

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

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Abstract:

(Purpose) The purpose of this study was to examine some of the common elements of the Hawaiian language in the speech of second-language learners and native speakers. (Methodology) A narrative provides the context in which the Hawaiian language and worldview of second-language speakers and that of native Hawaiian speakers is shown. Particular differing notions about Hawaiian language between the second-language speaking community and the native-speaking community are discussed. (Results) There likely are fewer than one thousand native speakers of Hawaiian left. Second-language speakers of Hawaiian currently outnumber native Hawaiian speakers by perhaps two thousand or more. For the most part, the two language communities do not interact, which contributes to different language styles between the two groups. Furthermore, native speakers play little or no part in the second-language acquisition of learners. The principal domains for learning Hawaiian today are the primary, secondary, and university classrooms, where over 99% of teachers are second-language speakers who are products of the schools themselves. (Conclusions) Being largely unfamiliar with native-like usage of Hawaiian, these teachers pass on their brand of Hawaiian to learners, creating what may be considered a new dialect of Hawaiian, termed Neo Hawaiian in this paper. (Recommendations) Hawaiian speakers and learners need to be informed about the shift from language development driven by native speakers to that driven by second-language speakers. Hawaiian speakers need to be aware of the history that led to the present situation and how to come to terms with the shift the language is undergoing in order to understand and appreciate its form(s) in the present and future. (Additional data) Contains 8 tables.

¹Tūtū's Hawaiian and the Emergence of a Neo Hawaiian Language

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Ua kipona 'ia ku'u na'au i ke aloha 'i'o no ku'u Akua, ku'u lāhui, ku'u 'āina, ku'u mau kūpuna, ku'u mau mākua, ku'u mau hoahānau, a me ku'u mau hoaloha. Ke pāhola maila kēia mana'o haili aloha nāna e kīhe'ahe'a nei i ku'u manawa ia'u e 'ālana nei i kēia wahi pū'olo mana'o iā 'oe, e ka mea heluhelu. Ke aloha o ke Akua ma waena o kāua.

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 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 speakers² 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.³ 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 is a native speaker; 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?" The term used for art is *pāheona*, a recent invention of the Lexicon Committee that is unfamiliar to native speakers.⁴ 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. This notion reflects the traditional term *hana no'eau*, which, for generations, has been used to represent traditional as well as western concepts of art.⁵ 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.

¹ *Tūtū* is a Traditional Hawaiian term which can be interpreted in English as Grandma, Grandpa or 'elderly person'.

² A native speaker of Hawaiian is someone whose first language is Hawaiian, having learned the language at home from other native speakers.

³ 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.

⁴ Kimura et al. 2003. The etymology of *pāheona* is not explained.

⁵ Pukui and Elbert 1986. *Hana no'eau* can be interpreted as 'skillful act', emphasizing the action rather than the product.

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.⁶ Despite Act 57, which mandated English as the official language of instruction in all schools, Hawaiian continued to be commonly spoken until about the time of 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 closing of the last Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii*, in 1948.⁷ 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 as they die, the numbers are steadily decreasing.⁸

In this essay, I propose 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 at schools that 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 propose that NEO speakers are changing the way the Hawaiian language (and by extension, Hawaiian cultural values) is understood, expressed, and embodied. This change is transforming Hawaiian identity.

Background

In 1843, the Hawaiian Kingdom became a sovereign state with recognition from seventeen countries, including the United States, by treaties. In 1893 a coup occurred in which the Hawaiian Kingdom government was deposed by a band of white Honolulu businessmen backed by U.S. marines. With no treaty of cession having been created between the two governments legally merging the two sovereign nations into one, the U.S. began its military occupation of the Kingdom, a situation which continues today. Since 1893, Hawai‘i’s political environment has been hostile towards Hawaiian nationals by imposing foreign rule. In 1896, the rebel government, comprising the conspirators of the coup, enacted into law Act 57, which made English the “medium and basis

of instruction in all public and private schools.”⁹ Although petitions were submitted after the passing of the act by some schools to reinstate Hawaiian-medium education, they were summarily rejected (although Japanese and Chinese language schools were allowed).¹⁰ Act 57 exacerbated the decline in Hawaiian language usage by making it impossible for Hawaiian language education to exist.¹¹ With massive immigration to the Hawaiian Islands from the U.S. in extension of its illegal occupation, aboriginal Hawaiians made up only 15% of the total population of Hawai‘i in 1940; native Hawaiian speakers made up only a fraction of that percentage.¹²

My mother was born a few years before Japan’s bombing of American military installations at Pu‘uloa (commonly known as Pearl Harbor) and Kāne‘ohe in 1941. Her generation experienced a strongly negative stigma to being Hawaiian, a label that 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 or even hit by teachers in front of peers for speaking Hawaiian, or for not speaking “proper” American English.¹³

Because of these humiliating childhood experiences, my maternal 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, those of my mother’s generation, for the most part, do not know the 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 was almost completely wiped out by the mid-

⁹ Silva 2004; see also www.hawaiiankingdom.org (last access, March 1, 2009).

¹⁰ Kahumoku 2000; Reinecke 1988.

¹¹ Act 57, Sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai‘i: “The English Language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this section shall not be recognized by the Department.” [signed] June 8, 1896, Sanford B. Dole, President of the Republic of Hawai‘i.

¹² Office of Hawaiian Affairs 1998; Benham and Heck 1994.

¹³ Nakoa 1993; Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 1972.

twentieth century, it was often categorized as a dying language. But with the revitalization of *aloha ʻāina*, or the rekindling of a Hawaiian national identity in the mid to late 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 Hawaiian once again be a thriving language?”

Ke Aloha ʻĀina (Hawaiian National Identity)

Over the past thirty years, the growing numbers of aboriginal Hawaiians studying the native language has helped to awaken the current generation’s interest in Hawaiian language, culture, and history. This drive has coincided with the political activism of Hawaiians in the 1970s. Trask and McGregor-Alegado report that initial political activism began in 1970 with the protests against the evictions of Hawaiian families from Kalama Valley, Oʻahu.¹⁴ Since that time, the University of Hawaiʻi 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 their language and culture are as much political as they are cultural.

As Kahumoku explains in his dissertation on the subject, it was not until the 1970s that a new sense of pride and activism emerged among Hawaiians.¹⁵ I refer to this time of Hawaiian political and cultural activism, which extends to the present, as the period of “Neo Hawaiian National Identity” (NEONI). This period of political and cultural re-awakening for Hawaiians is manifested in the increasing interest in and awareness of the importance of Hawaiian language, culture, history, and national identity. 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 National Identity” (OHNI), which began in 1840 when the Hawaiian Kingdom 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 the time of World War II—a period of about one hundred years.¹⁶

A general sense of hopelessness and loss was felt by Hawaiian nationals in the years following 1893, which was manifested throughout the most of the twentieth century by the decline of the number of Hawaiian speakers and the abandonment of many Hawaiian cultural practices. This despair, coupled with the psychological effects of World War II in the 1940s and the promulgation of American propaganda, is also reflected in the sharp increase in the number of aboriginal Hawaiians who

dropped out of school, all of which, by this time, were English-language based.¹⁷

The following are some parallels between OHNI and NEONI. 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 Māhele of 1848.
4. A concern for the native language.

Likewise, certain differences may be drawn between the eras of OHNI and NEONI identity:

Period of Original Hawaiian National Identity (OHNI)

1. Aboriginal Hawaiians have contact with fellow natives who are raised knowing their traditions and language.¹⁸
2. Hawaiian nationals are contemporaries of the *aliʻi* (royal families) of the Kingdom. Internal and external sovereignty of the nation is understood by the citizenry to be a matter of fact.¹⁹
3. Most land is in Hawaiian control (until 1893).²⁰
4. Aboriginal Hawaiians are native speakers, but are beginning to shift toward a preference for English (by 1896).

Period of Neo National Identity (NEONI)

1. Aboriginal Hawaiians have little or no contact with fellow natives who were raised knowing their traditions and language.
2. Hawaiians live almost 100 years after the passing of the Kingdom’s last reigning monarch. Students in public or private schools are not taught about the continuing internal and external sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom. As a result, people today have a

¹⁷ Kahumoku 2000.

¹⁸ According to the Hawaiian Kingdom Civil Code on Citizenship and Naturalization of Foreigners, subjects consist of aboriginal Hawaiians and naturalized foreign-born individuals. Therefore, a distinction is made in this report between aboriginal (i.e. ethnic) Hawaiians, *Hawaiian*, which can be interpreted as any Hawaiian national, or *native Hawaiian*, which can be interpreted as anyone born in the Hawaiian Islands. See also, Sai 2008, *The Slippery Path to Hawaiian Indigeneity*.

¹⁹ According to Garner (2004), 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.

²⁰ Preza 2009.

¹⁴ Trask 1993; McGregor-Alegado 1980.

¹⁵ Kahumoku 2000.

¹⁶ See www.hawaiiankingdom.org (last access, March 1, 2009).

generally inaccurate understanding of the sovereignty of the Kingdom.²¹

3. Hawaiians are dispossessed of their lands.
4. Hawaiians are predominantly English-speakers, but many study Hawaiian in school.

The fact that aboriginal Hawaiians today have little or no contact with fellow natives who were raised knowing their traditions and language means that they 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 the Hawaiian language, culture, or history.

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 rooted on Kaua‘i and whose dialect was typical of Kaua‘i speakers.²² Despite being surrounded by native Hawaiian speakers in Kekaha, my own family spoke only English.

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* (pandanus) 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 often heard Hawaiian spoken. 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

²¹ Sai 2008, *The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition from Occupied to Restored State*.

²² Some differences between the Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau dialects of Hawaiian are: Ni‘ihau speakers use /k/ and /t/ interchangeably, whereas Kaua‘i speakers use only /k/: the Ni‘ihau dialect uses /t/, as in Tahitian or Māori, and /l/ interchangeably, whereas the Kaua‘i dialect uses only /l/.

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, since I saw no benefit to it. At the time, it was commonly perceived that people who were interested in Hawaiian culture and language 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 Hawai‘i 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. Over time my grandmother introduced me to many of our Hawaiian-speaking family relations and friends of hers of her generation and she and I remained very close until she died in 1999. On Kaua‘i, I reunited with my Ni‘ihau friends and regularly converse with them in Hawaiian until today.

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 as they do. I know only a fraction of what my grandmother knew: I am not a native speaker, but a second-language 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 the University of Hawai‘i at 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 that were 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 Pukui and Elbert, the term was invented in the 1970s by L2 speakers Wilson and Kimura to mean “native speaker.”²³ I did not know this word before attending UH Hilo since it is not a word known by my grandmother or other native speakers I associated with. 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-

²³ Pukui and Elbert 1986.

intentioned, but as a result, L2 speakers put themselves at the center of their worldview 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 that L2 speakers wield in their control of formal education: the power to define the terms, and to change the language. Instead of native speech being the default, it is the Hawaiian language of L2 speakers that is now the default.

Since the 1960s, Hawaiian political activism in fostering a neo national identity has been 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.²⁴ Often, native-speaking listeners would call in to ask questions or request songs. Kimura discontinued the program in 1987, 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. After years of dwindling participation by native speakers, the program was discontinued in 2002.²⁵

In 1983, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo (APL) was organized for the purpose of promulgating the Hawaiian language through the creation of Hawaiian language immersion schools.²⁶ At the time of its founding, APL’s Board consisted of one native speaker and seven L2 speakers. In 2002 (the year this report was originally published), its Board consisted 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.²⁷ In 1985, Pūnana Leo o Hilo (Hawai‘i)

²⁴ *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* can be translated as *The Hawaiian Language* or *The Hawaiian Voice*. Matsubara 2000. In 1971 on Kaua‘i, a weekly Hawaiian language program on radio station AM 720 KUA I was started. The program consisted entirely of native Ni‘ihau speakers presenting Christian gospel talk and music with calls from the Ni‘ihau speaking community calling in to express greetings and to make announcements. This program continues today. Since 1999, other Hawaiian language radio programs, as well as programs on other forms of media, have been started by L2 speakers on Hawai‘i, Maui, and O‘ahu. In 2002, the Honolulu Star-Bulletin newspaper started printing a weekly Hawaiian language column. In 2008, a two-minute Hawaiian language segment was added to a daily morning news program on Honolulu television station KGMB.

²⁵ Personal communication with Puakea Nogelmeier, former host of *Ka Leo Hawai‘i*. 2009. Honolulu: KCCN radio station.

²⁶ Wilson and Kamanā 2001.

²⁷ According to Wilson and Kamanā (2001), 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*.

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 Kaiapuni o Wai‘au (O‘ahu), and Kula Kaiapuni o Keaukaha (Hawai‘i).²⁸ Table 1.1 shows the total number of students, total number of native-speaking (L1) teachers, and total number of second-language (L2) speaking teachers in the first three Pūnana Leo schools in the years they opened:²⁹

Table 1.1:

School	Year	Total # Students	Total # Teachers	Total # L1 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.³⁰ Table 1.2 shows the total number of schools, students, L1 teachers, and L2 teachers in these immersion schools.³¹

Table 1.2:

School Year	Total # of Schools	Total # Students	Total # Teachers	Total # L1 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 that offer Hawaiian as a second language, as well as the total number of teachers of Hawaiian, L1 teachers, and L2-speaking teachers combined:³²

²⁸ Personal interview with Puanani Wilhelm, Director, Hawaiian Studies and Language Programs. 2002. Honolulu: State of Hawai‘i Department of Education. *Kaiapuni* is a term recently invented by the Lexicon Committee to mean ‘environment’ or ‘medium’. *Kula Kaiapuni Hawai‘i*, then, is ‘Hawaiian Medium School.’ See Kimura et al. 2003.

²⁹ Personal interview with staff of each Pūnana Leo campus, 2002.

³⁰ Currently, there is no Hawaiian immersion school on Lāna‘i, and on Ni‘ihau, where the population (about 100-150) speak Hawaiian as their primary language, the school there is K-12 and courses are conducted primarily in English.

³¹ Personal interview with Wilhelm, 2002.

³² *ibid*.

Table 1.3:

School Year	Total # of Schools	Total # Teachers	Total # L1 Teachers	Total # L2 Teachers
2001-2002	27	29	0	29

UH Mānoa has the longest history of offering Hawaiian language courses—the language was first taught there in 1921.³³ 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 in three-year intervals:³⁴

Table 1.4:

Semester	# Students Enrolled	Total # Teachers	Total # L1 Teachers	Total # L2 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 L1 speaker taught a Hawaiian language course. By the 1980s, there were no L1-speaking teachers. Between 1981 and 2007, UH Mānoa employed L1 speakers as mentors, not teachers.³⁵ The L1 mentors numbered from one to three per semester.

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 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 L1 teachers decreased.³⁶

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 from the tertiary schools responded to the need by applying for teaching

³³ Kimura 1978.

³⁴ Personal interview with staff of the Department of Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2003.

³⁵ *ibid.* Since 2003, UH Mānoa has employed one native Ni'ihau-speaker as a teacher. That person has since become the first native speaker to earn a PhD.

³⁶ In 2001-2002, there was only one L1 teacher among all the K-12 immersion schools, no L1 teachers in the English medium secondary schools, and only one among the tertiary schools combined.

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 teachers, they teach Hawaiian according to their own 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).

I believe that the NEO language is an attempt by L2 learners to acquire the language of L1 speakers. The Hawaiian of L1s who learned the language from other L1s whose families continued the language from time immemorial is what I term Traditional Hawaiian (TRAD). Unlike the Neo Hawaiian national identity, which is separated from the era of the Original Hawaiian National Identity (referred to on page 4) by many years, the NEO language exists in the same time period with the TRAD language. TRAD is still spoken among the perhaps fewer than one thousand remaining TRAD speakers, likely making it the smallest native speaking population of any Polynesian language.³⁷ At the same time, NEO burgeons and is concentrated in the non-Ni'ihau-community-based schools. NEO has developed certain characteristics of its own, just as neo national identity has characteristics that are different from the era of the Original Hawaiian National Identity.

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 Baugh and Cable noted, "there is a general similarity in the speech of a given community at any particular time."³⁸ These characteristics differ from TRAD in many ways. The following table lists some of these differences:³⁹

³⁷ Only Ni'ihau speakers live in close proximity of each other as a community. Other L1 speakers are usually isolated individually in various places throughout the Hawaiian Islands and have very infrequent contact with each other.

³⁸ Baugh and Cable 1963; Schütz (1994:48, 307) discusses the phenomenon he calls "Foreigner Talk", where native speakers of a language simplify the way they talk to non-speakers of their language in order to increase the chances of being understood. It may be that Hawaiian L2s are perpetuating a "foreigner talk" form of Hawaiian.

³⁹ These examples of NEO and TRAD speech habits must be heard, and some knowledge of Hawaiian is required, in order for the differences described in Table 2 to be fully appreciated. The representations of NEO and TRAD speech in Table 2 are an attempt to convey some aural and other differences between the two.

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 when 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. This situation could be compared to several people studying Latin in the twenty-first century to a

certain level of conversational proficiency while at the same time developing linguistic characteristics as second-language speakers without contact with native Latin speakers. As more Hawaiian L2 learners obtained tertiary degrees and became teachers themselves, they perpetuated non-TRAD characteristics of speaking by teaching them to 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 are needed to influence the linguistic development 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, resembling that of other Polynesian speakers, and somewhat fast speech. Ni'ihau speakers have a unique Polynesian accent and very fast speech.	1. An American or Hawai'i English ("local") accent and slow speech.
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. Clear articulation of long vowel sequences, e.g., a. <i>eia a'e</i> pronounced <i>eia'e</i> (all vowel sounds clearly articulated, except for the sequence of unstressed /a/ and stressed /a/)	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> (/i/ dropped)
5. The pronunciation of /a/ follows the phonological rules of Hawaiian: it is raised before /i/ and /u/, but not in other positions. Thus, phonetically, the /a/ 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>ə</i> before /i/ and /u/. 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> or <i>father</i> (midwestern American English accent). Often the second <i>a</i> is lengthened. b. <i>makemake</i> ; both <i>a</i> sounds pronounced like <i>a</i> in <i>all</i> or <i>father</i> (Midwestern 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> (meaningless in TRAD) b. <i>nō</i> pronounce <i>nou</i> (a different word in TRAD) c. <i>lākou</i> pronounced <i>lākō</i> (meaningless in TRAD)
7. Eight ways to express past-tense and/or aspect. 8 Patterns: a. <i>Ua</i> (<i>verb</i>) b. <i>Ua</i> (<i>verb</i>) (<i>aku/mai</i> , etc.) c. <i>Ua</i> (<i>verb</i>) (<i>aku nei/mai nei</i> , etc.) d. <i>Ua</i> (<i>verb</i>) (<i>akula, maila</i> , etc.) e. (<i>verb</i>) f. (<i>verb</i>) (<i>aku/mai</i> , etc.) g. (<i>verb</i>) (<i>aku nei/mai nei</i> , etc.) h. (<i>verb</i>) (<i>akula/maila</i> , etc.)	7. Consistent use of <i>ua</i> (<i>verb</i>) (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 in spoken TRAD. It is important to note that pattern a. is probably most typical in TRAD literature.
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,	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.,

<p>a. The word <i>maopopo</i> ‘to know/to understand’ is used both as a stative verb and an active verb, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>maopopo ia ‘u</i> (“It is known by me” or “I know”; stative verb) 2. <i>maopopo au</i> (“I know”; active verb) <p>b. The word <i>kāua</i> ‘you and me/I’ can be pronounced two ways:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. With a glide between <i>ā</i> and <i>u</i>, or 2. With a glottal stop between <i>ā</i> and <i>u</i>. <p>c. The word <i>u ‘i</i> ‘beautiful/nice appearance’ is used to describe both animate and inanimate objects.</p>	<p>a. The word <i>maopopo</i> ‘to know/understand’ can only be used as a stative verb, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>maopopo ia ‘u</i> (“It is known by me” or “I know”) <p>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> <p>c. Some L2 teachers teach that 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 known),</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. various expressions for ‘context’ such as <i>māhele</i>, <i>manawa</i>, ‘ano b. ‘file’ <i>pu ‘u pepa</i>, ‘<i>ope pepa</i>, <i>waihona</i> c. ‘history’ or ‘story’ <i>mo ‘olelo</i> d. various expressions for ‘specific’, such as <i>pololei</i>, <i>pono ‘ī</i> e. ‘sink’ <i>kapu holoī (pā/lima)</i> f. ‘per’ (as in, ‘assigned to each’) <i>na kēlā me kēia</i> 	<p>9. High usage of terms unfamiliar to native TRAD-speakers recently invented by L2 speakers that are based on English concepts, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>pō ‘aiapili</i> ‘context’ b. <i>faila</i> ‘file’ c. <i>mō ‘aukala</i> ‘history’ (<i>mo ‘olelo</i> used only to mean ‘story’) d. <i>kiko ‘ī</i> ‘specific’ e. <i>kinika</i> ‘sink’ f. <i>pā-</i> (a newly created prefix to mean <i>per</i>, as in English, and used in every context that <i>per</i> would be used)
<p>10. Clear articulation of glottal stops and short and long vowels, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>Kepakemapa</i> ‘September’ b. <i>nīoi</i> ‘chili pepper’ c. <i>manawa</i> ‘time’ 	<p>10. Insertion or deletion of glottal stops or long vowels inconsistent with important aspects of native TRAD speech, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>Kepākemapa</i> ‘September’ b. <i>nī‘oi</i>, <i>nī‘oe</i>, <i>nīoe</i>, or <i>nioe</i> ‘chili pepper’ c. <i>manāva</i> ‘time’
<p>11. Expressions typical of TRAD-speakers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. ‘<i>Ōlelo ‘o (So-and-so)...</i> = ‘(So-and-so) said ...’, ‘according to ...’ b. <i>E like me ka mea ma ‘amau</i> = ‘As usual.’ c. <i>ē?</i> or <i>ā?</i> = ‘right?’ (end of a question) 	<p>11. Consistently using TRAD expressions that are very seldom or never used by today’s TRAD speakers, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>Vahi a ...</i> = ‘According to (So-and-so) ...’ b. <i>E like me ka mau</i> = ‘As usual.’ c. ‘<i>eā?</i> = ‘right?’ (end of a question)
<p>12. Other typical TRAD expressions, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>ho ‘omaopopo</i> ‘to remember’ (<i>ho ‘omana ‘o</i> usually understood as ‘to remember fondly/to honor’) b. <i>kekahi (noun)</i> ‘the other (noun)’ (the NEO <i>ka (noun)</i> ‘<i>ē a ‘e</i> is meaningless in this context) c. <i>kekahi (noun)</i> ‘<i>oko ‘a</i> ‘a different (noun)’ (<i>kekahi (noun)</i> ‘<i>ē a ‘e/kekahi (noun)</i> <i>hou a ‘e</i> understood as ‘some other (noun)’) d. <i>kuhi/koho</i> ‘to guess’ (<i>wānana</i> ‘to prophesy; to foretell’) e. <i>ho ‘i mai</i> ‘to come back’ (<i>ho ‘i</i> ‘to go home’) 	<p>12. Using TRAD words in ways that are inconsistent with TRAD speakers, e.g.,</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. <i>ho ‘omana ‘o</i> ‘to remember’ (used consistently in every context, as opposed to <i>ho ‘omaopopo</i>) b. <i>ka (noun)</i> ‘<i>ē a ‘e</i> ‘the other (noun)’ c. <i>kekahi (noun)</i> ‘<i>ē a ‘e</i> ‘a different (noun)’ d. <i>wānana</i> ‘to guess’ e. <i>ho ‘i</i> ‘to come back’
<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 <i>and</i>, <i>but</i>, and <i>and then</i>, the words <i>just</i> and <i>like</i> are never used.</p>	<p>14. Frequent use of the English words <i>just</i> and <i>like</i>.</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 nineteenth century may no longer be used or known today.</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 nineteenth century texts or the Pukui and Elbert dictionary. 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 (usually represented with an apostrophe, but sometimes 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 long, 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>haawiia 'ku la</i> (the passive marker <i>ia</i> is often written as a suffix of the verb. 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 a separate word).</p>	<p>17. Use of the glottal stop (considered a consonant and represented with a single open quote mark) and macron diacritic (a dash over a long vowel), which help L2 learners in pronouncing, reading, and writing Hawaiian, e.g.,</p> <p>a. <i>'ā'ī</i> 'neck'</p> <p>b. <i>no'ono'o</i> 'to think/ponder'</p> <p>c. <i>hā'awi'ia akula</i> 'it was given'</p> <p>Furthermore, an insistence that proficient speakers of Hawaiian (TRAD or NEO) use the glottal stop and macron consistently.</p>
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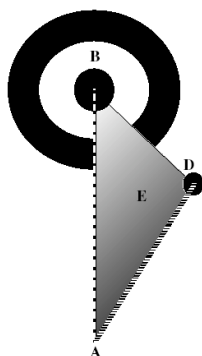


Table 3 is a diagram depicting TRAD as the target language of the L2 learner. Due to the absence of TRAD speakers for reinforcement in the learning process, however, L2 speakers developed NEO as an unintentional consequence.

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 proficiency and knowledge about the language.
 D = the resulting language and/or dialect which is common in the NEO-speaking community.
 E = the range of proficiency in 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 nineteenth and early twentieth 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 written 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 derive 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).⁴⁰ TRAD as written by its speakers (e.g., as in nineteenth-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.⁴¹ 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 same high pitch and lengthened syllable as if said in English, and is 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'ī ka u'ī o kēia wahi 'īlio keiki!*” (approximate translation: ‘What a cute little puppy!’). Reaction to the little girl scenario would be, “*Auē aloha nō ho'ī kēia wahi keiki!*” (approximate translation: ‘Oh, how lovely this little child!’). For each scenario, the Hawaiian voice inflection is not like English. Only through long-term interaction with native TRAD speakers will an L2 learner

⁴⁰ Hopkins (Anthony) describes many aspects of Hawaiian nonverbal communication. See Hopkins 1979.

⁴¹ Personal interview with Dr. Laiana Wong, professor of Hawaiian language, Hawai'i inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2002.

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. Pukui and Elbert also describe this cultural phenomenon.⁴²

I have asked some 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.⁴³ Native TRAD speakers, however, have never heard the word *kiuke* unless they have 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 an active verb as well as a stative verb, commented that she could never use the word as an active 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 a highly prescriptive teaching approach as opposed to teaching the language of native speakers and discussing with students the range of registers.

Despite the differences between TRAD and NEO, many English monoglots, L2 learners, NEO speakers, and even some TRAD speakers, 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,” whether TRAD or L2?; 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 nineteenth- and early twentieth-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 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.⁴⁴ 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 live primarily 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.⁴⁵ Some NEO speakers, however, deride some modern TRAD expressions that may have come about by calquing other languages.⁴⁶ 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

⁴⁴ Pinker and Baugh and Cable describe ways in which English has changed over time. See Pinker 1994; Baugh and Cable 1963.

⁴⁵ One example of a new term created by the native-speaking Ni‘ihau community is *kelepona hele* (lit. ‘telephone that goes’), used to mean ‘mobile or cell phone’, compared to the NEO terms *kelepona pa‘a lima* (‘hand-held phone’) or *kelepona kelulā* (‘cellular phone’). *Kelepona* is taken from the English *telephone* ever since this invention was introduced to the Hawaiian Islands in 1882. *Kelulā* is a borrowing by NEO speakers since the cellular phone was introduced to Hawai‘i.

⁴⁶ *Calque* is defined as the translating of words and phrases directly from other languages. See Crystal 1997.

⁴² Pukui and Elbert 1986.

⁴³ Personal interview with Hawaiian language faculty at UH Hilo and UH Mānoa, 2002.

into consideration worldview, 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.

As L2 learners begin learning Hawaiian and increase in proficiency, they interact predominantly with other L2 speakers and create a NEO dialect or language.⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸

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 to examine its individual parts. Hawaiian grammar texts are used like anatomy textbooks 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, 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.⁴⁹ For example, while the average native speaker of English does not remember many or any of the terms for the parts of a sentence that they learned in school, native speakers are instinctively aware that certain registers are appropriate for certain situations. For instance, 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.⁵⁰ Hawaiian is no less sophisticated. Regular interaction with TRAD speakers is necessary to distinguish differences between the written and spoken Hawaiian registers. If Hawaiian language teachers have not acquired native TRAD-like proficiency, or if they insist that students speak like the nineteenth-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.⁵¹

Native speakers have died and second-language speakers now determine the nature of Hawaiian. First, not all native TRAD speakers have died. Seeking them out to learn their manner of speech is a responsibility of the learner. But to say

⁴⁷ For instance, Warner (1996) discusses Hawaiian syntactical errors that are perpetuated among L2 Hawaiian immersion school teachers and students.

⁴⁸ Zuckerman discusses reinvented languages. Neo Hawaiian may share attributes with this linguistic phenomenon. See www.zuckermann.org/research.html.

⁴⁹ Andrews 1854.

⁵⁰ Pinker 1994.

⁵¹ Hawkins discusses potential problems related to teaching from nineteenth-century Hawaiian literature and how this can result in second-language learners using the language in ways unlike modern native speakers (Hawkins 1982:vii-viii).

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.⁵² Table 4 illustrates the trend:

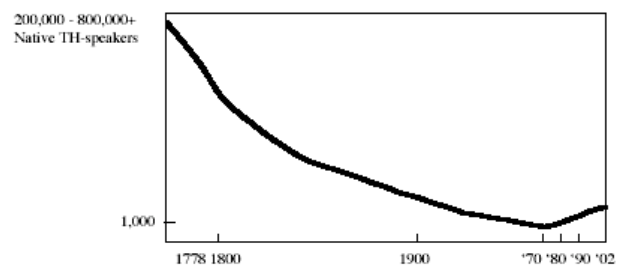
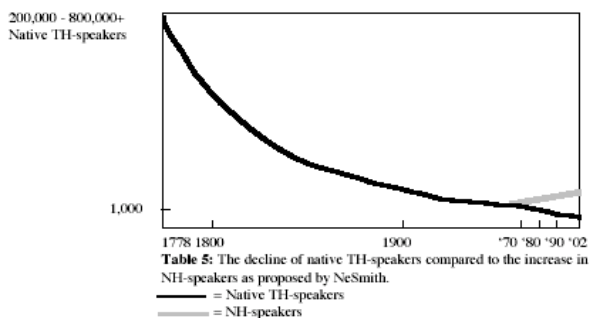


Table 4: The pattern of “decline and reemergence” of Hawaiian as proposed by Matsubara and Kahumoku.

Kahumoku describes some problems in the period of revitalization, such as the struggle with the current rebel political system to adopt policies that support Hawaiian-language initiatives and to provide funding for such initiatives. However, he discusses the decline and reemergence as activities happening to the same language.⁵³ 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 fewer 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.

⁵² Matsubara 2000; Kahumoku 2000.

⁵³ Kahumoku 2000.



Ma ke Pani ‘ana (Conclusion)

As of 2002, there likely are fewer than one thousand 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 terms, like *mānaleo*. In 1987-1988, the Lexicon Committee (Kōmike Hua‘ōlelo or Kōmike Lekikona) was formed for the purpose of creating new vocabulary, primarily for curriculum development for Hawaiian immersion schools.⁵⁴ The original members of the committee consisted of seven native TRAD speakers and four NEO speakers. Between 1988 and 1999, the years of greatest productivity to date, the committee consisted entirely of L2 speakers.⁵⁵ The committee publishes *Māmaka Kaiāo*, a dictionary of terms it approves. Although the title page explains that this text is a “Modern Hawaiian Vocabulary—A compilation of Hawaiian words that have been created, collected, and approved by the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee from 1987 through 2000”, the morphology of many terms contained in the dictionary is based on foreign or invented concepts that have no basis in TRAD, and some of those terms are created by non-ethnic Hawaiians, thus raising the question whether such terms are truly Hawaiian. Moreover, the morphology of some invented terms is not explained (eg. *pāheona*), leaving an uninformed reader to wonder whether the term is TRAD or new.⁵⁶

Native speakers who work at Hawaiian immersion schools become familiar with these new terms, but those who have no

⁵⁴ Wilson and Kamanā 2001. I served as a member of this committee from 1993-1999.

⁵⁵ One native speaker served as a member of the Lexicon Committee from 2001-2005. The Committee sometimes consults with native speakers.

⁵⁶ Wong (1999) provides an excellent review of efforts to perpetuate the Hawaiian language as well as the competition between the epistemologies of the second-language-Hawaiian-speaking community and the native-speaking community.

association with these schools are not familiar with them and perpetuate their own inventions of terms for new concepts. However, some terms created by native TRAD speakers are incorporated into *Māmaka Kaiāo*. Research is needed to determine to what extent the Lexicon Committee’s inventions are used by TRAD speakers and what terms are created by native 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 terms 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.⁵⁷ 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.

NEO occupies a position of distinction from both TRAD and American English, the dominant foreign language of Hawai‘i. As demonstrated by the invention by NEO speakers of new terms which disregard previously existing TRAD concepts of expression (eg., 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 competes with the TRAD sphere for dominance and recognition. Given that the Hawaiian language that is pervasive in education, the media, and most public domains is predominantly NEO, the influence of that linguistic community is much stronger than that of the TRAD-speaking community.

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 planning, administering, and implementing the Hawaiian language acquisition initiatives 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 Kahelelani Aloha (on Kaua‘i), remain separate from the L2-based sphere of influence and therefore, they have little or no opportunity 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.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Personal interview with Dr. Victoria Anderson, Professor of Linguistics, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa, 2002.

⁵⁸ The third school, Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha (on Kaua‘i), implements curricula created by Ka Haku ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani

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 could mean a great movement of Ni‘ihau people to the rest of the islands of Hawai‘i, and that the Ni‘ihau dialect could become the prevailing dialect of Hawaiian, but at least this would be a traditional dialect. Perhaps over-ambitious and unrealistic, this move could perhaps be implemented and based on Kaua‘i until well-established; it then could be expanded to the other islands at a later date.

Efforts by Hawaiians to maintain a separate identity in the twenty-first 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 [or aboriginal] peoples are socially interested activists rather than passive bystanders. Perhaps it is this positioning that offers greater possibility for the survival of indigenous [or aboriginal] peoples.”⁵⁹ The creation of a NEO national identity and language succeeds in helping to define the Hawaiian identity as one that is distinct from that of the foreign occupier. Hawaiian national identity 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 state of the Hawaiian language is a matter for Hawaiians to define and debate, since it is the native language of that ethnic group and the national language of the Kingdom, but whether learners acquire NEO, TRAD, or a mixed form of both proves that Hawaiians maintain their identity as a distinct people. 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.”⁶⁰

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

(Hawaiian Studies Center) at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo and ‘Aha Pūnana Leo Inc., thus faculty and students of that school learn NEO terms and concepts.

⁵⁹ Tuhiwai-Smith 1999. Aboriginal Hawaiians have become familiar with the plight of indigenous peoples throughout the world and often identify with them. However, Hawaiians are not an indigenous people based on the definition explained by Anaya (1996) (i.e., the aboriginal people of a place that did not form a nation-state in the modern sense, as did other nations, such as Great Britain, France, the U.S.A., etc., and have been incorporated into a nation-state as an ethnic minority). Aboriginal Hawaiians formed a nation-state in 1843, called the Hawaiian Kingdom and are therefore Hawaiian nationals, as are naturalized foreigners. The territory of the Kingdom is currently occupied by the U.S. military; Sai 2008, *The American Occupation of the Hawaiian Kingdom: Beginning the Transition from Occupied to Restored State*.

⁶⁰ Osorio 2002.

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 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 mā mā 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 loaa 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 houpo,
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.*

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