

Tūtū's Hawaiian and the Emergence of a Neo-Hawaiian Language

R. Keao NeSmith

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He Mo'olelo (A Story)

It is 1996, and I am attending a two day training conference at Tokai University in Honolulu for Hawaiian language immersion teachers. It is good to see colleagues, many of whom I have not seen in a while, and to renew friendships made over years while working together in developing this new Hawaiian language immersion educational system. We feel a sense of kinship with our ancestors because while we're learning to speak Hawaiian, we are also working to pass on our language to a new generation.

In all, more than forty people who all speak Hawaiian to some level of proficiency are in attendance. Five are native-speakers (NS)¹ from the Ni'ihau community who teach at Ke Kula Ni'ihau o Kekaha on Kaua'i or at Ni'ihau School on that island.² The remainder of those in attendance are second-language (L2) speakers, most of whom have learned Hawaiian by taking courses at tertiary institutions (community colleges or universities). While the meeting is conducted in Hawaiian, none of the keynote speakers are native-speakers; instead, our native-speaking colleagues sit quietly at the back of the room.

Later, time is devoted for small group discussions on various topics. Our group addresses the question, "How does a Native Hawaiian view the concept of art?" One of the native-speakers in our group is a Ni'ihau woman who is fluent in Hawaiian, while her proficiency in English is limited. After others present their ideas, she offers an alternative view on art, sharing that it is an expression of skill, deftness, and thought which ranges from very pedestrian to the most grandiose. For her, art is an aspect of the person rather than his or her product. As soon as she finishes, one of the L2-speakers shares an unrelated thought about some of the more common aspects of art today. The discussion follows that line of thought without exploring the view of our native-speaking group member.

Introduction

Given the present linguistic environment in Hawai'i where English dominates, it is perhaps difficult to conceive that all people of Hawai'i spoke only Hawaiian at one time. Population estimates for the Hawaiian archipelago at the time of Captain James Cook's arrival in Hawai'i in 1778 range from 200,000 to over one million.³ Despite Act 57, which mandated English as the official language of instruction in the public school system, Hawaiian language continued to be commonly spoken until about World War II when the number of people literate in Hawaiian no longer amounted to a viable market for the newspaper industry, as evidenced by the closure of the last Hawaiian language newspaper, [Ka Hoku o Hawaii](#), in 1948.⁴ No census has been taken in recent years of native-speakers; with the exception of the Ni'ihau community, most Hawaiian native-speakers today are elderly, and quickly passing on.

In this essay, I advocate that the differences between what I am calling Neo-Hawaiian language speakers (NEO) and Traditional Hawaiian language speakers (TRAD) are a direct result of the different ways in which NEO speakers and TRAD speakers acquire Hawaiian language skills. Typically, NEO speakers acquire the language from educational institutions which employ other NEO speakers, while TRAD speakers acquire Hawaiian as a first language spoken in the home. This has resulted, albeit inadvertently, in differences in Hawaiian cultural values, and ultimately, in different cultural identities, which have led to conflicts or misunderstandings between the two intersecting groups. In addition, I will argue that NEO speakers are changing the way Hawaiian language (and in extension, Hawaiian cultural values) is understood, expressed, and embodied. Such change, though slow, is transforming Native Hawaiian identity.

Background

Since the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 by US Marine-backed American businessmen, Hawai'i's political environment has been hostile towards Hawaiians.⁵ In 1896, the de facto government of Hawai'i, comprised of the conspirators of the overthrow of 1893, enacted into law Act 57, which made English the "medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools."⁶ Although petitions were submitted after the passing of Act 57 by some schools to reinstate Hawaiian-medium education, they were summarily rejected.⁷ Act 57 exacerbated the decline in Hawaiian language usage by making it impossible for Hawaiian language education to exist.⁸ By 1940, Hawaiians made up only 15% of the total population of Hawai'i; Native Hawaiian speakers made up only a fraction of that percentage.⁹

My mother was born a few years prior to Japan's bombing of American military installations at Pu'uoloa (commonly known as Pearl Harbor) and Kāne'ohe in 1941. Her generation experienced a strongly negative stigma against being Hawaiian, a label which often embarrassed them. Because of western pressure, it was undesirable to be a speaker of Hawaiian or to live according to traditional cultural practices for fear of being humiliated and even hit by teachers in front of peers for speaking Hawaiian, or for not speaking "proper" or "standard" American English.¹⁰

Because of these humiliating childhood experiences, my grandmother and others of her generation transferred the "no Hawaiian" rule to home, hoping to spare their children the

same humiliation or hurt. They did not speak Hawaiian to their children so as not to "hinder" their progress in school and society. Thus, my mother's generation, for the most part, do not know Hawaiian language or the cultural practices it supports, such as traditional Hawaiian mo'olelo (stories, histories). As my mother has said, many Hawaiians of her generation find it difficult to appreciate things Hawaiian.

While most Hawaiians of my grandparents' generation were fluent native-speakers who could recall accounts of Hawaiian heroes, genealogies, chants, and old songs, most of my mother's generation know virtually nothing of these things, and thus cannot pass them on to their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren, even if they want to. Because Hawaiian language was almost completely wiped out by the mid-twentieth century, it was often categorized as a "dying language." But with the revitalization of Aloha 'Āina, or the Hawaiian Nationalist Movement in the 1960s, the seeds for Hawaiian language regeneration were planted and nurtured. The focus shifted from categorizing Hawaiian as a dying language, to asking the question, "Can the Hawaiian language once again be a thriving language?"

Ke Aloha 'Āina (Hawaiian Nationalism)

Over the past thirty years, the trend of Hawaiians studying the native language has helped to awaken the current generation of Hawaiians' interest in being Hawaiian. This drive has coincided with the political activism of Hawaiians in the 1970s. Dr. Haunani Kay Trask (1993) and Dr. Daviana McGregor-Alegado (1980) report that initial political activism began in 1970 with the protests against the evictions of Hawaiian families from Kalama Valley, O'ahu.¹¹ Since that time, the University of Hawai'i campuses have become important centers where Hawaiian issues are discussed and debated, and activities centering around education in Hawaiian language, culture, politics, history, and arts are found. Thus, the efforts by Hawaiians to learn our language and culture are as much political as they are cultural.

As Dr. Walter Kahumoku III explains, in his dissertation on the subject (2000), it was not until the 1970s that a new sense of pride and activism emerged among Hawaiians.¹² I refer to this time of Hawaiian political and cultural activism, which extends to the present, as the period of "Neo-Hawaiian Nationalism" (NEON). This period of cultural and political re-awakening for Hawaiians is seen in the increasing interest in and awareness of the importance of Hawaiian history, culture,

tradition, language, and nationalism. The era also represents Hawaiian efforts to reclaim at least a portion of what was denied them since 1893. This new period, I believe, is an attempt to recapture what I call the “Original Hawaiian Nationalism Movement” (OHNM) which began in 1840 when the Kingdom of Hawai‘i joined the world of nation-states with the establishment of its first Constitution, and ended when Hawaiian national pride and hope for the restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom government waned around World War II—a period spanning one hundred years.¹³

The general sense of hopelessness and loss, products of years of negative external influences, resulted from the massive decline in population in the 19th century due to deaths from foreign diseases, the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, the subsequent occupation of Hawai‘i by the United States, and the English-only policies that directly led to the decline of spoken Hawaiian. This despair felt by Hawaiians in the late 1940s is also reflected in the sharp increase in the number of Hawaiians who dropped out of school, all of which, by this time, were English-language based.¹⁴

The following are some parallels I have identified between OHNM and NEON. Both movements value the following:

1. Hawaiian tradition.
2. Sympathy for or patriotism to the Hawaiian Kingdom.
3. Land ownership in the Hawaiian Archipelago since the Great Mahele of 1848.¹⁵
4. A concern for the native language.

Likewise, certain differences may be drawn between the eras of OHNM and NEO Nationalism:

Period of Original Hawaiian Nationalism (OHNM)

1. Hawaiians had contact with fellow Hawaiians who were raised knowing their traditions and language.
2. Hawaiians were contemporaries of the ali‘i of the Kingdom. Internal and external sovereignty of the nation understood by citizens to be a matter of fact.¹⁶
3. Most land in Hawaiian control (until 1893).
4. Hawaiians were native-speakers, but were beginning to shift toward a preference for English (by 1896).

Period of NEO Nationalism (NEON)

1. Hawaiians have little or no contact with fellow Hawaiians who were raised knowing their traditions and language.

2. Hawaiians live almost 100 years after the passing of Hawai‘i’s last reigning monarch. Knowledge of the continued internal and external sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom not taught in the public or private schools in Hawai‘i since 1893 resulting in a generally inaccurate understanding by today’s residents of the sovereignty of the Kingdom in the present day.
3. Hawaiians dispossessed of their lands.
4. Hawaiians are predominantly English-speakers and many study Hawaiian as a second language.

The fact that Hawaiians today have little or no contact with fellow Hawaiians who were raised knowing their traditions and language means that we must rely on texts that are published by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians on these subjects; as secondary sources, these texts are not always reliable and accurate in their presentation or interpretation of Hawaiian language or culture.

Ka Ho‘ina i ke Ēwe Hawai‘i (The Return to My Hawaiian Roots)

This is my own experience growing up in Kekaha, Kaua‘i: Many of my Hawaiian neighbors were Native Hawaiian speakers. Some, originally from Ni‘ihau, spoke the Ni‘ihau dialect of Hawaiian. Others were Native Hawaiian speakers whose families were traditionally rooted on Kaua‘i and whose dialect is typical of Kaua‘i speakers.¹⁷ Despite being surrounded by Native Hawaiian-speakers in Kekaha, my own family did not speak Hawaiian.

In my early years, my maternal grandmother lived in Hau‘ula, O‘ahu. When I had a chance to visit her, it always seemed to me that she belonged to another time and place because her mannerisms differed from others I knew. I admired her because she exemplified the qualities of Hawaiians who were raised in a traditional setting, even when she spoke English. In reflecting upon how I was raised, despite knowing that I was Hawaiian, the culture and environment I grew up in had few similarities with my grandmother’s upbringing: while my grandmother’s childhood could be symbolized by a pili grass house in the famed hala groves of Puna, Hawai‘i, where she was surrounded by a family and community of Hawaiian-speakers, my childhood could be marked by the opening of the first McDonald’s, Burger King, and Taco Bell on Kaua‘i, and the fact that every one of my family members spoke only English.

Since there were many people from Ni‘ihau living in Kekaha when I was growing up, I heard Hawaiian often. Some of my childhood playmates were Ni‘ihau boys and girls who did not speak English. I do not remember now how it was that we got along so well since we did not speak the same language. I suppose children overlook such barriers when it comes to play. I went through public elementary and intermediate school on Kaua‘i in the 1970s, and attended Kamehameha Secondary School on O‘ahu in the 1980s. Although Hawaiian was offered at Kamehameha, I wasn’t interested in taking it because I saw no benefit, because, at the time, a common perception about people who were interested in Hawaiian culture and language was that they were somewhat fanatical, and this added to my apathy towards studying these subjects. Instead, I took Japanese.

After graduating in 1984, I lived with my grandmother in Hau‘ula and attended Brigham Young University in Lā‘ie, just one town away. At my grandmother’s home, my interest in my native language grew—I wanted to learn Hawaiian from her. I constantly encouraged her to speak only in Hawaiian to me and by the end of that first year, I was able to converse exclusively in Hawaiian with her.

Today, however, despite being able to speak Hawaiian, whenever I interact with native-speakers, I am often reminded of my limited knowledge of the language because I do not speak like them. I know only a fraction of what my grandmother knew as I am not a native-speaker: I am an L2-speaker who was fortunate to acquire my basic language skills from native-speakers.

Ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i ma ke Kula (Hawaiian at School)

My first experience formally studying Hawaiian was when I returned to school and attended UH Hilo. I already spoke the language, so I thought the courses would be easy, but I had never examined Hawaiian syntax and grammar before. Studying it in detail was strange and challenging. At times I disagreed with some things being taught because they conflicted with my experience with native-speakers. It was worthwhile, however, because my knowledge of Hawaiian expanded. While living with my grandmother, Hawaiian was our own secret language; at the University in Hilo, I was part of a larger population of people who were also aspiring to become speakers of Hawaiian.

He Aha ‘o “Mānaleo”? Ka Laha ‘ana o ka ‘Ōlelo i A‘o ‘ia (What is “Mānaleo”? The Expansion of Second-Language Speech)

I first learned the word *mānaleo* at UH Hilo. According to Samuel H. Elbert and Mary Kawena Pukui, the term was invented in the 1970s by L2-speakers William Wilson and Larry Kimura to mean “native speaker.”¹⁸ This is not a word that native-speakers know unless people who studied Hawaiian in school explain it to them. The invention of the term may have been well-intentioned, but as a result, L2-speakers put themselves at the center of their world view and native-speakers at the periphery. As evidence of this, L2-speakers did not create a term for “second language-speaker.” This is the power L2-speakers wield in their control of formal education: the power to define the terms, and change the language.

Since the 1960s, Hawaiian political activism in the NEO Nationalist era was accompanied by acts of linguistic activism. In 1971, Larry Kimura hosted a weekly hour-long radio talk show on AM radio station KCCN in Honolulu called *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*. Broadcast exclusively in Hawaiian, Kimura interviewed native-speakers who talked about their lives and knowledge of various aspects of Hawaiian culture.¹⁹ Often, native-speaking listeners would call in to ask questions or request songs. Kimura discontinued the program in 1989, but it was restarted in 1991 with a team of new hosts: Hau‘oli Akaka, Tuti Kanahale, and Puakea Nogelmeier. Originally from Ni‘ihau, only Kanahale is a TRAD speaker. The program continues through today, although Nogelmeier reports that native-speaking guest speakers are hard to come by and rarely call in.²⁰

In 1983, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo (APL) was organized for the purpose of promulgating the Hawaiian language through the creation of Hawaiian language immersion schools.²¹ At the time of its founding, APL’s Board consisted of one native-speaker and seven L2-speakers. In 2002, its Board consists entirely of L2-speakers. In the 1980s, APL Board members successfully lobbied the Hawai‘i State Department of Education (DOE) and the Legislature to enact policies and laws supporting Hawaiian immersion education. In 1984, APL helped to fund and manage the first of the immersion preschools, Pūnana Leo o Kekaha on Kaua‘i.²² In 1985, Pūnana Leo o Hilo (Hawai‘i) was established, followed by Pūnana Leo o Honolulu (O‘ahu) in 1986. In 1987, two immersion elementary schools opened with kindergarten and first grade students: Kula Kaiāpuni o Waiau (O‘ahu), and Kula

Kaiāpuni o Keaukaha (Hawai‘i).²³ Table 1.1 shows the total number of students, total number of native-speaking teachers, and total number of L2-speaking teachers in the first three Pūnana Leo schools in the years they opened:²⁴

Table 1.1:

School	Year	Total # Students	Total # Teachers	Total # NS Teachers	Total # L2 Teachers
Pūnana Leo o Kekaha	1984	7	6	6	0
Pūnana Leo o Hilo	1985	12	3	0	3
Pūnana Leo o Honolulu	1986	5	5	3	2

Since 1987, Hawaiian immersion K-12 schools have been established on all the major islands of Hawai‘i except Lāna‘i and Ni‘ihau. Table 1.2 shows the total number of schools, students, native-speaking teachers, and L2-speaking teachers in these immersion schools:²⁵

Table 1.2:

School Year	Total # of Schools	Total # Students	Total # Teachers	Total # NS Teachers	Total # L2 Teachers
2001-2002	21	1621	121	1	120

Table 1.3 shows the numbers of secondary English-medium public and private schools which offer Hawaiian as a second language, as well as the total number of teachers of Hawaiian, native-speaking teachers, and L2-speaking teachers combined:²⁶

Table 1.3:

School Year	Total # of Schools	Total # Teachers	Total # NS Teachers	Total # L2 Teachers
2001-2002	27	29	0	29

UH Mānoa has the longest history of offering courses in Hawaiian—the language was first taught there in 1921.²⁷ Today, UH Mānoa has the largest number of students enrolled in Hawaiian language, far surpassing all other tertiary campuses. Table 1.4 lists the number of students and teachers reported by the Department of Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures from 1990-2002:²⁸

Table 1.4:

Semester	# Students Enrolled	Total # Teachers	Total # NS Teachers	# L2-Speaking Teachers
Fall '90	434	14	0	14
Fall '93	671	20	0	20
Fall '96	997	27	0	27
Fall '99	840	21	0	21
Fall '02	718	19	1	18

In the Fall 1972 semester, one native-speaker taught a Hawaiian language course. By the 1980s, there were no native-speaking teachers. In 2002, UH Mānoa employed three native-speakers as mentors, not teachers, not teachers, positions they’ve provided since 1981.²⁹

As illustrated by the numbers shown in tables 1.1-1.4, academia is and has always been almost entirely the domain of L2-speakers. The tables also show that, ironically, between the time of the opening of the first Pūnana Leo in 1984 and 2002, the number of Hawaiian immersion school students increased but the number of native-speaking teachers decreased.³⁰

With the increase in the number of students enrolling in Hawaiian courses in the 1980s and 1990s came the need for more teachers of Hawaiian. Many L2 students of the tertiary schools responded to the need by applying for teaching positions in those schools. Likewise, with the increase in enrollment in Hawaiian courses in the secondary schools and in immersion schools, more tertiary-level L2 students became teachers at those schools.

Ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i Ku‘una a me ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i Hou (Traditional and Neo-Hawaiian Language)

Many students who earn degrees from tertiary school Hawaiian language programs become language teachers. As L2-speaking teachers, they teach Hawaiian according to their proficiency levels. Over the past twenty years that Hawaiian language immersion schools have existed, the perpetuation of L2 speech in the schools has created an institutionalized L2 form of Hawaiian that I call “Neo-Hawaiian” (NEO). In some respects, the NEO language movement is similar to the Neo Hawaiian Nationalism of the 1970s.

I believe that NEO language is an attempt by L2-learners to acquire the Traditional Hawaiian (TRAD) language of Native Hawaiian-speakers. Unlike NEO Nationalism, which is separated from the OHNM era by many years, the NEO language exists side by side with the TRAD language. TRAD is still spoken among the 1,000 or so native-speakers, while NEO burgeons and is concentrated in the non-Ni‘ihau community-based schools. NEO has developed certain characteristics of its own, just as NEO Nationalism has characteristics that are different from the OHNM movement.

NEO characteristics result from the fact that its speakers interact regularly with each other and not with TRAD-speakers. Thus, NEO-speakers reinforce each other’s proficiency in the language, and, as a community, they develop the characteristics of NEO speech. As Albert C. Baugh noted, “there is a general similarity in the speech of a given community at any particular time.”³¹ These characteristics differ from TRAD in many ways. The following table lists some of these differences:³²

Items 1 through 8 demonstrate a simplification of TRAD by NEO-speakers while items 9 through 17 demonstrate the general unfamiliarity NEO-speakers have of the TRAD spoken by today’s Native Hawaiian speakers. Interestingly, speakers of both NEO and TRAD often consider the differences in the language of the other incorrect or awkward.

It is important to note that as L2-speakers began learning Hawaiian in the 1970s, the target language was TRAD. However, as people continued studying the language, they developed NEO characteristics in an environment void of native TRAD speakers. As more obtained tertiary degrees and became teachers themselves, they perpetuated non-TRAD characteristics of speaking by teaching them to other L2-learners. While the development of NEO Hawaiian language was unintentional, the result has been a sharp increase in NEO speakers with a simultaneous decrease in native TRAD speakers who can influence the learning of L2-learners. Table 2 illustrates the result of the L2 acquisition process in relation to Hawaiian:

Table 2:

Traditional Hawaiian (TRAD)	Neo-Hawaiian (NEO)
1. A distinct accent that is relatively consistent among native-speakers.	1. An American or Hawai'i English ("local") accent.
2. Three prominent pronunciations for <i>w</i> . a. Labio-dental fricative [v] (English <i>v</i> ; lower lip and upper teeth touch); b. Bilabial glide [w] (made with both lips); c. Bilabial fricative [β], with slight labio-dental contact, depending on context (lower lip and upper teeth barely touch).	2. Consistent pronunciation of Hawaiian <i>w</i> as an English <i>v</i> sound.
3. Consistently clear and articulate pronunciation of vowel combinations and endings, e.g., a. <i>hoihoi</i> and <i>hoehoe</i> remain distinct.	3. Difficulty in distinguishing between final unstressed <i>-e</i> and <i>-i</i> , e.g., a. <i>hoihoi</i> and <i>hoehoe</i> both pronounced <i>hoyhoy</i>
4. No problem articulating long vowel sequences, e.g., a. <i>eia a'e</i> pronounced <i>eia'e</i> (all vowel sounds clearly articulated)	4. Difficulty with long sequence of vowels and with distinctive vowel length in general, e.g., a. <i>eia a'e</i> pronounced <i>ea'e</i> (the vowel sound <i>i</i> dropped)
5. The pronunciation of <i>a</i> follows the phonological rules of Hawaiian: it is raised before <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> , but not in other positions. Thus, phonetically, the <i>a</i> sounds in <i>maika'i</i> and <i>makemake</i> are different, e.g., a. <i>maika'i</i> (sometimes rendered as <i>meika'i/meike'i</i>) b. <i>makemake</i> ; <i>a</i> pronounced like <i>u</i> in the English word <i>up</i> .	5. <i>A</i> is not raised to <i>ɔ</i> before <i>i</i> and <i>u</i> . As a result, phonetically, the <i>a</i> sounds in <i>maika'i</i> and <i>makemake</i> are the same, e.g., a. <i>maika'i</i> ; both <i>a</i> sounds treated the same: commonly pronounced like <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> (Standard American English accent) b. <i>makemake</i> ; both <i>a</i> sounds pronounced like <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> (Standard American English accent).
6. Long vowels remain audibly and meaningfully distinct from diphthongs; words with <i>ō</i> vs. <i>ou</i> , <i>ē</i> vs. <i>ei</i> are kept distinct, eg. a. <i>penei</i> = <i>penei</i> b. <i>nō</i> = <i>nō</i> c. <i>lākou</i> = <i>lākou</i>	6. The distinction between long vowels and diphthongs is not maintained, eg. a. <i>penei</i> pronounced <i>peinei</i> b. <i>nō</i> pronounce <i>nou</i> c. <i>lākou</i> pronounced <i>lākō</i>
7. Eight ways to express past-tense and/or aspect. 8 Patterns: a. <i>Ua</i> (verb) b. <i>Ua</i> (verb) (<i>aku/mai</i> , etc.) c. <i>Ua</i> (verb) (<i>aku nei/mai nei</i> , etc.) d. <i>Ua</i> (verb) (<i>akula, maila</i> , etc.) e. (verb) f. (verb) (<i>aku/mai</i> , etc.) g. (verb) (<i>aku nei/mai nei</i> , etc.) h. (verb) (<i>akula/maila</i> , etc.)	7. Consistent use of <i>ua</i> (verb) (pattern a. in TRAD) in expressing past-tense in the active voice as opposed to using all eight ways of expressing past-tense and/or aspect interchangeably as is typical of native TRAD-speakers.
8. High value placed on spoken TRAD lexical usage that sometimes contradicts scholastic thought. High value placed on learning from fellow TRAD-speakers, especially family members. Thus, a. The word <i>maopopo</i> 'to know/to understand' is used both as a stative verb and a transitive verb, e.g., 1. <i>maopopo au</i> ("I know") 2. <i>maopopo ia'u</i> ("I know") b. The word <i>kāua</i> 'you and me/I' can be pronounced two ways: 1. With a glide between <i>ā</i> and <i>u</i> , or	8. High value placed on a limited, prescriptive set of grammatical structures and rules, as learned in the classroom and/or from grammar texts. High value placed on the training of instructors, e.g., a. The word <i>maopopo</i> 'to know/understand' can only be used as a stative verb, e.g., 1. <i>maopopo ia'u</i> ("I know") b. The word <i>kāua</i> 'you and me/I' has only one pronunciation (with a glide between <i>ā</i> and <i>u</i> with no glottal stop).

<p>2. With a glottal stop between <i>ā</i> and <i>u</i>.</p> <p>c. The word <i>u'i</i> 'beautiful/nice appearance' is used to describe both animate and inanimate objects.</p>	<p>c. The word <i>u'i</i> 'beautiful/nice appearance' can only be used to describe living things.</p>
<p>9. Usage of TRAD terms and expressions for various concepts, e.g. (newly invented terms not understood),</p> <p>a. various expressions for 'context' such as <i>mahele</i>, <i>manawa</i>, 'ano</p> <p>b. 'file' <i>pu'u pepa</i>, 'ope pepa, <i>waihona</i></p> <p>c. 'history' <i>mo'olelo</i></p> <p>d. various expressions for 'specific' such as <i>pololei</i></p> <p>e. 'sink' <i>kapu holoī (pā/lima)</i></p>	<p>9. High usage of terms recently invented by L2-speakers that are based on English concepts, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>pō'aiapili</i> 'context'</p> <p>b. <i>faila</i> 'file'</p> <p>c. <i>mō'aukala</i> 'history'</p> <p>d. <i>kiko'i</i> 'specific'</p> <p>e. <i>kinika</i> 'sink'</p>
<p>10. Clear unambiguous articulation of glottal stops and short and long vowels, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>Kepakemapa</i> 'September'</p> <p>b. <i>nīoi</i> 'chili pepper'</p> <p>c. <i>manawa</i> 'time'</p>	<p>10. Insertion or deletion of glottal stops or long vowels inconsistent with important aspects of native TRAD speech, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>Kepākemapa</i> 'September'</p> <p>b. <i>nī'oi</i>, <i>nī'oe</i>, or <i>nīoe</i> 'chili pepper'</p> <p>c. <i>manāva</i> 'time'</p>
<p>11. Expressions typical of TRAD-speakers:</p> <p>a. <i>Ōlelo</i> 'o (name)... = '(name) said ...'</p> <p>b. <i>E like me ka mea ma'amau</i> = 'As usual.'</p> <p>c. <i>ē?</i> or <i>ā?</i> = 'right?' (end of a question)</p>	<p>11. Consistently using TRAD expressions that are very seldom or never used by today's TRAD speakers, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>Vahi a ...</i> = 'According to ...'</p> <p>b. <i>E like me ka mau</i> = 'As usual.'</p> <p>c. <i>ēā?</i> = 'right?' (end of a question)</p>
<p>12. Other typical NEO expressions, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>ho'omaopopo</i> 'to remember' (<i>ho'omana'o</i> usually understood as 'to remember fondly/to honor')</p> <p>b. <i>kekahi</i> (noun) 'the other (noun)' (the NEO <i>ka</i> (noun) 'ē a'e is meaningless in this context)</p> <p>c. <i>kekahi</i> (noun) 'oko'a 'a different (noun)' (<i>kekahi</i> (noun) 'ē a'e/<i>kekahi</i> (noun) <i>hou a'e</i> understood as 'some other (noun)')</p> <p>d. <i>kuihikoho</i> 'to guess' (<i>wānana</i> 'to prophesy; to foretell')</p> <p>e. <i>ho'i mai</i> 'to come back' (<i>ho'i</i> 'to go home')</p>	<p>12. Using words in ways that are inconsistent with typical TRAD usage, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>ho'omana'o</i> 'to remember' (used consistently in every context as opposed to <i>ho'omaopopo</i>)</p> <p>b. <i>ka</i> (noun) 'ē a'e 'the other (noun)'</p> <p>c. <i>kekahi</i> (noun) 'ē a'e 'a different (noun)'</p> <p>d. <i>wānana</i> 'to guess'</p> <p>e. <i>ho'i</i> 'to come back'</p>
<p>13. Knowledge of expressions reinforced by interaction with other native-speakers.</p>	<p>13. Lack of knowledge of common expressions used by modern TRAD-speakers due to lack of interaction with them.</p>
<p>14. Although certain English words are sometimes used by TRAD-speakers in conversation, such as "and," "but," and "and then," the words "just" and "like" are never used.</p>	<p>14. Frequent use of the English words "just" and "like."</p>
<p>15. A deep TRAD vocabulary inventory with keen understanding of nuances.</p>	<p>15. A shallow inventory of TRAD vocabulary.</p>
<p>16. Tendencies toward using certain expressions and vocabulary based on interaction with many TRAD-speakers over the period of a lifetime. This gives rise to the usage of many expressions with a keen understanding of the many possible contexts and nuances for each. At the same time expressions that may have been common in the 19th century may no longer be used or known.</p>	<p>16. Preference for certain TRAD expressions heard once from one native TRAD-speaker (as opposed to numerous experiences interacting with many TRAD-speakers) or read in 19th century texts or Pukui and Elbert. Frequency of use by TRAD speakers, nuance, and context are not understood or known using this method of language acquisition.</p>
<p>17. In orthography, little or inconsistent use of the glottal stop</p>	<p>17. Reliance on the glottal stop (represented as a single open</p>

<p>(represented by either an apostrophe or a single open quote mark) and no macron. A hyphen is sometimes used to indicate that the vowel at the end of certain syllables is a long vowel, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>a-i</i> (hyphen used to indicate that both the <i>a</i> and <i>i</i> are long vowels with a glottal stop between them)</p> <p>b. <i>noonoo</i> or <i>noo-noo</i> (sometimes hyphens used simply to separate syllables in a word.)</p> <p>c. <i>haawii'a 'ku la</i> (the passive marker <i>ia</i> is often written as a suffix of the base-word. The directional <i>aku</i> is often spelled with an apostrophe replacing the <i>a</i> to indicate that the <i>a</i> at the end of the previous word <i>ia</i> and the <i>a</i> in <i>aku</i> are pronounced as if they are one <i>a</i> with no break between them; <i>la</i> is written as a separate word).</p>	<p>quote mark) and macron (a dash over a long vowel) diacriticals, which help L2-learners in pronouncing, reading, and writing Hawaiian, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>'ā'ī 'neck'</i></p> <p>b. <i>no'ono'o 'to think/ponder'</i></p> <p>c. <i>hā'awi 'ia akula 'it was given'</i></p> <p>Furthermore, an insistence that proficient speakers of Hawaiian (TRAD or NEO) use diacritical marks consistently whether needed or not to facilitate pronunciation.</p>
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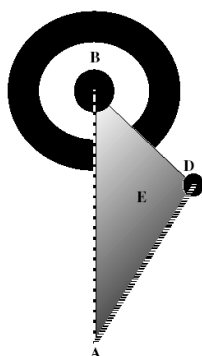


Table 3 is a diagram depicting TRAD as the target language of the L2-learner. Due to the absence of TRAD speakers for reinforcement in the learning process, however, L2-speakers developed NEO as an unintentional consequence.

A = the point at which an L2-learner begins learning the language.

B = the target language (TRAD). The center of the bull's-eye theoretically represents the highest level of expertise in the language.

D = the resulting language and/or dialect which is common in the NEO-speaking community.

E = the range of expertise in or familiarity with Hawaiian (NEO or TRAD) among L2-learners.

One of the primary sources for learning Hawaiian today is printed texts. L2-learners have had to rely on the vast literature from the 19th and early 20th centuries written by native TRAD speakers. However, while written language is important in human communication, it lacks many aspects crucial to the conveyance of language. This point is illustrated by the study of Hawaiian as an L2. Hawaiian texts authored by native TRAD-speakers do not allow the reader to hear the enunciation of words. In the absence of this aural/oral component, L2-learners cannot get from printed texts the

spoken accents, emphases, or stresses of spoken language. Furthermore, one cannot see the vital non-verbal aspects of the language such as facial expressions and body gestures of the writer(s).³³ TRAD as written by its speakers (e.g., as in 19th-century Hawaiian material) gives learners clues as to the mentality behind language usage. However, without these speakers, learners are left to conjecture the intended meanings and nuances that exist in printed Hawaiian, and thus hazard guesses as to the cultural reasoning behind the wording of certain expressions.

To help bridge the gap between English and Hawaiian thought processes, instructors of Hawaiian often use audio recordings of native TRAD-speakers. In tertiary-level courses, the recordings are used as part of the curriculum to derive content and sometimes as a model to help students mimic voice inflections and accents. Tertiary schools such as UH Mānoa and UH Hilo have Hawaiian courses based on comprehension and transcription exercises from audio recordings of native TRAD-speakers. These courses aim to help students learn TRAD tendencies in speech and thought processes.³⁴ A significant disadvantage to the audio recording, however, is that it is a "one-way" process with no true interaction or communication occurring.

Thus, NEO-speakers create their own community, speech habits, and rules. One example is the invention by NEO-speakers of new terms. For example, in English, one might say a little furry puppy or a baby girl is "cute." Depending on how delighted one might be with the appealing appearance, one might say the word with a high pitch as uttered in excitement. NEO-speakers have invented the word *kiuke*, a supposed Hawaiianized form of the English "cute." *Kiuke* is sometimes

uttered with the high pitch and lengthened syllable as if said in English, and often used in every context in which “cute” is used. Native TRAD-speakers, on the other hand, use different expressions to express how delighted they are with the “cute” appearance of something. It is likely that a TRAD reaction to the furry puppy scenario would be, “*Auē nō ho‘i ka u‘i o kēia wahi ‘īlio keiki!*” (approximate translation: ‘What a cute little puppy!’). Reaction to the little girl scenario would be, “*Auē, aloha nō ho‘i kēia wahi keiki!*” (approximate translation: “Oh, how lovely this little child!”). It is likely that a reaction to other scenarios would be similar, and, for each scenario, the Hawaiian voice inflection is not like English. Only through long-term interaction with native TRAD speakers will an L2-speaker recognize the appropriate voice inflection and enunciation. Moreover, as with any language, Hawaiian has its own particular expressions. For example, extending the example from above, while it is typical in modern American English to say that a baby is “so cute,” in TRAD, for cultural reasons, it is more appropriate to say the baby is *pupuka* (‘ugly’). My grandmother explained that in Hawaiian tradition, it is believed that if you say a baby is beautiful in appearance, as much as it truly may be the case, an unwelcome hearer, human or spirit, might become jealous of the baby’s good fortune and wish to do it harm.³⁵

I have asked some NEO-speaking colleagues at UH Hilo and UH Mānoa why *kiuke* has become so popular. Some have responded that L2-speakers often do not know how else to express the appropriate thought in TRAD. Others have responded that they feel that TRAD expressions such as those mentioned above do not capture their idea of cuteness.³⁶ Native TRAD-speakers, however, have never heard the word *kiuke* unless they come in contact with NEO-speakers. Many examples similar to *kiuke* exist among NEO-speakers. One UH Mānoa student of Hawaiian, learning that native TRAD-speakers use the word *maopopo* ‘to know/to understand’ as a transitive verb as well as a stative verb, commented that she could never use the word as a transitive verb because she was taught by her Hawaiian language instructor that the word could only be written and spoken as a stative verb, and that she was afraid to go against the teaching of her instructor. This demonstrates the English paradigm of NEO-speakers as well as the reinforcement of the paradigm by forming a community of like-minded individuals.

Despite the differences between TRAD and NEO, many English-only, L2- or NEO-speaking Hawaiians feel that some ability to speak either TRAD or NEO at any proficiency level

is better than no ability. Therefore, they sometimes excuse the differences between NEO and TRAD as inconsequential.

Ka Hana o ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i Hou (The Implications of Neo-Hawaiian)

The following responses were given by L2-speaking colleagues in Hawaiian immersion and L2 instruction relating to the questions, Should all those who are able to speak some Hawaiian be included in one category of “Hawaiian-speaker,” TRAD or not?; and, Should a real distinction be made between native TRAD and L2-speakers?:

1. All languages evolve; therefore, the language that is spoken and passed on by L2-speakers is still Hawaiian despite the distinguishing characteristics between TRAD and L2-speakers.
2. There are not enough TRAD-speakers to convey TRAD-like speech, but Hawaiian language courses utilize 19th and early 20th century Hawaiian texts as well as audio recordings of TRAD-speakers; therefore, the language of L2-speakers is as genuine as that of TRAD-speakers.
3. The time of the native TRAD-speaker has passed and L2 speech is all that is left; but there is no question that the language is still Hawaiian.

These responses suggest that the Hawaiian language is on a continuum between past and future. The assumptions behind each response, however, invite consideration:

All languages evolve. Language evolution is a natural process among native-speakers. American English has evolved over the past 100 years, for example, to the point where many common expressions of the past are not well-understood today or are simply considered so archaic that no native-speaker of American English uses them. New terms and expressions—many taken from other languages—have emerged over time such that they have become collectively accepted into everyday speech.³⁷ Likewise, Hawaiian has evolved among its native TRAD-speakers over the past 100 years. The best example of Hawaiian language evolution is found among the Ni‘ihau speakers of Hawaiian.

Ni‘ihau speakers primarily live on Ni‘ihau and west Kaua‘i. The Ni‘ihau speaking community can be looked at as one where Hawaiian has thrived. New expressions and terms are created continuously among the community and old ones are

no longer used. Some NEO-speakers, however, deride some modern TRAD expressions that may have come about by calquing other languages.³⁸ It is common to hear native Ni‘ihau-speakers say such things as *lawe i ka papa* (‘to take a class’), a possible calque from English, as opposed to *hana/komo/noho ma ka papa* (‘do/participate/sit in a class’) or *lawe i ke ala* (‘to take the path’) as opposed to *hele/holo/huli ma ke ala* (‘go/travel/turn on the path’). Such usage is often ridiculed by NEO-speakers as being too English despite the fact that examples of *lawe* being used in this manner appear in Pukui and Elbert as well as in many nineteenth and early twentieth century Hawaiian texts. Ironically, many NEO-speakers do not acknowledge that NEO is probably, structurally based on English as much as on Hawaiian (taking into consideration world-view, accent, English-influenced word choice, etc.). Debates like this also demonstrate an unfamiliarity of NEO-speakers with modern TRAD or an unwillingness to accept that TRAD has evolved.

For L2-learners, as they begin learning Hawaiian and increase in proficiency, they interact predominantly with other L2-speakers and create a NEO language. As this is not an example of language evolution, research must be done to determine if NEO is a dialect of TRAD, or a separate language altogether.

Text and school-based learning. The classroom is like a laboratory or an operating room, a sterile environment where language is dissected and picked at with surgical precision so as to be able to examine its individual parts. Hawaiian grammar texts are used like anatomy text books that name and analyze each individual part of a sentence and describe how the parts are put together.

As a grammar is only a partial description of a living language, Hawaiian grammar does not necessarily reflect the language spoken by TRAD-speakers. In 1854, Lorrin Andrews acknowledged that grammars were derived from the writings and utterances of native-speakers, thus it was always best to defer to the authority of the native-speakers.³⁹ For example, while most native-speakers of English do not know the technical terms for the parts of a sentence, they are instinctively aware that certain ways of speaking are appropriate for certain situations. Furthermore, there is a difference between written and spoken English: one would not carry on a conversation using language that one would use to write a report, and vice-versa. English structure and language-appropriateness are regulated by a consensus among native-speakers of English.⁴⁰ Hawaiian is no less sophisticated.

Regular interaction with TRAD-speakers is necessary to distinguish differences between written and spoken Hawaiian. If Hawaiian language teachers have not acquired TRAD-like proficiency, or if they insist that students speak like the 19th century literature they read, the language they are instilling in their students is not TRAD, but NEO, because the resulting L2 language will be markedly different from that of modern TRAD speakers.

Native-speakers have passed on and second-language speakers now determine the nature of Hawaiian. First, not all native TRAD-speakers have passed on. Seeking one out to learn their manner of speech is a responsibility of the learner. But to say it is no longer possible to learn the speech of the TRAD-speaker is not true. Although difficult, it is possible.

Second, this defeatist argument reflects frustration and futility in trying to acquire the speech of TRAD-speakers. This sense of hopelessness advocates for the creation of a new language based on the inventions of L2-speakers. If we accept this argument, then the question “What is Hawaiian?” becomes crucial. If we are admitting that the speech of native TRAD-speakers is unknowable and different from the speech of NEO-speakers, then we are admitting that two different languages exist, or at least, two different forms of the same language. In either case, a distinction between the two is being made.

Nā Hō‘ailona e Ka‘awale ai (Distinguishing Characteristics)

Both Matsubara and Kahumoku have written about the history of the Hawaiian language, tracing the decline in the language through the emergence of a language “revitalization movement.” In general, both authors discuss the Hawaiian language issue as a movement from decline to reemergence.⁴¹ In Table 4, I illustrate the trend:

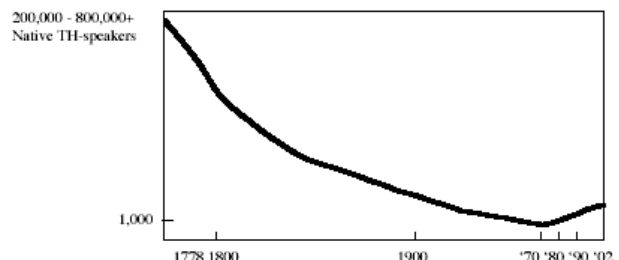
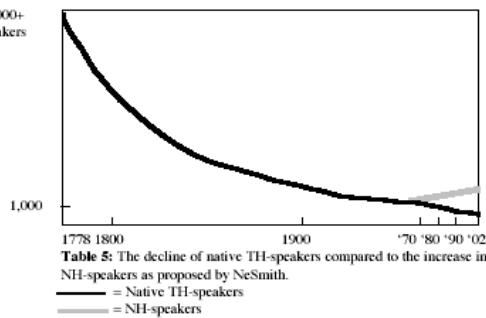


Table 4: The pattern of “decline and reemergence” of Hawaiian as proposed by Matsubara and Kahumoku.

Kahumoku describes some problematic issues in the period of revitalization such as the struggle with the political system to adopt policies that support Hawaiian language acquisition initiatives and financial support in operating such initiatives. However, he discusses the decline and reemergence as activities happening to the same language.⁴² What I propose is that while TRAD has experienced a decline (as explained by both Matsubara and Kahumoku), this decline has continued unabated with the Ni‘ihau community becoming the last surviving keepers of that language. While NEO-speakers have been steadily increasing in number since the 1970s, the Ni‘ihau community have continued to perpetuate TRAD. My research suggests that currently the number of TRAD speakers is less than one thousand, while the number of NEO speakers has already surpassed that. This demonstrates that the influence of NEO-speakers has increased, while that of the TRAD-speakers has decreased significantly.



Ma ke Pani ‘ana (Conclusion)

As of 2002, there are fewer than 1,000 remaining native-speakers of TRAD. Access by L2-learners to native TRAD-speakers continues to be difficult, thus exacerbating the problem of TRAD-like speech acquisition by L2-learners. As a result, TRAD has become a hypothetical language to most NEO-speakers. This has led to the development of NEO which has, in turn, created new challenges.

A gap exists between TRAD and NEO spheres of influence, widened by the efforts of the NEO sphere to maintain itself. Those involved in the act of language maintenance feel the need to coin new terminologies, like *mānaleo*. In 1987-1988, the Lexicon Committee (Kōmike Hua‘ōlelo or Kōmike Lekikona) was formed for the purpose of creating new Hawaiian vocabulary.⁴³ The original members of the committee consisted of seven native TRAD-speakers and four NEO-speakers. Between 1999 and 2003, the committee consisted of six L2-speakers and one native-speaker, but between 1988 and 1999, the years of greatest productivity to date, the committee consisted entirely of L2-speakers.⁴⁴ The

committee publishes *Māmaka Kaiao*, a dictionary of new terms it produces.⁴⁵ The editor explains, “As Hawaiian gains strength through use in Pūnana Leo and Hawaiian immersion schools, as well as in Hawaiian language classes held at high schools, universities, community colleges, and elsewhere, the need for new words applicable to modern contexts increases.”⁴⁶ Since these venues consist almost entirely of NEO-speakers and L2-learners, it appears the lexicon produced by the NEO-speaking Lexicon Committee are meant for use by NEO-speakers. Further research is needed to determine to what extent the committee’s lexicon is used by TRAD speakers.

Based on the differences that exist in speech between TRAD and NEO as well as the efforts of the Lexicon Committee to create new terminologies for L2-speakers, it may be possible to determine whether NEO is, in fact, an invented dialect of TRAD or an invented language. Linguist, Dr. Victoria Anderson explains that the linguistic determinant in clarifying whether a language is a dialect or a distinct language is mutual intelligibility.⁴⁷ Tables 2 and 3 describe differences between TRAD and NEO that demonstrate that mutual intelligibility between these language communities is limited. At least some determinants are evident that indicate that TRAD and NEO are, at least, two distinct dialects.

The very nature of NEO is one of distinction from both TRAD and the dominant foreign language of Hawai‘i. As demonstrated by the invention by NEO-speakers of new terminologies which disregard previously existing TRAD concepts of expression (e.g., expressions related to beauty) and the authority of native TRAD-speakers in language maintenance and epistemology, NEO-speakers form a sphere of influence that often finds itself at odds with the TRAD sphere for dominance and recognition as much as it does with the de facto political system of Hawai‘i to support Hawaiian language acquisition initiatives such as the Hawaiian immersion school concept.

In order to preserve the integrity of TRAD, native TRAD-speakers must fill the roles of teachers and mentors of the language. The native TRAD-speakers must be involved with formulating the system of language conveyance including language planning and maintenance as well as curriculum development in schools. Currently, TRAD-speakers do not participate in the planning, administering, and implementation of the Hawaiian language acquisition movement in the schools throughout Hawai‘i. In the Ni‘ihau community, two of its three schools, Ni‘ihau School (on Ni‘ihau) and Kula Aupuni

Ni‘ihau A Kahalelani Aloha (on Kaua‘i), remain separate from the L2-based sphere of influence and therefore, they have little or no opportunities to influence the language acquisition processes of L2-learners outside their community. As long as this separation of spheres continues, there always will be a distinctive difference between the language of TRAD and NEO-speakers. If native TRAD-speakers should become extinct, the NEO language will become the only form of Hawaiian in existence.⁴⁸

If a sufficient need is felt among Hawaiians to preserve the TRAD language, this effort must involve tapping into the last remaining community of native TRAD speakers—the Ni‘ihau community. This would mean a great movement of Ni‘ihau people to the rest of the islands of Hawai‘i, and that the Ni‘ihau dialect would likely become the prevailing dialect of Hawaiian, but at least this would be a traditional dialect. Perhaps over-ambitious and unrealistic, but if this move can be implemented and based on Kaua‘i until well-established, it then can be expanded to the other islands at a later date.

Efforts by Hawaiians to maintain a separate identity in the 21st century vis-à-vis the occupying American political system are acts of resistance. As Dr. Linda Tuhiwai Smith explains, “In the process of global changes indigenous peoples are socially interested activists rather than passive bystanders. Perhaps it is this positioning that offers greater possibility for the survival of indigenous peoples.”⁴⁹ The creation of NEO Nationalism and language succeeds in helping to define the Hawaiian identity as one that is distinct from that of the foreign occupier. Native Hawaiian Nationalism and Language help Hawaiians in their affirmation that they have not completely assimilated into American society, and will continue to resist complete assimilation as they learn either TRAD or NEO. The question of NEO versus TRAD language is a matter for Hawaiians to define and debate but whether Hawaiians acquire NEO, TRAD, or a mixed form of both proves that they maintain their distinct identity as one people. Jonathan Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio expressed hope that political and cultural activism of Hawaiians demonstrates “a consistent and determined struggle by Native Hawaiians to maintain, for better or worse, their kinship with each other.”⁵⁰

It is sad, however, to think that TRAD may become extinct; for the most part, it is already non-existent in most areas throughout Hawai‘i. This will undoubtedly lead to more pronounced differences between TRAD and NEO in the future.

He Mo‘olelo (A Story)

I am sitting in a faculty meeting with fellow teachers of Hawaiian. The meeting is conducted in Hawaiian. We are being asked by our program director to provide input on a possible major change at our university that may affect the future of our Hawaiian language program. With an American English accent, one instructor offers some input. Another instructor asks a long question, with a rise of voice at the end, exactly as one asks a question in English. Some of the words being used seem inappropriate and out of context to me, not the kind of words TRAD-speakers might use, at least according to my experience of interacting with them. It is difficult to listen to, so I let my mind wander.

I am back in time at the home of my grandmother when I was living with her. I am in the kitchen washing dishes while she is cooking dinner on the stove right next to me. We are having a conversation in Hawaiian as usual—no special subject, just the things of the day. I step over to put one of the dishes in the cupboard on the other side of the stove. As I turn, my grandmother turns toward me, reaches around me, and gives me a big hug, holding me tight. I hug her back. A petite woman, she buries her head in my chest, and tells me, “*I kou māmā mā nō e li‘ili‘i ana, ua mana‘o aku au ‘a‘ale meike‘i ke a‘o ‘ia lākou i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Auē, nui loa nō ko‘u mihi.*” (‘When your mother and her brothers and sisters were children, I thought it wasn’t good to teach them to speak Hawaiian. I am so sorry’). Ke aloha nō, Tūtū.

*Auaia e Kama e kana olelo,
O ka olelo a Kama e ua auaia,
O ke kama, ke kama o ka huliau,
O ke kama, ke kama o ke kahuli,
E huli e Opio i kau olelo kumu,
I loa mai ai kau olelo hou,
I malihini ai ke kamaaina,
I kamaaina ole ai ke kupa
I kona heahea ana mai.
E malamalama ko hapapa hele
I ke ala kupouli,
He alahula o ke au hou e holo nei,
E neepapa nei me ka haawe pu
I ka ope ike ole ia,
Kau i ke kua,
Kaomi i ka houpou,
Hukihukia ka maawe o ka manawa.
E ala, e ala loa e,
E makaala i kou kulana,
Ua ku kaokoa e,
E loa e, e loa e,
E lele wale ae la, ua noa a. Ae.*

¹ A native-speaker of Hawaiian is someone whose primary language is Hawaiian.

² The Ni‘ihau community consists of people who are native-speakers of the Ni‘ihau dialect of Hawaiian. Traditionally from Ni‘ihau, today this community extends to Kaua‘i and beyond.

³ See S. Mānaiakalani Kamakau, *Ke Kumu Aupuni, ka mo‘olelo Hawai‘i no Kamehameha, ka na‘i aupuni a me kāna aupuni i ho‘okumu ai* (Honolulu: 1868); T. Dye, “Population Trends in Hawai‘i Before 1778.” *Hawaiian Journal of History* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1994); D. Stannard, *Before the Horror: Population of Hawaii on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: Social Sciences Research Institute, University of Hawai‘i, 1989).

⁴ See H. Chapin, *Guide to Newspapers of Hawai‘i 1834-2000* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 2000).

⁵ The invasion by US forces of the Hawaiian Kingdom violated treaties between the governments of the U.S.A. and the Kingdom recognizing mutual sovereignty. See W. Kahumoku III, “The Dynamics of Cultural Politics and Language Policy in Public Education: The Case of Native Hawaiians” (Honolulu: Unpublished dissertation in Education, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2000); K. Matsubara, *Indigenous Languages Revitalized?: The Decline and Revitalization of Indigenous Languages Juxtaposed With the Predominance of English* (Tokyo, Japan: Shumpūsha, 2000).

⁶ See N. Silva, “Ke Kū‘ē Kūpa‘a Loa nei Mākou: Kanaka Maoli Resistance to Colonization” (Unpublished dissertation in Political Science, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 1999); see also www.hawaiiankingdom.org.

⁷ See W. Kahumoku, 2000.

⁸ *ibid.*

⁹ See Office of Hawaiian Affairs, *Native Hawaiian Data Book* (Honolulu: Office of Hawaiian Affairs Planning and Research Office, 1998) and M. Benham and R. Heck, *Culture and Educational Policy in Hawai‘i: The Silencing of Native Voices* (Mahwah, NJ: L. Erlbaum Associates, 1994.)

¹⁰ See S. Nakoa, *Lei Momi o ‘Ewa* (Honolulu: Ke Kumu Lama, 1993), and M. Pukui, E. Haertig, and C. Lee, *Nānā i ke Kumu—volumes 1 and 2* (Honolulu: Hui Hānai, 1972.)

¹¹ See H. Trask, *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai‘i* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1993) and D. McGregor-Alegado, “Hawaiians: Organizing in the 1970s.” *Amerasia*, vol. 7, no. 2. (Los Angeles: UCLA Asian American Studies Center, 1980).

¹² See W. Kahumoku, 2000.

¹³ See L. Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires—Pehea Lā e Pono ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992).

¹⁴ See W. Kahumoku, 2000.

¹⁵ See L. Kame‘eleihiwa, 1992.

¹⁶ Black’s Law Dictionary, 4th edition. Internal Sovereignty (national) is described as being inherent in the people as a republic or in its ruler as a monarch. External Sovereignty (international) is described as the independence of one political society in respect to all other political societies and is achieved through explicit recognition from other independent states. The Hawaiian Kingdom has treaties with 17 other independent nations, including the U.S.A., which remain intact.

¹⁷ Some differences between the two dialects are: Ni‘ihau speakers use *k* and *t* sounds interchangeably, whereas Kaua‘i speakers use only *k*: the Ni‘ihau dialect uses the rolling *r* sound, like in Tahitian or Māori, and the *l* sound interchangeably, whereas the Kaua‘i dialect uses only the *l* sound.

¹⁸ See M. Pukui and S. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary, revised edition* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986).

¹⁹ *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* can be translated as *The Hawaiian Language* or *The Hawaiian Voice*. Matsubara, 2000.

²⁰ Personal interview with Puakea Nogelmeier, host of *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* (Honolulu: KCCN radio station, 2003).

²¹ See W. Wilson and K. Kamanā, “Mai Loko Mai o ka ‘I‘ini: Proceeding from a Dream, The ‘Aha Pūnana Leo Connection in Hawaiian Language Revitalization.” *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice* (San Diego: Academic Press, 2001).

²² According to Wilson and Kamanā, the Pūnana Leo concept was modeled after the New Zealand Māori immersion preschools called *Kōhanga Reo*. Both the Hawaiian and Māori names can be interpreted in English as “language nest.”

²³ Personal interview with Puanani Wilhelm, Director, Hawaiian Studies and Language Programs. (Honolulu: State of Hawai‘i Department of Education, 2002). *Kaiāpuni* is a term recently invented by L2-speakers to mean ‘environment.’ *Kula Kaiāpuni*, then, is ‘Environment School.’ See L. Kimura, et. al. *Māmaka Kaiāo* (Hilo: Hale Kuamo‘o, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani, 1998).

²⁴ Personal interview with staff of each Pūnana Leo campus, 2003.

²⁵ Personal interview with Wilhelm, 2002.

²⁶ Personal interview with Wilhelm, 2002.

²⁷ See A. Schütz, *The Voices of Eden—A History of Hawaiian Language Studies* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1994).

²⁸ Personal interview with staff of the Department of Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2003.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ In 2001-2002, there was only one native-speaking teacher among all the K-12 immersion schools, no native-speaking teachers in the English medium secondary schools, and only one among the tertiary schools combined.

³¹ A. Baugh, *A History of the English Language, second edition*. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

³² These examples of NEO and TRAD speech habits must be heard as they are spoken, and some knowledge of Hawaiian is required in order for the differences to be fully appreciated. The representations of NEO and TRAD speech as contained in the following list are an attempt to convey some aural and other differences between the two.

³³ Hopkins (Anthony) describes many aspects of Hawaiian nonverbal communication. See A. Hopkins, *Hawaiian Nonverbal Communication: Two Classroom Applications* (Honolulu: s.n., 1979).

³⁴ Personal interview with Laiana Wong, Hawaiian language instructor. Department of Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2002.

³⁵ See Pukui and Elbert, 1986.

³⁶ Personal interview with Hawaiian language faculty at UH Hilo and UH Mānoa, 2002.

³⁷ For a discussion on how American English has shifted or “evolved” over time, see S. Pinker, *The Language Instinct* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1994), and A. Baugh, 1963.

³⁸ *Calque* is defined as the translating of words and phrases directly from other languages. See D. Crystal, *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997).

³⁹ See L. Andrews, *Grammar of the Hawaiian Language* (Honolulu: Mission Press, 1854).

⁴⁰ See S. Pinker, 1994.

⁴¹ See Matsubara, 2000; W. Kahumoku, 2000.

⁴² See W. Kahumoku, 2000.

⁴³ W. Wilson and K. Kamanā, “Mai Loko Mai o ka ‘I‘ini: Proceeding from a Dream, The ‘Aha Pūnana Leo Connection in Hawaiian Language Revitalization,” 2001; I served as a member of this committee from 1993-1999.

⁴⁴ See L. Kimura, et. al. 1998; the Lexicon Committee sometimes consults with native-speakers.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*

⁴⁶ *ibid.*

⁴⁷ Personal interview with Dr. Victoria Anderson, Professor of Linguistics, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2002.

⁴⁸ The third school, Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha (on Kaua‘i), is directed by Ka Haku ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani (Hawaiian Studies Center) at UH Hilo, and supported by ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, thus faculty and students of that school learn NEO terminologies and concepts as part of school curricula.

⁴⁹ L. Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999). Although the plight of Hawaiians resembles that of indigenous peoples in many ways, based on the definition of “indigenous” explained by S. J. Anaya, Hawaiians are, in fact, citizens of a nation that is currently occupied by a belligerent foreign invader, rather than an indigenous people (e.g., Native Americans or New Zealand Māori). See S. J. Anaya, *Indigenous Peoples in International Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).

⁵⁰ J. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui—A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002).