HAWAIIAN CAUSATIVE-SIMULATIVE PREFIXES
AS
TRANSITIVITY AND SEMANTIC CONVERSION AFFIXES

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HAWAIIAN CONVERSION PREFIXES
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ho'onohonoho i Waineki kauhale o Limaloa.

Set in order at Waineki are the houses of Limaloa.

Limaloa, the god of mirages, made houses appear and disappear on the plains of Mānā. This saying applies to the development of ideas, the setting of plans, or the arranging of things in order.

(Pūku`i, 1983, p. 118)
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank all those who helped me along the way to writing and formulating the concepts for this paper: Dr. William Wilson and Kauanoe Kamanā, māhālo for inspiring me to become interested in Hawaiian language and Hawaiian/Oceanic linguistics; Dr. Robert Blust and Dr. Albert Schutz for aiding in my knowledge of Oceanic linguistics; Dr. Emily Hawkins, Dr. George Grace and Dr. Robert Kiste, my Plan B Paper Committee, for patiently reading and re-reading my paper drafts and providing feedback for me; John Mayer for teaching me the amount of Sāmoan I was able to learn; my wife Kalei, my brother Jay and my mother Jacqueline, plus all my workmates and friends, for putting up with me when it seemed I didn’t do anything but "work on that paper again??!!"; my step-father, Owen Sheets, for graciously letting me use his fantastic computer and software systems and sharing his office with me at all kinds of times, and, of course, all those people, too many to mention, who provided needed advice along the way.

Ka leo o ke ola.

The voice of life.

Said of any helpful advice or suggestion, or of a kindly invitation to eat.

(Pūku`i, 1983, p. 156)
ABSTRACT

Semantic interpretation of a class of prefixes known as causative-simulative is examined. A method of analyzing this class of affixes in terms of transitivity is employed. The impact that semantic interpretation has on transitivity of the root before affixation and on the word after affixation is discussed. A fairly representative data base is presented for referral by the reader.

INTRODUCTION

`A`ohe pau ka `ike i ka hālau ho`okāhi
All knowledge is not taught in the same school.
One can learn from many sources.
(Pūku`i, 1983, p. 24)

The Hawaiian language includes prefixes which are known as "causative-simulative" to linguists. However, the prefixes so described provide greater scope of function than what is suggested by the label "causative-simulative". Besides the functions of indicating causation and similarity, this work proposes that the prefixes are also used for other functions. The other functions examined include a semantic quality conversion function, provision conversion function, simple conversion function and no change function. In addition, a special section examines a selected group of double conversion prefixes. An examination of these prefixes' functions in Pūku`i and Elbert's Hawaiian dictionary (1986), as well as analysis by other authors (Churchward, 1953; Bugenhagen, 1989; Hooper, 1989; Tchekhoff, 1973; Milner, 1973) provide corroborating evidence to support the hypothesis that these are each distinct functions of the so-called causative-simulative prefixes. I developed the hypothesis that these prefixes have multiple meanings through my studies in
learning the Hawaiian language. This work will refer to these prefixes as Hawaiian Conversion prefixes. The Hawaiian Conversion prefixes examined include ho'o-, ha`a-, hō`, hā-, ho`-, ho`-, ho-, `ā-, `ō-, kā- and hai-. I chose these prefixes because they are all of the prefixes which are used to create a conversion of the meaning of the stem. In addition, they seem to be somewhat related to each other.

The use of the prefixes examined in this work needs to be appreciated in the context in which they are used. For this reason an analysis of the most important variables affecting these prefixes are dealt with; transitivity/changes in transitivity and semantic interpretation.

DISCLAIMER

The concept of this descriptive analysis is not to absolutely delineate categories of Conversion prefix functions. The Conversion functions flow together so much in semantic interpretation that such a treatment would be very difficult. Also, not all of the instances of Conversion prefixes were examined; this is a limited test of my hypothesis, constrained by the less restrictive requirements for a plan B paper. An exhaustive investigation of all instances of the Conversion prefixes would require reading not only every single entry in the Hawaiian dictionary but also all of the written material in Hawaiian; the Conversion prefixes are very productive and may be used with almost any word except for articles and other
grammatical items. Such an undertaking would be worthy and required of a thesis or dissertation.

I do not pretend to be a linguist. I have had no formal linguistic training besides the courses I have taken in Hawaiian linguistics from William Wilson and Kauanoe Kamanā and Oceanic linguistics from Robert Blust, Albert Schutz and William Wilson. Although my limited knowledge of Hawaiian assisted in my ability to sort the functions of the Conversion prefixes I am sure that when a fluent speaker of Hawaiian reads my work there may be some discrepancies. This work is simply an attempt to gather the existing knowledge regarding these prefix functions together and to add my interpretation as well. Since I have had no specific linguistic training I use rather simplified terminology which may be understood by non-linguistics. For instance, I am unable to make heads or tails of a linguistic phrase such as the following: "...(transitives) have the case frame feature +[\_A^O]." (Hawkins, 1979, p. 19). My inability to make use of linguistic jargon puts me at the disadvantage of making my work appear rather simple to those with formal linguistic training. I have no defense except that I am simply interested in this topic and have had to educate myself as I go regarding even relatively simple linguistic terms such as *static* and *transitive*. I hope the linguists bear with me; on the other hand, I hope I may inspire non-linguists to pursue linguistic topics and not be daunted.

The nature of the semantic interpretation of the Conversion
Prefix functions preclude absolute division of functions and lexical items into distinct groups, at least in my interpretation. Rather, the author hopes that examining the data described using the classification system proposed and described under the "method" section will allow the reader of this work to determine whether or not the functions suggested are substantiated; also, whether the number of functions need to be increased or decreased or remain as described here. In addition, this work will hopefully provide ideas for areas of future examination in the area of Hawaiian linguistics.

Since this work suggests new ways of perceiving the concepts of transitivity as the primary means of affecting words I feel it is necessary to skim the work and then read the entire document to obtain a clearer picture of what I am writing about. I necessarily have to describe my terms and processes in different portions of the text, and this is all necessary for the reader to understand in order to make sense of what is sometimes presented earlier. I have attempted to make the information flow so that it is in logical sequence, but I was not always successful. For instance, I need to define my terms, but I define my terms in light of the method I used to collect the data; not all of the terms will be understood until the method section is read. Also, I have had to define the nature of Hawaiian semantic interpretation very clearly so that the fundamental importance of transitivity may be understood by the reader. This also must be understood clearly before all of the terms in the definition of
terms section will be understood. Without a skim-first-read-for-content-later approach the reader may occasionally be lost.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Causative; A term indicating that the object is directly affected by the subject, essentially the same as the term transitive, below; however, the term causative refers to prefix functions whereas the term transitive refers to root functions. Also, a term indicating that the object is made to affect a secondary object, as in hāinu, to cause (make) someone drink something.

Conversion prefixes: A term signifying all of those Hawaiian prefixes, including ho`o-, ha`a-, hā-, ha-, ho`-, hō`-, ho`, kā, `ā-, `ō- and hai-, which convert the root, or unprefixed word, into a new word with (often) new meaning. The exception is the case when the prefix does not change the root word's meaning or when there is no unprefixed form. This exception is still referred to as a Conversion prefix, though, since it needs to be classified.

Double Causative Function: A term signifying that the highest level of transitivity has been achieved; that of the subject inducing the object to perform a transitive action on a secondary object.

Level of Transitivity: A term signifying whether the subject
exerts control on the object in terms of spanning space and semantic concepts such as intentionality of the execution of a verb. For instance, a low level of transitivity, as used in this work, is a noun, e.g. ʻili, an inheritance. Another interpretation of the word ʻili is the state of being stranded, as stranded on a desert isle; this is a stative verb, a higher level of transitivity. The next level of transitivity would be an intransitive verb, as in the interpretation of ʻili meaning to set, as the sun. The next higher level of transitivity for this example, is the transitive verb hoʻoili, to load, as freight on a ship.

**Stative:** A term indicating "conditions, results, and states of being rather than actions." (Wilson, 1976, p. 50). **PLEASE NOTE: IN THIS WORK THE LEVEL OF TRANSITIVITY IS OF PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE, SO THE TERM STATIVE VERBS WILL BE USED INTERCHANGABLY WITH THE TERM ADJECTIVE WHEN REFERRING TO LEVELS OF TRANSITIVITY.** Examples in Hawaiian include piha, full; keʻokeʻo, white; and lawa, sufficient.

**Intransitive:** A term indicating the concept of motion. This concept is used directly from Hawkins (1979, p. 21), who uses the term *intradirective*: "Agent functions simultaneously as Object since the instigator of the action is simultaneously the affected party in the action."
Transitive: A term indicating that the subject directs control over an object. Space is traversed in transitive verbs. In other words, the object is not the same as the object, as in intransitive verbs, above.

Similitude Conversion prefix: A term indicating that one subject or noun takes on characteristics of another subject or noun not ordinarily identified with the original subject or noun. For instance kuli, to be deaf, and ho`okuli, to feign deafness; wahine, woman, and ho`owahine, to act like a woman (of a man). Please notice that there are two semantic sub-functions within this category; to deliberately feign an activity and to take on characteristics of a noun.

Causative Conversion prefix: This category has two sub-functions, which are as follows:
1) Indicating that the subject exerts direct or indirect control over the object in such a way as to cause a change in transitivity from less transitive to transitive. In this way a noun may become a transitive verb or a intransitive verb may become transitive with the addition of the Conversion prefix. For instance ho`aha, to make sennit, from `aha, sennit (noun becoming a transitive verb) or hō`ae`a, to cause to wander off, from `ae`a, wandering (intransitive becoming transitive). This category is used only when the end result is a transitive verb.
2) Indicating the initiation, by the subject of the object to exert control over a third party in a causative fashion, either to undertake an intransitive or transitive action. For instance, ho'oa'a, to cause a plant to take root initiates the plant or cutting to undertake the intransitive action of taking root; ho'aka'a, to induce a third party to tear off or peel something, as a fruit. This last example shows the highest form of transitivity there is in the Hawaiian language, that of causing a second party to undertake a transitive action.

Note: When there is a change in transitivity but not resulting in a transitive verb the section Simple Conversion prefix is used in this work. For instance ho'äuna, to flock or collect together into a group, is an intransitive verb which derives from the noun `äuna, a flock or a group, as in a flock of birds.

**Quality Conversion prefix:** A term which indicates that the intentionality of the execution of a verb is altered or that the semantic characteristics of an adjective are altered. There are three distinct sub-functions of this prefix:

1) No change in transitivity but enough of a change in semantic interpretation, or meaning, that the word is listed in the Quality Conversion prefix section, as in the following:

   ha`akei  The use of a prefix with a stative verb
resulting in a semantically opposite meaning (rude, snobbish) of the unprefixed word kei (dignified, proud).

The semantic conversion may be a change in the interpretation of the root word, as in `ōheke, somewhat shy, from heke, shy, or a change in perceived cultural appropriateness or value, such as kā'ihi, to refuse to pay losses or forfeit or to use another's property without permission, from `ihi, sacred, holy; treated with respect.

2) The intentionality of the execution of a verb is usually that of increasing the intentionality, as in ho'opeku, to deliberately kick, from peku, kick.

3) To change the perceived physical attributes of an adjective, as in `ā`ula, reddish, from `ula, red.

Provision Conversion prefix: A term which indicates that the root word is given from one person to another. For instance, hāinu, to give someone a drink, from inu, to drink. This is actually a relatively rare function. This function could be placed under the Simple Conversion prefix section cross-referenced with the Quality Conversion prefix section, but there are instances when the outcome results in a transitive verb, in which case the Causative Conversion prefix section would also need to be cross-referenced. Since this function seems to have a uniquely identifiable meaning a new functional category was devised to accommodate
these instances.

Simple Conversion prefix: A term which indicates that the prefix described increases or decreases the transitivity of the root word. A simple Conversion prefix changes a noun or an adjective to an intransitive or transitive verb. For instance  ho`āo, to marry (a partner), from ao, day, dawn (noun to intransitive verb); ho`auwaepu`u, to sulk, from `auwaepu`u, discouraged (adjective to intransitive verb).

No change Conversion prefix: A term which indicates that the addition of a prefix described in this work has no semantic impact on the root word, that there brings about no change in transitivity between the root word and the prefixed word or that the word with an apparent Conversion prefix has no unprefixed form. For instance ho`āhonui, patience, same as ahonui (no change in reported meaning); hālana, to overflow or flood (different meaning from lana, to float, but no change in transitivity, without enough semantic change to require placement in the Quality Conversion prefix section); ho`āli, to signal, wave, (no unprefixed form).

Double Conversion prefix: A term which indicates that there are two Conversion prefixes. Often these items have multiple meanings. For instance ho`oha`alele, to feign leaving or to cause someone to leave or quit, from ha`alele, to leave,
which in turn is from lele, to fly or leave.

IMPORTANCE OF TRANSITIVITY IN CONVERSION PREFIXES

Transitivity of verbs and how transitivity is affected by subjects is a major facet of the Hawaiian language. The translation meanings of many verbs which would be transitive in English are stative in Hawaiian, and many nouns may be interpreted as intransitive or transitive verbs; plus, intransitive and transitive verbs may be interpreted as being nouns or stative verbs.

Many changes in transitivity in Hawaiian are present. A Conversion prefix is usually needed to change the level of transitivity from one level to another, unless that particular word already has multiple meanings with multiple levels of transitivity. Generally speaking, a hierarchy exists in which transitivity is increased or decreased through the use of Conversion prefixes. This hierarchy of transitivity may be shown as generally being described through the use of the following pattern, going from less-transitive to more transitive: Noun--stative verb/adjective--intransitive verb--transitive verb--causation of a transitive verb (double transitive verb). Hawkins (1979, pp. 16-23) provides a description of stative, transitive, intradirective, bi-transitive, non-classificatory and "other classes" cases. This roughly parallels the hierarchy mentioned above. Wilson (1976, pp. 49-54) suggests a semantic differentiation of verb word classes as being stative,
intradirective, deliberate transitive and spontaneous transitive. This also roughly parallels my hierarchy. The prefixes examined in this work are the chief vehicles for altering the level of transitivity. Examination of transitivity is therefore necessary for examination of the function of these prefixes, and I believe that examination of these prefixes is necessary for a proper examination of transitivity in the Hawaiian language.

Fox (1948, p. 229), although addressing Oceanic languages in general, and causative plus other prefixes, suggests that these prefixes:

...(have) functions that are various: such as making transitives, or causatives or intensifying the action and so on, making verbs from other parts of speech or other parts of speech from verbs. As for their other functions, they are inchoate in function, not form, and that because their functions are so many, and so shade from one into another, distinguishing between them is difficult. When...they become definite in function they become local in use.... They define the action or state as regards the subject in the following ways, or we may say that they answer the following series of questions:

(1) Is the subject performing an action? Verbal formative.
(2) Is it in a certain state or condition? Conditional.
(3) Is it beginning this action or condition or about to do so, or to change it for another? Inceptive.
(4) When does the action take place? Temporal.
(5) Is something brought about or caused? Causative.
(6) Does it happen of itself merely? Spontaneous.
(7) Is it mutual action or condition related to another? Reciprocal.
(8) Is the action or condition partial or incomplete or of inferior quality? Depreciatory.

Although a bit archaic in terminology compared to terms used today, this characterization addresses the subject of how to classify functions of prefixes in terms of semantic interpretation and transitivity.
For a more direct examination of transitivity and its effect on morphological causatives Wachowicz (1976) states that the feature of transitivity is a criterion for the distribution of the causative affixes in morphological causitivization. In addition, Wachowicz (1976, p.68) determined there are three universals present in any language utilizing morphological causatives, one of which is true for Hawaiian (universal 1) and two of which are not present and therefore not testable in Hawaiian (universal 2 and 3). These universals are as follows:

**Universal 1:** If a language has morphological causatives formed from transitive verbs then it will have morphological causatives from intransitive verbs. The converse is not true.

In the view of the universal 1 it is only natural that there exists a universal tendency as expressed in:

**Universal 2:** Languages that form their morphological causative only from intransitive verbs have periphrastic causatives which are used only or also with the transitive verbs.

**Universal 3:** If a language has several causative suffixes and not all of these affixes can occur both with transitive and intransitive stems then more affixes go with intransitive than transitive verbs.

Although universal 3, above, is not strictly true for Hawaiian (all of the Hawaiian causative [Conversion] prefixes are able to be used before transitive and intransitive stems), more affixes do apparently go with intransitive than with transitive stems in Hawaiian. Universal 1, above, holds true; intransitive as well as transitive verbs may be affixed by causatives. In Hawaiian, though, other word classes may be affixed, such as nouns and adjectives. Generally speaking, the addition of a
Conversion prefix in the Hawaiian language will alter the transitivity of the root word one level higher or lower. For instance ho'oluli, to shake something, from luli, to shake or quiver as a leaf on a tree, increases in transitivity from an intransitive verb to a transitive verb.

In some cases more than one level of transitivity may be affected, as in ho'ohale, to provide housing or lodging to someone, from hale, house; the second-highest level of transitivity is reached (a transitive verb) from the lowest level of transitivity (a noun). In some cases the level of transitivity may not be increased but decreased, as in the rare form hāho'oili, a noun which translates as a group of people who have an established base of inherited land, which is converted from the transitive prefixed form ho'ooli, a verb meaning to bequeath to someone through a will or to set something aside for future use. The word ili, in turn, is a noun which means an inheritance or to inherit.

An important aspect of the Hawaiian language is that one word may have different meanings depending upon how it is used along the hierarchy of transitivity described above. Semantic interpretation of the word is therefore impacted and must be examined in relationship with transitivity. Some words may have two levels of transitivity inherent within themselves. For instance the word ahiahi is both a noun (evening) and a stative verb (to become evening). For this word to be converted from its noun form to a higher level of transitivity a Conversion prefix
may be added. Note, however, that the added prefix does not have to necessarily change the transitivity of the root word; ho`ăhiahi has the same stative interpretation as the stative interpretation of ahiahi (to become evening). However, the stative interpretation of ho`ăhiahi may be a Conversion from the noun form to the stative verb form. To clarify this, please see the following transitivity level table with the above example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Transitivity Level</th>
<th>English Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahiahi</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahiahi</td>
<td>stative verb</td>
<td>to become evening</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Trans. Level</th>
<th>Affixed Item</th>
<th>Transitivity Level</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ahiahi</td>
<td>stative verb</td>
<td>ho`ăhiahi</td>
<td>stative verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahiahi</td>
<td>stative verb</td>
<td>ho`ăhiahi</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahiahi</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>ho`ăhiahi</td>
<td>stative verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahiahi</td>
<td>noun</td>
<td>ho`ăhiahi</td>
<td>intransitive verb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the data presented in the cross-reference format provided and described later in this work all possible interpretations along the transitivity hierarchy, for each given word, are presented to the reader. Of course, not all of the semantic interpretations and levels of transitivity for each the root and affixed form may be addressed; the most common or applicable semantic interpretations are included.

Due to the importance of transitivity in the semantic
environment of the Hawaiian language and the many permutations of transitivity affected by the Conversion prefixes, the specific, individual entries in this thesis are not marked with their level of transitivity; in some cases one root word will have several levels of transitivity depending upon the semantic context in which they are used. To attempt to identify each semantic context of the root word with each application of the Conversion prefix would be practically impossible. For this reason the cross-referencing system described later in this thesis is used to address the problem of describing level of transitivity for each instance.

Verbal aspect, or the way the meaning of the verb will unfold in this universe of time and space, is of key importance to the meanings ascribed in this work addressing Hawaiian Conversion prefixes. This term also addresses dimensions of transitivity, plus the added dimension of semantic context. Other Oceanic languages offer insight into how verbal aspect, in terms of the intensity (deliberation and effort used) with which the subject executes a verb, is expressed in prefix form (Churchward, 1953; Bugenhagen, 1989) and in use of verbs (Hooper, 1984, 1989; Bugenhagen, 1989; Tchekhoff, 1973; Milner, 1973).

Using the verbal aspect model may show that the same prefix may have different meanings depending upon the semantic environment in which the prefix is used. All of the factors described above and in the literature cited may be summed up in terms of transitivity as it affects words; transforming nouns to
verbs and stative verbs to transitive and intransitive verbs.

Transitivity is a key element in the use of Hawaiian Conversion prefixes and demonstrates the degree that subtle or drastic shifts in the semantic conceptualization of meaning is present in the use of these prefixes. For a very well presented and inclusive analysis of the importance of semantics in affecting transitivity, as well as many other important topics in the area of semantics, please see The semantics of causative verbs by J. Farber (1976) and A linguistic study of causative constructions by M. Shibatani (1973). Although not addressing the Hawaiian language specifically, these authors make observations which seem to fit the Hawaiian language. Specifically, Farber (1976, p. 13) states that Generative Semantics sees rules of syntax not as generating strings of words, but rather as generating relations between strings and what they mean relative to given contexts. Hawaiian prefix+stem syntax structure, then, would need to be addressed in terms of semantic context, according to an expanded application of Generative Semantics. Transitivity could be considered one of the semantic contexts present in the Hawaiian language. Shibatani (1973, pp.50-65) states that causative forms have semantic functions including directive, coercive, manipulative, volitional, direct and ballistic. In addition to the above classification system Shibatani (1973, pp. 1-2) states that morphological vs. productive causative forms should be examined separately in any given language and supports this theory through
examination of syntactic correlates of these two types of causative forms. Although Hawaiian seems to lack morphological causative forms, being dependent upon productive causative affixes, the classification system of semantic functions is interesting to me. This work attempts to provide a somewhat similar framework for conceptualizing causative and other functions in Hawaiian prefixes.

CROSS-REFERENCING SYSTEM FOR MULTIPLE MEANINGS

The Conversion prefix categories are not mutually exclusive. For instance, one word with ho`o- as a prefix may have several Conversion functions depending upon the linguistic and socio-cultural context in which it is used. For instance, the word `apoke means to cut into short pieces or simply short pieces, the same meaning as the root word poke, short pieces. To indicate multiple functions each word with alternate Conversion meanings is indicated as such in this work by a symbol prior to the definition in the body of this text. This symbol indicates to the reader that he or she should refer to the appropriate section to find the other meaning(s) that the Conversion prefix may have. The symbols and their referenced alternate Conversion prefix meanings, as well as the page numbers on which they start, are as follows:

CROSS-REFERENCE GUIDE FOR ITEMS WITH MULTIPLE MEANINGS

■.....Refer to Causative Conversion section..........p. 34
◆.....Refer to Similitude Conversion section..........p. 43
Another copy of this quick reference guide is presented directly after the table of contents to facilitate the cross-referencing done by the reader. The cross-referencing system is done alphabetically by the prefixed form of the word.

Most words need a Conversion prefix to convert the word to a higher level of transitivity. Some of the words that have a Conversion prefix examined in this work have two levels of transitivity in their semantic interpretations. For instance, hāloko means both to pool or puddle (an intransitive verb) and a puddle or pool (a noun). However, loko, the root word, is a noun, a pool or puddle. The entry under the heading of Simple Conversion prefix for hāloko indicates, prior to the definition, that the reader should refer to the entry under the heading No Change Conversion prefix. The entry under this heading is meant to indicate that the hā- prefix, in this case, is meant to affix the meaning of the noun. In comparison, the entry under the Simple Conversion prefix heading addresses the change in transitivity level attributable to the addition of the Conversion prefix. Rather than make a specific note for each occurrence such as this I simply list them in the text and then allow the reader to note which meaning is attributable to the prefix. If a cross-
referenced meaning uses a word which is a higher level of transitivity than the original citation, then the reader should understand this difference, as in the following:

**hāloko**: Prefix of a noun resulting in a noun, refer to *No Change Conversion prefix* section.

**hāloko**: Prefix of a noun resulting in an intransitive verb with minimal change in meaning, refer to *Simple Conversion prefix* section.

In addition to this complicated set of variables, one root word may have more than one level of transitivity, such as `ale, a wave (noun) or to ripple or stir, as water boiling in a pot (intransitive verb). The addition of the Conversion prefix may change one level of the root word to a higher level in some cases (noun 'wave' converted to intransitive verb 'to surge') but not in others (intransitive verb 'to ripple, form waves' to intransitive verb 'to surge'). Once again, to make note of each occurrence of Conversion of transitivity from the multiple levels of the root word and the multiple converted meanings would be practically impossible. The reader should be able to distinguish when a given prefix changes the level of transitivity of the root word or not and whether the root word has more than one level of transitivity by how the words are cross-referenced, e.g.:

**hō`ale**: Prefix of a noun resulting in an intransitive verb, refer to *Simple Conversion prefix* section;

**hō`ale**: Prefix of an intransitive verb resulting in an intransitive verb, refer to *No Change Conversion prefix* section.
The subject of passive verbs is necessarily related and is the subject of much attention (Fox, TBA; Churchward, TBA; Hooper, TBA; Schutz, TBA; Milner, 1976;) but is beyond the scope of this paper besides cursory descriptions of the debate. Work addressing the linkage between passivity and transitivity is an intriguing subject which would be ideal for future research and seems to have gotten minimal attention in the literature.

METHOD

To obtain a relatively representative sample of Conversion prefix forms without needing to make a comprehensive and exhaustive examination of the entire Hawaiian dictionary and all written material in Hawaiian two strategies were used. First, all of the "A" section in the Hawaiian dictionary (Pūku'i and Elbert, 1986) was searched for any use of any of the Conversion prefixes. In addition to providing quite a lot of data on each Conversion function all of the occurrences of the 'ā- prefix forms are represented. Second, the first ten pages of the "H" and "K" sections were searched exhaustively for all occurrences of non-`ōo- Conversion prefixes and the first 10 pages of the "O" section were searched exclusively for 'ō- prefixes, as hoʻo- prefixes had already been well represented through the exhaustive search through the "A" section. The original plan was to search the "A", "H", "K" and "O" sections exhaustively for all occurrences of the Conversion prefixes but due to time restraints and the appropriate limits of this examination not all possible instances of Conversion prefix use were sought out. The amount
of data presented using this method is sufficient in volume to substantiate the hypothesis and also enough to reduce the possibility of other functions being overlooked. In addition, all available literature related to this topic is either referenced in the body of this work or listed in the bibliography.

FORMS OF HAWAIIAN CONVERSION PREFIXES

The Hawaiian language has many forms of the Conversion prefix. One form may have more than one Conversion property; e.g. ho`o- may be used as a Causative, Simple, or other Conversion prefix. The common character of all of the Hawaiian Conversion prefixes is that they involve a single long "a" or "o" or two short "a" or "o" sounds separated by a glottal stop. A complete list follows:

`ā- A Conversion prefix with multiple functions but used most often to be interpreted as meaning in the nature of (as hina, white, `āhina, somewhat white, gray; pali, cliff, `āpali, like a cliff). An example of a Causative Conversion function is `āmuku, to cut short, from muku, to be short. This item is semantically similar to `ō-, see below.

hā`- A Conversion prefix with multiple Conversion functions.

The most common use of this Conversion prefix is to decrease the transitivity of a verb or to alter the subjective quality of a noun or adjective (Quality Conversion
The root word may be a noun, adjective, verb or adverb beginning with any letter in the Hawaiian alphabet. This is the second most commonly used Conversion prefix after ho'0-. This Conversion prefix may, at times, be a substitute for ho'0-. Please see ho'0-, below. Only this prefix and ho'0- may be used to induce a double causative function to be initiated.

hai- A relatively rare Conversion prefix with multiple Conversion functions. Usually found before words beginning with vowels.

ho'-- A prefix with multiple Conversion applications. The initial letter of the following (root) word is always a vowel and is made long as indicated by the macron following the glottal stop.
hō`- A prefix with multiple Conversion applications found before
words beginning with short or long vowels. May be
interchanged with hā`. Rules addressing when this occurs
have not been determined. Please see ho`o-, below.

hō- A prefix with multiple Conversion applications found
commonly before words with a glottal stop and short vowel or
before long vowel or vowels, as hō`ike, from `ike.

ho- A prefix with multiple Conversion applications found before
words which already have a glottal stop and/or long initial
vowel.

ho`o- A prefix with multiple Conversion applications including
Causation, Similitude, Quality Conversion, Provision of a
Noun, Simple Conversion and No Change Conversion function.
This is the most commonly used Conversion prefix and may be
used before a noun, adjective, verb or adverb beginning with
any letter of the Hawaiian alphabet. This Conversion prefix
may, at times, be freely interchanged with the Conversion
prefix ha`a-. No rules or consistent pattern affecting when
this interchange may take place has been observed
through examination of these instances. This and ha`a- are
the only Conversion prefixes which may bring about the
highest level of transitivity, that of initiating the object
to perform a transitive action directed at a secondary
A Hawaiian Conversion prefix which often converts the meaning of the root word to a related semantic category but does not change the transitivity from one level to another. For instance kāhela, to lie spread out as a person or landscape, is semantically different from the root word hela, to spread, as in spreading the arms open, but does not change the level of transitivity, as both are intransitive verbs. This prefix is often used to show changes in perceived social appropriateness of the execution of a verb, as in kā`ihi, to use without someone’s permission, from `ihi, sacred, holy.

A Conversion prefix with multiple functions, but most often translated as somewhat, -ish, as in `ōa`a, somewhat fibrous, from a`a, fibers. `ō- is pronounced `ōw- before a (`ōa`a) and i (`ōiwi) but -w- need not be written unless the following vowel is the initial sound of a recognizable base, as `ōwili, bundle, from wili, to roll up. Semantically similar to `a-, see above.

Although not a prefix, and therefore not necessary to be mentioned here, the simulative ligature -ā- in the sequence 'verb + noun' compounds should be mentioned due to the close similarity it has with the Conversion prefixes. See `ai `ā
manō, holoāi`a, in Pukui and Elbert (1986). Examination of the function of this ligature would be a good topic for further research.

DISCUSSION OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

The eminent authorities who have written the reference material on the Hawaiian language, Mary Kawena Pūku`i and Samuel Elbert, have produced the Hawaiian Dictionary (Pūku`i & Elbert, 1986) and Hawaiian Grammar (Elbert & Pūku`i, 1979). In these works the causative simulative prefix is described as having causative as well as similitude functions; also, that with transitive verbs the primary function is to make the agency deliberate (Elbert & Pūku`i, 1979). In the Hawaiian Dictionary Pūku`i & Elbert (1986, p. 80) state that the ho'ol prefix shows:

(1) Causation and transitivization, as pono, correct, and ho`oponopono, to correct. (2) Pretense, as kuli, deaf, and ho`okuli, to feign deafness. (3) Similarity, as kamali`i, children, and ho`okamali`i, childish. (4) No meaning, as kāholoholo, to hurry, and ho`okāholoholo, to hurry. The meanings of some ho`o derivatives are quite different from the meanings of the stems, as maika`i, good, and ho`omaika`i, to congratulate.

The last statement in the above quote (the statement that is not numbered) refers quite clearly to what is referred to in this work as a Quality Conversion function. The example given under number (4) above is muddled somewhat through the use of the Double Conversion prefix ho`okā-, although the addition of the ho`o- prefix to the word kāholoholo does demonstrate what I call the No Change Conversion function. The only two functions that are not recognized directly by Pūku`i & Elbert but are examined
in this work are what I call Simple Conversion and Double Conversion prefix functions. Although the Double Conversion prefix is listed as a function here there is actually no specific function attributable to this feature; rather, the use of two prefixes is simply noted as present in the Hawaiian language.

As I was beginning to examine the Conversion functions found in the Hawaiian language I came across a piece of work by Russell K. Makanani (1973). In his work, titled Some Observations Concerning the Hawaiian Ha`a-Type Prefix and Related Items, Makanani (1973, p. 30) proposes a great range of functions for these prefixes. Those proposed are the following:

(1) To cause to make  
(2) Verbalizes nouns  
(3) Verbalizes adjectives  
(4) Diminishes intensity of adjectives  
(5) Similitude  
(6) Similarity  
(7) No effect  
(8) Characteristic of, pertaining to  
(9) Give, provide the noun  
(10) Makes new nouns of nouns  
(11) Transitivity  
(12) Activates some passive verbs  
(13) Indicates nearness  
(14) Transforms numbers into adverbs  
(15) Transforms adjectives into adverbs

Of course, the above numerous functions are proposed as being present or not present in the Hawaiian, Maori, Tahitian, Marquesan or Sāmoan languages. For Hawaiian, Makanani proposes that only (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6), (7) and (11) are present. For the purposes of this work I lump (2) and (3) together with (11) to form the Simple Conversion function. In addition, I group (5) and (6) together to get the Similitude Conversion
prefix function. We both recognize the Double Conversion prefix function category. This brings Makanani (1973) and me into rough agreement on the functions of these prefixes except for my identification of the Quality Conversion function which is lacking in the above description by Makanani (1973).

Makanani (1973) addresses possibilities of how these prefixes came to be, a subject addressed in an example of early linguistic attention to the causative prefix (Tregear, 1892), another more extensive examination (Pawley, 1976) and mentioned in the simple Hawaiian grammar by W.D. Alexander (1968). However, examination of the evolution of these prefix forms is beyond the scope of this work.

Other than the above material I was unable to locate other material directly addressing the 'causative-simulative' prefixes in the Hawaiian language exclusively. The balance of material on the subject necessarily comes from literature addressing other languages or linguistics in general.

RESULTS

Many research projects result in findings which were unexpected by the researcher. Optimally, the research design is implemented, and description of the findings presented, in such a way so as to diminish the likelihood of researcher bias affecting the outcome. I admit that I began this research with the firm idea that I would discover new uses of the causative-simulative prefixes. What I found was that all but one of the functions I
had intuitively noted prior to this project were already described in the literature, although disbursed in disparate locations. The one function that I found and is novel deals with semantic interpretation, a sticky area for linguists, let alone relatively novice students such as myself. Semantic interpretation is at the core of the other finding I propose addressing transitivity in Hawaiian. Although not earth-shattering, I believe that the simple process of bringing together the thinking to date on the subject and noting these two features is reward enough for my efforts.

One of the findings of this work is that certain prefix forms are not limited to a certain function. For instance, ho'ō- has not only a Causative Conversion function but also all the other functions suggested in this work. That is, each one form may have several functions. However, I note that the ho'ō- prefix is used predominantly for causation and the ō- and ā- prefixes are used mostly for the Quality Conversion function. An interesting finding is that in my search I found no instances of the ho'ō- prefix having no function. For this reason I believe that this prefix form (ho'ō-) is the most productive of the many prefix forms. However, the ho'ō- prefix addresses only transitivity; I did not find an instance where the semantic interpretation was changed without changing the transitivity of the root. The prefix form kā-, however, is used almost exclusively to lend an altered semantic interpretation, often involving perceived social appropriateness. This particular
semantic interpretation is novel; I have not seen reference to it in any of the literature reviewed addressing the subject.

Changes of semantic interpretation are obviously a part of any prefix. I feel, however, that this work demonstrates that the range of potential semantic interpretations attributable to the use of these prefixes in Hawaiian is greater than one would ordinarily expect for comparable items in other languages.

Due to the frequency of use of the other prefix forms in all the other function categories I am at a loss to suggest a distinct set of rules which is used for each function. I must simply state that to make a distinct definition of each instance where a Conversion prefix is used the speaker must understand not only the level of transitivity held by the root before and after affixation but also the perceived semantic interpretation before and after the use of the affix. Since a single root word may have several levels of transitivity depending on how it is used the user of the word must have a firm grasp of how the transitivity is affected. Being somewhat familiar with the Hawaiian love for making puns and plays on words I dare state that to classify these uses into set rules would make some fluent Hawaiian speakers laugh jovially at the folly of such an undertaking. I believe that this carefree and playful use of language has created such an intricate set of variables that the speaker/user of the Hawaiian language should abandon making sense of it and simply enjoy using it.

I have found, paradoxically, that the important aspect of
the use of the Conversion prefix forms, and of the Hawaiian language in general, is not regarding the specific functions of the prefixes examined but the degree that transitivity and semantic interpretation is fluid in the Hawaiian language as used fluently. Without much greater linguistic training I am unable to analyze this aspect further. I trust that someone with greater linguistic fortitude and perseverance may be inspired to examine this subject at greater length and depth, using more acute application of linguistic tools.

CAUSATIVE CONVERSION HAWAIIAN PREFIX

`ālikiliki  * To tighten. From likiliki, reduplication of liki, tight.

`āmuku To cut off. From muku, cut short, amputated.

`ānoa To give up. From noa, free from taboo.

`āpahu  * To cause to cut off squarely. From pahu, to cut off squarely.

`āpono To approve, confirm, justify, endorse. From pono, correct, righteous, moral.

`āpuka To swindle, cheat, defraud. Perhaps from puka, to gain earnings.

`āpuku To gather together. From puku, an assemblage. Same as hāpuku.

`āwa`a  *, O. To dig a long narrow trench. From wa`a, a long narrow trench.

`āwala To throw a knife or staff with a backhand motion.
From *wala*, to tilt.

`āwiki
To hurry someone. From *wiki*, quick, hurry.

*ha’aheo*
* To strut; to cherish with pride. From *heo*, proud, haughty.

*ha’ahui*
O. United. From *hui*, group, clan.

*ha’aikaika*
* To cause someone to twist and otherwise contort the face as when scaring the enemy during battle. From *ikaiika*, strong.

*ha’akokoke*
Same as *ho’okoke*, to draw someone near. From *kokoke*, close, near.

*ha’ako’o*
Same as *ho’oko’o*, to prop something up. From *ko’o*, prop, brace, support. See also *kāko’o*.

*ha’ako’oko’o*
Same as *ho’oko’oko’o*, to resist, push back. From *ko’oko’o*, staff, rod, support.

*ha’akūlou*
* To cause to bow down. From kūlou, to bow.

*ha’aalele*
▼. To leave, foresake, abandon, resign, quit. From *lele*, to fly, jump, lead, burst forth. See also *ho’oha’aalele*, (*, O.*) under the heading *ha’aalele* in the Quality Conversion prefix and Double Conversion prefix sections.

*ha’aalelele*
Reduplication of *ha’aalele*, above; to desert, repeatedly.

*ha’aalewa*
*, O. To pick up and carry, as on a stretcher. From *lewa*, sky, space, atmosphere.

*ha’alili*
To promote jealousy, make someone jealous. From *lili*, jealousy.
ha'aloku  *
To disturb someone. From loku, disturbed emotionally.

hā`alu  *
To slacken, loosen. From `alu, hang, sag.

ha'anepu  *
To cause plumpness. From nepu, plump.

ha'anipo  Variation of ho`onipo, to court, make love to, woo. From nipo, to yearn for, be in love with. Also, to cause drowsiness. From nipo, drowsiness.

ha'anu`a  Θ.
To pile up one on top of the other, as leis or mats. From nu`a, thick, heaped.

ha'anui  To boast, brag, exagerate, gloat. From nui, big.

ha`apāpa`a  To make something black, charred or crispy. From pāpa`a, black, charred, crispy.

ha`apupū  *
To cause to stall. From pupū, to stall.

ha`apu`u  Rare form of ho`opu`u, from pu`u, to hill or mound up.

hā`awe  *
To carry a burden on the back. From `awe, knapsack carried on the back.

hā`aweawe  To cause to be sticky or clinging. May become hō`aweawe. From aweawe, sticky, clinging.

hailuku  *
To stone. From luku, destruction.

hainā  To abuse, treat unmercifully. From nā, to wail or moan.

haiwā  To plant far apart, as coconuts. From wā, space or interval between objects in space or time.

hākane  To cause loss of appetite. From kanea, loss of
appetite. Same as ho'okanea. Note that the root has no (suffix ?) -a attached.

hāki To cause to shoot forth. From kī, issue forth.

hākiu * To spy on. From kiu, a spy.

hālalo To place underneath. From lalo, underneath.

hālua O, *. To ambush. From lua, a type of Hawaiian martial art.

ho`a`ā To kindle, light. From `a`ā, to burn; fire.

ho`a`apu To form a cup of the hollow of the hand; to fold a leaf into a cup. From `a`apu, coconut shell cup, cuplike.

ho`ae To make fine, pulverize, refine, soften. From `ae, fine, mashed, commuted.

ho`a`e To cause to step over, make someone break a law. From `a`e, to step over, tread on, break a law.

ho`ae`a To cause to wander. from `ae`a, wandering, shiftless, unstable.

ho`ae`ae To make soft, fine, etc. From `ae`ae, reduplication of `ae, fine, mashed, commuted.

ho`aha To make or braid `aha; to tie up a calabash. From `aha, sennit; cord braided of coconut husk, human hair or intestines of animals.

ho`āhiahi O, *. To detain until evening. From ahiahi, evening.

ho`āhu * To pile, gather, accumulate, head up; to lay away, as goods for the future; collect. From ahu,
heap, pile, collection, mound, mass.

hō`ai
To breed, as a horse. From ai, coition, to have sexual relations.

hō`aiā
To lead others astray. From aiā, ungodly, godless, irreligious, wicked, unbelieving, careless of observing taboos.

ho`āi`a`i
* To whiten, clear, shine, whitewash, remove rust or dirt. From a`ia`i, Bright, as moonlight; fair, white, clear, pure, brilliant, shining; brightness, clearness.

hō`ai`aiā
♦ Reduplication of hō`ai`aiā.

ho`āka`a
* To induce a third party to tear off, peel, break open. From āka`a, to tear off, peel break open.

ho`ākaaka
To clarify, explain, render or make intelligible. From akaaka, akaka, clear, luminous, transparent, visible, manifest, plain.

hō`aka`aka
♦, *. To cause a third party to laugh, create mirth. From āka`aka, to laugh, merriment.

ho`ākahele
* To induce a third party to take precautions, be careful. From akahele, slow or moderate, cautious, careful, prudent.

ho`ākakū
To induce a trance or hallucination, as a psychoactive substance. From akakū, vision, trance; hallucination.

ho`ākamai
♦ To make wise or smart. From akamai, smart,
clever, expert.

**ho`äkea**

To widen, broaden, extend, enlarge, make public.
From *Akea*, broad, wide, spacious, open, unobstructed.

**`äke`ake`a**

★. To cause to block, hinder, obstruct, interfere. From *ke`ake`a*, to object, prevent, oppose.

**ho`ä**

To light a fire. From *`ä*, fire.

**hō`aikola**

To treat contemptuously,; to rejoice over the misfortunes of others. From *`aikola*, interjection of scorn or derision.

**hō`aki**

★. To cause a third party to take a nip and let go; nibble, as fish; to cause to heal. From *`aki*, to take a nip and let go, smap; to nibble, as fish; to heal.

**ho`äkoakoa**

To assemble, congregate, muster, throng; to collect, gather. From *`äkoakoa*, to assemble; assembled, collected, heaped.

**ho`äkua**

◆. To deify, make a god of. From *akua*, god, goddess, spirit, ghost.

**ho`āla**

To awaken someone; to arouse, stir up, incite, renew. From *ala*, awake.

**hō`āla**

To perfume. From *`ala*, perfumed, fragrant, sweet-smelling.

**ho`ālahia**

To awaken. From *ālahia*, passive/imperative of *ala*, awake.
hō'alalā  To cause someone to cry, bawl, bleat. From alalā, to bawl, bleat, cry, squawk.

hō'ale'ale  To stir up waves, agitate, confuse; to cause tumult. From ʻaleʻale, reduplication of ʻale.

hoʻālia  To stop someone, check, hold back. From alia, idiomatic expression for to wait or stop.

hōʻaliʻali  To scar, deface. From ʻali, scar.

hoʻāliai  To whiten, cause to shine. From aliai, crystal clear, white; clarity, whiteness.

hoʻāliʻi  ♦. To make a chief, establish royalty into office, to be made an officer, commissioned. From aliʻi, royalty, chief, chiefess.

hoʻālikiliki  ★, O. To induce a third party to tighten something. From ʻālikiliki, to tighten which is from likiliki, a reduplication of liki, tight. Notice Double Conversion prefix.

hoʻālo  ★. To cause someone to shun, dodge, escape, elude. From ʻalo, to dodge, escape, elude.

hōʻaloʻalo  ★. Reduplication of hoʻālo. To cause someone to dodge rapidly back and forth continuously. From ʻaloʻalo, to dodge rapidly or continuously.

hoʻāloaloa  O. To keep at a distance. From ʻāloaloa, far, at a distance, which is from loaloa, a reduplication of loa, far.

hōʻaloaha  Rare form of hoʻālohaloha.

hoʻālohaloha  To make love, express affection, gratitude or
compassion; to give thanks. From ālohaloha, reduplication of aloha, love, affection, sympathy.

hō`alu
To cause something to slacken, hang down, loosen.
From `alu, bend, duck, hang, sag.

ho`ālualu
To cause someone to chase, follow, pursue, run.
From alualu, to follow, chase, run, pursue.

hō`alu`alu
To slacken, loosen. From `alu`alu, loose, flabby.

ho`āna`ē *
To cause to save for future use. From ana`ē, to save for future use.

hō`anahua
To cause to be stooped, disfigured, deformed.
From `anahua, stooped, disfigured, deformed.

ho`anapa
To cause to shine. From `anapa, shine, gleam, glitter, flash, sparkle.

hō`anapu`u *
To cause to make lumpy. From `anapu`u, bumpy, lumpy.

hō`aoa
To make a dog bark. From `aoa, to bark, as a dog.

ho`apa *
To cause someone to waste time. From `apa, to waste time, delay, linger.

hō`apa`apa *
Reduplication of hō`apa, above.

hō`āpī *
O. To withhold. From pī, stingy.

ho`āpīpī
To join together. From `āpīpī, united, joined, coupled.

ho`āpono *
O. To approve, accept, find not guilty at a trial. From `āpono, to approve, confirm, justify, endorse.

hō`auana
To cause to disperse, wander, as a conqueror
ho'auau
To hasten, hurry, rush, excite to action. From auau, to walk lightly and quickly.

hō'au'au
To give a bath. From au'au, bathe.

hō'auhe'e
To rout, put to flight, flee. From auhe'e, to flee from danger.

hō'auwaha
To make a ditch, gutter, furrow, canal. From auwaha, ditch, furrow, gutter.

hō'awa'awa
To embitter. From awa'awa, reduplication of awa, bitter, sour.

hō'awe
*, O. To make someone carry something on the back. From awe, to carry on the back.

hō'aweawe
To cause to be sticky, clinging. May become hā'aweawe.

ho'oa'a
To cause a plant or slip to take root; to take root. From a'a, small root, rootlet, vein.

ho'oha'a
To lower, humble. From ha'a, dwarf, low, man or animal of short stature.

ho'oha'alele
*, O. To cause someone to leave. From ha'alele, to leave, which is from lele, to fly or go.

ho'oha'alulu
O. To cause shaking, quaking or quivering. From ha'alulu, to quake, shiver, tremble.

ho'oha'anui
O. To cause someone to boast, brag, gloat. From nui, big.

ho'ohā'awe
O. To have carried on the back; to load on the
ho'ohāli`a  
O. To evoke memories, remind. From hāli`a, sudden remembrance.

ho'ohālikelike  
O. To compare, contrast; to equalize. From hālikelike, alike, similar.

kāhea  
To call out by name. From hea, to name.

kāhe`e  
O. To pour. From he`e, slippery, slip, slide.

kāhina  
To knock down, take advantage of. From hina, to fall, tumble, to fall morally.

kāhinu  
To anoint; to rub with oil or grease. From hinu, oil, grease; greasy.

kāhunahuna  
To sprinkle lightly, as salt. From huna and hunahuna, fine particle, or fragments.

`ōkomo  
To insert, include; caulk, as sealing. From komo, enter, go into.

`ōkomokomo  
Reduplication of `ōkomo, above.

`ōkū  
To stand something upright. From kū, to stand.

`ōlepe  
To turn, as on a hinge; to upset, overturn. From lepe, any loose attachment, as torn cloth or flesh.

SIMILITUDE CONVERSION HAWAIIAN PREFIX

ha`akoa`e  
Like the tropic bird. From koa`e, tropic bird.

ha`anou  
*. To pretend to throw. From nou, to throw, cast, pitch, pelt.

hō`aka`aka  
To act surly, to pretend to be cross. from `a`aka,
surly, cranky, complaining.

hō`a`ano
To act the bully, bluff, defy, boast of courage that may be lacking. From `a`ano, overbearing, bold, defiant, daring.

hō`ai`aiā
■. Reduplication of hō`aiā, which is to act ungodly.

hō`aka`aka
Pretend to laugh. From `aka`aka, laughter, to laugh.

ho`ākamai
■. To make a pretense of wisdom; to show off. From akamai, smart, clever, expert.

ho`ākua
■. Godlike. From akua, god, goddess, spirit, ghost.

ho`āli`i
■. To imitate royalty. From ali`i, royalty, chief, chiefess.

ho`oha`alele
■, O. To pretend to leave. From ha`alele, to leave, which is from lele, to fly or go.

ho`ōiwi
To pass one's self off as a native. From `ōiwi, native son.

ho`okāne
To act like a man. From kāne, man.

ho`owahine
To imitate the ways of a woman, effeminate. From wahine, woman.

kā`ape
Headstrong, willful, obstinate. The similitude meaning derives from the association of being like the `ape plant, which holds its leaves upright. Hence, 'like the `ape plant' may be a more accurate, though figurative, translation.
QUALITY CONVERSION HAWAIIAN PREFIX

`āhiaha
Faint, obscure, faded; dim, as colors in tapa or cloth. See hiahia, faded, gray, hazy.

`āhihi
Any plant with long runners or creepers, as cup of gold; any creeping vine. See hihi, to entangle, creep, spread, intertwine, intermingle; entanglement, snare, web. The Quality Conversion is that of converting the meaning of the stem.

`āhina
* Gray, gray or white-haired. See hina, gray, gray or white-haired.

`āhinahina
* Same as `āhina.

`āhiu
Wild, untamed, as animals or plants. See hiu, to throw or fling violently.

`āhiuhuiu
Reduplication of `āhiu.

`āhiwa
Dark, dusky, somber. See hiwa, Entirely black, as pigs offered to the gods, a desirable blackness contrasting with uli and `ele`ele, which have pejorative connotations.

`ālu`a
* Faded. From lu`a, old and worn out.

`āluli
To incline the head, sway. From lulì, to shake the head.

`ālunu
Covetuous, rapacious; greed, greedy. From lunu, greed, extort, take property by force. The Conversion is from a transitive verb to a stative verb. Also, same as `ānunu.
a`ula
Reddish, brownish. From `ula, red. Same as hā`ula.

`ā`ume`ume
Opposition, struggle, contention, strife. From `ume`ume, reduplication of `ume, enticing, pull, attract. This is a very interesting example of the quality of the root word being totally reversed through the use of the Conversion prefix.

`āwa`awa`a
Uneven, furrowed, craggy. From wa`awa`a, reduplication of wa`a, craggy, gullied.

ha`akea
Whitish, pale. From kea, white.

ha`akei
Haughty, rude, snobbish, vain. From kei, proud, glory in, dignified. The Quality Conversion is that from a positive aspect to a negative aspect.

ha`akeikei
Reduplication of ha`akei, above.

ha`akoi
Egotistic, to brag, show off. From koi, implore, persuade, claim. The Quality Conversion is from a positive quality to a negative quality.

ha`akoikoi
Reduplication of ha`akoikoi, above.

ha`alele
To quit, resign, abdicate, desert, abandon. From lele, to fly.

ha`alipo
To be darkened. From lipo, deep blue-black, as a cavern. Note disparity of reference (ha`alipo=ho`o-nipo) in Pukui and Elbert (1986) under the heading ha`alipo compared to ho`onipo.

ha`alulu
To quake, shake, totter, tremble. Although lulu means "calm" with no other comparable meaning,
this item is included under this section because the prefixed form seems to mean the opposite of the unprefixed form.

hā'ehu'ehu  ⭐. Slightly reddish brown, as hair. From `ehu, reddish brown, as hair.

hā`ele`ele  Blackish. From `ele`ele black.

hāho`oili  ⭐, O. This unusual Double Conversion item is listed as a noun in the dictionary. The translation is a group of people with established inherited land, which comes from the prefixed form ho`oili, to bequeath in a will or set aside, which in turn comes from ili, stranded on shore, as a boat. The unusual Quality Conversion aspect of the hā- Conversion prefix on this word changes the transitivity from the intransitive level of the immediate predecessor, ho`oili, to a transitivity level less than the original root word (ili). In this instance the Quality Conversion function is that of diminishing the level of transitivity considerably, from transitive verb (the second highest level of transitivity, after causing the action of a transitive verb) to the lowest level of transitivity, a noun.

hailawe  To exchange, barter. No change in transitivity. From lawe, to carry.

hai`ula  Reddish. Same as hā`ula. From `ula, red.
hākea  Whitish, off-white in color. Same as ha`akea.

hākeakea  Whitish, off-white, faded. Same as ha`akea.

hākei  Snooty, snobbish. The Conversion prefix reduces the social desirability from kei, proud, to that of a negative attribute. Same as ha`akei.

hāke`oke`o  Whitish, off-white. From ke`oke`o, white.

hālana  To flood. From lana, to float. Although there is a change in meaning there is no change in transitivity.

hāli`a  Sudden remembrance, memory, fond recollection. The Quality Conversion is that of time differential; li`a, a strong desire or craving, is based in the present, whereas hāli`a evokes memories of past desires or craving. Note: The dictionary indicates that hāli`a does not have a macron (kahakō), although the entry under hāli`ali`a indicates a reduplication of hāli`a.

hāloli`ili  Indolent, idle, useless. From loli`i, relaxed, at ease, without care. The Quality Conversion is that of decreasing the perceived social acceptability of an action.

ho`āe`ae  A style of chanting with prolonged vowels and fairly short phrases, much used in love chants; to chant in this fashion. From aeeae, a prolonged sound, wail; to prolong.

hō`ale  *. To surge. From `ale, to ripple; rippling, to
stir, as in the ocean.

**ho`ā`o**
To test, try, attempt, taste, undertake. From a`o, instruction, teaching, learning. The Conversion is from a transitive verb to a intransitive verb.

**ho`okāholoholo** O. Reduplication of kāholo, to be quick, which in turn comes from holo, to go, travel.

**kā`alo**
To pass by, go by. The Quality Conversion is that of subjective intention: `alo is distinctly purposeful evasion, whereas kā`alo is to simply pass by without trying to be evasive.

**kā`alo`alo**
Reduplication of kā`alo, above.

**kā`ē`ē**
Joyful, happy, hospitable, friendly. The Quality Conversion is that of changing the root word to be somewhat opposite of its original meaning: `ē`ē, as being oppositional, peculiar or contrary.

**kā`e`e`e**
Variation of kā`ē`ē, above.

**kā`ē`ē`e**
Very joyful, etc.; variation of kā`ē`ē, above.

**kā`ele**
Blackened, darkened. From `ele, black.

**kāhe`e**
To pour. The Quality Conversion is one of changing semantic meaning from that of the root word he`e, to slip, slide, surf, flee.

**kāhehi**
To stumble, make a misstep. The Quality Conversion is to reduce the perceived degree of purposefulness of the action; hehi means to purposefully stamp, trample, tread or step on or
pedal.

**kāhela**
Spread out, as land or someone lying down. From *hela*, to spread out, as arms.

**kāholo**
To be quick, nimble, hasty. From *holo*, to run, go. The Conversion function alters the semantic meaning of the interpretation of the word.

**kā`ihi**
To refuse to pay losses or forfeit, as in a game; to use another’s property without permission; to usurp. From *`ihi*, sacred, holy, dignified; treated with respect or reverence. The Quality Conversion is to reduce or diminish the perceived cultural appropriateness and acceptance of the root word, or to create the opposite of the root word.

**kā`i`i**
Hard, rigid; stingy, cold; to deny a request. From *`i`i*, tight, difficult to extract, as a plug. The Quality Conversion is that of altering the semantic meaning of the word.

**kā`ili**
To snatch, take by force, usurp. From, or similar to, *hō`ili*, to bunch together, to collect. The Quality Conversion is in the increased purposefulness of the action as well as the change in reducing the perceived cultural appropriateness of the action.

**kā`ili`ili**
Reduplication of *kā`ili*, above.

**`ōa`a**
Somewhat fibrous. From *a`a*, small root, rootlet.
The Quality Conversion is transformation of the fibrous nature of substances similar to rootlets to a less fibrous state.

`ōahehe

O. To blow softly, as a breeze. From aheahe, soft, gentle sound. The Quality Conversion is to alter the semantic meaning of the word.

`ōaniani

O. Very slight stir of air. From aniani, to blow softly, as a breeze.

`ōauau

To go faster (than previously). From auau, to walk lightly and swiftly. The Quality Conversion is that of a change in semantic meaning as well as the increased intensity of the execution of the word.

`ōha`ī

Imperfectly healed, as a limb. From ha`i, broken, fractured. The questionable Quality Conversion of this item is that of both altering the semantic meaning of the root word as well as implying less than adequate execution of an action (the healing process) at the same time.

`ōheha

Somewhat lazy. From heha, lazy.

`ōheke

Somewhat shy. From heke, shy.

`ōhemo

Weak, as resulting from dysentery. From hemo, loose, untied, separated. The Quality Conversion is that of semantic change.

`ōhemohemo

Reduplication of `ōhemo, above.

`ōhewa

Delirious, incoherent. From hewa, mistake, sin.
`ōhewahewa  Reduplication of `ōhewa, above. Also, psychotic.
`ōhila  Somewhat ashamed. From hila, ashamed.
`ōhio  Gusty, windy. From hio, gust of wind.
`ōhonohono  Slightly offensive bog odor. From honohono, a distinctly offensive odor, as a bog.
`ōhū  To swell, as the sea, especially a comber that does not break. From hū, swelling, to rise.
`ōhu`ihu`i  Somewhat cool. From hu`ihu`i, cool.
`ōiki  Somewhat small, narrow. From iki, small, narrow.
`ōikiiki  Somewhat warm. From ikiiki, stiflingly hot and humid.
`ōilo  To sprout. From ilo, young sprout.
`ōkala  *. Chicken skin,; creepy sensation; to stand up, as hair. From `ōkala, rough, as shark skin.
`ōke`e  To veer, as the wind; change directions. From ke`e, crooked, bent.
`ōkihikihi  *. Angular, slanting. From kihikihi, corners, curves.
`ōkulekule  Somewhat listless. From kulekule, listless.
`ōlae  Small cape or promontory. From lae, cape or promontory.
`ōlaelae  Reduplication of `ōlae, above; a number of small capes or promontories.
`ōleha  Dazzled, bleary eyed, as intoxicated or ill. From leha, to glance about, as with expectation or furtively.
`ōlehaleha

Reduplication of `ōleha, above.

PROVISION OF NOUN CONVERSION HAWAIIAN PREFIX

`āinu

To give to drink. From inu, to drink.

`ākuleana

To give property or title to property. From kuleana, property, estate, portion, responsibility, jurisdiction

haʻalei

Same as hoʻolei, to put a lei, (wreath) on someone.

haʻanu`a

To give generously and continuously, to indulge, as a child. From nu`a, thick, heaped, lush.

hai`ai

To offer vegetable food. From `ai, food.

hāinu

To give to drink. From inu, to drink.

hālau

Although not listed in the dictionary as having un un-prefix ed form this author believes that the word means ‘provided with shade’, an expansion of the figurative meaning of shade from the meaning of lau, leaf.

hō`a`ahu

To dress, supply with clothing, clothe. From `a`ahu, clothing in general, garment.

hō`aha`aina

To feast, give a feast. From `aha`aina, feast, dinner party, banquet.

hō`ai`ai

To release, as war captives, or to provide with freedom. From `ai`ai, dependent, one living on the resources of another. (Probably figuratively,
meaning living in freedom due to the captor's goodwill in releasing the captive).

ho`ai`aina  
To award land, as by a chief. From `ai`aina, to rule or own land.

ho`alo  
O. Presentation, as to a monarch. From alo, front, face, presence.

ho`oalo  
Θ. Same as ho`alo, above.

ho`amanah  
*, O. To provide authority. From mana, spiritual or other personal power.

**SIMPLE TRANSITIVITY CONVERSION HAWAIIAN PREFIX**

\`aone  
Sandy soil. From one, sand.

\`ao`o  
♦. To be as middle aged. From o`o, middle aged.

\`apali  
Hilly, craggy. From pali, cliff.

\`apikapika  
state of having suction cups. From pikapika, suction cups.

\`apikipiki  
▼. A state of being troubled, as the sea or emotions. From pikipiki, same as pikipiki`ō; very unusual suffix form of a Conversion prefix (`ō).

\`apoho  
▼. A state of having hollows. From poho, hollow, as of the hand or in wood.

\`apu`upu`u  
A state of having hills, pimples; lumpy, bumpy. From pu`upu`u, reduplication of pu`u, small hill.

\`apukapuka  
Pitted. From pukapuka, reduplication of puka, hole.

\`apoke  
O. To cut into short pieces. From poke, short
Pieces.

`āpo`epo`e  To assemble. From po`epo`e, reduplication of po`e, plural marker for the word for people. The word po`e also means the singular person.

`āwa`a  * , . To dig a ditch or furrow. From wa`a, ditch or furrow.

`āwaha  To speak in a rude, harsh manner; rudeness. From waha, mouth.

ha`ahui  . United. From hui, group, clan.

ha`akua  To struggle to right oneself, as a turtle. From kua back.

ha`alau  To produce leaves. From lau, leaves.

hā`ale  Completely full and ready to overflow. From `ale, wave, ripple.

hā`ale`ale  Reduplication of hā`ale, above.

ha`alewa  * , . To float, dangle, swing. From lewa, sky, atmosphere.

ha`aliki  * . To brag. From liki, braggart

hā`e`ena  * . To shy (away from something), from `ena, shy.

hāiki  Narrow, pinched. From iki, limitation, restriction.

hākelo  * . Slime. From kelo, slimy, slippery. The Conversion prefix reduces the transitivity level.

hāku`i  * . To flutter, palpitate, thump, as the heart. From ku`i, to strike, hit. The Conversion prefix reduces the level of transitivity.
hākuma — Pockmarked, coarse, rough, lumpy. From kuma, cracked skin.

hāliko — To bud, put forth leaves. From liko, leaves, buds.

hālo`i — To well with tears. From lo`i, irrigated paddy for growing taro.

hālo`ilo`i — Reduplication of hālo`i, above.

hāloko — * To puddle, pool. From loko, pool.

hālokoloko — Reduplication of hāloko, above.


hālu`a — * Stripe, ripple. From lu`a, striped.

ho`ā — To jabber. From ā, jaw, cheekbone.

ho`āhiahi — *, ♦. To spend an evening. From ahiahi, evening.


hō`ai`ai — To release, as war captives. No unprefixed form

ho`alo — ⊗ Presentation, as to a monarch. From alo, front, face, presence.

ho`oalo — ⊗ Same as ho`alo, above.

ho`āo — To marry. From ao, day, light, dawn.

hō`aumakua — To contact or acquire `aumakua (family god).

hō`aumoe — To pass the night. From aumoe, late at night, as about midnight.

ho`āuna — To flock, collect together (intransitive). From `āuna, large group, flock.

hō`auwae — * To shun, show no interest. From `auwae,
indifferent, scornful.

*hō`auwaepu`u* istar. To thrust out the chin and twist the lips to the side, as a gesture of contempt; to sulk, act indifferently. From `auwaepu`u, discouraged, indifference to work.

*hō`awe* istar. To carry on the back. From `awe, pack, knapsack.

kāhe`a istar. Bloody. From he`a, blood red.

*`ōaheahe*v. To blow softly, as a wind. From aheahe, breeze.

*`ōaniani*v. To blow slightly, as a breeze. From aniani, a breeze.

*`ōhepa* Moronic, from hepa, idiot, imbecile, moron.

*`ōhulu* To feather out. From hulu, feather.

*`ōhuluhulu* Shaggy, furry. from huluhulu, hair, fur.

*`ōke`a* To place cross sticks as to block a doorway. From ke`a, cross, crucifix, any crossed piece.

NO CONVERTED MEANING/NO UNPREFIXED FORM HAWAIIAN PREFIX

*`āhina*v. Gray, gray or white haired. See hina, gray, gray or white haired.

*`āhinahina* Same as *`āhina.

*`āke`ake`a*m. To block, hinder, obstruct. from ke`ake`a, to object, hinder, oppose.

*`ākokoko* Same as kokoko, bloody.

*`ālikiliki*m. Same as likiliki, reduplication of liki, to
tighten.

`ʻālina

Same as lina, scar. Notice presence of passive type suffix -na coupled with Conversion prefix to cancel each other out to have the same meaning as ʻali, scar.

`ʻalu`a

\( \triangleright \). Same as lu`a, old, worn out, dilapidated.

`ʻalualua

Same as lualua, rough, bumpy, as a road.

`ʻaluku

Same as luku, to destroy, massacre, destructive.

`ʻänapunapu

Reduplication of ʻanapu, which is the same as ʻanapa, to shine.

`ʻanaunau

Same as naunau, a shellfish.

`ʻane`e

Same as ne`e, to move along with little jerks.

`ʻaniha

Same as niha, kamanaha, cross, unfriendly.

`ʻañihaniha

Reduplication of ʻāniha, cross, unfriendly.

ʻañihinihi

Same as nihinihi, precarious, on the edge.

ʻanonanona

Same as nonanona, naonao, ant.

ʻañoni

Same as noni, to mix, interweave; be perplexed.

ʻañonininoni

Reduplication of ʻānoni, above.

ʻāoka

Same as oka, dregs.

ʻāokaoka

Reduplication of ʻāoka, above.

ʻāo`o

\( \heartsuit \). Same as o`o, middle aged.

ʻāpahu

\( \blacksquare \). Same as pahu to cut off squarely.

ʻāpani

Same as pani, to shut, close.

ʻāpapa

Same as papa, flat, stratum, reef flat.

ʻape`ape`a

Same as pe`ape`a, a bat.

ʻāpi`i

Same as pi`i, curly.
Reduplication of `āpi`i, above.

Same as pikipiki, which is the same as pikipiki`ō. Very unusual suffix form of Conversion prefix (-`ō).

`āpoho

Same as poho, hollow, as of the hand or in wood.

Same as po`ipo`i, reduplication of po`i, to cover, pounce, conceal.

Same as poke, short pieces.

Same as uli, dark.

Same as wa`a, long narrow excavation or trench.

Same as wa`awa`a, reduplication of wa`a, craggy, gullied.

Same as we`we`a, faint trace, spot, glimpse.

Same as welu, worn, tattered.

Same as wiki, to be quick.

Same as wili, to mix, entwine, interweave.

Same as heo, proud, haughty.

Same as haikaika, to twist and contort the face. From ikaika, strong.

Same as ho`okē, to crowd, jostle, oppress. From kē, to crowd, jostle, oppress.

Same as ho`okekē, which is the same as kekē to scold.

Same as kōhi, to travail, as in childbirth.
ha'akūlipo  Same as ho'okūlipo, which is the same as kūlipo, dark and dank, as a cave.

ha'akūlou  ■. Same as ho'okūlou, which is the same as kūlou, to bow down.

ha'alewa  ■. Same as lewa, to float, dangle swing, hang.

From lewa, sky, atmosphere.

ha'aliki  O. Same as liki, braggart, and to brag.

ha'alilio  Same as lilio, tight, taught.

ha'alilo  Same as lilo, far off, distant.

ha'alohi  Same as `alohi, to shine, sparkle.

ha'aloku  ■. Same as ho'oloku, which is the same as loku, downpour of rain, emotion.

ha'alo`u  Same as lo`u, to be bent, hang down.

hā`alu  ■. Same as `alu, slack; to slacken, depression.

hā`ama  To begin to ripen, as fruit. No unprefixeformed form.

ha'amomoe  Same as or similar to momoe, reduplication of moe, to sleep.

ha'anapu  Same as napu, which is a variation of nape, to sway as in a dance or trees in a wind.

ha'anepu  ■. Same as ho'onepu and nepu, plump.

hā`ano  Same as `a`ano, overbearing, arrogant, bold.

ha'anopu  Same as nopu, to swell, surge, as the sea.

ha'anou  ♦. Same as nou, to throw, pelt, pitch.

ha`ano`u  To exagerate, speak forcefully, boast. No unprefixeformed form.

ha`apapa`a  Same as papa`a, which is the same as pa`a, tight,
firm, held fast.

**ha`apupū**  
- Same as pupū, to stall, hold back.

**ha`auē**  
Same as auē, interjection of surprise or other emotion.

**hā`awe**  
- Same as `awe, knapsack or bundle carried on the back.

**hā`e`ena**  
- Same as `ena, shy.

**hāehu**  
Same as ehu, to thrive, grow well.

**hā`ehu`ehu**  
- Same as `ehu, reddish-brown, as hair.

**hā`eka`eka**  
Same as `eka`eka, reduplication of `eka, drab, dirty, smudged as with smoke.

**hā`ena**  
Same as `ena, red-hot and glowing.

**hāho`oili**  
O, v. This unusual double prefix form is actually listed as a noun in the dictionary. It is listed here in the no-change section due to the fact that the second Conversion prefix, hā-, changes the prefixed, intransitive verb root word ho`oili (inheritance, to inherit) or transitive verb root word ho`oili (to bequeath in a will or set aside) to the same level of transitivity as the intransitive verb root word ili, (to be stranded or run aground, as a ship). Also, since there seems to be questionable relationship between the two translations of this word, the state of being stranded and an inheritance, this word is also listed in the no-change section.
hailili  Same as lili, jealous.

hailuku  ■. To stone. No change in transitivity from luku, to massacre.

hā-'iu-'iu  Same as `iu`iu, reduplication of `iu, height, lofty.

hāka`o  Same as ka`o, naked, bare.

hākelo  O. Same as kelo, slimy, slippery.

hāki`i  To tie. No unprefixed form—the root must have a prefix.

hākikili  Same as kikili, thunder.

hākilo  Same as kilo, to spy on, look around.

hākiu  ■. Same as kiu, to spy, a spy.

hāku`i  O. Same as ku`i, to hit, beat, pound.

hāla`i  Same as la`i, calm.

hāla`o  Same as la`o, mote.

hāla`ola`o  Reduplication of hāla`o, mote.

hālapa  Same as lapa, a ridge; bright, flaming; active. Also, same as ho`olapa.

hālike  Same as like, same, similar.

hālikelike  Reduplication of halike, above.

hālo`alo`a  Same as lo`alo`a, which is the same as `alo`alo`a, rough, pitted.

hāloko  O. Same as loko, pool.

hālokoloko  Reduplication of hāloko, above.

hālua  O, ■. Same as lua, hole, dip, furrow.

hālūlā  Same as lūlā, calm, slack, at ease.
hālulelule  Same as lulelule, to quiver; to sag; flexible.

hō`a`āmaka  0. To stare. From `a`āmaka, to stare.

hō`a`āna  To use abusive language, revile, malign. From `a`āna, to use abusive language.

hō`aha`aha  Same as `aha`aha, to sit with back stiff and upright, with a haughty air of superiority.

ho`āhewa  0. Same as `āhewa, to condemn, blame, censure, reproach. convict; condemnation, blame, conviction.

ho`āhiahi  0, ♦. Same as ahiahi, to become evening.

ho`āhonui  Same as ahonui, Patience; parient, enduring, long suffering; to tolerate.

ho`āhu  ♦. Collection, mound. From ahu, collection, mound.

ho`āhua  To pile or heap up. From āhua, heap, mound, hillock, knoll, pile.

ho`ā`ia`i  ♠. White, clear, shining. From a`ia`i, white, clear, fair, pure, brilliant, shining.

ho`aikāne  To be a friend. From aikāne, friend.

hō`ailona  Sign, sumbol, representation, insignia, emblem, bark, badge. No unprefixed form.

ho`āka`a  ♠. To tear off, peel; break open, as a seal. From āka`a, to tear off, peel; break open, as a seal.

ho`ākahele  ♠. To take cautions, be cautious, careful. From akahele, slow or moderate, cautious, careful,
prudent.

**hō`aki**

- To take a nip and let go, snap; to nibble, as fish; to heal, as a wound; sharp recurring pain.

  From `aki, to take a nip and let go, snap; to nibble, as fish; to heal, as a wound.

**hō`ale**

- To surge, from `ale, to ripple, form waves.

  No change in transitivity level.

**ho`āli**

To signal, wave; to stir, as coffee or a fire. No unprefixed form.

**ho`āli`ali**

Reduplication of ho`āli.

**ho`ālikiliki**

- O. Same as `ālikiliki, tight. Notice Double Conversion prefix.

**ho`ālo**

- Same as `ālo, to escape, elude, dodge.

**hō`alo`alo**

- Same as `alo`alo, to dodge rapidly or continuously.

**hō`ama**

To begin to ripen. No un-prefixed form.

**ho`āmana**

⊕, O. To give authority. No unprefixed form.

**ho`āna`ē**

- Same as ana`ē, to save for future use.

**hō`anapu`u**

- Same as `anapu`u, bumpy, lumpy, jagged, uneven.

**hō`apa**

- Same as `apa, to delay, waste time.

**hō`apa`apa**

- Reduplication of hō`apa, above.

**hō`āpī**

- O. Same as pī, stingy.

**ho`āpono**

- O. Same as `āpono, to approve, accept, justify, endorse.

**ho`āpuka**

- O. To come into light, as water from a tunnel.
From `āpuka, but no similar meaning for `āpuka (see Causative Conversion prefix; □.)

ho`āu
To dedicate, set apart, as a housewarming. No unprefixed form. Rare.

hō`auwae
O. Same as `auwae, scornful.

hō`auwaepu`u
O. Same as `auwaepu`u, indifference to work, discouraged.

hō`awe
Same as `awe, to carry on the back.

kā`eo
Same as `eo, full, as a calabash with food.

kā`eo`eo
Reduplication of kā`eo, above.

kāhe`a
O. Same as he`a, stained red.

kāhīhī
Same as hīhī, entanglement.

hāhiō
Same as hiō, to lean to one side.

kāhoaka
Same as hoaka, spirit, phantom.

`ōhalahala
Same as halahala, reduplication of hala, sin, offense, error; to pass, elapse, as time; to pass by; grumble.

`ōhelahela
Same as helahela, redness of the eyelids; raw or red, as skin.

`ōheu
Same as heu, to sprout, as seedlings.

`ōheuheu
Reduplication of `ōheu, above.

`ōhinu
Same as hinu, grease, oily.

`ōhinuhinu
Reduplication of `ōhinu, above.

`ōhio
O. Same as hio, gust of wind.

`ōholi
Same as holi, to sprout, as seedlings or a youth's beard.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hawai'ian</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>`ōhoma</td>
<td>Same as homa, disappointed; thin, flabby; to hold a canoe to its course in a rough sea.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōhuku</td>
<td>Same as huku, a swell, rising billow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōhuna</td>
<td>Same as huna, secret, hidden thing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōihoiho</td>
<td>Same as ihoiho, to go downwards, as tubers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ōka</code>a</td>
<td>Same as ka`a, to roll, revolve, spin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ōkāka</code>i</td>
<td>Same as kaka`i, follower, procession.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkala</td>
<td>▼. Same as kala, rough, as shark skin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkelekele</td>
<td>Same as kelekele, reduplication of kele, muddy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkeni</td>
<td>Same as keni, small change. From English ten (cent piece).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkihikihi</td>
<td>▼. Same as kihikihi, angular.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkilo</td>
<td>Same as kilo, stargazer, seer, reader of omens.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkolo</td>
<td>Same as kolo to creep, crawl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>ōku</code>eku`e</td>
<td>Same as ku<code>eku</code>e, knuckles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkuma</td>
<td>Same as kuma. Rough, as skin cracked from dryness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkunukunu</td>
<td>Same as kunu, to cough, a cough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkupu</td>
<td>Same as kupu, to sprout, send out shoots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōkupukupu</td>
<td>Reduplication of `ōkupu, above.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōlemu</td>
<td>Same as lemu, buttocks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōlena</td>
<td>Same as lena, yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>`ōlenalena</td>
<td>Same as lenalena, yellow.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ITEMS WITH DOUBLE CONVERSION PREFIXES**

| Ha'alele                  | ʻ, ▼. (ho'oha'alele) To feign or pretend to quit |
or leave. From ha'alele, to quit or leave. Also, to cause someone to quit or leave. From ha'alele, to quit or leave.

hāho'oilī   *, v. This unusual Double Conversion prefix is listed as a noun (a group of people with established inherited land) in the dictionary. From ili, the state of being cast ashore, stranded. Usually the ho'o- precedes the hā-.

hō'a`āmaka  *_. To stare. From `a`āmaka, to stare, which comes from maka, eyes.

ho`ahewa    Ⅱ. To condemn, accuse. From hewa, mistake.

ho`ālikiliki ▲, *_. To induce a third party to tighten something. From `ālikiliki, to tighten, which is from likiliki, a reduplication of liki, tight.

ho`āmana    *, Æ. To give authority. No unprefixed form, but the probable root is mana, meaning power, authority.

hō`aloaloa   Ⅱ. To keep at a distance. From `āloaloa, far, at a distance, which in turn is from loaloa, a reduplication of loa, far.

hō`āpī       *, Ⅱ. Stingy; to withhold. From pī, stingy.

ho`āpono     *, Ⅱ. To approve, accept, justify, endorse. From pono, correct, righteous, moral.

ho`āpuka     *, Ⅱ. To emerge, come into light as water from a tunnel. From `āpuka, but the meaning is closer to that of puka. This seems to be a case where the
two competing Conversion prefixes cancel each other out.

**ho‘oha`alele**  ■, ♦. To cause someone to quit; to pretend to quit or leave. From ha`alele, to leave, desert, abandon, quit, resign.

**ho‘oha`alulu**  ■. To cause to quake, shake, tremble, quiver.

**ho‘oha`anui**  ■. To cause someone to boast, brag, gloat. From nui, big.

**ho`ohā`awe**  ■. To have something carried on the back; to load on the back, of a burden.

**ho‘ohāli`a**  ■. To evoke memories, remind. From hāli`a, sudden remembrance, from li`a, strong craving, yearning, amorous.

**ho‘ohālikelike**  ■. To compare, contrast; to equalize. From hālikelike, reduplication of hālike, alike or similar, which is the same as like, alike or similar.
BIBLIOGRAPHY/REFERENCES


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