and ABOVE appear to be perfect conversives, i.e., X (IS) UNDER Y always implies Y (IS) ABOVE X and vice-versa.¹

¹ Stan Starosta (p.c.) pointed out to me the following interesting counter-example. One can say:

(150) The writing was under the paint.

However, it seems rather strange to say:

(151) ?? The paint was above the writing.

Currently my only response is that it is possible that this is a separate sense of under, one which does not pay attention to vertical orientation.
6.12 Partonomy/Taxonomy: PART OF, KIND OF

In the corpus, we found evidence for the following NSM frame for PART:

X (IS A) PART (OF) Y

We are missing evidence for the frame:

Y, THERE (ARE) X PART(S)

This is another accidental gap in our data since examples of PART are very rare. The following sentence sounds perfectly fine:

(152) ea fiota get chri pat

‘There are three parts in an air filter’

The syntax for PART has been a matter of controversy in NSM. In Goddard and W’s 1994 study, PART was singled as the most problematic primitive across languages.

Examples of the following syntactic valences for KIND were found in our corpus:

X (IS A) KIND (OF) Y
X (IS) THE SAME KIND (AS) Y
THERE (ARE) X KINDS (OF) Y

There are no missing valences.

6.13 LIKE

The following syntactic patterns were found for the primitive LIKE:

I (AM) LIKE X
SOMEONE (IS) LIKE X
PEOPLE (ARE) LIKE X
SOMETHING (IS) LIKE X
X (IS) LIKE ME
X (IS) LIKE YOU
X (IS) LIKE SOMEONE

If someone hit the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel with a rotten tomato, we could say that Judas is under the tomato even if Judas is spatially located above the tomato. So it is possible that there is a sense of under which contains a component like: people cannot see this thing because something else is in front of it. If this is true, perhaps I could explain oddness of sentence 151 by saying that there is no corresponding separate sense of above containing the component people can see this thing because something else is behind it.

Nevertheless, I think this counter-example warrants further investigation.
X (IS) LIKE PEOPLE
X (IS) LIKE SOMETHING
X (IS) LIKE THIS
X LIKE ME
X LIKE YOU
X LIKE SOMEONE
X LIKE SOMETHING
X LIKE THIS
SAY-Clause LIKE THIS:
HAPPEN-Clause LIKE THIS:
DO-Clause LIKE THIS:
Clause1 (AS) LIKE Clause2

There were two patterns missing.

YOU (ARE) LIKE X
THIS (IS) LIKE X

This gap is also accidental. Its presence is not surprising given the number of valences associated with this primitive. As one would expect, the following sentences sound fine:

(153) yu jalaik da hasbaen, onli gud fo it aen waech tivi.
     ‘You are like the/my husband. All you do is eat and watch TV.’
(154) dis jalaik heidn maengo, onli mo suit.
     ‘This is like a Hayden mango, except that it is sweeter.’

6.14 BECAUSE

Examples of the following valences for BECAUSE were found in our corpus:

Clause1 BECAUSE Clause2
Clause1, BECAUSE OF THIS Clause2
BECAUSE OF SOMEONE, Clause

We are missing examples of the following valences:

BECAUSE OF ME, Clause
BECAUSE OF YOU, Clause

I regard these valences as accidental gaps in our data. While BECAUSE is not uncommon, neither is it frequent. Furthermore, the presence of the valence BECAUSE OF SOMEONE supports my assertion since these valences are similar.
6.15 IF

This investigation found numerous examples of the valence:

IF Clause1 Clause2

There are no other valences. The NSM primitive IF is completely unproblematic in HCE.

6.16 NOT

Our corpus yielded examples\(^2\) of the following valences for the primitive NOT:

NOT THINK
NOT WANT
NOT KNOW
NOT FEEL
NOT SAY
NOT DO
NOT HAPPEN
NOT GOOD
NOT BAD
NOT KIND
NOT (IN A) PLACE
NOT ABOVE
NOT LIKE

There were no examples of the following kinds of negation:

NOT UNDER
NOT (A) PART (OF)

The missing valences NOT UNDER and NOT (A) PART (OF) are accidental gaps in the data. Both of these examples involve primitives which are rare in our corpus. Furthermore, as a native speaker, in my judgment, the negated versions are perfectly felicitous.

6.17 CAN

Our corpus yielded the following syntactic combinations for the primitive

\(^2\) The examples of the valences NOT THINK and NOT WANT mentioned here are only surfacely negated. As I have argued elsewhere in this study, I do not believe these primitives are primitively negatable. These examples were presented for the purposes of cross-linguistic comparison, since these combinations are so widely regarded in NSM as valid.
CAN: CAN THINK
CAN SAY CAN DO
CAN (BE) GOOD

The following combinations were missing from our data:

CAN (BE) BAD
CAN HAPPEN

The presence of the combination CAN (BE) GOOD strongly suggests that the absence of CAN (BE) BAD is an accidental. It is not difficult to think up a grammatical example for the other valence CAN HAPPEN:

(155) yu no wachaut, baed ting kaen haepn.
‘If you don’t watch out, something bad can happen.’

6.18 Conclusion

Although this investigation has been a long and painstaking process, it has been a necessary exercise. I would like to remind the reader of the original intent of our study. We have attempted to show that HCE is a language, equal in expressive capacity to any other human language. Pronouncements of linguistic equality accompanied by cursory observations simply do not do much to put this emotionally-laden issue to rest.

What has been needed is an empirical approach proving equality for all or at least a substantial portion of the language investigated. There is no substitute for patiently building up one’s case, word by word, construction by construction, systematically and exhaustively.

In the course of our study, we have searched HCE for exact semantic equivalents for each of the 37 primitives of the Goddard and W 1994 study. In all cases, exact semantic equivalents were found. Equally important, we have thoroughly examined the primitive syntax for each of these HCE exponents. Here, we have found some problematic cases.

Some of these problems have caused me to question aspects of the NSM syntactic specification.

The missing valences FEEL SOMETHING, FEEL THIS, and FEEL THE SAME brought to light specific changes needed in the specification. I propose that these valences just are not needed. The syntax of FEEL has been historically problematic and HCE is not the only language for which FEEL is problematic.

A common minor modification to the NSM specification, which I have suggested in several cases, has been to drop THIS as a complement. The complement THIS THING could fulfill the same semantic role and is already implied by the presence of the complement SOMETHING.

Problems with PEOPLE in combination with the various locational predicates have brought my attention to the need to re-think these portions of the NSM specification. I had earlier criticized NSM’s claim that PEOPLE combined with the NSM determiners and quantifiers without considering the implications of my observations to other aspects of PEOPLE’s syntax. Now I am also skeptical of the universal combinability of PEOPLE with the primitives PLACE, UNDER, and ABOVE.

The primitives PART, UNDER, and ABOVE were difficult to deal with, because of their rarity within the corpus. It became necessary to rely more heavily on indirect evidence and introspection.

Perhaps the most frightening challenge to our theory was the absence of examples of the primitive THE SAME as a mental complement. On one hand, it seemed clear that the mental predicates in HCE did not combine with THE SAME. On the other hand, it seemed clear that the NSM specification was on solid
ground; these combinations are widely attested across a number of languages. I was relieved to find a plausible HCE exponent for *THE SAME* which could serve as a mental complement to these predicates.

On the whole, our results have soundly confirmed our hypothesis. The voice of a few isolated equivalent words and constructions may come across as random noise to the critic of linguistic equality. It is not so easy, however, to ignore a vast orchestrated choir of equivalent words, constructions, and their derived expressions.
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