

KA ILI ALOHA: KA HO‘OILINA LEKA A KA MŌ‘ĪWAHINE EMMA
KALELEONĀLANI LĀUA ‘O KONA MAKUAHINE
‘O FANNY KEKELAOKALANI ‘HIPA’ YOUNG
A ME KE ALI‘I WAHINE ‘O RUTH KE‘ELIKŌLANI, KA HOA HĀNAU O KA
MŌ‘ĪWAHINE EMMA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI‘I AT MĀNOA
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN

HAWAIIAN

DECEMBER 2015

By
Alicia Amiko Miyashiro Pérez

Thesis Committee:

Ron Kekeha Solis, Chairperson
Katrina-Ann Kapā‘anaokalāokeola Oliveira
Ralph Lalepa Koga

ABSTRACT

This paper is a study of the linguistic relativity of the Hawaiian language in the 19th century featuring a collection of letters written in Hawaiian by Queen Emma Kaleleonālani which were exchanged between her mother Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young in the year 1871, and with her cousin, Princess Ruth Ke‘elikōlani in the year 1883. The purpose of this paper is twofold. The first, is to respectfully offer a glimpse into the personal details of their lives unique to the Hawaiian language worldview. And the second, is to examine the language of the letters as a micro-study of 19th century Hawaiian as recorded in this body of casual correspondence written in three distinct writing styles – with the aim to improve our understanding of Hawaiian so that practitioners of speaking Hawaiian today can rethink certain grammar and vocabulary that may or may not have transformed in meaning over the last century.

HE HA‘I INOA HONUA

*Ua kākau ‘ia kēia palapala noi ‘i i ke kau wela o ka makahiki 2015
ma ku‘u pu‘uhonua ‘ōmalu, nani i ka ua kuahine o Mānoa
a me ka hale ‘olu o ku‘u mau kūpuna ma Kailua
mokupuni ‘o O‘ahu*

NO KU‘U KUMU

No Kumu Sam L. No‘eau Warner kēia palapala noi‘i. ‘A‘ohe ona lua ma ke ‘ano he kumu ‘ike o ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kēia au nei. Inā ua kama‘āina, ua ‘ike ‘oe, palena ‘ole kona aloha no kona po‘e haumāna. Ua noho ‘o ia ma ke kōmike alaka‘i o‘u ma ka ho‘omaka ‘ana i ka ‘imi noi‘i. A hiki i ka manawa o ke kākau ‘ana – mau ka lohe ‘ana i kona leo paipai, leo nuku nō ho‘i, a me ke aloha pau ‘ole ‘o ia e ho‘omanawanui mai ana i kēia wahi mamo a wa‘awa‘a.

Mahalo nui, iā ‘oe ku‘u aloha e Kumu No‘eau

HE MAU MAHALO

He mahalo kēia i ka‘u mau kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ma ke Kulanui o Hawai‘i ma Mānoa. ‘O ka‘u mau kumu ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i mua ‘o Kawehi Lucas, Kāhealani Lono, Kaliko lāua ‘o Haili‘ōpua Baker, Leilani Basham, Keawe Lopes, Puakea Nogelmeier, a me Ipo Wong. He mahalo kēia iā ‘oukou no ka ho‘okahua ‘ana mai i ka‘u ‘ōlelo me nā pōhaku kihi maika‘i. He mahalo nō ho‘i kēia i o‘u mau kumu ma hope o ka loa‘a ‘ana o ko‘u kekelē laepua. ‘O kēia po‘e kumu nā mea i kuhikuhi mai i nā pōhaku e ‘imi ai no ke kūkulu ‘ana a pa‘a ke kahua, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o No‘eau Warner, Kapā Oliveira, Laiana Wong, Kekeha Solis, Lalepa Koga, a me Keao NeSmith.

He mahalo nō ho‘i kēia i ko‘u ‘ohana. No Mekiko a me Okinawa ko‘u mau kūpuna kuakahi. ‘A‘ole i hānai ‘ia kekahī kanaka ma ko‘u ‘ohana ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Ua hānai ‘ia ko‘u makua kāne ma ka ‘ōlelo Paniolo a ua hānai ‘ia ko‘u makuahine ma ka ‘ōlelo Pelekania. Ua a‘o ‘ia au mai ko‘u wā li‘ili‘i i ka hula a me ka loina o ko‘u mau kūpuna a ua ‘ike au i ka waiwai o ka ‘ōlelo ma kēia mau hana. No laila, i ke a‘o ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, like pū ko‘u mahalo i ka loina kūpuna o ne‘i. Ua pōmaika‘i kēia i ka hana ‘ana ma nā kūlana hana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i manawa piha no ‘umi kumamālua mau makahiki.¹ Ua pōmaika‘i au i kekahī mau hoa kama‘īlio ma ke kulanui a ma waho o ke kulanui – a he leo mahalo kēia iā ‘oukou no ka mea, ua kāka‘ikahi nō ka lohe ‘ana i ke kama‘īlio Hawai‘i ma nā hale kūwaho e la‘a ka hale hulahula, ka hale kū‘ai, ka hale ‘āina, ma luna o ka mokulele, a nui koe.

¹ Ua hana manawale‘a a ua a‘o au ma ke Kula ‘o Samuel M. Kamakau mai ka makahiki 2003-2010. Ma hope, lilo au i limahana ma ke ke‘ena ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ‘o Kawaihuelani ma UH Mānoa mai ka makahiki 2010 a hiki i kēia manawa.

NĀ MĀHELE O KA PALAPALA NOI‘I

Abstract	ii
He ha‘i inoa honua	iii
No ku‘u kumu	iv
He mau mahalo	v
Nā ki‘i a me nā papa hō‘ike‘ike	ix
MĀHELE I: He ho‘olauna.....	1
Ka ‘ōlelo mua a ka mea kākau	1
Ke kahua o kēia palapala noi‘i	1
Ke kuleana o ka mea ‘imi noi‘i	2
No ko‘u hānai ‘ia ‘ana a me ka waihona leka ma ka hale.....	4
Ka mana‘o o ‘Ka Ili Aloha’	6
Ka <i>ili</i> a me ka ‘ili	6
Ka ‘ili o ka pepa i kākau ‘ia.....	7
Ke ‘ano o ka palapala ‘ana ma kēia palapala noi‘i.....	8
Ka papahana o kēia palapala noi‘i	9
MĀHELE II: Ka ho‘okahua ‘ana i ka papahana noi‘i	11
No Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young	11
No Emma Kaleleonālani	12
Ka lilo ‘ana o Emma i Mō‘īwahine a me kona kapa ‘ia ‘ana ‘o Kaleleonālani.....	13
No Ruth Ke‘elikōlani	14
Ka lilo ‘ana o Ke‘elikōlani i makuahine.....	15
Ka nohona hau‘oli me Leleiohoku ma Ka‘akopua	16
He ‘a‘ala ka inoa o ke ali‘i.....	17
Nā inoa kapakapa o Emma	18
Ka inoa kapakapa o Fanny.....	19
Ka inoa kapakapa o Ke‘elikōlani.....	19

Ke koho ‘ana i nā leka no kēia palapala noi‘i	20
Nā leka hope loa a Ke‘elikōlani	21
Nā leka a me nā palapala ‘ē a‘e i kākau ‘ia	24
Nā leka a Emmalani lāua ‘o Peter Ka‘eo.....	24
Ko Emma ho‘āhu ‘ana i nā hana no‘eau.....	25
Ko Emma ho‘oulu ‘ana i ka pā hale ma Lāwa‘i.....	27
Ka loina kākau leka	28
Ka manawa kākau leka ma kēlā lā, kēia lā	28
Mālama maika‘i ‘ia ka loina kākau e nā wāhine	29
Ka mana‘o o ka ha‘i inoa honua ma ka leka.....	30
Ka palapala ‘ana i nā leka	33
Ka ‘ōlelo pokopoko lō‘ihī ‘ole	36
Ke kākau lima o Hipa	38
Ke kākau lima o Emmalani	38
Ke kākau lima o Ke‘elikōlani.....	39
Ke kākau ‘ana me ka ‘t’	42
MĀHELE III: Nā hua o ka hana	43
No ka ho‘oili a me ka ho‘ouna	44
Ke kālailai ‘ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo pili i ka ho‘opuka mana‘o a me ka palapala	50
Ka <i>wala‘au</i> a me ke <i>kama‘ilio</i>	51
Ka <i>heluhelu</i>	52
Ka <i>ha‘i</i>	55
Ka <i>‘ī</i>	56
Ke <i>kauoha</i>	58
Ka <i>‘ōlelo</i>	60
<i>Pēlā</i>	62
Ka <i>hō‘ulu‘ulu</i> ‘ana i ka papa ‘ōlelo	63
Nā ‘ōlelo no‘eau ma ka leka	64
Hulili ka maka	64
Mai lumilumi i ka mana‘o o Lumilumi	65

Nā hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ākāka ‘ia ma ka leka	66
Ka ‘Aha ‘Aina Ili Anu	67
Ka pilina aikāne	68
MĀHELE IV: Ka nānā ‘ana i mua	71
Ka nānā hope ‘ana i nā pahu hopu o kēia palapala	71
Ka ho‘omāhuahua ‘ana i ka ‘imi noi‘i	73
NĀ KUMU WAIWAI I HELUHELU ‘IA	75

NĀ KI'I A ME NĀ PAPA KUHIKUHI

Papa Hō‘ike‘ike 2.1

He papa kuhikuhi e hō‘ike ana i nā leka ma waena o Kaleleonālani a me Ke‘elikōlani ma ka makahiki 1883 22

Ki‘i 2.1

He ki‘i o ka ‘ha‘i inoa honua’ ma luna o kā Hipaa leka iā Kaleleonālani i ka lā 8 o Iune, 1871 31

Ki‘i 2.2

He ki‘i o kā Hipaa leka iā Kaleleonālani i ka lā 18 o Pepelila, 1871 34

Ki‘i 2.3

He ki‘i o kā Kaleleonālani leka iā Hipaa i ka lā 29 o Ianuali, 1871 35

Ki‘i 2.4

He ki‘i o kā Kaleleonālani leka iā Hipaa i ka lā 30 o Iulai, 1871 35

Papa Hō‘ike‘ike 3.2

He hō‘ike‘ike i nā hua ‘ōlelo pili i ka hō‘ike mana‘o ma ka ‘ōlelo a me ka palapala, a me ka heluna o nā manawa i ‘ike ‘ia ai 50

MĀHELE I: He ho‘olauna

Ka ‘ōlelo mua a ka mea kākau

Ua kākau ‘ia kēia palapala me ka ‘i‘ini e ho‘oikaika a e ho‘ākāka ai i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kēia mau lā ma o ka nānā ‘ana i ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo a nā ali‘i. A i mea nō ho‘i kēia noi‘i ‘ana e ho‘oulu ai i ka waihona ‘ike o kākou e pili ana i ke kākau ‘ana ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, i hiki ke ho‘omāhuahua a‘e ai i ko kākou ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo a me nā pilina ‘olelo i laha ma waena o ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kēia mau lā ma o ka ho‘ohālikelike ‘ana me kona ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana ma loko o nā leka a nā ali‘i wahine ‘o Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young, Emma Kaleleonālani, a me Ruth Ke‘elikōlani.

Ua koho ‘ia nā leka ma ke ‘ano he kumu waiwai o ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, a ua koho ‘ia nā leka ali‘i no ka mea, he kāka‘ikahi ka nānā ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo ma waena o ke ali‘i a me ke ali‘i. ‘A‘ole i kālailai ‘ia nā leka i kākau ‘ia ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i e ke ali‘i ma mua, a ua ‘ike au, ‘oko‘a ko lākou ‘ōlelo a ‘oko‘a ko kākou ‘ōlelo i kēia mau lā. ‘O kekahi pahu hopu nui o kēia pepa ka ho‘onui ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo i ho‘opa‘a ‘ē ‘ia e pili ana i kēia mau wāhine, i hui pū ‘ia me nā mo‘olelo i kākau ‘ia e lākou iho ma luna o nā leka. Nui ka ‘ike i ‘ike ‘ole ‘ia ma nā puke a‘u i heluhelu ai, a i kekahi manawa, aia he mau mo‘olelo e kāko‘o ana i nā mea a ka po‘e like ‘ole i kākau ai e pili ana iā lākou. Akā, ia‘u, aia ka waiwai i kā lākou mo‘olelo ‘ana e pili ana iā lākou iho ma nā leka.

Ke kahua o kēia palapala noi‘i

Ua ho‘okahua ‘ia kēia palapala noi‘i ma luna o ka mo‘olelo a nā ali‘i wahine i kākau ai ma kā lākou mau leka i kekahi i kekahi. No laila, ‘o kekahi pahu hopu nui o kēia pepa, ‘o ka ho‘onui ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo e pili ana iā lākou, ma o ka nānā ‘ana i ke ‘ano o ko lākou nohona ma ka wā i kākau ‘ia ai ka leka. Aia ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop ka

maka mua o ko‘u launa ‘ana me nā leka a nā ali‘i wahine. Ua ‘ike mua au i kā Kaleleonālani; he mau leka i kākau ‘ia ma waena ona a me ke Ali‘i Wahine ‘o Ruth Ke‘elikōlani. Ua ‘ōlelo ‘ia, ‘o Ke‘elikōlani ke ali‘i kūpa‘a loa i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i loko nō o kona ho‘omaopopo a me kona hiki ke kākau a me ‘ōlelo ma ka ‘ōlelo Pelekānia. No laila, no kona aloha a me kona kūpa‘a ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, he waiwai ka nānā ‘ana i kāna ‘ōlelo ma ke ‘ano he kumu ho‘ohālike no kākou. Ua ho‘omau au i ko‘u ‘imi ‘ana a hiki i ka Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni, ma laila ua ‘ike ‘nā leka he nui a Emmalani i kākau ai ma waena o nā makahiki 1860-1875.² Ua makemake na‘e au i nā leka i kākau ‘ia ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, akā kāka‘ikahi kona kākau ‘ana ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. E la‘a me kona kākau ‘ana iā Alexander Liholiho, kāna kāne; ua kākau ‘ia kā lāua mau leka ma ka ‘ōlelo Pelekānia. Ua kākau na‘e ‘o Emma ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i iā Grace Young, kona makuahine hānai, a me kona makuahine lūau‘i ‘o Fanny ‘Hipā’ Young, akā ua ‘oi loa aku ka nui o nā leka a Fanny ma mua o Grace, no laila ua koho au i nā leka a Fanny no kēia palapala noi‘i.

Ke kuleana o ka mea ‘imi noi‘i

He mea nui kēia no‘u, ka wehewehe ‘ana i ko‘u mana‘o no ke kuleana o ka mea ‘imi noi‘i, ‘o au nō ho‘i. ‘Oiai, ‘o ke kahua o kēia palapala noi‘i he mau palapala pili i ke kanaka, a he mau kanaka i hala no ho‘i, ‘o ka mea e pono ai kēia palapala noi‘i ka ‘aelike ‘ana o ka mea ‘imi noi‘i i kekahi mau lula nona iho e mālama ai i ka mo‘olelo o ka po‘e nāna i ho‘opa‘a mua i ka mo‘olelo. No ka mea, ua ‘ōlelo ‘ia e ka po‘e no‘eau, “mai kaula‘i wale i ka iwi o nā kūpuna.”³ He ‘ōlelo no‘eau kēia e hō‘ike ai i ke kanaka, e

² Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885 Private Collection No. M-45. Hawaii State Archives. Honolulu, Hawai‘i.

³ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau 2069 (Pukui, 1983, ‘a. 225).

akahele i kāu mea e hō‘ike ai e pili ana i nā kūpuna, ‘a‘ole e hō‘ike wale ‘ia nā mea a pau i mua o ka lehulehu e like me ke kaula‘i ‘ana i ka iwi ma ka lā. He ‘ōlelo no‘eau maika‘i kēia no ka po‘e e ‘imi noi‘i ana i nā palapala o wā kahiko, ‘oiai, ma ka noi‘i ‘ana, ‘ike ‘ia nō he mau mea i kūpono ‘ole kona ho‘olaha ‘ia ‘ana. No ke kanaka ho‘okahi e heluhelu i ka leka, a pēlā paha ka mana‘o o nā ali‘i wahine. Eia nō na‘e, ua mālama ‘ia nā leka ma ka ho‘oili aku a hiki aku lākou i ka waihona palapala kahiko o ke aupuni, a i kēia manawa, ua hiki ke heluhelu ‘ia e ka lehulehu. I ko‘u mana‘o, he pono ke wae pono ka mea ‘imi noi‘i, i ka mea e ho‘onui ana i ka ‘ike no ka ho‘oulu ana i ka na‘auao ma mua o ka ‘ike e ‘eha ai ka na‘au o ha‘i. Ma loko o kēia mau leka, ua ha‘i aku ‘o Kaleleonālani iā Hipa i kekahi manawa, mai ha‘i i kekahi mau mea. No ia kumu, ke ho‘ā‘o nei au e mālama i ko‘u kuleana ma ke ‘ano he mea ‘imi noi‘i, e kaula‘i ‘ole i nā iwi o nā kūpuna, no laila, inā ua ‘ōlelo aku ‘o Emma mai ha‘i aku, ‘a‘ole au i hō‘ike i kēnā mo‘olelo. Eia kekahi, i loko o ka ‘ike ‘ole i kona pāpā ‘ana i kekahi mana‘o, ua ho‘oholo au, inā he mana‘o ia e ‘eha ai ka na‘au o ha‘i, ‘a‘ole au e hō‘ike aku. ‘O ka‘u wale nō ka hō‘ike ‘ana i nā mea maika‘i e ho‘omāhuahua ana i ko kākou ‘ike e pili ana i ka ‘ōlelo, ‘o ia ko‘u kuleana. E ‘ī mai ana paha ka mea heluhelu, i mea aha ka ‘au‘a ‘ana i kekahi ‘ōlelo, a me ka hō‘ike i kekahi inā ua waiho ‘ia ma kahi i hiki ai i ka lehulehu (ma ka hale waihona palapala o ke aupuni a me ka hale hō‘ike‘ike) ke heluhelu. Eia ka‘u pane iā ia, i ka nīele, e noke aku ‘o ia i ka heluhelu no ia mau mea huna – “ma kahi maea ma laila ka nalo e wā ai.”⁴

‘A‘ole i ‘ike nā ali‘i wahine e mālama ‘ia ana kā lākou waihona leka no nā kau a kau ma kekahi hale aupuni o ‘Amelika, a ma kekahi hale hō‘ike‘ike no ka lehulehu. He

⁴ ‘Ōlelo No‘eau 2089 (Pukui, 1983, ‘a. 227).

mahalo ko‘u i ua mau hale nei, eia nō na‘e, makemake au e paipai i ka po‘e ‘imi noi‘i e akahele pono i ka hana ke loa‘a ka ‘ike i waiho manuahi ‘ia ma ia mau hale, no ka mea ‘o kāu mea heluhelu he kanaka ho‘omaopopo a ho‘omaopopo ‘ole paha i ke kuleana o ka mālama ‘ana i ka ‘ike. Lana ko‘u mana‘o ua ‘olu‘olu nā ali‘i wahine i ka‘u hana. ‘A‘ole au makemake e maha‘oi i ko‘u kākau a ha‘i mo‘olelo ‘ana e pili ana iā lākou. Ma ‘ane‘i nō ho‘i ko‘u mihi nā ali‘i wahine a me ka mea kākau, inā ua hemahema a i ‘ole ua pono ‘ole ka‘u hana ma kekahi ‘ano, e huikala mai i ko‘u mālama ‘ole.

No ko‘u hānai ‘ia ‘ana a me ka waihona leka ma ka hale

Maopopo ia‘u i ka waiwai o ka leka i ke kanaka no ka mea, he kanaka kākau leka au kekahi. Ua hānai ‘ia au ma ka hale puni i ke kākau leka, na ko‘u makua kāne i a‘o mai ia‘u i ke kākau leka ‘ana. Ho‘omana‘o au i kona kākau lima; he kākau hiō keu a ka maiau e like me ke ‘ano o ke kākau ‘ana me ka peni kila ma mua. Akā ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i kākau i ka leka ma ka pepa a i ‘ole ke kāleka, ua kākau ‘o ia i kāna mau leka ia‘u ma loko o ka ‘ili puke. Me kona kākau lima hiehie ua pūlima ‘o ia i kēlā a me kēia puke āna i makana mai ai ia‘u. No‘u iho, ua ‘oi aku ka waiwai o kekahi puke āna i makana ai inā ua pūlima ‘o ia i loko no ka mea, i ko‘u mana‘o, aia ka mana o ke kanaka ma loko o ke kino a me nā mea āna e ho‘opā ai, a mai loko mai o ke kino, ho‘oili ‘o ia i kona mana i loko o ka peni a hiki i luna o ka pepa. Ke ‘ike au i ke kākau lima o ke kanaka, ‘ike pū au i ko ka mea kākau mana, a me kona aloha nō ho‘i.

Na ko‘u kupunahine i a‘o mai i ka mālama ‘ana i nā leka ‘oiai, ua mālama ‘o ia i nā leka a pau, ‘o ka leka lā hānau ‘oe, ‘o ka leka Kalikimaka ‘oe, a me nā leka aloha like ‘ole. I ko‘u wā e kamali‘i ana ua hānai ‘ia au ma ka hale o ko‘u kupuna kāne a me ko‘u kupunahine ma Kailua. Ua noho ko‘u mau mākua a me nā kaikunāne o‘u ma lalo ma ka

papahele ‘ekahi o ka hale, a ua noho au ma ka papahele ‘elua me ko‘u mau kūpuna.

Ho‘omana‘o au, i loko o ko‘u makalahia ma ka hola aumoe, ua makemake nui au e nīele
aku i ka waihona o nā kāleka aloha i ho‘oili ‘ia e ko‘u kupunahine. Ua ho‘āhu ‘o ia i nā
leka he nui mai ka wā ma mua o ko‘u hānau ‘ia ‘ana, a aia kona waihona leka ma loko o
ko‘u lumi ma ka pahu o lalo loa o ko‘u pahu lole. Ua makemake au i ka heluhelu i
nā leka o ka wā ma mua o‘u no ka mea, i kekahi manawa, ua kama‘āina nā inoa ma
nā leka ia‘u, akā i kekahi manawa, ‘a‘ole i kama‘āina. Ua a‘o au he waiwai kēia mau leka
i ko‘u kupunahine, no ka mea, ua mālama ‘o ia iā lākou e like me ka ho‘oilina o ka
‘ohana. Wahi a ko‘u kupunahine, makemake ‘o ia i ka heluhelu i nā leka no ka mea, i
kekahi manawa pilikia ‘o ia i ka makalahia ma nā hola aumoe, a ‘o ka heluhelu leka he
mea e ho‘omoe ai iā ia.⁵ I ko‘u wahi mana‘o, pēlā kāna ‘ōlelo akā ‘o ka ‘oia‘i‘o,
makemake ‘o ia e heluhelu no ka mea, ke heluhelu ‘o ia, ‘upu mai nā hali‘a aloha o kona
mau hoa a me ‘ohana. ‘O ka mea ‘āpiki na‘e, ‘a‘ole ‘o ko‘u kupunahine he wahine kākau
leka. Ua a‘o ‘o ia i ke kākau ‘ana i kona kanaka makua ‘ana no ka mea, ua ma‘i ‘o ia i
kona hele kula ‘ana ma ka papa ‘ekolu a ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i ho‘i i ke kula ma hope.

I kēia mau lā, i ko‘u wā makua, he waihona leka ko‘u e like me ku‘u kupunahine,
a ua piha i nā leka o ko‘u wā kamali‘i. Pōmaika‘i au i ka nui o ko‘u mau hoa peni ‘oiai,
ua ne‘e au i Kaleponi me ko‘u ‘ohana no ‘elima mau makahiki i ko‘u wā keiki, a no ia
kumu ua ho‘omaka mākou o ko‘u mau hoa i ke kākau leka ‘ana. I ko‘u heluhelu ‘ana i
nā leka i kēia mau lā, hū wale ka ‘aka‘aka i nā mea a mākou i kama‘ilio ai. Akā, mahalo
au i ka hā‘upu‘upu ‘ana o ko‘u mana‘o i nā hoa o nā makahiki i hala no ka mea, ē kalaloa
aku ko‘u launa ‘ana me ka hapanui o lākou akā, ke heluhelu au i kā lākou mau leka me he

⁵ Pēlā nō ho‘i ka ‘ōlelo a ko‘u kupunahine e pili ana i kona nānā ‘ana i nā puke ki‘i ma
nā hola aumoe, he mea ia e kōkua ai iā ia i ka ho‘ohiamoe ‘ana iā ia iho.

mea la ‘a‘ole i li‘uli‘u ka launa hope ‘ana me ia kanaka. ‘O ia ka waiwai o ka leka, hiki i ke kanaka ke pili mau ai me ke kanaka a me kona mau ‘ōlelo no nā kau a kau.

Ka mana‘o o ‘Ka Ili Aloha’

Ua kapa ‘ia kēia pepa ‘o “Ka Ili Aloha: Ka Ho‘oilina Leka a ka Mō‘īwahine Emma Kaleleonālani lāua ‘o kona makuahine ‘o Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young a me ke Ali‘i Wahine ‘o Ruth Ke‘elikōlani, ka hoa hānau o ka Mō‘īwahine Emma”. Ua kāpae ‘ia ka ‘okina i ke kākau ‘ana iā “ili” i kuhikuhi ‘ia nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘elua ‘o *ili* a me ‘ili. Makemake au i ke kaona ma ka inoa o kēia palapala noi‘i no ka mea, ua kūpono nō nā mana‘o ‘elua e pili ana i nā leka i kākau ‘ia.

Ka ili a me ka ‘ili

I ko‘u kapa ‘ana aku i kēia pepa, ua no‘ono‘o au i ka waiwai o ka leka ma ke ‘ano he *ho‘oilina*. He ho‘oilina ka leka no ka mea, ua mālama mua ‘ia nā leka e Kaleleonālani, Hipā, a me Ke‘elikōlani, a mai ko lākou mau lima aku ua ho‘oili ‘ia iā ha‘i, a ma hope o kekahī mau makahiki he haneli kanahā a ‘oi, ua hō‘ili‘ili ‘ia kēia mau leka e kekahī, a ua mālama maika‘i i ko lākou pono a hiki aku i kēia manawa. ‘A‘ole na‘e ‘o ka leka wale nō ka mea e ho‘oili ai. Ua ho‘oili ‘ia ka ‘āina, ka mea ‘ai, ka lole, ka ukana like ‘ole. ‘O ka mana‘o o *ili*, “to run aground, to set, as the sun, inheritance, to inherit.” (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 97). ‘O ka ho‘oilina he hua ‘ōlelo e kuhi ana i ka hana o ka ho‘oili ‘ana aku, akā, ‘o kekahī mea hoihoi, i ke kuhi ‘ano ‘ana i ka mana‘o o ho‘oili, kuhi ‘ia ka pae ‘ana o ka moku nona ka ukana, “to land upon, load, as freight on a ship; to transfer, consign, to set on shore” (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 97). No laila, ua hiki nō ke ho‘oili ‘ia kekahī mau mea e ke kanaka – akā, ua hiki pū ke ho‘oili ‘ia e ka moku.

He ‘ano ‘ili ka leka kekahi, no ka mea ua hiki ke ‘ike ‘ia, he ola ko loko. ‘A‘ole ‘o ke kino o ke kanaka wale nō ka mea nona ka ‘ili – ua kapa ‘ia ‘o luna o ke kai a me ka honua, ‘o ka ‘ili kai a me ka ‘ili honua.⁶ Ma ka nānā ‘ana i ka ‘ili o ke kai, hiki ke ‘ike inā he makani ko luna a i ‘ole he i‘a ko lalo, inā he kai pi‘i a i ‘ole he kai mālia. Pēlā nō ho‘i ka ka ‘ili o ka ‘āina, ma ka nānā ‘ana e ‘ike koke ai i ka ‘āina malo‘o a i ‘ole ka ‘āina nolu i ka ua, a e maopopo ana ke ‘ano o ka ‘āina i ka nāhelehele e ulu ana ma laila. He mau hō‘ailona ko ke kai a me ka ‘āina e hō‘ike ai, ua ola ‘o loko, a pēlā pū me ka leka.

Ka ‘ili o ka pepa i kākau ‘ia

He mo‘olelo ko ka pepa, a ua hiki i ka mea heluhelu ke ‘ike i kekahi mo‘olelo e pili ana i ka mea kākau me ka heluhelu ‘ole i ka mana‘o o ka leka. I ka nānā ‘ana i nā leka a Emmalani i ka makahiki 1871, ua kākau ‘o ia ma luna o ka pepa nona nā lihi ‘ele‘ele a puni ka pepa. He pepa kūikawā kēia no ke ka‘akūmākena⁷ a he pepa kēia i ho‘ohana ‘ia ma ke au Wikolia⁸ e nā wāhine a me nā kāne nāna ka wahine a i ‘ole ke kāne make.⁹ I kekahi manawa ‘o ka nele i ke kākau ‘ole kekahi mo‘olelo hoihoi o ka leka. E like me nā leka a Ke‘elikōlani, ma ka lā 11 o Mei a me ka lā 21 o Mei (1883), ua ‘ike au, ‘oko‘a loa kona kākau lima ma mua a ‘oko‘a loa ke kākau lima ma ka leka i ia mau lā ‘elua. A, ‘oiai, ua kokoke nō ‘o Ke‘elikōlani i ka ho‘i ‘ana i ka hiamoe loa, ua hala ‘o ia i ka lā 24 o Mei, ua kuhi au, na kekahi i kākau i ua mau leka nona, a nāna ka

⁶ ‘Ili kai: surface of the sea, horizontal; ‘Ili honua: surface of the earth (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 98).

⁷ Ka‘akūmākena: period of mourning, especially wailing in grief, to mourn and wail (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘a.107)

⁸ ‘O Wikolia ke au Victorian, ‘o ia ho‘i ke au iā Victoria, ka Mō‘īwahine o ‘Enelani 1837 – 1901.

⁹ “The bereaved person [would] begin his or her first year of mourning for a spouse by using mourning stationary: black-edged paper, enveloped with a black border and sealed with black wax, and calling cards with quarter-inch borders,” (Schlereth, 1991, ‘a. 179).

pūlima wale nō. No ka mea, ua like kona pūlima ma nā leka a pau, ‘a‘ole na‘e i like ke kākau ‘ana i ke kino o ka leka. No ka nele o kona kākau lima ‘ole ma ka leka holo‘oko‘a, ua kuhi au, ‘a‘ole i hiki iā ia ke kākau i ka leka no kona ma‘i a me kona nāwaliwali paha.

Ke ‘ano o ka palapala ‘ana ma kēia palapala noi‘i

Ua kākau ‘ia nā hua ‘ōlelo o kēia palapala e like me ke ‘ano o ke kākau i ho‘oholo ‘ia e ka ‘Aha Kaha ‘Ōlelo a me ka ‘Ahahui ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i i ka makahiki 1978. Inā hō‘ike ‘ia he puana‘ī mai ka leka mai, ua ho‘onoho ‘ia ka ‘ōlelo a ka mea kākau e like me kona ho‘onohonoho ‘ia ‘ana ma ka puke wehewehe a Pukui me Elbert.¹⁰ Akā, ina ua ‘oko‘a ka pela ‘ana i kekahi hua ‘ōlelo, a ‘oko‘a ho‘i ko Pukui me Elbert, ‘a‘ole au i ho‘ololi i kohu like ‘o ia me ko Pukui me Elbert. Ua ho‘oponopono au i ka ho‘onoho ‘ia ‘ana o ka hua ‘ōlelo no ka mea, i kekahi manawa, kohu mea la ua ka‘awale a i ‘ole ho‘ohui pū ‘ia ‘elua mau hua ‘ōlelo. Akā he kuhihewa paha kēia o ka mea heluhelu ‘oiai, ke heluhelu nei au i ke kākau lima a kekahi kanaka. Ua makemake au e ho‘oma‘alahi i ka heluhelu ‘ana o ka mea kākau i kohu like ka leka me ka ‘ōlelo i laha i kēia mau lā. ‘A‘ole ho‘i au i ho‘okomo i ka ‘okina a i ‘ole ke kahakō ma loko o ka puana‘ī, no ka mea, ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia e kekahi o nā ali‘i wahine ma kā lākou mau leka.

Eia kekahi kumu ho‘ohālike e hō‘ike ana i kekahi hihiā e pili ana i ka pela ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ma ka leka, a me ka ‘oko‘a o ko Pukui me Elbert mana‘o. Pili kēia i ka pela ‘ana i ka inoa o ka mahina ‘o Pepeluali a me ‘Apelila. Ua kākau ‘o Kaleleonālani i ka inoa o ka mahina ‘o Pepeluali ma ‘elua ‘ano. Ua kākau mua ‘o ia, “Pepluali” (Kaleleonālani, 1 Pepluali 1871) a laila ua kākau ‘ia pēnei, “Pepeluale” (Kaleleonālani, 3

¹⁰ Pukui, M. K., Elbert, S. H. (Ed.). (1986). *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Pepeluale 1871). ‘Elua ‘ano o kona pela ‘ana i ka mahina o Pepeluali, akā ‘a‘ole ma‘a au i ka pela ‘ana iā Pepeluali e like me kāna kākau ‘ana. Akā ua ‘ano ma‘alahi ka hō‘oia ‘ana ‘o Pepeluali nō ka mahina, no ka mea ua hiki ia‘u ke ho‘opili aku i nā mea i kama‘ilio ‘ia ma nā leka ma mua a me ma hope. Akā, ua pa‘akikī hou aku a ua nui ko‘u huikau i ka ‘ike ‘ana i kāna kākau ‘ana i ka mahina ‘o “Pepelila”. Ua mahu‘i koke au ‘o Pepeluali ka mahina a Emma i kākau ai e like me “Pepelila”, eia kā, ‘o ‘Apelila nō ia. Ua hō‘oia au, ‘a‘ole ‘o Pepeluali ka mahina no ka mea, ua noi ‘o Emmalani iā Hipa e ho‘oili i mau “kii uwahi” ma ka lā 15 o ‘Apelila, a ma ka lā 18 o ‘Apelila, ua ha‘i akula ‘o Hipa, “ua loaa kekahī o na kii a o ka mea lawe i ka mikina paha” (Young, 18 Pepelila¹¹ 1871). Ma kēia palapala noi‘i, ua mālama au i ke ‘ano o ka pela ‘ana a ka mea kākau no ka mea, makemake au e ho‘ōla hou i ia mau hua ‘ōlelo a i ‘ole inoa. No ka mea, i ko‘u mana‘o, aia paha he mau kumu i loa‘a ai he mau ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana i kekahī mea, akā e nalo ana ka ‘ike i ka ho‘ohana ‘ole ‘ia.

Ka papahana o kēia palapala noi‘i

Ma ka Māhele II, e ho‘olauna ana au i nā ali‘i wahine ‘ekolu, ‘o Emma Kaleleonālani, Fanny Kekelaokalani, a me Ruth Ke‘elikōlani. Ua ho‘okahua ‘ia kēia palapala noi‘i holo‘oko‘a ma luna o kā lākou mau mo‘olelo ma nā leka. No laila, he pono ke wehewehe i kekahī mau ‘ano o ka nohona ma ka wā a lākou i kākau ai i ka leka. Ua noi‘i ‘ia kekahī mau mea e pili ana i kēia mau wāhine ma mua, akā ua ‘ike au, he ‘ike hou aku kā nā leka e ho‘oulu ai i nā mo‘olelo i kākau ‘ē ‘ia e pili ana iā Emma, Hipa, a me Ke‘elikōlani. A laila, e ho‘ohālikelike ana au i ke ‘ano o kā lākou kākau ‘ana, ‘o ke kākau lima a me nā hua ‘ōlelo, i no‘ono‘o ka mea heluhelu i ka mea e ‘oko‘a ai a i ‘ole e like ai

¹¹ ‘O ‘Apelila ka mahina.

kā lākou ‘ōlelo me kā kākou ‘ōlelo i kēia mau lā. Ma ka heluhelu ‘ana i kā lākou mau leka hiki ke hele a kama‘āina i ke ‘ano o ko lākou ‘ano i ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana me ka mea kama‘āina iā lākou. Ma hope, ma ka Māhele III e kālailai ana au i nā hua ‘ōlelo e pili ana i ka ho‘opuka ‘ana i ka mana‘o mai ka waha a me ka hō‘ike mana‘o ma ka palapala, i mea e ho‘ākaka ai i kekahi mau mana‘o o nā hua ‘ōlelo ma‘amau i kēia mau lā. Ua loli ko‘u mau mana‘o e pili ana i kēia mau hua ‘ōlelo “ma‘amau” i ho‘ohana nui ‘ia e ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kēia mau lā. Ma ia māhele like e hō‘ike ana au i kekahi mau mana‘o hou o‘u e pili ana i nā mea i wehewehe ‘ole ‘ia ma ka puke wehewehe a me ka puke ‘ōlelo no‘eau. A laila, ma ka Māhele IV e wehewehe ana au i ko‘u mana‘o e pili ana i nā leka a me ka waiwai o nā leka i kēia mau lā, a me nā kumuhana e noi‘i ai mai kēia mua aku.

MĀHELE II: Ka ho‘okahua ‘ana i ka papahana noi‘i

I mea kēia māhele e ho‘okahua ai i ko‘u mo‘olelo ‘ana e pili ana i nā leka a Hipa, Kaleleonālani, a me Ke‘elikōlani. E hō‘ike ana au i nā mea a‘u i noi‘i ai e pili ana iā lākou, a me kekahī mau mo‘olelo mai nā leka mai e ho‘onui ana i ka ‘ike i loa‘a ma ka puke. No ka mea, ua waiwai loa nā leka ma muli o nā mo‘olelo a lākou i palapala ai na lākou iho. Aia kekahī ‘ike ma ka puke, akā ma nā leka ua loa‘a nā mo‘olelo e hō‘ike ana i ko lākou mau mana‘o pono‘ī a ua nele nā puke i kēia mo‘olelo ‘ole. Ma hope o ka ho‘olauna ‘ana i nā ali‘i wahine, e hō‘ike ana au i ka‘u noi‘i e pili ana i ke kākau leka no ka mea, he hana kēia i kālai ‘ia no kona waiwai i ka mo‘olelo kānaka. A laila, e hō‘ike ana au i ko‘u kālailai ‘ana i ke ‘ano o nā leka a‘u i noi‘i ai, a me ke ‘ano o ka‘u hana ia‘u e palapala ana a e heluhelu ana i kēia mau leka no ka ho‘omaopopo pono.

No Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young

Ua hānau ‘ia ‘o Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young i ka lā 21 o Iulai, makahiki 1806 ma ka Moku o Keawe. ‘O ia ke kaikamahine a Kuamo‘o Ka‘ōana‘eha, he kaikamahine hanauna a Kamehameha I, a me kāna kāne ‘o John Young, ka mea a‘oa‘o a Kamehameha I a me ke kia‘āina o ka mokupuni ‘o Hawai‘i. Ua male ‘o Fanny me Henry Coleman Lewis, no Kaua‘i mai, a hānau ‘ia he kaikamahine ‘o Mary Polly Pa‘a‘āina i ka makahiki 1833.¹² Ma hope, ua male ‘o ia me Hon. George Na‘ea a ua hānau ‘ia he kaikamahine ‘o Emma Kalanikaumakaamano Na‘ea i ka makahiki 1836. Lawe hānai ‘ia ‘o Emma e ko Hipā kaikaina, ‘o Grace Kamaikui Rooke lāua ‘o kāna kāne ‘o Thomas Charles Byde Rooke, he kauka, nāna i mālama i ko Emma kupuna kāne ‘o John Young ma mua o kona hala ‘ana i ka makahiki 1835 (Kanahēle, 1999, ‘a. 5).

¹² ‘A‘ohe o‘u ‘ike no ko lāua male ‘ana, a me ka ‘oki male paha a i ‘ole ka hala ‘ana o Lewis.

Kāka‘ikahi nō nā mea i kākau ‘ia e pili ana iā Hipa, eia na‘e, ua ‘ōlelo ‘ia aia iā Hipa ke kuleana o ka mālama mo‘okū‘auhau no kona ‘ohana, wahi a Korn (1976),

Fanny Kekela, just as everyone always says, is the family authority on historical matters. Undoubtedly Fanny Kekela must have owed much of her knowledge of old Hawaii to her mother, Kaoana‘eha...(who) passed her last years in the household of Dr. T. C. B. Cooke, and so both Peter and Emma as children came into contact with a grandmother who was over fifty years old at the time of the breaking of the eating- tabu and the arrival of the first Protestant missionaries. (Korn, ‘a. 47)

E ‘ole kēia ‘imi noi‘i ‘ana a Korn, he ‘ike ko kākou e pili ana i ka po‘e ko‘iko‘i i pili iā Emmalani lāua ‘o Hipa. Ua hala ‘o Fanny Young i ke ala ho‘i ‘ole mai i ka lā 4 o Kepakemapa, 1880, a ua ho‘olaha ‘ia ka paikau ho‘olewa ona me ka hō‘ike pū i kona mau inoa a‘u i ‘ike ‘ole ai ma mua, he mau inoa laha ‘ole. No laila, i mea e mahalo ai iā ia, makemake au e hō‘ike i ko‘u mahalo ma ‘ane‘i iā Fanny Young Kekelaokalani Kekuaipoiwa Kailikulani Leleoili Kulua, he wahine aloha (Cummins, 1880).

No Emma Kaleleonālani

Ua hānau ‘ia ‘o Emma Kalanikaumakaamano Na‘ea i ka makahiki 1836 ma ka moku o Keawe. ‘O Fanny Kekelaokalani Young Na‘ea lāua ‘o Hon. George Na‘ea kona mau mākua. He kāka‘ikahi ka ‘ike ‘ana i ka inoa o ko Emma makua kāne ma nā palapala kahiko, koe kekahī mau manawa, ua ‘ōlelo ‘ia ua ma‘i ‘o ia i ka ma‘i lepela. ‘O ia paha kekahī kumu i ‘ike ‘ole nui ‘ia kona inoa ma nā puke, akā pēnei kekahī, “George Naea, the husband of Queen Emma’s mother, was a leper in the year 1838; he died in 1854,” (Mouritz, 1916, ‘a. 30). Ma hope pono o kona hānau ‘ia ‘ana ua lawe hānai ‘ia ‘o Emma e

ke kaikua‘ana o Fanny, ‘o Grace Kamaikui a me kāna kāne ‘o Thomas Charles Byde Rooke. Ua koho ‘ia ‘o ia e ka Mō‘ī ‘o Kauikeaouli Kamehameha III, e noho ma ka Papa Ola mua o ke aupuni.¹³ I kona wā ‘ōpiopio ua hānai ‘ia ‘o Emma ma Luka Hale,¹⁴ a ua mālama kona makua kāne hānai i nā kānaka like ‘ole ma ko lākou hale ma ke ‘ano he hale ma‘i, no ka mea, ua ho‘oka‘awale ‘ia ka papahēle mua o ka hale no ka po‘e ma‘i. No ia kumu, ua piha ka hale i ka po‘e a ua hele a ma‘a ‘o Emma i ka noho pū ‘ana me nā kānaka like ‘ole. A laila, ma muli o kona kūlana ali‘i a me ke kūlana o kona mau mākua, ua piha pū ka hale i ka po‘e mālama. Wahi a Kanahele (1999), “If the Rookes were typical, the regular household staff comprised at least one or two wet nurses for Emma, a cook, a gardener, a stable or carriage attendants, and a cleaning woman. If each servant's family averaged four persons, the staff would total twenty-four persons” (‘a. 20). Ua makemake nui ‘o Grace i ka ho‘okipa ‘ana i ka po‘e ma Hale Luka, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Rooke House, “[Grace] hosted, with her husband, the social events, parties, teas, and receptions for which they were well known. Steeped in the ali‘i tradition of ho‘okipa or hospitality, Grace was a gracious hostess.” (Kanahele, 1999, ‘a. 20). Ua ili kēia mau loina o kona mau mākua ma luna o Emmalani, a i kona wā makua pēlā pū kāna hana ma ka hale ali‘i.

Ka lilo ‘ana o Emmalani i Mō‘īwahine a me kona kapa ‘ia ‘ana ‘o Kaleleonālani

I ka makahiki 1856 ua ho‘ao ‘o Emmalani lāua ‘o ka Mō‘ī ‘o Alexander Liholiho Kamehameha IV. Ua hānau ‘ia he keiki kāne, ke Keiki Ali‘i ‘o Edward Albert Kauikeaouli Leiopapa Kamehameha, Ka Haku o Hawai‘i, i ka makahiki 1858. Ua pili ‘o

¹³ “On December 13, 1850, the first Board of Health was organized by the order of King Kamehameha III, by and with this advice of his Privy Council.” ‘O T.C.B. Rooke kekahī o nā kauka he ‘ehiku i noho ma ka Papa Ola. (Mouritz, 1916, ‘a. 32)

¹⁴ ‘O Luka Hale kekahī inoa no Rooke House.

Emmalani a me Alexander i ka Mō‘īkāne ‘o Albert a me ka Mō‘īwahine ‘o Wikolia o ‘Enelani a ma muli o ia pilina, kapa ‘ia ke keiki a lāua ma ka inoa ‘o Albert. I kona wā ‘ōpio, ua kipa aku ‘o Alexander iā ‘Enelani a mai ia manawa aku ua nui ke aloha o lākou. Ua nonoi ‘ia ka Mō‘īwahine ‘o Wikolia e Emmalani, e lilo ‘o ia, ‘o ia ka makua papakema no Edward Albert, a ua ‘ae ‘ia. Inā kipa ‘oe iā Hānaiakamālama i kēia wā, aia ma ka hale ali‘i ke kī‘aha papakema āna i makana ai no ko Albert ‘aha papakema. I ka makahiki 1862, ua ho‘i aku ‘o Edward Albert Kauikeaouli i ka pouli o kona Haku Maika‘i, i ka hā o kona mau makahiki. Ho‘okahi wale nō makahiki ma hope, ua hahai ka Mō‘ī ‘o Alexander Liholiho i ke alahele ho‘i ‘ole i hele mua ‘ia e kāna keiki aloha. I ka hala ‘ana o kāna keiki ‘o Albert Edward Kauikeaouli, ua kapa ‘ia ‘o Emma ma ka inoa ‘o Kaleleokalani- no ka lele ‘ana a‘e o kāna keiki aloha i ka lani lā. A laila i ka hala ‘ana o Alexander Liholiho i ka makahiki ma hope mai, ua loli iki kona inoa kapakapa i ka inoa ‘o Kaleleonālani- ma muli o kona mau lani ‘elua i hala.

No Ruth Ke‘elikōlani

Hanohano ‘o Ke‘elikōlani ma muli o kona kūpa‘a ‘ana i nā loina kahiko o ka ho‘omana Hawai‘i a me ka ‘ōlelo. Ua hānau ‘ia ‘o Luka Ke‘elikōlani Keanolani Kanahoahoa i ka mahina ‘o Pepeluali i ka makahiki 1826 ma Pohukaina, O‘ahu. ‘O ke Ali‘i Wahine Pauahi kona makuahine. Wahi a nā mo‘olelo, he keiki po‘olua ‘o ia. ‘Elua ona makuakāne, ‘o Kahala‘i‘a Luanu‘u lāua ‘o Mataio Kekūanaō‘a. Ua kākau ‘o Samuel Kamakau e pili ana i ko Pauahi hāpai ‘ana, “When the boat (H.M.S. Blonde) arrived, Pauahi was still with Kahala‘i‘a. She became the wife of Kekuanaoa after a time, but she was already carrying Ruth Keelikolani and that is why Ruth was said to be ‘double headed’...po‘olua...a child of two fathers” (Zambucka, 1977, ‘a. 12). Ua hānai ‘ia ‘o ia a

hiki i ka piha ‘ana he ‘umi kumamākolu mau makahiki iā ia ma ka hale a Mataio Kekūanaō‘a a me kāna wahine ‘o ke Ali‘i Wahine Elisabeth Kīna‘u a me kā lāua mau keiki, ‘o Moses Kekūaiwa, Lot Kapuāiwa, a me Alexander Liholiho, a me Victoria Kamāmalu. Ua hele pū ‘o ia me lākou i ke Kula Kamali‘i Ali‘i ma Honolulu.¹⁵ Ua ‘olelo ‘ia, he wahine kūpa‘a nō ‘o Ke‘elikōlani ma ka ‘olelo Hawai‘i i loko nō o kona ho‘omaopopo i ka ‘olelo Pelekānia, “Ruth refused to mingle with the American Missionaries who had been the influential associates of her late guardian Queen Kaahumanu...a further stubbornness on Ruth’s part was evidenced by her refusal to speak the English language which she knew very well. She persisted in speaking only Hawaiian, especially to her late son, as she had wanted him always to remain strongly Hawaiian in his ways” (Zambucka, ‘a. 24). ‘O kāna keiki kāne ‘o William Pitt Kalāho‘olewa Leleiohoku II, a ua noho lāua ma Ka‘akopua, ko lāua hale ma Honolulu.

Ka lilo ‘ana o Ke‘elikōlani i makuahine

E like me Emmalani, ua ‘ike ‘o Ke‘elikōlani i ka ‘eha‘eha o ka hala ‘ana o ke kāne a me ke keiki. Ua ‘ike nō ho‘i ‘o ia i ke aloha pumehana o ke keiki, a ‘o ia kekahī wā hau‘oli ma kona ola, i kona hānai ‘ana i kāna mau keiki. ‘O kāna kāne mua ‘o William Pitt Leleiohoku. Ua hala ‘o ia i ka makahiki 1848, i ia manawa he iwakālua kumamālua makahiki o Ke‘elikōlani. I ko lāua ho‘āo ‘ana ua keiki lāua, akā ua hala koke ke keiki. ‘O ka lua o kāna mau keiki, ‘o John William Pitt Kīna‘u. ‘A‘ole i lō‘ihī kona ola ‘ana ma ‘ane‘i, a ua ho‘i aku ‘o ia i kona mau ‘aumākua i ka makahiki 1859 i ka piha ‘ana iā ia he ‘umi kumamāhiku mau makahiki. Ua ho‘āo hou ‘o Ke‘elikōlani iā Isaac Young Davis. Ua ‘olelo ‘ia ‘o Davis he kanaka ‘olelo Hawai‘i, “two years Ruth’s senior,

¹⁵ Royal School ma Honolulu

he was a shy, good-looking man standing 6ft. 2in. who spoke little English," (Zambucka, 'a. 26). He mea hoihoi nō ho'i kēia 'oiai ua 'ōlelo 'ia, he wahine kūpa'a ma ka 'ōlelo Hawai'i 'o Ke'elikōlani, a pēlā pū kāna kāne. I ka makahiki 1862, ua keiki lāua, 'o Keolaokalani Davis, a ua lawe hānai 'ia e Bernice Pauahi Bishop. Ua kapa 'ia 'o ia 'o Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika, akā, ua hala 'o ia i kona wā kamali'i ma mua o kona piha 'ana he ho'okahi makahiki.

Ka nohona hau'oli me Leleiohoku ma Ka'akopua

'O ke kolu o kāna mau keiki, 'o William Pitt Kalāho'olewa Leleiohoku II. Ua lawe hānai 'o Ke'elikōlani iā ia ma ka makahiki 1862, iā ia he 'ehiku makahiki. 'O Leleiohōkū ke keiki a nā Ali'i 'o Kapa'akea a me Keohokālole, a 'o David Kalākaua, Lili'uokalani, a me Miriam Likelike kona mau hoa hānau. Nui nā mo'olelo e pili ana i ko lāua pilina, a ua piha hau'oli 'o Ke'elikōlani i kona hānai 'ana iā ia. He keiki akamai nō ho'i 'o Leleiohoku, a ua 'a'a 'o ia i ka hula a me ka haku mele. Ua kaulana ko lāua hale 'o Ka'akopua, ma Honolulu, i ka mele a ma ka hula. Eia kahi hali'a aloha a Curtis Piehu Iaukea e pili ana i kēlā hale, "...as a member of the Kawaihau Glee Club sponsored by Prince Leleiohoku, we used to go out of evenings with a new song or two the Prince had composed, to serenade... We'd find ourselves winding up in the 'wee small hours' of the morning at Kaakopua, Emma St. where the Prince was living with his mother by adoption, the High Chiefess Ruth Keelikolani... happy days those were... long to be remembered." (Zambucka, 'ao'ao 52). He 'ōpio wale 'o Leleiohōkū i kona hala 'ana i ka makahiki 1877, ua piha he iwakālua kumamākolu mau makahiki iā ia.

Ua ho'i 'o Ke'elikōlani i Kailua, Hawai'i akā mālama 'ia ka nani o Ka'akopua no nā makahiki he nui. Me he mea lā ua hāmama ka puke o ka hale no ka 'ohana o

Ke‘elikōlani, a i kekahi manawa, kono ‘o ia iā Kaleleonālani e mālama i ka ‘aha ‘aina ma laila. Ma nā leka a‘u i nānā ai, ua kākau ‘o Kaleleonālani e pili ana i kona ho‘olālā ‘ana i pā‘ina ma laila, “e manao ana au e haawi i wahi hula ha’ole iloko o ka lanai piula ma Kaakopua, he wahi ahaaina no kuu kauka o Makipina” (Kaleleonālani, 13 April, 1883). Aia ‘o Ke‘elikōlani ma Kailua i ia manawa, akā ua lohe ‘o ia no ka ‘aha ‘aina ma hope a ua piha wale i ka hau‘oli no ka mea, makemake ‘o ia e hele ka po‘e i laila no ka ho‘olaule‘a, “ua hai mai nei o maea iau i ta aha aina hula a outou i taatopua ua olioli au i tou hoolohe ana i tau kauoha ia oe pela no laila wa nui kau olioli ana loha kaua ia taua iho” (Ke‘elikōlani, 20 Apeli, 1883).

He ‘a‘ala ka inoa o ke ali‘i

Ma loko o kēia palapala noi‘i, ho‘ohana pinepine au i nā inoa kapakapa no Emmalani a me Fanny. Ma muli kēia o ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana i ko lāua mau inoa kapakapa ma nā leka. Ua no‘ono‘o a‘ela au i ka ‘ōlelo, ‘a‘ala ka inoa, no ka mea, pili ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘a‘ala i ke kūlana ali‘i, “fragrance, perfume, aroma, sweet scent, of high rank, royal” (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 3).¹⁶ Ma nā leka a me nā puke i kākau ‘ia, ua kapa ‘ia kēia mau ali‘i ma nā inoa kapakapa, akā ‘a‘ole paha i kama‘āina ka mea heluhelu i nā inoa a pau. No laila, ua ho‘ohana au i ia mau inoa i ‘a‘ala ko lākou inoa ma nā wahi a pau o kēia palapala, a i mea e kama‘āina ai nā inoa i ka mea heluhelu.

¹⁶ Hō‘ike ‘ia ka ‘ao‘ao o ka puke i heluhelu ‘ia i loko o ke kaha ‘apo e like me kēia, (‘a. 3) ‘o ia ho‘i, ka ‘ao‘ao 3 o ka puke.

Nā inoa kapakapa o Emma

Ua kapa ‘ia ka Mō‘ī wahine Emma ma ka inoa ‘o Kaleleonālani, Kaleleokalani, a me Emma, e kona makuahine ‘o Hipa a me kona hoa hānau ‘o Ruth Ke‘elikōlani.¹⁷ ‘O ia nā inoa i ‘ike ‘ia ma nā leka. Akā, ua kaulana ‘o ia i ka inoa ‘o Emalani a i ‘ole ‘o Emmalani kekahi, he mau inoa kapakapa ma hope o kona lilo ‘ana i Mō‘ī wahine, “Up until June 19, 1856, people called her ‘Miss Emma Rooke,’ but now Emma had to become accustomed to people addressing her as ‘Queen’...Her native people now endearingly called her ‘Emalani’ (heavenly Emma), a name that would be celebrated in mele (chant) honoring her henceforth” (Kanehele, 1999, ‘a. 65).¹⁸ A hiki i kēia manawa, ua kaulana nō ‘o ia ma ka inoa ‘o Kaleleokalani a me Kaleleonālani ma hope o ka hala ‘ana i kāna kāne a me kāna keiki, “After the death of her child she called herself Kaleleokalani, ‘The flight of the heavenly chief,’ and after the death of her husband she became Kaleleonālani, ‘The flight of the heavenly chiefs’” (Peterson, 1984, ‘a.120). Ma kāna leka ‘ana iā Hipa ma ka makahiki 1871 (i ia manawa he ‘ewalu makahiki ka lō‘ihī o kona nohona ka‘akūmākena) a me kāna leka ‘ana iā Ke‘elikōlani i ka makahiki 1883, ua pūlima ‘o ia i kona inoa ‘o Kaleleonālani. Eia na‘e, i kekahi manawa, ‘ike ‘ia ‘o Kaleleokalani.¹⁹

¹⁷ “Ka Moi Wahine Ema Kaleleonālani” (Ke‘elikōlani, 21 Mei 1883), “Aloha nui oe e kaleleokalani a me wikanī,” (Young, 25 Mei 1871), “ua paa mua na hooilina o makou no ema he malama ke lii iau,” (Young, 5 Malaki 1871).

¹⁸ E kākau ana au i kona inoa me ‘elua “m”, e like me “Emmalani” ‘oiai, ‘o Emmalani kona ‘ano ma‘amau i ‘ike ‘ia ai.

¹⁹ He ‘elima manawa o ko Emma pūlima ‘ana i ka inoa ‘o ‘Kaleleokalani’ ma hope o ka makahiki 1863: 28 Ianuali 1871; 1 Pepeluali 1871; 13 Pepeluale 1871; 15 Pepeluale 1871; 2 Malaki 1871. Kohu ‘ole i ka mana‘o i laha no ka loli ‘ana o kona inoa mai Kaleleokalani i Kaleleonālani, ma hope o ka ho‘i ‘ana o Albert Kauikeaouli a me Alexander Liholihi i ke ao polohiwa a Kāne.

‘Oiai he po‘e ali‘i lākou, ua nui paha nā inoa o nā ali‘i wahine i kapa ‘ia e ka lehulehu, a ua kaulana ko lākou mau inoa ma nā wahi like ‘ole. Eia na‘e, he mea ko‘iko‘i ka inoa i kapa ‘ia ai e kona mau hoa a ‘ohana a me ka inoa āna i makemake ai nona iho. E nānā a‘e paha i kekahi mau inoa kapakapa o Emmalani. Ua ho‘ohanohano ‘ia ‘o ia ma nā mele a me nā oli ma ka inoa ‘o Nalanielua, Kaleionamoku, Kalanikaumakaamano, a me Kukailimoku (Nogelmeier, 2001, ‘a. 8), akā, i ka nānā aku, ‘a‘ole i ‘ike ‘ia kēia mau inoa ma nā palapala ‘ē a‘e e pili ana iā ia.

Ka inoa kapakapa o Fanny

‘O Hipa ka inoa kapakapa o Fanny Kekelaokalani Young, ka lūau‘i makuahine o Emma. ‘O ka ‘ōlelo mua a Emma ma kāna mau leka iā Hipa penei, “Aloha e Hipa,” (Kaleleonālani, 28 Ianuali, 1871) a pēlā kā Hipa pūlima i ka hapanui o nā leka, ma ka inoa ‘o Hipa. Eia na‘e, ua ‘ike au he ‘ekolu manawa o ko Hipa pūlima ‘ana ma ka inoa ‘o “Kekelaokalani”²⁰ akā, ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i kapa ‘ia pēlā e Emma. ‘O Kekelaokalani ka inoa waena o Fanny. Mali‘a paha, ‘o Hipa he inoa kapakapa aloha na Emmalani nona, no ka mea, ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i kapa aku iā ia ma ka inoa ‘o “makuahine” a i ‘ole “māmā”.

Ka inoa kapakapa o Ke‘elikōlani

Ua kapa ‘ia ‘o Ke‘elikōlani ma kēia mau leka ma ka inoa ‘o Ke‘elikōlani. I kekahi manawa, ua kākau ‘o Hipa e pili ana iā ia a pēnei kona pela ‘ana, “Keelikola” (Young, 5 Malaki 1871) akā he kākau hewa paha, ‘a‘ole paha. Ma nā leka ma waena o Ke‘elikōlani a me Emmalani, ua pūlima ‘ia ‘o “R. Keelikolani”, koe ka manawa hope loa o kona leka

²⁰ He ‘ekolu manawa o kona pūlima ‘ana i ka inoa ‘o ‘Kekelaokalani’: 7 Iulai 1871; 30 Iulai, 1871; 21 Lekemapa*, 1871. *pēlā i pela ‘ia ai

‘ana iā Kaleleonālani. Ma kāna leka hope loa iā Kaleleonālani, ua pūlima ‘o ia i kona inoa ‘o “R. Keanolani”.²¹ ‘O Keanolani kekahi inoa waena o Ke‘elikōlani.

Ke koho ‘ana i nā leka no kēia Palapala Noi‘i

Aia ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop ka maka mua o ko‘u launa ‘ana me nā leka a Kaleleonālani, he mau leka i kākau ‘ia ma waena ona a me ke Ali‘i Wahine ‘o Ruth Ke‘elikōlani. Makahehi akula au i kā lāua ho‘oili leka ‘ana ma muli o ko lāua pilina i ‘ike ‘ia ma ke kākau ‘ana, he mau hoa pili lāua, a ua kapa ‘ia me ke aloha e lāua he mau aikane. Ma hope o ko‘u heluhelu ‘ana i ia mau leka ua huli a loa‘a kekahi mau leka hou aku ma ka Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni.

I loko o ka waihona leka ua loa‘a nā leka ma waena o ka makahiki 1860-1875. Aia kāna mau leka iā Peter Ka‘eo, kona hoa hānau e noho ana ma Kalaupapa, kona makuahine lawe hānai ‘o Grace Kamaikui Cooke, a me kona lūau‘i makuahine ‘o Fanny Hipa Young. Ua kākau ‘o ia ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kēia mau kānaka. No laila, i ko‘u wae ‘ana ua ‘imi au i ‘elua mea nui; makemake au i nā leka i kākau ‘ia ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i e Emma, a makemake ho‘i au i nā leka ho‘iho‘i mai ho‘iho‘i aku, i ‘ike ‘ia ka mo‘olelo piha o kēlā mau lā i hala mai kekahi leka i kekahi leka. Pēlā au i koho ai i nā leka ma waena ona a me kona makuahine ‘o Fanny Hipa Young ma ka makahiki 1871. I ia wā ua piha iā Emma he 35 mau makahiki, a ‘o kēia ka walu o nā makahiki e noho ka‘akūmākena ana.

Ma ka makahiki 1871 aia ‘o Kaleleonālani e noho ana ma Lāwa‘i, Kaua‘i. Ua hiki aku ‘o ia i laila me kona mau po‘e mai Honolulu ma ka lā 21 o Kēkēmapa o ka makahiki 1870 (Forbes, 1970, ‘a. 8) akā, ua ho‘omaka ka leka ‘ana o Kaleleonālani iā Hipa ma

²¹ ‘O kēia paha ka leka hope loa a Ke‘elikōlani. Kākau ‘ia ma ka lā 21 o Mei a ua hala ‘o Ke‘elikōlani he mau lā ma hope ma ka lā 24 o Mei, 1883.

hope, ma Ianuali o ka makahiki 1871. I ia manawa e noho ana ‘o Hipa ma Hānaiakamālama, ka hale ali‘i o Kaleleonālani a me Alexander Liholiho ma Nu‘uanu. Me he mea lā ua hau‘oli ‘o Emma i kona noho ‘ana ma Lāwa‘i, no ka mea ua pa‘ahana ‘o ia i ka ho‘owehi ‘ana i kona pā hale i nā kumu lā‘au like ‘ole. Ua kākau ‘o Kaleleonālani mai Lāwa‘i mai, “ke kanu nei makoi i ka laau, he hau he lai, maia, ko, e hooili mai oe i mea kanu pua ia Lui i mea e hihi la ma kuu puka aniani i Hānaiakamalama, a i ula mau,” (Kaleleonālani, 6 Malaki 1871). ‘Oiai mamao aku ‘o ia mai Honolulu mai, ‘oia ho‘i ke kapikala o ke Aupuni i ia manawa, he mea e ‘olu‘olu ai paha kona na‘au. ‘A‘ole ‘o ia i hō‘ike aku i ke kaumaha a i ‘ole ka mehameha paha i loko ona, akā i ko‘u mana‘o, ua kīkanu ‘o ia i kona aloha no kāna keiki a me kāna kāne ma lalo pū me nā hua o nā kumu lā‘au o kona pā hale ma Lāwa‘i.

Ma ka makahiki 1883, aia ‘o Kaleleonālani e noho ana ma Honolulu ma ka hale ali‘i ‘o Hānaiakamālama, a e noho ana ‘o Ke‘elikōlani ma Kailua, Kona ma ka hale ali‘i ‘o Hulihe‘e. I ia mau lā ua o‘o lāua, ua piha he 47 mau makahiki iā Kaleleonālani a he 57 mau makahiki iā Ke‘elikōlani. ‘A‘ole nō i li‘uli‘u ka ho‘oili ‘ana aku a Luka i kāna leka hope loa iā Emma ma ka lā 21 o Mei, a pau kona ola ‘ana i ka ma‘i ma ka lā 24 o Mei i ka makahiki 1883. ‘O kēia mau leka iā Emma paha nā leka hope loa i kākau ‘ia e Ke‘elikōlani. Ua hala ‘o Kaleleonālani i ho‘okahi makahiki ma hope, ma ka makahiki 1884.

Nā leka hope loa a Ke‘elikōlani

He waiwai loa nā leka a Ke‘elikōlani lāua o Kaleleonālani, no ka mea, ‘o ia paha nā leka hope loa a Ke‘elikōlani i ho‘oili ai i kekahi kanaka ma mua o kona hala ‘ana. Ua hala ‘o Ke‘elikōlani i ka lā 24 o Mei, 1883.

Papa Kuhikuhi 3.1 He papa kuhikuhi e hō ‘ike ana i nā leka ma waena o Kaleleonālani a me Ke‘elikōlani ma ka makahiki 1883

Kahi i kākau ‘ia ai ka leka	Ka lā i kākau ‘ia ai ka leka	Ka mea kākau
Puuloa	Mar 2 nd 1883	Kaleleonalani
Hanaiakamalama ²²	Mar 6 th 1883	Kaleleonalani
‘a ‘ole i hō ‘ike ‘ia	Malaki 27 th 1883	Kaleleonalani
Honolulu	Apr 13 1883	Kaleleonalani
‘a ‘ole i hō ‘ike ‘ia	20 Apeli 1883	R Keelikolani
‘a ‘ole i hō ‘ike ‘ia	1 May 1883	R Keanolani
Hanaiakamalama ²³	May 4 th 1883	Kaleleonalani
Rooke House ²⁴	May 8 th 1883	Kaleleonalani
Kailua Hawaii	Mei 11 1883	R Keelikolani
Honolulu	May 15 th 1883	Kaleleonālani
Kailua	21 Mei 1883	R Keanolani

Mana ‘o: I mea kēia papa kuhikuhi e hō‘ike ai i ka pili o nā lā o ka ho‘oili aku a me ka ho‘oili mai ‘ana i ka leka. Ua kākau ‘ia kahi i kākau ‘ia ai ka leka, ka lā i kākau ‘ia ai, a me ka pūlima o ka mea kākau e like loa me ka mea i hō‘ike ‘ia ai ma ka leka.

He waiwai nō ho‘i kēia mau leka no ka mea, he mau hoa pili lāua, a ua leka ‘o Ke‘elikōlani iā Emma a hiki aku i ka wā i hiki ‘ole ai iā ia ke kākau i ka leka nona iho. No ka mea, ma ka lā 11 a me ka lā 21 o Mei, ua hiki ke ‘ike, ‘oko‘a ke kākau lima ma ka leka a ‘oko‘a ke kākau lima ma‘amau a Ke‘elikōlani. No laila, i ko‘u kuhi, na kekahī i kākau i kēia mau leka nona, a na Ke‘elikōlani i pūlima wale nō. ‘A‘ole maopopo le‘a ia‘u ke ‘ano o ka ma‘i i loa‘a ai iā ia, akā, he ‘ike paha ko Emmalani e pili ana i ko Ke‘elikōlani ola kino, “Kaumaha hoi kau wehi leka no ko naenae, aka, no ka liuliu ole

²² ‘O kēia ka inoa ma luna o ka pepa ka‘akūmākena i kākau ‘ia ai e Kaleleonālani. ‘A‘ole ‘o ia i kākau iā “Hanaiakamalama”.

²³ ‘O kēia ka inoa ma luna o ka pepa ka‘akūmākena i kākau ‘ia ai e Kaleleonālani. ‘A‘ole ‘o ia i kākau iā “Hanaiakamalama”.

²⁴ ‘O kēia ka inoa ma luna o ka pepa ka‘akūmākena i kākau ‘ia ai e Kaleleonālani. ‘A‘ole ‘o ia i kākau iā “Rooke House”.

paha i laila o ka nohona malia paha maikai mai” (Kaleleonālani, 6 March 1883).²⁵ I loko na‘e o kona paupauaho, ua le‘ale‘a nō ‘o Ke‘elikōlani ma nā hana i mā‘ulu‘ulu ai ke kino, e like me ka he‘e nalu, “he maikai kuu ola ia tua aina nei no laila he aloha no ia outou e ia nae he oluolu ka noho ana ke hee nalu nei makou he mauluulu nae la ke note nei no i ta ai” (Ke‘elikōlani, 20 Apeli, 1883). He mahalo ko‘u i ka ‘ōlelo, “he maikai kuu ola ia tua aina”. Mahalo au i ke ‘ano o ko Ke‘elikōlani ‘ōlelo e hō‘ike ai i kona aloha no ka āina, a me he mea lā, ‘o ia ka mea i ola ai ‘o ia i loko o ka pa‘akikī o kona ‘ōma‘ima‘i. ‘A‘ole nō i li‘uli‘u a ua ma‘i hou ‘o ia ho‘okahi mahina ma hope, pēnei kāna kākau ‘ana iā Kaleleonālani, “Ua loohia au i ka mai fiva ikaika loa, aale o kuu mai mua, a no ka nui no hoi o ka maha i ka aila, ua loaa ae nei no ka maha i keia la,” (Ke‘elikōlani, 21 Mei 1883).

Wahi a kekahī kolamu nūpepa i pa‘i ‘ia i ka pule ma hope o kona hala ‘ana, “It appears that for nine days before her death, the old Chiefess has been suffering from an intermittent fever. She did not wish for friends in Honolulu to be needlessly alarmed, and it was without her knowledge that a relation had written requesting Queen Emma and the Hon. Mrs. C.R. Bishop to proceed at once to Hawaii.” (Zambucka, 1977, ‘a. 88).

He mea nui ka hele koke ‘ana aku o Emmalani i Kailua, Kona, me Pauahi Bishop, ‘o lāua nā ali‘i wahine i pili loa iā Ke‘elikōlani. Ua maopopo ‘ē a ua mākaukau ‘o Emmalani no ko Ke‘elikōlani kokoke ‘ana aku i ke ao polohiwa a Kāne ma muli o ko lāua leka pinepine ‘ana kekahī i kekahī. Lana ko‘u mana‘o, aia kekahī mau leka hou aku a Ke‘elikōlani a he makemake ko‘u e ‘imi i ia mau leka a e noi‘i i kona mau hoa āna i kākau ai i ka leka. He ali‘i wahine keu a ka lokomaika‘i a me ke aloha, a he pono ke

²⁵ ‘A‘ole i loa‘a ka leka a Ke‘elikōlani ma mua o kēia, no laila, ‘a‘ole hiki ke heluhelu i ko Ke‘elikōlani hō‘ike mua ‘ana i ka pilikia. Naenae: shortness of breath, to pant or pant or puff for breath, as a result of overexercise or asthma. (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 257)

ho‘ohanohano ‘ia kona inoa ma muli o kona mālama ‘ana i nā ali‘i wahine ‘ē a‘e o ke aupuni Hawai‘i. E ‘ole ‘o ia, loa‘a ai ka ho‘oilina like ‘ole i ho‘okumu ‘ia e ia mau ali‘i wahine no nā Hawai‘i.

Ma kēia māhele o ka palapala noi‘i, makemake au e hō‘ike i kekahi mau mea a‘u i kālailai ai ma ko‘u ‘imi noi‘i ‘ana. He mau mana‘o hou paha kēia, ‘a‘ole paha, akā he mea maika‘i na‘e ke ho‘omaka kākou e kama‘ilio e pili ana i kēia mau mea, no ka mea, ‘o kekahi pahu hopu nui o kēia pepa, ‘oia ka ho‘ohālikelike ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo ma nā leka a me kā kākou ‘ōlelo i kēia mau lā i mea e ho‘ikaika ai a kālailai hou ‘ia nā mea maika‘i a me nā mea nāwaliwali o kā kākou ‘ōlelo.

Nā leka a me nā palapala ‘ē a‘e i kākau ‘ia

Nā leka a Emmalani lāua ‘o Peter Ka‘eo

I ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana, ‘a‘ole i noi‘i ‘ia nā leka a nā ali‘i ma mua, koe nā leka a Emmalani i kākau ai ma ka ‘ōlelo Pelekānia i kona hoa hānau. Na Alfons L. Korn i noi‘i i kēia mau leka, a ua kākau ‘o ia i ka puke ‘o *News From Molokai, Letters Between Peter Kaeo & Queen Emma, 1873-1876*. ‘O kēia puke ho‘okahi ka mea e hō‘ike ana i nā leka mai ka Hawai‘i i ka Hawai‘i i ke kenekulia ‘umi kumamāiwa. Eia ho‘i, he mau leka ali‘i kēia no ka mea, ‘o Peter Ka‘eo ke keiki a Jane Lahilahi Young, ka hoa hānau muli o Grace a me Hipa Young. I ia mau makahiki e noho ana ‘o Ka‘eo ma Kalaupapa, Moloka‘i a ua mo‘olelo ‘o ia e pili ana i ka nohona pa‘akikī o ka po‘e ma‘i ali‘i ma Kalaupapa. Ua lilo ia puke i kumu waiwai no‘u no ka mea, ua hō‘ike mai ‘o Korn i nā inoa o ka po‘e o ke alo ali‘i. He mau kānaka nui kēia no ka mea ‘o ia ka po‘e i mālama i ka hale. Wahi a Kanahele (1999) “No ranking ali‘i ever went without kapu (sacred prohibition) or kahu (attendant)...from birth to death attendants always surrounded their chiefly masters,

caring for their every need, desire, or whim” (‘a. 15). He kōkua nui ia i ko‘u ho‘okama‘āina ‘ana i nā inoa i kākau pinepine ‘ia ma nā leka a Emmalani a me Hipa no ka mea, kokoke nō ka wā o ko Ka‘eo noho ‘ana ma Kalaupapa a me ko Kaleleonālani noho ‘ana ma Lāwa‘i, no laila ua like ka po‘e o ka hale i ia mau lā. Eia mai kekahi ‘ōlelo a Hipa e hō‘ike ana i kekahi mau inoa i kama‘āina ‘ole ia‘u, “Aloha oe a me wikani ma a me ko kakou poe no apau a me keomailani,” (Young, 14 Ianuali, 1871). I ka huli ‘ana i ka puke a Korns a ua ‘ōlelo ‘ia ‘o Wikani, he “elderly female relative of Emma and her mother, sometimes referred to as 'Aunt Wikani,'" (Korn, 1976, ‘a. 45) a ‘o Keomailani, he “high chiefess and granddaughter of an uncle of Emma. She was a daughter of Emma’s attendant, Kamakaiaiau,” (Korn, ‘a. 41). No laila, e ‘ole kēia hana a Korn, e kama‘āina ai ka mea heluhelu ma kekahi ‘ano i nā kānaka kūikawā i koho ‘ia e noho i ke alo o ke ali‘i ma loko o kona hale.

Ko Emma ho‘āhu ‘ana i nā hana no‘eau

Ua puni ‘o Emmalani i ‘elua mau hana, ‘o ka ho‘āhu ‘ana i nā hana no‘eau like ‘ole, a me ka ho‘oulu ‘ana i ka mea kanu. Ua palapala ‘ia kēia mau mea ma nā puke like ‘ole e pili ana iā Emma, a laila, ua ‘ike au i ka ‘oia‘i‘o o kona makemake i kēia mau hana ma nā leka. Ua ‘ōlelo ‘ia puni ‘o ia i ka ho‘āhu ‘ana i nā mea hana no‘eau no ka mea, ua mahalo ‘o ia i ke ola i loko o ia mau mea. ‘O ka ‘uhane o ka mea nāna i hana, nō ho‘i.

[The Queen] knew the value of the richly grained kou wood that was once used to make the great calabashes of the alii. These by now were rare because the trees had been almost eradicated by the red spider, an introduced insect. By 1870 both chiefs and wealthy residents were storing (and hoarding) quantities of kou to be carved into bowls and furniture (Kanahele, 1999, ‘a. 253).

Ua no‘ono‘o ‘o Kaleleonālani e pili ana i ka waiwai o kāna mea e hō‘ili‘ili ana, akā, ‘a‘ohe ona mahalo i ka po‘e waiwai e kū‘ai ana i ia mau mea me ka nānā ‘ole i kona waiwai maoli – ke ola o loko o ia mau mea. “[Kaleleonalani] criticized Kawai's wife for seeing only the external ‘lustre and value’ of the bowls: ‘She doesn't see the maker's soul inside...This is why I want to procure them’.” (Kanahele, ‘a. 253) He mau mea waiwai kēia iā Emma no ka mea, ua ‘ike ‘o ia i ka mana o ke kanaka nāna i hana e ola ana ma loko. E kāko‘o ana kēia i ko‘u kuhi, ua waiwai ka leka (kahi hana no‘eau) ma muli o ke kanaka nāna i kākau, no ka mea, i ke kākau ‘ana ua komo pū kona mana i loko. Ma kekahī leka a Kaleleonālani i ka makahiki 1869, ua hō‘ike ‘o ia i kona hopohopo ‘ana i kēia mau mea, e pau ana i ka nānā ‘ole,

Our beautiful as well as old and original articles of native manufacture such as dress ornaments, tools, implements of husbandry, warfare, etc. etc. have become so scarce by the universal adoption of foreign habits that nearly all purely Hawaiian things have quite disappeared from disuse (Kanahele, 1999, ‘a. 252).

Me he mea lā, ua hō‘ili‘ili nō ‘o ia i kekahī mau mea iā ia e noho ana ma Kaua‘i no ka mea, ua helu papa ‘o ia i nā mea āna i ho‘oili ai i Honolulu mai Lāwa‘i mai, “kahi ope pupu liilii keokeo au o Niihau,” (Kaleleonālani, 15 Pepeluale, 1871); “Elua halii pulupulu 1 halii lilina i hookomo ia me na ipu i ke ie kapa lepo, a he pua pulumi niau me kahi laau hula kalaau, me ohe kapala elua, a he pauku mokihana na Koakanu,” a me ke “kapa, moena, ipu laau, puhue kela mea keia mea, puniu liilii laau kauila, ohe” (Kaleleonālani, 6 Malaki, 1871). I ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana, he mea kāka‘ikahi kona ho‘oili ‘ana aku i nā ukana akā, ua noi pinepine ‘o ia i mau ukana mai Honolulu mai. I ka hapa nui o ka manawa, he mau lako hana kāna i noi ai. E like me nā lako no ka ho‘omākaukau ‘ana i ka ‘auwai ma

Lāwa‘i, “ke manao nei au e hoomaka e eli i ka auai a makou, a makemake au i lole no kanaka me ka wahine, a i mau pahu pia paha kahi, o ka pia emi nohoi, i mea hoopumehana,” (Kaleleonālani, 13 Pepeluale, 1871). No laila, mana‘o au, ke ho‘oili aku ‘o ia i ka ukana i Honolulu, ‘a‘ole ia he mau lako pono, he mau mea no ka ho‘āhu ‘ana wale nō.

Ko Emma ho‘oulu ‘ana i ka pā hale ma Lāwa‘i

Ua makemake nui ‘o Emma i kāna mau mea kanu a me ka hō‘ili‘ili ‘ana i nā mea kanu hou, a me ke kanu ‘ana ma ka māla. Mea mai ‘o Forbes (1970) ma kāna puke ‘o *Queen Emma and Lawai*, “The Queen's letters to her family in Honolulu are full of requests for plant slips. Lauae ferns, 'Haole Lehua,' rose apple, Kamani and mango tree slips, bamboo, pandanus and bougainvillea are among the plants requested that are now found growing in the garden” (‘a. 9). I ko‘u heluhelu ‘ana e pili ana i nā mea kanu e ulu mau ana ma Lāwa‘i a hiki i kēia lā, ua kau ko‘u mana‘o i ka hali‘a o ko‘u huaka‘i ‘ana i Lāwa‘i ma Iune o ka makahiki 2011 me nā haumāna laeo‘o ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i o Kawaihuelani. Ua noho mālie mākou ma ka malu o ke kumu lā‘au wī ma hope o ke kipa ‘ana i ko Emma pupupu hale, ua kapa ‘ia ‘o Maunakilohana (Forbes, ‘a. 8). Ua ‘ako ‘ia nā hua o ke kumu lā‘au wī a lawe ‘ia i ka hale a ma laila i a‘o ai ‘o Kumu Ipo Wong i ka ho‘omākaukau ‘ana i nā hua i mea ‘ono. Ma hope, ua pū‘iwa au i ka ‘ike ‘ana, na Emma nō i kanu i ia kumu lā‘au wī, “some of the trees still to be seen growing in the garden were undoubtedly planed by the queen, among which are the tamarind and the thornless kiawe growing near the river, whose slips were a gift of Dr. James W. Smith of nearby Koloa.” (Forbes, ‘a. 9). Kāhāhā wale ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana, ua ‘ai au i ka wī na ka Mō‘īwahine i kanu me kona mau lima pono‘ī.

Ka loina kākau leka

No ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana i nā waihona leka ali‘i a me nā waihona leka o ka po‘e i nā ali‘i, mana‘o au he mau po‘e kākau leka ka Hawai‘i i ke au ma mua. Ua ‘ike au ma kahi o ho‘okahi haneli leka ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop, a ma kahi o ho‘okahi haneli leka ma ka Hale Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni, akā, aia paha he mau leka hou aku ma nā hale ‘elua. Ua kākau ‘o Samuel Kamakau (1996), “i ka ‘ike ‘ana o nā kānaka a me nā ali‘i i ke kākau palapala, he ‘oi aku ka nui o nā palapala a nā ali‘i wahine, ua kākau buke ‘ia nā paukū ha‘i a‘o o ka baibala i unuhi ‘ia,” (‘a. 250). I ko‘u mana‘o ‘o ka waiwai o kēia mau leka a‘u i noi‘i ai, ‘o ia ka ho‘omana‘o ‘ana i ka po‘e o kēia wā he mau momi o ka ‘ike nā leka, a inā mālama kākou i ka loina kākau leka, e mālama ‘ia ana ka loina a nā ali‘i i luana ai ma mua.

Ka manawa kākau leka ma kēlā lā, kēia lā

Ua mālama maika‘i ‘ia nā leka a Emmalani a me Peter no ka mea, ua kākau ‘o Peter i kēlā me kēia lā, a ua pane koke ‘o Emmalani he mau manawa o ka pule like. Mana‘o au, inā e kākau ana lāua i kēlā me kēia lā o ka pule, ‘ehia hoa peni ka palena i hiki ai i ho‘okahi kanaka ke mālama? No ka mea, hiki ke lilo ka manawa i ke kākau leka ‘ana a me he mea lā, ua ho‘oka‘awale ‘ia he mau hola o ka lā no kēia hana ho‘okahi. Ua ‘ike au, i kekahī manawa ua hele a māluhiluhi ‘o Kaleleonālani i ke kākau leka ‘ana. Aia ma kona leka i kākau ‘ia ai iā Mrs. Thomas Staley i ka makahiki 1868,²⁶ “I cannot write at length because I happen to be overwhelmed just now, with the inter-island correspondence, but I hope to send you a longer letter by the next mail.” (Thompson, 1987, ‘a. 47). Eia kekahī

²⁶ No Honolulu mai kēia leka a Kaleleonālani iā Mrs. Thomas Nettleship Staley ma ka mahina o Mei, i ka makahiki 1868. ‘O Bishop Staley ke kahu i ho‘ouna ‘ia i Hawai‘i e ka Mō‘īwahine ‘o Wikolia o ‘Enelani i ka makahiki 1861 ma hope o ke noi ‘ana o Kaleleonālani i kahu pule mai ka Hale Pule o ‘Enelani i Hawai‘i.

mea ‘ē a‘e āna i ha‘i ai iā Thomas Staley, “The Women’s class has already met once, and today at noon is another meeting. I translate for him, but Kalakaua has kindly relieved me on account of my mail to Europe.” (Thompson, ‘a. 48). Me he mea lā, ‘a‘ole i lawa nā hola o ka lā e hana pū ai ‘o ia me Kalākaua no ka nui o nā leka e palapala ai.

Mālama maika‘i ‘ia ka loina kākau e nā wāhine

Ua ‘imi noi‘i au i nā leka o nā ali‘i kāne Hawai‘i, akā ‘oi loa aku ka nui o nā leka a nā ali‘i wahine. Wahi a Kamakau (1996), ‘o ka Mō‘īwahine ‘o Ka‘ahumanu kekahi o nā ali‘i mua i ‘a‘a maila i ka palapala me ka ikaika,

Lawe a‘ela nō ho‘i ‘o Ka‘ahumanu i kumu a‘o no kona ‘ailao a me nā ‘ōhua a pau o kāna mau kaikamāhine, ‘o Kaomimoe ka inoa o ke kumu. A ‘ike ihola ho‘i ‘o Ka‘ahumanu, ua ‘ike kona ‘ailao a pau i ka palapala, a laila, ho‘ouna akula ‘o ia i nā haumāna o ke kula a Kaomimoe, i mau kumu mai Hawai‘i a Kaua‘i, e a‘o aku i nā kānaka e noho ana ma luna o nā moku ‘āina, nā kalana, nā ‘okana a me nā ahupua‘a; a pēlā nō ho‘i kēlā a me kēia ali‘i i ho‘ouna aku ai i mau kumu a‘o i ko lākou mau ‘āina e a‘o aku i nā kānaka i ka palapala. ‘A‘ole i hala ka makahiki ho‘okahi o ke a‘o ‘ana a nā kumu a‘o mai Hawai‘i a Kaua‘i, ua ‘ike nā ‘elemākule a me nā luahine i ‘ane‘ane aku i ke kanawalu a kanaiwa o nā makahiki, ua hiki ke heluhelu i ka baibala. (‘a. 249)

He mea nui kēia mo‘olelo o ke ali‘i wahine ‘o Ka‘ahumanu no ka mea, me he mea lā ‘o ke Ali‘i Wahine kekahi i ‘a‘a mua ai i ka palapala ma Hawai‘i. A nāna nō i paipai nui ai i kona po‘e e a‘o pū. Ma ‘Enelani, i ke kenekulia ‘umi kumamāwatu i ke au o nā ali‘i Tudor, na ke kāne i ho‘olaha i ka palapala, akā, na ka wahine i mālama i ia loina. Ua kākau ‘o J. Daybell (2001) e pili ana i kēia ma kāna puke, *Early Modern Women’s Letter*

Writing 1450-1700, “Women may have appropriated a genre created and disseminated by men, invited by convention to adopt certain stylistic traits conceived by men, but it was they and not their husbands or sons who perpetuated the intellectual traditions of the form,” (‘a. 55). ‘O ka “form”, ‘o ia ho‘i ka loina o ke kākau leka.²⁷ Ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop aia kekahī faila nona nā leka ali‘i a ua ‘ike au i nā leka a Kamāmalu, Kapi‘olani, Kekaulike, Pauahi, Lili‘uokalani a me kekahī mau ali‘i wahine ‘ē a‘e. A ua ‘ike pū ‘ia nā leka a nā ali‘i kāne kekahī, ‘o Liholiho, Kalākaua, a me Kekūanaō‘a, akā, ua ‘oi aku ka nui o nā leka a nā ali‘i wahine.²⁸

‘O nā mea waiwai, ‘o ia nā mo‘olelo o kēlā me kēia lā a me nā mana‘o no ka wā e hiki mai ana paha, a me ka po‘e i pili iā lākou. Ua kāko‘o pū ‘o Daybell i ia mana‘o, “Letters are especially important in highlighting the contacts among the extended family,” (‘a. 33). Mahalo au i nā leka no ka mea, ma laila i ‘ike nui ai i nā inoa o ka po‘e i pili iā ia. He kāka‘ikahi ka ‘ike ‘ana i nā inoa o ka po‘e Hawai‘i i pili iā Emmalani ma loko o nā puke i kākau ‘ia e pili ana iā ia. Ua noho pū kekahī mau kānaka me Kaleleonālani ma Lāwa‘i, a pēlā pū ka nui o ka po‘e e noho pū ana me Hipa ma Hānaiakamālama a ua hana pū lākou i kēlā lā, kēia lā, a no laila, he maika‘i ke pa‘a ko lākou mau inoa ma ka pepa i mahalo ‘ia kā lākou hana nui.

Ka mana‘o o ‘ka ha‘i inoa honua’ ma ka leka

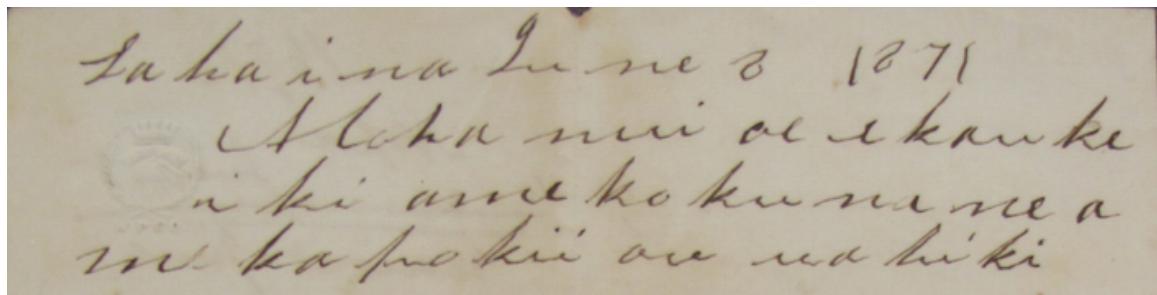
Ma luna o nā leka a pau a Kaleleonālani, Hipa, a me Ke‘elikōlani, ua kākau ‘ia ka inoa o kahi o ka mea kākau i noho ai i ke kākau ‘ana i ka leka. Ma loko o kēia palapala e

²⁷ Ma ka ‘ōlelo Pelekānia, kapa ‘ia kēia ka “epistolary”: relating to or denoting the writing of letters or literary works in the form of letters (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015)

²⁸ He mana‘o ko‘u e ho‘omāhuahua ai i ko‘u papahana noi‘i i nānā pono ‘ia a ho‘ohālikelike ‘ia paha nā leka a nā ali‘i wahine a me nā ali‘i kāne no ka mea, ua komo pū ke kāne i ka palapala e like me ka wahine. Kākau ‘o ia i nā mea pili i ka ‘ohana a me nā mea pilikino, ‘a‘ole ‘o ka mea ‘oihana aupuni wale nō.

ho‘ohana ana au i ka ‘ōlelo a ka‘u kumu no kēia hana, ke hō‘ike ‘oe i kahi a i ‘ole ka manawa o ka hana, e kapa ‘ia kēlā he ‘ha‘i inoa honua’.²⁹ Ma nā leka, ua kākau lākou i ka lā o ka mahina, ka mahina, a me ka makahiki. A laila, ua kākau ‘ia ka inoa o ka ‘āina a lākou i noho ai. Eia kekahi ki‘i o ka māhele o ka leka e like me ka ha‘i inoa honua:

Ki‘i 2.1 He ki‘i o ka ‘ha‘i inoa honua’ ma luna o kā Hipa leka iā Kaleleonālani i ka lā 8 o June, 1871



Mana‘o: Pa‘i ki‘i ‘ia ma ka Hale Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni ma Honolulu, Hawai‘i e ka mea kākau.

Pēlā i ‘ike ai au, i ka makahiki 1871 i Lahaina aku ‘o Hipa (ma Mei a hiki i Iulai). He mea nui kēia pilina o ka leka me ka ‘āina – i mea ia e maliu mai ai ka mea heluhelu a e huaka‘i pū i loko o kona no‘ono‘o i ia wahi like, he kama‘āina paha. ‘O kēia mau mea ma ke po‘o o ka leka, he mau momi li‘ili‘i o ka mo‘olelo i ha‘i ‘ole ‘ia ma ka leka. No ka mea, ‘o kekahi hana a Kaleleonālani i hana ai, ua kākau ‘o ia ma luna o ka leka i ka lā o kona loa‘a ‘ana mai. Ma muli o kāna, ua hiki ia‘u ke helu i nā lā i hala ma o ka ho‘oili ‘ia ‘ana. Ua a‘o au he holo wikiwiki maoli nō ka leka ma waena o Lāwa‘i a me Honolulu, ma kahi o ‘elua a me ‘ekolu lā. I ka makahiki 1871, ua ho‘oili ‘ia ka leka ma ka moku a i

²⁹ Na No‘eau Warner i a‘o mai i kēia ‘ōlelo ma loko o kāna “system” hou o ke a‘o ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. ‘O ka ha‘i inoa honua ka ha‘i ‘ana i ka manawa a i ‘ole kahi i hana ai, e like me ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana aku, ‘Puni ka wahine i ka he‘enalu ‘ana i Kalehuawehe ma ke kakahiaka.’ ‘O ia ke kumu nō ho‘i i ho‘oka‘awale ai au i ‘ao‘ao ma ka māhele mua o kēia palapala noi‘i no ka ha‘i inoa honua.

‘ole ma ka lima o kekahi ‘elele, pēlā nā leka a Kaleleonālani lāua ‘o Hipa. Ma loko o kēia namunamu ‘ana a Kaleleonālani iā Hipa, mōakāka ke ka‘ina hana o ka holo ‘ana o kahi leka,

Mai hoo hou olua i kau nupepa i loko o ka ukana hooili mai, no ka mea he poakahi a poalua i kahi manawa a laila lele mai kau ukana i uka, a i lele mai i ka la mua, kakali aku o ka loaa ae ona pipi me ke kaa a Lilikalani, a laila hiki ka ukana i makou la, no laila o na leka me na nupepa e lawe mau i ka hale leka e hookomo ai, a i lole e lawe ma ka eke leka o ka moku loaa koke Iau (Kaleleonālani, 1 Malaki, 1871)

Me he mea lā, e ‘ōlelo ana ‘o Emma i kona makuahine, he ‘oi aku ka wikiwiki o ka ho‘oili ‘ana i ka leka ma luna o ka moku (ma ka ‘eke leka) ma kahi o ka ho‘oili ‘ana me nā ukana no ka mea he pono ke kakali no kahi pipi a i ‘ole ka‘a e halihali ai i uka. Aia ma lalo ke kākau ‘ana o Kaleleonālani ma luna o ka wahī o nā leka a Hipa i ka loa‘a ‘ana mai o ka leka iā ia:

“Hipia Jan 3rd, received Jan 9th” (Young, 3 Ianuali 1871, Honolulu)

“Hipia Jan 21st received Jan 25th” (Young, Ianuali 1871, Honolulu)³⁰

“1871 Hipia Jan 25th received Jan 26th” (Young, 26 Ianuali 1871, Honolulu)

“Hipia Jan 14 received Jan 17” (Young, 14 Ianuali 1871, Honolulu)

“Hipia Feb 3rd received 6th 71” (Young, 4 Pepeluali 1871, Honolulu)³¹

“Hipia Feb 3rd received Feb 6” (Young, 6 Pepeluali 1871, Honolulu)³²

³⁰ ‘A‘ohe helu i kākau ‘ia no ka lā.

³¹ Palapala ‘ia ka leka e Hipia i ka lā 4, akā ‘oko‘a ko Emma mana‘o.

³² Palapala ‘ia ka leka e Hipia i ka lā 6, akā ‘oko‘a ho‘i ko Emma mana‘o.

“1871 Hipa Feb 11 received Feb 12” (Young, 11 Pepeluali 1871, Honolulu)

“1871 Hipa Mar 5th received Mar 8th” (Young, 5 Malaki 1871, Honolulu)

“1871 Hipa Mar 13th received Mar 17th” (Young, 13 Malaki 1871, Honolulu)

“1871 Hipa Mar 31st received Apr 2nd” (Young, 31 Malaki 1871)

Ua maka‘ala ‘o Emmalani i kēia mau mea ma muli paha o ka nui o nā leka i ho‘oili ‘ia iā ia, a me kāna mau leka i ho‘oili aku ai i kēlā me kēia lā. He mea nui kona palapala ‘ana ma luna o ka leka, i ka lā i loa‘a ai iā ia a me kekahi ‘ike paha e pili ana i ka leka. Ma kekahi leka a Ke‘elikōlani ua kākau ‘o Kaleleonālani, “1883 H.H. Ruth Keelikolani May 21st Received June 2nd by the hand of Judge Hoapili who returned with Ianu from Hawaii” (Ke‘elikōlani, 21 Mei, 1883).

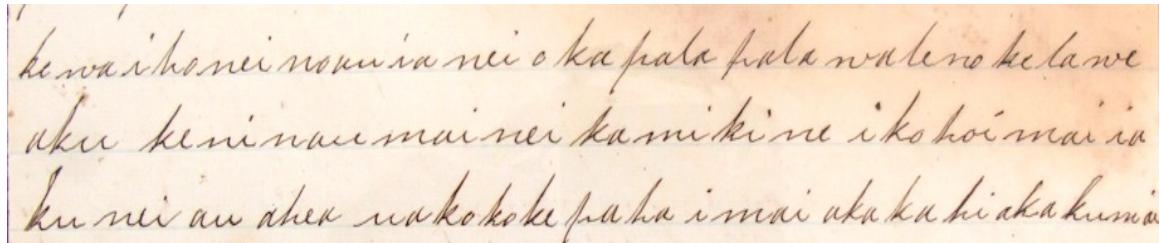
Eia kekahi mea hoihoi, ua heluhelu au i kekahi ‘ōlelo ua like me ka “real time”.³³ Aia aku nei ‘o Kaleleonālani i ke kākau ‘ana i kekahi leka iā Thomas Staley, a i loa nō a loa‘a maila kekahi leka iā ia (na Staley i ho‘ouna), ua palapala ‘o ia ma ka leka āna e kākau ana, “Later: Just as I was closing my letters this afternoon, I received yours of June 8th, so I am acknowledging its receipt and will reply soon” (Thompson, 1987, ‘a. 48). He mea kupanaha nō i ko‘u heluhelu ‘ana no ka mea ma muli o kona kuhikuhi ‘ana i ka loa‘a ‘ana mai o ka leka iā ia e kākau ana i ka leka, me he mea lā huki pū ‘ia ka mea heluhelu i ia wā i hala.

Ka palapapala ‘ana i nā leka

³³ Real time: the actual time during which a process or event occurs (Oxford Dictionaries, 2015).

Ua palapala au i nā leka a pau ma luna o ka lolo uila i hiki ai ia‘u ke ho‘omaopopo koke i ka ‘ōlelo o loko, no ka mea, i kekahi manawa, ua pa‘akikī ka heluhelu ‘ana i ke kākau lima ma luna o ka pepa. Ua ma‘alahi maila ko‘u ‘imi ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ma loko o ka leka ma muli o ko‘u ho‘onohonoho ‘ana ma ke kikokiko ma mua. Ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop, ua uku au no ka hana kope ‘ana i nā leka akā, ma ka Hale Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni, ‘ae ‘ia ke pa‘i ki‘i ‘ana ma laila.³⁴ He manuahi ke pa‘i ki‘i ‘ana i kēlā me kēia leka ma laila. Ua palapala au i kēlā me kēia leka e like me ko‘u ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo, no laila, i kekahi manawa, ho‘ohui pū au i ‘elua ‘ōlelo i ka‘awale inā ua mana‘o au he pono. Eia kekahi māhele o kā Hipa leka ma ka lā 18 o Pepelila,³⁵ 1871:

Ki‘i 2.2 He ki‘i o kā Hipa leka iā Kaleleonālani i ka lā 18 o Pepelila, 1871



Mana‘o: Pa‘i ki‘i ‘ia ma ka Hale Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni ma Honolulu, Hawai‘i e ka mea kākau.

Inā kākau au e like loa me ka peni a Hipa, e pilikia ana paha ma ka hopena o ka lālani ‘elua a me ka lālani ‘ekolu. Me he mea lā, ho‘okahi hua ‘ōlelo ‘o “ia” ma ka heluhelu ‘ana, “ke ninau mai nei ka mikine i ko hoi mai ia ku nei au,” akā ‘o ka ‘ōlelo a‘u i palapala ai ‘o “i aku nei au,” no ka mea, ke ‘i aku nei ‘o ia i ka nīnau ‘ana mai o ka

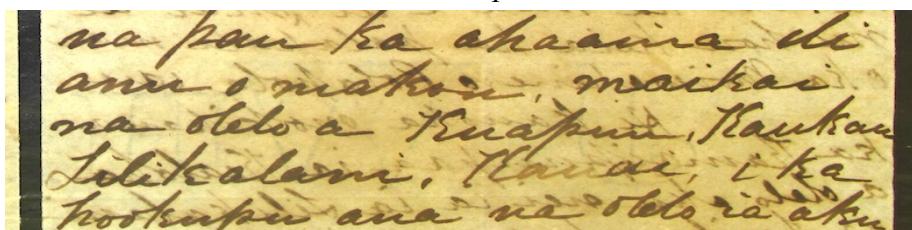
³⁴ Ua pāpā ‘ia ke pa‘i hou ‘ana i nā leka a‘u i hana kope ai ma ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop. Pono e noi mua iā lākou i ka ‘ae ‘ana. No laila, ‘a‘ole au e hō‘ike ana i ka leka maoli a Ke‘elikōlani no ka mea, na Bishop Museum ia mau leka.

³⁵ ‘O ‘Apelila kēia, pēlā i pela ‘ia ai e Hipa ma ka leka.

mikine.³⁶ Hiki ke ‘ike ma luna kekahi, he hua palapala li‘ili‘i wale nō, ‘a‘ohe hua palapala nui, no laila pēlā ko‘u kākau ‘ana, a inā kākau ‘ia he hua leka nui, pēlā ko‘u palapala ‘ana.

E ‘ike auane‘i ka mea heluhelu, ‘oko‘a loa nā kākau lima o nā wāhine ‘ekolu. ‘Oi aku ka ma‘alahi o ka heluhelu ‘ana i ke kākau a Kaleleonālani. Eia kekahi māhele o kāna leka ma ka lā 29 o Ianuali, 1871:

Ki‘i 2.3 He Ki‘i o kā Kaleleonālani leka iā Hipa i ka lā 29 o Ianuali, 1871



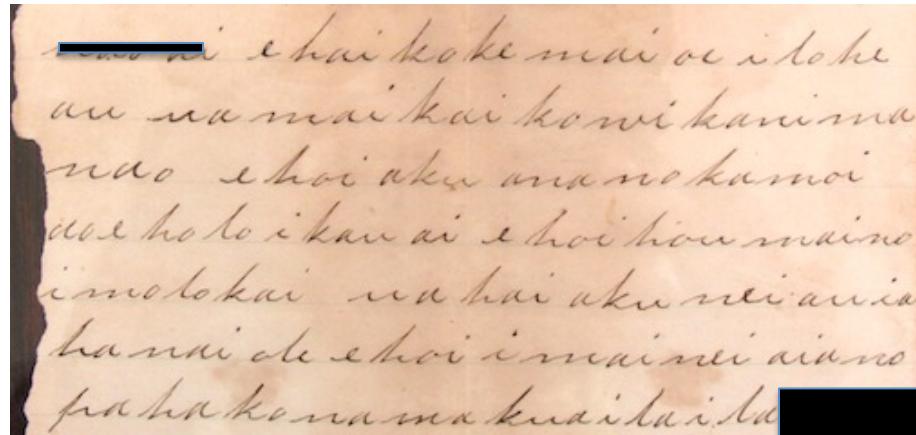
Mano‘o: Pa‘i : Pa‘i ki‘i ‘ia ma ka Hale Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni ma Honolulu, Hawai‘i e ka mea kākau.

Me ka heluhelu ‘ole, e nānā i nā lihi ‘ele‘ele o ka pepa, ‘o ia ka pepa ka‘akūmākena. A laila, hiki ke ‘ike i ke kaha ho‘omaha ma waena o nā inoa – pēlā i mōakāka ai he mau inoa ia.

³⁶ ‘O mikinele paha kēia. Mikinele: Var. spelling of mikanele, missionary. (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 247)

I hiki ke nānā ‘ia kekahi ‘ano ‘ē a‘e o ke kākau ‘ana, eia he ki‘i o kekahi māhele o kā Hipa leka ma ka lā 30 o Iulai, 1871:

Ki‘i 2.4 He Ki‘i o kā Kaleleonālani leka iā Hipa i ka lā 30 o Iulai, 1871



Mana‘o: Pa‘i ki‘i ‘ia ma ka Hale Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni ma Honolulu, Hawai‘i e ka mea kākau. Ua ‘ālai ‘ia ka ‘ōlelo i pili ‘ole i kēia wehewehena.

‘O ka hana mua, ua palapala au i ka ‘ōlelo ma luna i kohu like me ke ‘ano o kona nānā ‘ana ma ka pepa. A laila, ma hope, ua kākau au e like me ko‘u ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo ma luna. ‘A‘ole na‘e au i ho‘okomo i nā ‘okina a me nā kahakō inā ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia e ka mea kākau. Penei ko‘u palapala ‘ana i ka māhele i pa‘i ki‘i ‘ia ma ke Ki‘i 2.3 i hō‘ike ‘ia a‘e nei:

e hai *ko ke mai oe i lo he* au ua *mai kai ko wi kani ma nao* e hoi aku ana no ka moi
ao e holo i *kau ai* e hoi hou *maino i molo kai* ua hai aku nei au ia *ha nai ole* e hoi i
mai nei aia no *pa ha ko na ma kua i la i la*

A laila, eia ko‘u ma hope o ka ho‘oponopono ‘ana i nā kōwā ma waena o nā hua ‘ōlelo:
hai *koke mai oe i lohe* au ua *maikai ko wikani manao* e hoi aku ana no ka
moi a oe³⁷ holo i *kauai* e hoi hou mai no i *molokai* ua haiaku nei au ia *hanaiole* e
hoi i mai nei aia no *paha kona makua i laila*

³⁷ ‘O ‘a‘oe paha kēia, e like me ka mana‘o o ‘a‘ole.

Ua makemake au e kama‘āina iki ai ka mea heluhelu i nā mea i ‘oko‘a ai ke kākau ‘ana o Emma a me Hipa a me Ke‘elikōlani. He mau mana‘o paha ko Hipa i ke kākau ‘ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo a pau ma ke ‘ano like. E la‘a me kona ho‘ohana ‘ole ‘ana i ka hua leka nui no nā inoa kanaka a me nā inoa ‘āina. E kuhi ana au, ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i kākau i ka hua leka nui ma mua o ka inoa no ka mea, ua kama‘āina nā inoa o ka po‘e i ka mea heluhelu, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Kaleleonālani.

Ka ‘ōlelo pokopoko lō‘ihī ‘ole

He kōkua paha ko‘u hō‘ike ‘ana i ‘elua leka a Hipa a me Emma, i ‘ike ka mea heluhelu ua huikau pū ‘o Emma i ke kākau ‘ana o Hipa. Eia ka mea a Hipa i kākau ai, eia kau e hai aku nei ia oe ua makemake o keoni kamaki a me kahi haole no aia i laila ia lawai i ka aina nui maikai momona ke kula ua hana paha me kupele ma ka make o hikoni aohe pili koko eae o ke kane wale no ua kaawale o kanehoa ua make mua aohe oe i kakau ia pela mai nei o pamalo he olelo walewale ko ka haole ia ia ninau mai nei iau i aku nei au ua paa mua na hooilina o makou no ema (Young, 5 Malaki, 1871)

Ma kēia paukū, ua mo‘olelo ‘o Hipa e pili ana i ‘ekolu mau mea, akā, ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i ho‘ohana i kekahi kaha e ho‘oka‘awale ai i nā mana‘o, a ‘a‘ole ho‘i ‘o ia i ho‘ohana i ka hua nui no nā inoa ‘o Keoni Kamaki, Hikoni, Kanehoa, Pamalo, a me Ema. Ma hope o ko Emma heluhelu ‘ana i keia, ua ‘ōhumuhumu aku ‘o ia iā Hipa no ke akāka ‘ole o ka ‘ōlelo iā ia, me ka ‘ī aku e maka‘ala ‘o Hipa i kona ‘ōlelo “pokopoko loihi ole”, Aohe akaka iki iau kau mau olelo no ka aina o Lawai me ka Pamalo mau olelo, e hai pono mai oe i na mea a pau, he pau moko wale no kau olelo, pokopoko loihi

ole, no laila akaka ole iau e hai hou mai oe a pau pono ka Keoni Kamaki olelo me
kela haole o Kauai nei (Kaleleonālani, 11 Malaki, 1871)

Ua hili hewa ka mana‘o o Kaleleonālani i ka heluhelu ‘ana i kā Hipa leka ma muli paha o
ko Hipa ‘ōlelo, “he olelo walewale ko ka haole ia ia ninau mai nei iau.” ‘A‘ole i hō‘ike ‘o
Hipa i ke ‘ano o ko ka haole nīnau ‘ana, a e hopohopo nui ana paha ‘o Emma e pili ana i
ka mālama ‘ana iā Lāwa‘i, no ka mea, ‘oia kona wahi e noho ana. ‘A‘ole ‘o ia makemake
e kū‘ai ka haole i kona ‘āina, wahi a Hipa, he kanaka ‘ōlelo walewale.³⁸ Ikaika nō ko
Kaleleonālani ho‘okikina ‘ana iā Hipa e ho‘ākaka mai i kona mana‘o, no ka mea, pili ka
palapala i ke kū‘ai ‘ana o Keoni Kamaki iā Lāwa‘i. He pa‘akikī maoli nō paha ko Emma
noho mamao ‘ana ma Kaua‘i, no ka mea, e kakali ana ‘o ia i ka nūhou mai Honolulu mai,
a e kauka‘i nui ana ‘o ia i kā Hipa ‘ōlelo a he mea nui kona hilina‘i ‘ana i kona
makuahine kekahi.

Ua ‘ike au i kekahi mea hoihoi i loko o ka pokopoko ‘ōlelo, ‘oia ho‘i, ua
ho‘ohā‘ule ‘ia ka “a” ma ka hopena o kekahi mau ‘ōlelo. He mau mahu‘i wale nō kēia o
ko‘u ho‘omaopopo ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo, ua kāpae ‘ia paha, a i ‘ole he mau ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo
ho‘okahi. Eia kekahi kumu ho‘ohālike o ia kāpae ‘ana, a me ka ‘ōlelo pololei i ko‘u
ho‘omaopopo ‘ana (ua ho‘ohiō ‘ia loko o ke kaha ‘apo):

“...e hoihoi mai ana paha aole pa(*ha*),” (Young, 3 Ianuali, 1871a)

“...o wau no me ke (*a*)loha ia kakou,” (Young, 11 Pepeluali, 1871)

“...e hai pono mai oe i na me(*a*) au i kauoha mai nei,” (Young, 26 Pepeluali,
1871)

³⁸ Walewale: slime, mucus, phlegm; sticky sap, deceived. Wale: slime, mucus, phlegm, sticky sap. (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 381)

Ua ‘ike au ma mua ma ka ho‘olohe ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo, kāpae ‘ia kēlā “a” i kekahi manawa, akā ‘a‘ole au i ‘ike maka ma kekahi mea i kākau ‘ia.

Ke kākau lima o Hipa

Ua kākau ‘o Hipa ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, ‘a‘ohe ‘okina, ‘a‘ohe kahakō, ‘a‘ohe kaha maha, a ‘a‘ohe kiko pau. Kākau ‘ia nā hua leka li‘ili‘i wale nō, koe kekahi mau manawa inā e kākau ana iā “Aloha ‘oe” a ‘oia ka ‘ōlelo mua loa o ka leka. A i ‘ole ia, i kona kākau ‘ana i ka mahina, aia wale nō ma kahi o ka ha‘i inoa honua o ka leka, he hua leka nui ia. Me he mea lā, ‘oko‘a nā lula o ke kākau ‘ana i kona wā e kākau ana, a ‘oko‘a nō ho‘i nā lula o ke kākau ‘ana i kēia wā.

Ke kākau lima o Emmalani

Ua hiki ia‘u ke heluhelu i nā leka a Kaleleonālani me ka ma‘alahi no ka mea, ua kākau ‘o ia e like me ke ‘ano o ke kākau ‘ana i a‘o ai au ma ke kula. Ua a‘o ‘ia au e ho‘onoho i ka leka ma ka paukū – ‘o ke po‘o leka ‘o ia ka welina aloha, a laila, aia he mau paukū paha o ka leka a ma ka paukū ho‘okahi aia ke kumuhana like, a laila e haku i paukū hou, a pēlā aku. ‘O kekahi mea, e ho‘onui i ka hua palapala i kīnohi o ka māmala ‘ōlelo, a i ‘ole no kekahi inoa. Inā pēlā, e ho‘ohana pū i ke kiko kahi³⁹ ke pau ka mana‘o piha i ke kākau ‘ia. A laila, e ho‘ohana i ke kiko ho‘omaha no ka ho‘omāhelehele ‘ana i ka māmala ‘ōlelo ma kahi e pono ai ka hanu ‘ana. Aia ma lalo kekahi māhele o kā Kaleleonālani leka iā Hipa,

Aloha oe e Hipa

Ua loaa mai kau leka o ka la 9 e hai mai ana i ka nawaliwali o Naluana, me ka hala o Piolani i Maui i ka imi mea laau ipu Hawaii palapala mai nei o

³⁹ Kiko kahi: period mark in punctuation (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 150)

Piolani ia Kapo e Holo i Wailua e kii i na ipu laau a Kaluaipihena aia i kahi kaikaina ia Nahinu, ua hoi mai nei mai Honolulu a aia i Wailua kahi i noho ai.

Holo iho nei o Kapo i laila ua loaa paha aole paha, aohe makou i ike.

(Kaleleonālani, 15 Apelila, 1871)

He kumu ho‘ohālikelike maika‘i no ka hō‘ike ‘ana i ke ‘ano o ko Emma kākau ‘ana no ka mea ‘ike ‘ia ka hua palapala nui, ke kiko maha, a me ke kiko kahi.

Ke kākau lima o Ke‘elikōlani

Ua kākau ‘o Ke‘elikōlani i kāna mau leka iā Emmalani ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i wale nō. ‘A‘ole ‘o ia i kākau i ka ‘okina a me ke kahakō, e like me Kaleleonālani lāua ‘o Hipa. Ua kākau ‘o ia i nā hua leka nui i kekahi manawa.⁴⁰ ‘A‘ole ‘o ia i ho‘ohana i ke kaha ho‘omaha a me ke kiko pau kekahi. Ua heluhelu au i ‘elua leka a Ke‘elikōlani i kākau ai iā Liholiho ma 1854 a me Keoni Ana⁴¹ ma 1856. Ua ho‘ohālikelike au i kāna mau leka iā Kaleleonālani a me nā leka i ua mau ali‘i kāne, no ka mea, kainō e like ana paha ke ‘ano o nā mea i kama‘ilio ‘ia a me ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo ma waena o nā ali‘i. Eia kā, ‘a‘ole i ‘oko‘a iki nā leka ma nā kumuhana i wala‘au ‘ia, koe ka nele o ka “t” ma nā leka i nā ali‘i kāne. Ua ho‘ohana ‘ia ka “t” e Ke‘elikōlani ma ‘elua leka iā Kaleleonālani e like me kēia, “ua halawai au me tau wahi leta me te aloha pumehana a ua ite i na olelo” (Keelikolani, 1 May 1883). Ma nā leka ‘elua a Ke‘elikōlani i ho‘oili ai iā Liholiho a me Keoni Ana, ‘a‘ole ‘o ia i kākau me ka “t”. Penei kāna ‘ōlelo iā Liholiho, “Aloha nui oe me kou poe a pau loa o au la ka Keelikolani ka mea e nana nei palapala ke hele akula a ike me oe au no

⁴⁰ ‘A‘ole au i noi i ka Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop e ‘ae mai i ko‘u pa‘i ‘ana i ke ki‘i o kā Ke‘elikōlani mau leka ma loko nei o kēia palapala noi‘i. Mai laila wale nō kāna mau leka, ‘a‘ole mai ka Hale Waihona Palapala Kahiko o ke Aupuni.

⁴¹ ‘O John Kalaipaihala Young II (1810-1857) ke kaikunāne o Grace a me Fanny Young.

hoi” (Keelikolani, Kopa 1854).⁴² Ma kona ho‘olauna ‘ana iā ia iho, ‘o au la ka Keelikolani’ ua ho‘oha‘aha‘a paha ‘o ia iā ia iho i mua o Liholiho. ‘O ka mea ‘āpiki na‘e, ‘oiai, ‘o Liholiho kona kaikunāne, no laila, i mea aha kona ho‘olauna ‘ana iā ia iho? E mahu‘i ana au, ma muli paha kēia o kekahi loina i maopopo ‘ole ia‘u no ka ‘ōlelo pono ma waena o ke kāne me ka wahine. I ia manawa he 28 ona makahiki, mali‘a, ua ho‘ā‘o ‘o ia e hahai i nā mea i a‘o ai ma ke kula no nā kamali‘i ali‘i, akā, ma hope, i kona wā o‘o ‘a‘ohe ona nānā a ua kākau me ka “t”. I kekahi manawa, ua kākau ‘ia ka leka a pau ma kēia ‘ano. Eia kekahi māhele o kāna leka iā Kaleleonālani ma ka lā 20 o ‘Apelila, 1883,

Eia keia he wahi kaa hou keia o katou ua hiti mai nei i nei ahiahi mai Kainaliu ila haaha no aohe kietie he taa kupono no ia nei hoi hono ma te po no nate kumu kuai o teia kaa he haneli kanalima no kala (Ke‘elikōlani, 20 Apeli⁴³, 1883).

Hiki ke ‘ike, ‘a‘ole ‘o ka “t” he pani hakahaka no ke “k” i nā manawa a pau. He mea ma‘alahi paha i ka po‘e ma‘a i ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana, kahi e ho‘okomo ai i ka “t”. Mahalo au i ka hiki ke heluhelu i ka leka a Ke‘elikōlani i hiki ke kālai i ia ‘ōlelo kūikawā i kāka‘ikahi kona ‘ike ‘ia i kēia mau lā ma waena o ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

Ua heluhelu au i 11 leka i ho‘oili ‘ia ma waena o Kaleleonālani a me Ke‘elikōlani i ka makahiki 1883. Ua loa‘a mai kēia mau leka ma ka Hale Hale Hō‘ike‘ike ‘o Bishop. Na Ke‘elikōlani he ‘ehā o nā leka, ‘a‘ole na‘e he hapa o ka huina o nā leka, akā, mahalo au i ka loa‘a ‘ana mai o kekahi mau leka e pane koke ana i ka leka o ka pule like, a i ‘ole ka pule i hala iho nei.

⁴² ‘A‘ohe helu i kākau ‘ia no ka lā.

⁴³ Pēlā i pela ‘ia ai ‘o ‘Apelila ma ka leka.

Ke kākau ‘ana me ka ‘t’

He wahi mana‘o ko‘u no ko Hipa ‘ōlelo ‘ana me ka ‘t’. E kuhi ana au, ho‘ohana ‘o ia i ka wā i makemake ai ‘o ia e kālele i ka ikaika o kona mana‘o. Ma kēia ‘ōlelo a Hipa, ua hopohopo paha ‘o ia e pili ana iā Emma, a no kona makemake ‘ole e huaka‘i hou ‘o Emma mā, hō‘ike mai ‘o ia i ka ‘ōlelo hope o kāna leka, e noho ana ‘o ia “me te loha kaumaha”. Akā na‘e, ‘o ka mea ma‘amau ‘ōlelo aku ‘o ia, “me ke aloha”.

eia ka lohe hope ke hoahu ia mai nei ka huakai a oukou ke i ia mai nei mai make o ka ena ku i ke anu kauoha ka no laila mai hoopaku oe e hoi mai kakou i kahi hookahi o wau no o kau makuahine *me te loha* kaumaha o ka naau (Young, 4
Pepeluali, 1871)

Ua ‘ike hou ‘ia ka ‘t’ ma kona mo‘olelo e pili ana i ko kekahi mau kānaka maha‘oi i hele i ka hale e ‘imi aku iā ha‘i. Ma hope o kekahi nīnau ‘ana ma waena o Hipa a me lākou (‘a‘ole ‘o ia i hō‘ike i ka nui o lākou) ‘ōlelo ‘o ia, “i aku au i ke aha i mai no *tela* i ka mahaoi,” a laila, ua kūamuamu aku kekahi i kekahi ma ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana penei, wahi a Hipa, “ukiuki au i aku au noanoa i mai he wahine inoino wale no,” (Young, 5 Malaki, 1871).
“O noanoa he kūamuamu e like me ko Hipa ho‘ohana ‘ana, ua ahuwale kona inaina i kēlā po‘e.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ Noanoa: redup of noa, commoner (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 268)

MĀHELE III: Nā hua o ka hana

Ma kēia māhele o ka palapala noi‘i e hō‘ike ana au i ka mea heluhelu i nā mea a‘u i loa‘a ai ma ke noi‘i ‘ana i ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ma ka wā i kākau ‘ia ai kēia mau leka a Emma mā, a me ke ‘ano ‘oko‘a a i ‘ole like o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana i kēia mau lā. No ka mea, ‘o kekahī pahu hopu nui o kēia pepa ‘o ia ka ho‘ākāka ‘ana i kekahī mau hua ‘ōlelo i mea e ho‘omaka ai ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kēia mau lā e no‘ono‘o pono i ka mana‘o o kēlā me kēia hua ‘ōlelo a e ho‘ohana ma kahi kūpono. He waiwai nō ka nānā ‘ana i nā leka no ka mea ‘o ia kahi a ke kanaka i ho‘opa‘a ai i kona ‘ōlelo pono‘ī ma ka pepa. Inā nānā ‘ia ka nupepa, he ‘oko‘a paha ka ‘ōlelo i kākau ‘ia ma laila no ke anaina, ‘a‘ole no ke kanaka ho‘okahi. ‘A‘ole au i ‘ike i kēia ‘ano o ke noi‘i ‘ana ma mua, ‘o ia ho‘i ke kālailai ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i ma loko o nā leka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, a no laila makemake nō au e ‘ike i mana‘o o ka mea heluhelu no ka mea ma hope o ka heluhelu ‘ana i kēia e ulu mai ana he mau mana‘o hou aku no ka ho‘oulu ‘ana i kēia papahana noi‘i.

‘O kekahī hua o kēia hana ‘o ia ka loa‘a ‘ana mai o kekahī mau mana‘o no kekahī hua ‘ōlelo i wehewehe ‘ole ‘ia ma ka puke wehewehe, ‘o ka ‘aha ‘aina ili anu. A laila, ua ho‘ohana au i nā leka a Ke‘elikōlani lāua ‘o Emmalani i mea e kāko‘o ai i ko‘u mana‘o e pili ana i ke aikāne. No ka mea, he pono ke nānā ‘ia kēia hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ohanohano aku ai i ka pilina aloha ma waena o nā hoa. I kēia mau lā, ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o aikāne e like me ka wā ma mua. A laila, ‘o kekahī mea hou a‘u i ‘ike ai, ‘o ia kekahī ‘ōlelo no‘eau a‘u i ‘ike ai ma kekahī leka a Hipa e pili ana i ka ona o ke kanaka a me ka pi‘i ‘ana o kona kai. He ‘ōlelo no‘eau paha, ‘a‘ole paha. Akā, hō‘ike aku au i ko‘u mau mana‘o ma laila.

No *ho‘oili* a me *ho‘ouna*

Ua hoihoi au e noi‘i e pili ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo a‘u i mana‘o ai he mau ‘ōlelo ma‘amau no nā hana ma‘amau o kākou i kēia mau lā. ‘Oiai he palapala noi‘i kēia e pili ana i nā leka, ua makemake au e nānā pono i nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ho‘oili a me ho‘ouna no ka mea ‘oia nā hua ‘ōlelo a‘u i mana‘o ai he mau ‘ōlelo ma‘amau e pili ana i ka leka. No laila ua ho‘ohālikelike au i nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘elua a‘u i ‘ike ai ma loko o nā leka, ‘o *ho‘oili* a me *ho‘ouna*.

I ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana, ‘o *ho‘oili* ka hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ohana pinepine ‘ia no ka ho‘oili ‘ana i ka leka mai kekahī i kekahī – ma luna o ka moku a i ‘ole ma luna o ke ka‘a ukana. Ma ka wā i kākau ‘ia ai kēia mau leka, ua ‘oko‘a ka ho‘ohana ‘ana iā *ho‘oili* a ‘oko‘a ka ho‘ohana ‘ana iā *ho‘ouna*. No nā mea a Emma lāua ‘o Hipa i ho‘oili ai ma waena o Honolulu a me Lāwa‘i ma luna o ka moku, ‘o ka *ho‘oili* ka hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ohana ‘ia. Ua ho‘oili ‘ia ka palapala, ka mea kanu, ka mea ‘ai, ka lole, a pēlā aku nā lako. I ko‘u mana‘o, ‘o ho‘oili ka hua ‘ōlelo kūpono ke ho‘oili ‘ia ka ukana mai kekahī wahi i kekahī wahi. No ka mea, ‘o ka mana‘o o ho‘oili ‘o ia “to land upon, load, as freight on a ship, to transfer, to set on shore” (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 97). No laila, ua pono paha kēia hua ‘ōlelo no ka mea ma ka moku i ho‘oili ‘ia ai nā mea mai kekahī mokupuni i kekahī mokupuni. No ho‘oili, ua pili paha ka mana‘o i ka pili ‘ana o kekahī mea i ka ‘ili o ke kanaka no ka mea, mai ka lima mai o kekahī kanaka ka ho‘oili ‘ana a hiki aku i ka lima o kekahī. No laila, pēlā paha kekahī mana‘o o ho‘oili. Eia kekahī mau māhele o nā leka i ho‘ohana ‘ia ai ‘o *ho‘oili*.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Ua kaha ‘ia ‘o lalo o ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ho‘oili e a‘u i mea e maka‘ala ai ka mea heluhelu i ia hua ‘ōlelo.

“ke *hooili* mai nei i kona aloha” (Kaleleonālani, 27 Malaki 1883)

“e *hooili* mai oe i kawowo kiawe me ona manako” (Kaleleonālani, 15 Pepeluale 1871)

“ina e loaa ona niau palule huluhulu a kalakoa paha me ona pale mai e *hooili* pu mai oe” (Kaleleonālani, 1 Malaki 1871)

“ua *hooili* mai o Kamakaeha ia Kalakaua i ka noho ana ae o Kalakaua laua o Piolani i Kauai nei, he mau kii ua kakau ia e Kamakaeha” (Kaleleonālani, 29 March 1871)

He mea ‘āpiki na‘e ka ‘ōlelo mua i hō‘ike ‘ia e pili ana i ka *ho‘oili* ‘ana i ke aloha, akā ma‘ane‘i e paipai ana au i ka mana‘o, ‘o ke aloha he mea i hiki ke ho‘oili ‘ia. He maika‘i ke no‘ono‘o ‘ia nā mea ‘ē a‘e i hiki ‘ole ke ‘ike ‘ia, e like paha me ka ‘uhane a i ‘ole kahi mana‘o. He mana‘o wale nō kēia no ka noi‘i ‘ana.

Ma hope, ua nānā au i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *ho‘ouna* a ua ‘ike au, he ‘u‘uku wale nō kona ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana. Akā ua ho‘ohana ‘ia i ka wā i halihali ‘ia ai kekahi mea ma o ka lima o ke kanaka a i ‘ole ma luna o kekahi mea halihali e like me ke ka‘a ukana a me ka moku, a inā pēlā, he *ho‘ouna* ka hana. Ma nā leka a Emma a me Hipa, ua ‘ike ‘ia ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *ho‘oili* he kanaono manawa (e like me kona ‘ano he hana), a ua ‘ike ‘ia ‘o *ho‘ouna* he ‘ehā ‘wale nō manawa. ‘A‘ole pēlā ko‘u mana‘o no ka mea, ‘o ka *ho‘ouna* ka‘u ‘ōlelo ma‘amau e pili ana i ka *ho‘ouna* ‘ana. Inā ho‘ohana au i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *ho‘oili*, ho‘ohana au e pili ana i ka *ho‘oili* ‘ana i kekahi mea ma luna o ka lolo uila. ‘Oko‘a nō ka heluna ma nā leka a Emma lāua ‘o Hipa, akā ma nā leka a Emma a me Ke‘elikōlani, ua like ka nui o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana iā *ho‘oili* a he ‘ekolu manawa o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana iā

ho‘ouna. Eia nā manawa i ho‘ohana ‘ia ai ‘o ho‘ouna e pili ana i ke ka‘a, ka moku, a me ke kanaka:⁴⁶

“e *hoouna* koke oe i kaa no na ukana” (Kaleleonālani, 13 Pepeluale 1871)

“a laila *hoouna* hou mai ia Pauahi moku” (Kaleleonālani, 11 Malaki 1871)

“he aha ka me i hele ai ma uka na kaonaona *hoouna* au loa i ke kauka” (Young, Ianuali 1871)⁴⁷

“na kaonaona *hoouna* au loa i ke kauka” (Young, Ianuali 1871)⁴⁸

Ma loko o kēia mau kumu ho‘ohālikelike, ua ho‘ōia ‘ia ko‘u mana‘o e pili ana i ka ho‘ohana ‘ana iā ho‘ouna, a na Emma lāua ‘o Hipa kēia mau ‘ōlelo.

He pono ke noi‘i mau ‘ia kēia mau hua ‘olelo no ka mea ua ‘ike nō au i kekahi mau ‘ōlelo e kū‘ē ana i ko‘u mana‘o. ‘O kahi mea ‘āpiki, ua ho‘ohana ‘o Emma i nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘elua ‘o *ho‘oili* a me *ho‘ouna* e pili ana i ka mea like – he pāpale. Ua kākau ‘o Kaleleonālani iā Ke‘elikōlani no ka pāpale, “e hoouna hou mai hoi oe i papale pawehe no‘u” a laila, ma ka leka like, ‘ōlelo hou ‘o ia e pili ana i ka pāpale, akā, penei kāna ‘olelo, “a o kuu wahi papale malumalu i hooili ia mai nei ua lilo aku nei,” (Kaleleonālani, 15 May 1883). Aia ma ‘ane‘i ‘elua manawa i kū‘ē ai ka ‘ōlelo ma ka leka i ko‘u mana‘o e pili ana i ka ho‘ouna a me ka ho‘oili:⁴⁹

“ua *hoouna* aku wau i ko leka mai Tahiti mai” (Kaleleonālani, 2 Malaki 1883)

“mai Peletane mai no teia kaa a *hooili* mai nei i honolulu” (Ke‘elikōlani, 20

Apeli* 1883) **pēlā i pela ‘ia ai*

⁴⁶ Na‘u i ho‘ohiō a me kaha lina ma lalo o ho‘ouna i ‘ike koke ka mea heluhelu.

⁴⁷ ‘A‘ohe lā i hō‘ike ‘ia, ‘o Ianuali wale nō.

⁴⁸ ‘A‘ohe lā i hō‘ike ‘ia, ‘o Ianuali wale nō.

⁴⁹ Na‘u i ho‘ohiō a me kaha lina ma lalo o ka hua ‘ōlelo i ‘ike koke ka mea heluhelu.

I ka nānā ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo a Emmalani iā Ke‘elikōlani e pili ana i kāna leka mai Tahiti mai, huikau au no ka mea ua mahu‘i au ‘o ka ho‘oili ka ‘ōlelo pololei no ka leka. Eia nō na‘e, i ko‘u mana‘o, inā no Tahiti mai ka leka, ua ho‘oili ‘ia i Honolulu a e *ho‘ouna* hou ‘ia ‘ana ‘o ia me he ukana lā, no ka mea ‘o kēia ka lua o kona ho‘oili ‘ia ‘ana, a ‘o ia ke kumu i no‘ono‘o ‘ia he wahi ukana ‘o ia. A laila, i kā nānā ‘ana i ko Ke‘elikōlani ‘ōlelo e pili ana i ke ka‘a, ‘o ka *ho‘oili* ‘ana i ke ka‘a ka hana, no ka mea, he ukana ke ka‘a i kēia manawa, ‘a‘ole ‘o ia e holo ana nona iho mai Pelekāne mai. Ua wehewehe ‘ia no ka mana‘o o ho‘oili, ke pae ka wa‘a a i ‘ole ka moku, ho‘oili ‘ia maila nā ukana ma luna ona i ka ‘āina. Ma kēia mo‘olelo, ua ho‘oili ‘ia ke ka‘a mai Pelekāne mai a hiki aku i Kailua, Kona, kahi i noho ai ‘o Ke‘elikōlani.

He mana‘o kāko‘o kēia ‘ōlelo a‘oa‘o a Kumu No‘eau Warner ia‘u, no ka mea, ua heluhelu ‘o ia i ka‘u kākau mua i kēia māhele. E like me kona ‘ano he kanaka loiilo pono, ua heluhelu ‘o ia a hō‘ike ‘o ia i kona mau mana‘o me ka wehewehena piha. No kēia māhele e pili ana i ka ho‘oili a me ka ho‘ouna, ua ‘ōlelo ‘o ia,

E Ali, maika‘i kou mana‘o ‘o ke kau palena ‘ana i ka mana‘o nui o kēia hua ‘ōlelo (i loko o ke emi loa o nā kumu ho‘ohālikelike (4). Akā pehea lā kēia: ‘o ka mea e ho‘ouna ‘ia, ‘o ia nō kahi mea i hiki ke holo nona iho, e like me ke kanaka, ke keiki a ‘elele paha a i ‘ole ia ‘o ke ka‘a, ka moku, a wa‘a paha??? (Warner, 2012) Ma mua o ko Kumu No‘eau wehewehe ‘ana pēnei ia‘u, ua mana‘o nō au, he ‘oko‘a ka ho‘ouna a he ‘oko‘a ka ho‘oili akā ‘a‘ole i hiki ia‘u ke wehewehe pono i ka mana‘o no ho‘ouna. Ua mana‘o au, pili ka ho‘ouna i ke kanaka wale nō, ‘a‘ole pili i ka ukana. ‘A‘ole na‘e au i no‘ono‘o i nā ‘ano like ‘ole o ka halihali ‘ana i kahi mea, ma luna o ka

wa‘a a i ‘ole ke kanaka, a i ‘ole ke ka‘a, a pēlā aku. No laila, i kona ho‘ākāka ‘ana me ka ‘ōlelo ‘kahi mea i hiki ke holo nona iho’, ua ‘ae maila ko‘u mana‘o me kona.

Ke kālailai ‘ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo pili i ka ho‘opuka mana‘o a me ka palapala

Ua ulu ka mana‘o i loko o‘u, ia‘u e heluhelu ana i nā leka, e ‘imi i nā hua ‘ōlelo a‘u i mana‘o ai he mau hua ‘ōlelo ma‘amau e pili ana i ka ho‘opuka ‘ana i ka mana‘o mai ka waha mai ‘o ia ho‘i ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana, a me nā hua ‘ōlelo pili i ka palapala ‘ana. Ma muli kēia o ko‘u ho‘ohālikelike ‘ana iā *ho‘oili* a me *ho‘ouna* no ka mea, ua ‘ike au ‘a‘ole au i ‘ike i ka ‘oko‘a o ka mana‘o o nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘elua. No laila, mana‘o a‘ela au, ‘oiai ‘o ka leka kekahī alahele e ho‘opa‘a ai i ka ‘ōlelo ma luna o kekahī ‘ili, aia paha he mau hunehune o ka ‘ike e hō‘ike ana iā kākou i kēia mau lā i ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo ma ka wā a Emma, Hipa, a me Ke‘elikōlani mā. Mali‘a, ua loli paha ka ho‘ohana ‘ana i kekahī mau hua ‘ōlelo. A laila, mana‘o au, hiki paha ke ho‘oikaika kākou i ko kākou ‘ōlelo i kēia mau lā inā aia he wahi e ho‘ohālikelike ai i ka ‘ōlelo o ka wā ma mua a me ka ‘ōlelo o kēia wā.

He mahu‘i wale nō kēia, ‘ane like paha ke ‘ano o ke kākau ‘ana a me ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana o ke kanaka iā ia e kākau ana ma luna o ka pepa, no laila, hiki iā kākou ke nānā i nā leka i mea e a‘o ai e pili ana i ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana i ka wā i ho‘opa‘a ‘ole ‘ia ai ka leo ma ka lipine. He pono na‘e ke hō‘ike ma ‘ane‘i, no ka loa‘a ‘ole o kahi ‘okina leo, ‘a‘ole hiki ke hō‘oia pono i ka ‘oia‘i‘o me ka ‘oia‘i‘o ‘ole o ko‘u kuhi, akā ma ka nānā ‘ana i kekahī mau hua ‘ōlelo kiko‘ī, ua hiki ke kāko‘o ‘ia ko‘u mana‘o. Inā ‘a‘ole pololei ko‘u kuhi, a he ‘oko‘a loa ke kākau a he ‘oko‘a loa ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana, ua like ka waiwai o kēia mau leka no ka ho‘oikaika ‘ana i ka ‘olelo.

Eia nā hua ‘ōlelo a‘u i koho ai no ke kālailai ‘ana, a ua koho ‘ia kēia mau hua ‘ōlelo me ka wiki o ka no‘ono‘o no ka mea, i ko‘u mana‘o pēnei paha ka mana‘o o ka hapa nui o ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i inā nīnau ‘ia, he aha nā hua ‘ōlelo e pili ana i ka ho‘opuka ‘ana i ka mana‘o mai ka waha a i ‘ole ka palapala ‘ana ma luna o ka pepa.

- ka ha‘i
- ka heluhelu
- ka ‘ī
- ke kākau (pili i ka hana, ‘a‘ole ‘o ka mea kākau)
- ke kama‘ilio
- ke kauoha
- ke kūkā
- ka ‘ōlelo
- ka palapala
- pēlā (pili i ka ‘ōlelo, ‘a‘ole ka hana)
- ka wala‘au

Ua ho‘oka‘awale au i nā leka ma ‘elua huhui- ma kekahī māhele, aia nā leka a Emma lāua ‘o Hipa a ma kekahī, aia nā leka a Emma lāua ‘o Ke‘elikōlani. Loa‘a ia‘u he 40 mau leka a Emma lāua ‘o Hipa a he 11 leka a Emma lāua ‘o Ke‘elikōlani. Ua ‘ike au i ke ‘ano o kā lākou ‘ōlelo ‘ana ma ka leka, he ‘oko‘a, a ua haku au i mau palapala kuhikuhi i mea kōkua ma ka ‘imi koke ‘ana i kēlā me kēia leka. ‘Oiai ua palapala au i kēlā me kēia leka, ua ma‘alahi ka ‘imi ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ma nā leka. No laila, penei ka‘u hana; ua ‘imi au i ka hua ‘ōlelo a loa‘a maila kahi papa helu o nā manawa a pau i

‘ike ‘ia ai, a laila, mālama, ‘oki, a ho‘okomo au i kēlā me kēia hopuna ‘ōlelo ma ka palapala kuhikuhi.

Ma hope, ua ‘ike au i kekahi mau mea hoihoi i ‘ike ‘ole ‘ia ai ma mua. ‘O kekahi mea, no ka nui o nā hua ‘ōlelo a‘u i maka‘ala ai, inā ua ho‘ohana ‘ia, ua ‘oi aku ko Hipa ho‘ohana ‘ana ma mua o ko Emma, a ma mua ho‘i o ko Ke‘elikōlani ho‘ohana ‘ana. Akā, ‘o ka hapanui o nā leka ma waena o Emma a me Hipa, na Hipa ka hapanui i kākau, he 26 mau leka. No laila, i ka hapanui o ko‘u kālailai ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo, e kālailai ‘ia ana kā Hipa ‘oiai ua nui hou aku kāna mau leka ma mua o kā Emmalani.

Papa Hō‘ike‘ike 3.2: He hō‘ike‘ike i nā hua ‘ōlelo pili i ka hō‘ike mana‘o ma ka ‘ōlelo a me ka palapala, a me ka heluna o nā manawa i ‘ike ‘ia ai

Ka hua ‘ōlelo i nānā ‘ia	Ka nui o ka manawa i ‘ike ‘ia ai ma nā leka a Emma a me Hipa			Ka nui o ka manawa i ‘ike ‘ia ai ma nā leka a Emma a me Ke‘elikōlani (R.K.)		
	Emma	Hipa	Huina	Emma	R. K.	Huina
ka ha‘i	27	48	75	3	1	4
ka ‘ī	1	48	49	0	0	0
ka heluhelu	0	0	0	0	0	0
ke kākau	4	3	7	0	0	0
ke kauoha	6	11	17	0	2	2
ke kama‘ilio	1	3	4	0	0	0
ke kūkā	1	0	1	0	0	0
ka ‘ōlelo	36	21	57	1	2	3
pēlā	0	23	23	3	1	4
ka palapala	5	5	10	0	0	0
ka wala‘au	0	0	0	0	0	0

Mana‘o: Ua kaha ‘ia nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘elima i ‘ike nui ‘ia ma nā leka ma ka ‘āhinahina.

Ka wala‘au a me ke kama‘ilio

I ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ka wala‘au a me ke kama‘ilio i kēia mau lā, ua ‘ane like ka mana‘o – hō‘ike kēia mau hua ‘ōlelo i ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana ma waena o kekahi po‘e. No laila, ua pū‘iwa au i ka ‘ike ‘ole ‘ana iā wala‘au ma nā leka, no ka mea, no ka nui o nā mo‘olelo i mo‘olelo ‘ia ma kēia mau leka, ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘o wala‘au e hō‘ike ai i ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana ma waena o ka po‘e. Ua ‘ike ‘ia na‘e ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o kama‘ilio.

Wahi a Pukui me Elbert, ‘o ka mana‘o o wala‘au, “to talk, speak, converse; formerly, to talk loudly, shout” (‘a. 381). A laila, eia kekahi mau hua ‘ōlelo i hō‘ike ‘ia i loko o ka wehewehena no *wala‘au*; ‘o ka hoa wala‘au, “person to speak with”, ‘o ka *wala‘au wale*, “to talk for the sake of talking, chatter, talkative, garrulous”, a laila, ‘o ka mana‘o o wala‘au *ka waha*, “to speak too much”. Me he mea lā, he hua ‘ōlelo kēia e pili ana i ke kanikani ‘ana o ka ‘ōlelo. ‘A‘ole kēia he hua ‘ōlelo e ho‘ohana ai e like me kēia, ‘ua *wala‘au māua* ‘o ke kumu e pili ana i ko‘u kaha ma ka papa’. No ka mea, he mea kiko‘ī ‘ko‘u kaha ma ka papa’. No laila, i ko‘u kuhi, ua like paha ka ‘ōlelo ‘o wala‘au e like me ka ‘ōlelo ‘o kanikani. No ka mea, pili ka wala‘au a me ke kanikani i ka nui o ka leo. Wahi a Pukui me Elbert, ‘o ke kanikani, “chattering, noisy, jingle” (‘a. 129) a laila, ma ka wehewehena no ke kanikani, aia ka ‘ōlelo “kanikani pihe akula ka ‘aha”, ‘oia ho‘i, “the crowd shouted loudly”. Ma ka mana‘o o wala‘au, aia pū ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o “shout” ma ka wehewehena.

‘Oko‘a ke kama‘ilio, ‘oko‘a ka wala‘au. I ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana, ua hiki ke kuhi ‘ia ke kumuhana ma ke kama‘ilio ‘ana, ‘a‘ole na‘e hiki ke kuhi ‘ia ma ka wala‘au. Pili ke kama‘ilio i kekahi mea e kama‘ilio ai ke kanaka. Ua ‘ōlelo aku ‘o Hipa iā Emma, “akahi no la o kalakaua i hele mai ai i ka pule o ka lohe kahi kono o kahakui o ke aupuni a me ka

hana ka o kona waiwai aole oe i mahele i ko liholiho waiwai e waiho nei ia ia pela ka ke kamailio ana.” (Young, 5 Malaki 1871). He mea ko‘iko‘i ke kama‘ilio ‘ana e pili ana i ka waiwai a ka Mō‘ī. Mali‘a, he kūlana ko‘iko‘i ko ke kama‘ilio ma mua o ka wala‘au. Ma kekahi leka a Emma, e wehewehe ana ‘o ia iā Hipa, he mana‘o kona e kanu i nā mea kanu i ‘ai na nā limahana o Lāwa‘i, “e kanu ana o loko nei i ai na ka poe wili ko, aole nae i kamailio ia nei mea me ka poe wili ko aia paha ma hope aku,” (Kaleleonālani, 6 Malaki 1871). Ua makemake ‘o Emma e kama‘ilio pū me lākou i ‘ike ‘o ia i ko lākou mana‘o. He mea nui ko lākou mau mana‘o iā ia, no laila, ua ho‘oholo ‘ia kona mana‘o e like paha me ko lākou.

Eia kekahi mea e ‘oko‘a ai ke kama‘ilio a me ka wala‘au, ma kona ‘ano he mea ko‘iko‘i ke kama‘ilio a he mea ko‘iko‘i ‘ole ka wala‘au. No ka mea, ‘o ka hauwala‘au he mea maika‘i ‘ole, a he mea nānā ‘ole ‘ia no ka mea, ‘a‘ohe ona ‘oia‘i‘o, a ‘a‘ohe mea maika‘i e ulu ana i loko o ka hauwala‘au. Penei kona mana‘o, “*to gabble, gossip, chatter, babble, hubbub, fuss*” (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘ao‘ao 62). Ua like ka hauwala‘au me ka ‘ōhumu, ‘a‘ohe ona mana‘o maika‘i.⁵⁰ No laila, no ke aha i kapa ‘ole ‘ia ai kēia ‘ano wala‘au ‘o ka hau-kama‘ilio?

Ka heluhelu

Kāhāhā au i ka ‘ike ‘ole i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o heluhelu ma kēia mau leka – ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia e Hipa, Emma, a i ‘ole e Ke‘elikōlani. He mea hoihoi ia‘u no ka mea, ‘o ka heluhelu ka‘u hana ke loa‘a ka leka ia‘u, a kuhi au e ‘ike ana au i kēlā hua ‘ōlelo ma kekahī o kā lākou mau leka no ka hō‘ike ‘ana, ua loa‘a ka leka a ua heluhelu ‘ia. He mea

⁵⁰ ‘Ōhumu: *to grumble, complain, find fault, conspire, plot* (Pukui me Elbert, ‘ao‘ao 279).

nui kēlā i ko‘u mana‘o, i ‘ike kou hoa kākau ‘a‘ole ‘o kāna leka (i ho‘oili ‘ē ‘ia) e waiho wale ana ma luna o ke pākaukau; ua heluhelu ‘ia nō a ua ‘ike ‘ia nā mana‘o o loko.

Ma kahi o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o heluhelu, ua ‘ike au ma nā leka a Emmalani mā, i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *loa‘a* a me ‘*ike* a me ka *hālāwai ‘ana* (me ka leka) i ka wā e kama‘ilio ana e pili ana i kāna hana me ka leka. Ua ‘ōlelo ‘o Ke‘elikōlani, ua ‘ike ‘o ia i ka leka, “Kuu wahine aloha ua loaa mua mai nei no tau leta a ua ite i na olelo apau,” (20 Apeli⁵¹, 1883). Pēlā pū me Hipa, ha‘i aku ‘o ia iā Emma, ua ‘ike ‘o ia i ka leka, “Aloha oe a me ko kunane a me kahi pokii ou ua ike au i kau leka,” (Young, 26 Ianuali 1871). Akā, ‘o kekahī mana‘o o ‘ike ‘o, “to see, know, feel, experience, understand” (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 96). No laila, ua kūpono ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ike ma ‘ane‘i no ka mea i ko‘u mana‘o ‘o ka hopena o ka heluhelu ka ‘*ike ‘ana* i ka leka. ‘O ia ho‘i, ua heluhelu ‘ia ka leka a ua maopopo nā mana‘o, a ua komo piha ka no‘ono‘o ‘ana e pili ana i ka leka. No ia kumu, nīnau a‘e au i ka nīnau, ua hiki paha ke ‘ike i ka ‘ōlelo iā ‘oe e kama‘ilio ana me ke kanaka he alo a he alo, a inā pēlā, ‘a‘ole paha ‘oko‘a ka ‘ike ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo ma ka waha a i ‘ole ka ‘ōlelo ma luna o ka pepa? Ua hiki nō paha.

Ua ‘ōlelo ho‘i ‘o Ke‘elikōlani, ‘o ka *hālāwai* me ka leka kāna hana kekahī, “Kuu kane i aloha nui ia ua halawai au me tau wahi leta me te aloha.⁵² pumehana,” (1 Mei, 1883). ‘O ka mana‘o o ka *hālāwai*, ‘oia ho‘i ka hui pū ‘ana.⁵³ ‘O ka mea ‘āpiki, ‘a‘ole hō‘ike ‘ia he *hālāwai* kēia ‘o ke kanaka me ke kanaka. He mea hoihoi kekahī, ua pili ka

⁵¹ Pēlā i pela ‘ia ai ‘o ‘Apelila.

⁵² Pēlā i kākau ‘ia ai, he kiko kahi ma laila.

⁵³ Hālāwai: *meeting, to meet*. Ho‘ohālāwai: *to arrange a meeting* (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘ao‘ao 52).

‘ōlelo ‘o hālāwai me ke ku‘ina o ka lā ma ka ‘ili kai,⁵⁴ no laila, ‘a‘ole nō pili ka hālāwai i ke kanaka wale nō. ‘A‘ole ‘o Ke‘elikōlani i ‘ōlelo ua ‘ike ‘o ia i ka leka, a i ‘ole ua *loa‘a* ka leka iā ia. Akā, i kekahi manawa, ua ho‘ohana nō ‘o ia iā *loa‘a*. I ka *loa‘a* ‘ana mai o ka leka iā Kaleleonālani, ‘ōlelo aku ‘o ia, “Aloha kuu kane a nui a nui loa ua loaa mai kau leka o ka la 1 o nei mahina,” (Kaleleonālani, 4 Mei 1883).

Mali‘a paha, ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o heluhelu ma muli o ka lua (a i ‘ole ka mua) o kona mau mana‘o, “*to read, count*” (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘ao‘ao 66). No ka mea, ua ‘ōlelo aku ‘o Emmalani e pili ana i ka helu ‘ana, akā, i ko‘u ho‘omaopopo ‘ana he mea pili i ka helu maoli o kekahi mea, ‘a‘ole ‘o ka heluhelu ‘ana i ka palapala, “E hooili mai hoi oe i lei ilio no Kau kama i paa ole i ka lima. helu ke kii mai e auhau” (Kaleleonālani, 20 Maraki 1883). Ua makemake ‘o ia iā Hipa e ho‘oili mai i kekahi lei ‘īlio⁵⁵ a laila, i ke ki‘i ‘ana mai, e ‘auhau ‘o ia. Ma muli o kāna ‘ōlelo e pili ana i ka ‘auhau, he mea pili nō i ka heluna o kekahi mea, akā e like me ka‘u, ‘a‘ole au i ‘ike i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *heluhelu* ma kēia mau leka.

Ka ha‘i

Eia ka mana‘o o ha‘i ma ka puke wehewehe, “To say, tell, mention, state, declare, confess. Cf. ha‘ina, ha‘i pōkole. Ka ha‘i ‘ana: the telling, annunciation. Kona ha‘i maoli ‘ana i kona hewa: the true confession of his offense” (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘ao‘ao 47) Me he mea lā, he ‘ōlelo ma‘amau ‘o *ha‘i* ma ka ‘ōlelo a Hipa. Na Hipa i kākau i kēia hua ‘ōlelo i ka hapa nui o nā manawa i ‘ike ‘ia.⁵⁶ I ko‘u nānā ‘ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo pili i ka ho‘opuka ‘ana i ka mana‘o, ‘oi aku kā Hipa ho‘ohana ‘ana iā *ha‘i* ma mua o kekahi hua

⁵⁴ E like me ka ‘ōlelo, mai ka ho‘oku‘i a ka hālāwai: *from zenith to horizon* (Pukui me Elbert, ‘ao‘ao 52).

⁵⁵ ‘A‘ole wehewehe ‘ia ma ka puke wehewehe. He lei niho ‘īlio paha ka ‘lei ‘īlio’.

⁵⁶ E nānā i ka Pākuhi 1 ma ka ‘ao‘ao 51 o kēia palapala noi‘i.

‘ōlelo pili i ka ho‘opuka mana‘o. Ua ho‘ohana ‘o ia i ‘elua hua ‘ōlelo i ‘ane like ma ka māmala like, ‘o ia ‘o *ha‘i* a me ‘ī, “He hai aku nei au ia oe ke i mai nei o lua e malama i kai nou no ka mea aia ia pihopa ka molaki,” (Hipā, 3 Ian 71). I ko‘u mana‘o, ua ho‘ohana ‘o ia i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *ha‘i* no ka ho‘omākaukau ‘ana i ka mea heluhelu, e hō‘ike ‘ia ana kekahī ‘ōlelo ma hope.

I ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana ua ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘o *ha‘i* ma ‘ekolu ‘ano manawa kiko‘ī. ‘O ka mua, he mea kā ka mea kākau e hō‘ike ai i ka mea heluhelu. Pēlā i ho‘omaka ai kekahī mau leka, “Eia kau e hai aku ia oe,” (Young, 6 Malaki 1871) a i ‘ole ia, “Eia makou i kuaaina no laila aohe wahi mea hou e hai aku ai ia oe,” (Kaleleonālani, 2 Malaki 1883). I ka lua o ka manawa, e kauoha ‘ia ana ke kanaka e ha‘i aku a i ‘ole e ha‘i ‘ole i kekahī mea. Ua nui nā manawa i kauoha ‘o Emma iā Hipā e ha‘i ‘ole i kekahī mea, “Aloha oe e Hipā mai hai oe i keia” (Kaleleonālani, 13 Pepluali 1871). I ko‘u kuhi, ua akahēle ‘o Emma i kāna mea e kākau ai iā Hipā i kekahī manawa, o ha‘i auane‘i ‘o Hipā iā ha‘i. E like me kāna, “mai hoike oe i kau leka iaia e hai wale aku no,” (Kaleleonālani, 9 March 1871). He mea ma‘amau paha kēia, ko Emma hopohopo ‘ana i kā Hipā ho‘oholo ‘ana i kāna ‘ōlelo ‘oiai ma kekahī leka ua kākau ‘o ia iā Hipā, “Ke olelo mai nei o Luke e hai aku au ia oe e akahēle kau mau mea e olelo aku ai ia Kilikiliula” (Kaleleonālani, 20 March 1871). He kuhi wale nō kēia, akā me he mea lā, ua pilikia mua paha o Hipā i ka hauwala‘au. Ua pane akula ‘o Hipā i kēia kauoha a Emma me ka ‘ae aku, “no kau tauoha ana mai no ke kamailio i mua o kilikiliula aole au e hana ia mea i mua o lakou” (Young, 24 Malaki 1871).

‘Oiai, ‘a‘ole i hō‘ike ‘ia kekahi mea kiko‘ī e hana ai ma hope o ko lāua ho‘ohana ‘ana iā ha‘i, kuhi ana au, ‘a‘ole ‘o ha‘i he hua ‘ōlelo e hō‘ike i kekahi puana‘ī. He waiwai na‘e kēia hua ‘ōlelo no ka hō‘ike ‘ana i ka ho‘opuka mana‘o mai ka waha mai.

Ka ‘ī

Ua puni ‘o Hipa i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ī ma loko o kona mau mo‘olelo ‘ana e pili ana i nā hanana ma Honolulu. Na Hipa i ho‘ohana i kēia hua ‘ōlelo he 48 manawa i loko o nā manawa he 49 i ‘ike ‘ia. Na Emma ka manawa ho‘okahi. Makemake au i ko Hipa mau mo‘olelo no ka mea, ha‘i pono ‘o ia i ka ‘ōlelo a kēlā a me kēia kanaka, ma ke ka‘ina i ha‘i ‘ia ai, a me ka hana i hana aku ai. No laila, me he ki‘i‘oni‘oni lā ka heluhelu ‘ana i kāna leka. E hō‘ike au i kona mo‘olelo e pili ana i kekahi pō i inu lama ai ‘o Kūnuiākea a me Lua, a me ka hō‘eha ‘ia ‘ana o ka wahine ‘o Kohuole iā Kūnuiākea. Ua ho‘ohiō au i ka ‘ōlelo i ‘ike le‘a ka mea heluhelu i ka nui o nā manawa i ‘ī aku ai ke kanaka (wahi a Hipa), no ka ho‘ākāka ‘ana i ke ko‘iko‘i o ia ‘ōlelo i ka mo‘olelo ‘ana. Eia ka mo‘olelo a Hipa,

Aloha oe ke hai aku nei au ia oe mai ko oukou la i holo ai a hiki i ka la pau o ia malama akahi no au a hele i waho mai loa au hiki mai o lua ma e mai ana au a i ka po poalima 28 o ia malama hele mai o kunuiakea ua inu pia o lua ma i polihale⁵⁷ olelo nui i ka waiwai *i o lua* e hoi kakou i ko makuahine *i kela* e inu e ake e ona loa lawe ia ka ona e like me ka hana ia uilama paa ia lua holo o ka ona i ou nei hele mai me lua kahea aku au *i mai kela* aole au e noho e haawi mai ia ka ona me kela mau kaikamahine e hoihoi *i au* aole au e hele hookahi o poa ia au *i aku au* eia na kanaka

⁵⁷ ‘O Polihale ka inoa o ka hale a Hipa lāua ‘o George Na‘ea ma Honolulu. Wahi a Korns ma ka puke, *News from Molokai*, “Polihale was a grass or adobe house in Honolulu where Emma’s mother, Fanny Kekela and George Na‘ea lived, situated on Beretania between Fort and Nu‘uanu.”

hele mai *i mai* ho mai ho mai o ka ona ona *i aku au* aole au e haawi aku he kapu ka
hele i ka po hulili ka maka ho mai aole au e ae aku hele i lalo hoihoi mai ia ka ai
hele i ka lumi o mele ma ua holo o hana me kahi hano me kahi kaikamahine koe
kahi luahine ninau au hea e hana aole au i ike lulu ia io ia nei me ka hooweliweli me
ka pahi ike ia kohuole e hoi mai ana mai ka lua holo kahi luahine loaa kela o ka
pepehi no ia nahoahoa ke poo elua puka i ke kumu o ka pahi puka mai o kalaauimi
ninau ua ha oe ua eha au i ke lii paani o kalaauimi i ka wa ha lawe mai ina ku
makena ke keiki ke hele nei no e hakaka o keawehunahala ka hoi ma mua o kohuole
iho ia po hookahi no a kekahī po mai hoi hou mai ao aku au aohe olelo mai noho
wale mai no aole i ike ia e waho (Young, 3 Ianuali 71)

Ua hō‘ike ‘o Hipa i ka ‘ōlelo a me ka hana o ia pō – mai ka wā i inu ai lāua, a i ka
huhū ‘ana mai o Kūnuiākea i ka hā‘awi ‘ole ‘ana o Hipa i ka ‘ona iā ia. Ia‘u e heluhelu
ana i kēia mo‘olelo, ua ‘ike le‘a au iā lākou a pau i loko o ko‘u no‘ono‘o ‘ana, me he mea
lā, ma laila aku au me lākou i ia pō. I kekahī manawa, hō‘ike wale ‘o ia me ka hō‘ike ‘ole
i ke kanaka nāna ka ‘ī aku, e like me ko Kalaauimi nīnau ‘ana iā Kohuole iā wai ‘o ia i
‘eha ai, “puka mai o kalaauimi ninau ua ha oe ua eha au i ke lii”. ‘A‘ole ‘o Hipa i ‘ōlelo,
akā maopopo ia‘u na Kohuole ka ‘ī ‘ana mai, “ua eha au i ke lii”. ‘A‘ole i pono e ‘ōlelo,
“ua ‘ī aku ‘o Kohuole” ma muli o ka ‘ike ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo, “ua ha oe ua eha au”. He nīnau
ka ‘ōlelo, “ua ha oe”.⁵⁸ Ua ho‘oili ‘ia kēia mo‘olelo ma ka leka a Hipa i ka lā 3 o Ianuali,
aia nō a hala he ‘elua malama a pane akula ‘o Emmalani, “Pehea ke poo o Kohuole i eha
ai ia Kunuiakea” (Kaleleonālani, 1 Malaki 1871). E ‘ole kēia nīnau ‘ana mai o Emma, ua
maopopo le‘a ai ‘o Kūnuiākea ka mea i hō‘eha iā Kohuole. Ma hope, ua heluhelu ‘ia ka

⁵⁸ I ko‘u mana‘o, ‘o ka nīnau piha āna ‘o “Ua aha ‘oe?”.

pane a Hipa i ko Emma nīnau ‘ana e pili ana i ke po‘o o Kohuole, “o ke poo o kohuole ua ola no hoi ahu hou ae la no he maikai no,” (Hipā, 5Mal71).

Na Hipā ka hapanui o ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ī, koe ho‘okahi manawa, ua ho‘ohana ‘o Emma ma kona mo‘olelo ‘ana e pili ana i kekahi palapala kuleana no Lāwa‘i. Ua noi ‘o ia iā Hipā e noi iā Hikoni nona e kākau hou i kona palapala ho‘oilina i hiki ai iā ia ke mālama iā Lāwa‘i, a ma muli paha o kona ho‘oha‘aha‘a ‘ana iā ia iho ma ke noi ‘ana iā Hikoni, ua ho‘ohana ‘o ia i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ī ma kahi o ka ha‘i. Aia ma kēia paukū ka ‘ōlelo piha a Emma,

Meaheuole kane a Kamoku ka palapala kuleana o Kahawali kahi i malama ai i kauhale o lakou i Honolulu. i mai nei aohe ka he lele o kona oily no ka nele o ka palapala kuleana. Ia ia o Kahawali, i aku nei au e palapala koke e ninau ina e like me kau e olelo mai nei no ka aina nei o Lawai, a laila eia ka mea e hana aku i nei wa, o ka olelo aku ia Hikoni e hana ia i kana palapala hooilina a e hooili mai i ka aina o Lawai nou nei, aka ea piha maila au i ka hilahila i ke noi aku ia mea,”

(Kaleleonālani, 20 Malaki 1871)

Ua hiki ke ‘ike ‘ia, he puana‘ī nō ma hope o kona ‘ōlelo, “i aku nei au e palapala koke e ninau”. No laila, he ha‘awina nui kēia i ko‘u mana‘o, e ho‘ākāka ‘ia nō ke kumu e ho‘ohana ai i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ī. I ko‘u mana‘o, he hua ‘ōlelo kūpono ia no ka hō‘ike ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo a i ‘ole nā ‘ōlelo i ho‘opuka maoli ‘ia mai ka waha mai, ‘o ia ho‘i, ka puana‘ī.

Ke kauoha

Ma mua o ko‘u noi‘i ‘ana i kēia hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ke kauoha, ua mana‘o au he pilina ko ke kauoha ‘ana i ke kūlana o ke kanaka nāna e kauoha aku. Eia na‘e, ma ko‘u heluhelu ‘ana i ko Hipā a me Emma ho‘ohana ‘ana, ua ‘ike auane‘i au, aia kekahī mana‘o o ke

kauoha ma Pukui me Elbert (1986) i maopopo ‘ole ia‘u, pili i ke noi kiko‘ī i kekahi mau mea e like me ka ‘ai, nā pono hana, a i ‘ole ka hana ‘ana i kekahi mea, “*to order; as groceries or goods*” (‘a. 139). Pēlā i ho‘ohana ‘ia ai kēia hua ‘ōlelo e Kaleleonālani ma kāna leka iā Hipa, “Ua kauoha aku no hoi au ia oe e hooili mai i mea humuhumu o ka hui na makou” (Kaleleonālani, 15 Pepeluale 1871). Ma kēia ‘ōlelo a Emma, e kauoha ana ‘o ia iā Hipa e hana, e ho‘oili nō ho‘i. A laila, e kauoha ana ‘o ia i nā mea humuhumu. A ua maka‘ala nō ho‘i ‘o Hipa i ke kauoha ‘ana a Kaleleonālani, ‘oiai aia iā Hipa ke kuleana o ka ho‘oili i nā mea mai Honolulu i Lāwa‘i, kahi e noho ana ‘o Emma, “aia ku mai o kini hooili aku na mea a pau i kauoha ia mai nei” (Young, 26 Pepeluali 1871).

‘O ka mana‘o o ke kauoha i kama‘aina ia‘u, ‘o ia ka “*order, command, decree, to send for*” (Pukui me Elbert, ‘ao‘ao 138). Ua ‘ike ‘ia nō ho‘i ko lākou ho‘ohana ‘ana pēlā ma nā leka. Ma kekahi mau leka a Hipa iā Emma, ha‘i akula ‘o ia i ke kauoha ‘ana a ke ali‘i, ‘o Lot Kapuāiwa paha, “ke i mai nei ke lii iau e hai aku ia oe e hoi mai ke pau ko auai kauoha mai ia la e kii aku kahi moku ia oukou e hoi mai pela ka i ana mai nei iau, e hoi koke mai ana no” (Young, 31 Malaki 1871) Akā, ‘a‘ole i ho‘i koke ‘o Kaleleonālani, no laila, ua ‘oi aku ka ho‘okikina ‘ana a Hipa ma kāna ‘ōlelo, “Eia kau kauoha ia oe ina ua i aku ko kane e hoi mai e hoi mai” (Young, 18 Pepelila⁵⁹ 71).

Ua lilo ia kauoha ‘ana a ke ali‘i a me Hipa iā Kaleleonālani i kekahi ha‘awina no‘u, no ka mea, ua ‘ike le‘a au i ka ‘oia‘i‘o o ke kauoha – he mana kona, akā, ‘a‘ole nānā ‘ia ke kūlana o ke kanaka. ‘A‘ole i lawa ka nui o ka mana o kā Hipa a me ke ali‘i kauoha ‘ana e ho‘opōkole ai ‘o Kaleleonālani i kona mau huaka‘i no ka ho‘i koke i Honolulu. Eia ka ha‘i ‘ana mai a Emma,

⁵⁹ ‘O ka mahina ‘o ‘Apelila kēia.

A ka la 18 pau ka eli auwai ana a makou a laila holo au i ka la 19 ma Lihue, a hoi mai holo i Niihau a laila kau aku ma Pauahi hoi i Honolulu ma hope o ka la 25 aka aohe make hai ae ou i neia mau mea o lohe ae ka Moi i kuu holo i Niihau ua kauwoha aku nei au ia ia e holo mai ka moku Pauwahi a hiki i anei i ka la 20 o nei mahina (Kaleleonālani, 15 Apelila 1871)

I ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o kauoha ma ke ‘ano he noi i ka lako a i ‘ole ka mea ‘ai, ua mana‘o au, aia paha kekahi mau hua ‘ōlelo e like me kauoha i pili i ke noi ‘ana i kekahi kōkua, he hana paha, he pane paha, a No laila, aia he mau mea hou aku e ‘imi noi‘i ai.

Ka ‘ōlelo

Makemake au e hō‘ike i kekahi ‘ano o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana iā ‘ōlelo e like me ka ho‘ohana ‘ana o Emma a me Hipa. I ka nānā ‘ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘ōlelo a‘u i noi‘i ai ma nā leka, ua ‘ike au ‘oi aku ka manawa a Emma i koho ai iā ‘ōlelo ma mua o Hipa. Ua ho‘ohana ‘ia ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ōlelo he 57 mau manawa e Emma— a ua ho‘ohana ‘ia e Hipa he 36 manawa. Ua hō‘ike ‘ano ‘o Pukui mā i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ōlelo pēnei, “language, speech, word, quotation, statement, utterance, term, tidings; to speak, say, state, talk, mention, quote, converse, tell; oral, verbatim verbal, motion (in early House of Nobles regulations)” (Pukui me Elbert, 1986, ‘a. 284). Akā na‘e, ‘a‘ole au i ‘ike i ka ho‘ohana ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ōlelo i mea e hō‘ike ai i ka puana‘ī. I ko‘u mana‘o, ‘oi aku paha ka launa pū o ke ‘ano a‘u i ‘ike ai ma ka leka me ka mana‘o o “statement, utterance, say, mention”. E hō‘ike ana au i kekahi mea e kāko‘o ana i ko‘u mana‘o ma o ka ho‘ohālikelike ‘ana iā ‘ōlelo a me kekahi hua ‘ōlelo i ‘ane like e like me *ha‘i*. I ko‘u

mana‘o, ua like paha nā hua ‘ōlelo, akā ma o ka heluhelu ‘ana i nā leka ua ‘ike au, he ‘oko‘a nō ka mana‘o.

He kōkua nui inā ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘elua hua ‘ōlelo i ‘ane like ka mana‘o e like me ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ōlelo a me ha ‘i. Ma kēia kākau ‘ana a Emmalani ua ho‘ohana ‘o ia i ia mau hua ‘ōlelo ma ka māmala like, “olelo mai nei o Kapo ua hai mai nei o Piolani ia ia i ka haawi ana aku o Kinoiki i ke keiki i ka opu ona na Piolani” (Kaleleonālani, 11 Malaki 1871).⁶⁰ Ua ho‘ohana ‘o ia iā ‘ōlelo i mea e hō‘ike ai i kekahi ha‘i ‘ana a Kapo, akā, aia ka ‘i‘o o ka mana‘o ma hope o kona ha‘i ‘ana, ‘o ia ho‘i, ko Kapi‘olani ha‘i ‘ana iā Kapo e pili ana i ke keiki a Kinoiki a loa‘a ana iā ia. Eia kekahi manawa i ‘ike ‘ia ai ‘o ‘ōlelo a me ha‘i ma ka māmala like, “olelo mai hoi oe i kahi palapala au e hai mai ana ke lohe hou ia Kahakui no ka palapala hooilina a ka Moi” (Kaleleonālani, 15 Pepeluale 1871). Aia ka ‘i‘o o ka mana‘o ma hope o ha‘i, no ka “lohe hou ia Kahakui no ka palapala”.

‘O ka lua o ke ‘ano, ua ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘o ‘ōlelo ma kona ‘ano he mau mea, he mau hua ‘ōlelo nō ho‘i. Akā ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia e like me ka hō‘ike ‘ana i ka ho‘opuka ‘ana i ka mana‘o mai ka waha mai. Eia kekahi kumu ho‘ohālikelike o kēia, “o ka manao aloha o na mea a pau iau a laila o kai ala hana ka hoino iau, me na olelo hoopohala a hoowahawaha,” (Kaleleonālani, 28 Ianuali 1871). I ko‘u heluhelu ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo “na olelo hoopohala”, ‘o nā ‘ōlelo ka hō‘ailona, he mau mea ka ‘ōlelo. E like me kāna kākau ‘ana, “maikai na olelo a Kuapu‘u,” (Kaleleonālani, 29 Ianuali 1871). ‘A‘ole kēia he ‘ano o kā Emma ‘ōlelo wale nō, ua ho‘ohana ‘o Hipa penei, “he mau wahi olelo ka hikoni iau e paa aku au ia oe,” (Young, 4 Pepeluali 1871). Me he mea lā, hiki ke wehewehe i ke

⁶⁰ Ua hānai ‘ia ‘o Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole i ka lā 26 o Malaki i ka makahiki 1871. ‘O Victoria Kinoiki Kekaulike kona makuahine. Ua lawe hānai ‘ia ‘o ia e ke Ali‘i Wahine ‘o Kapi‘olani lāua ‘o David Kalākaua.

‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo ma o ke kapa ‘ana i nā ‘ōlelo, he mau ‘ōlelo maika‘i, he mau ‘ōlelo ho‘opohala a me ho‘owahāwahā⁶¹ paha. ‘Oko‘a ka ha‘i, a ‘oko‘a ho‘i ka ‘ōlelo, no ka mea, inā ua pani ‘ia ka ho‘ohana ‘ana iā ‘ōlelo me *ha ‘i* ma ‘ane‘i, “he mau wahi *ha ‘i* ka hikoni”, ‘a‘ole paha launa maika‘i ka mana‘o o ka ha‘i ‘ana ma laila.

Pēlā

Aia he ‘elua mau ‘ano o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o pēlā ma nā leka a‘u i heluhelu ai, ‘o ka mua ‘o *pēlā* (kekahi hana). Ma nā leka, ua ho‘ohana ‘ia no ka hō‘ike ‘ana i kahi mea i lohe ‘ia, a i ‘ole ke ‘ano o kekahi hana. Eia kekahi ‘ōlelo a Hipa e pili ana i ke ‘ano o ka nohona, “Aia o kupa i kai he kanaka ko paa iau hele mai no i uka e nana ai o Kupa i kai pela ia e noho nei” (Young, 26 Ianuali, 1871). Ua ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘o pēlā e hō‘ike i ke ‘ano o ka nohona o Kupa – aia i kai, *pēlā* ka nohona. A laila, ua mo‘olelo ‘o Hipa e pili ana i ke ‘ano o ka hana ma ka lā hānau o ke ali‘i. Me he mea lā e ho‘ohālikelike ‘ana i ka wā ma mua, ua nui ka pā‘ina ma ka lā hānau o ke ali‘i. Akā, i ia mau lā, ua emi mai. E hō‘ike ana ‘o ia ua li‘ili‘i ko Kalāho‘olewa (‘o William Pitt Leleiohoku), a pēlā pū ko Miriam Likelike, he mau ali‘i lāua, “o ka la hanau o na lii aohe hana e like ma mua aha aina liilii loa ko kalahoolewa aohe hula aohe hana inoa pela no ko likelike ua hoohaahaa nui” (Young, 14 Ianuali, 1871). Ua ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘o pēlā e hō‘ike, ua like ka hana ma ko Kalāho‘olewa lā hānau a me ko Likelike – *pēlā* nō ka hana no kona lā hānau, ‘a‘ole hula a ‘a‘ole hana inoa. Ua ‘ike pinepine ‘ia ‘o pēlā e pili ana i kekahi ‘ōlelo i lohe ‘ia. I ka hapanui o ka manawa, hō‘ike mua ‘ia ka mana‘o, a laila, ua ho‘ākāka ka mea kākau, ‘o ia kāna mea i lohe ai, a laila hō‘ike ‘ia ka mea nāna i ha‘i aku.

⁶¹ Wahi a Pukui me Elbert (1986): Ho‘opohala: *to discredit, not believe, deprecate* (‘ao‘ao 335). Wahāwahā: *to treat with contempt, scorn, despise, abhor, ridicule, to be disgusted, defy.* (‘ao‘ao 377).

E la‘a me kēia ‘ōlelo, “ua pau ka auwai a na pake i ka hana aia i na loi kahi i hana ai pela mai kupa” (Young, 3 Ianuali, 1871).

‘O ka lua o kona ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana, ‘o pēlā (*ka ‘ōlelo a kekahi*). ‘Oko‘a kēia ho‘ohana ‘ana iā pēlā a ‘oko‘a kekahi ho‘ohana ‘ana iā pēlā (ka hana) no ka mea, me he mea lā, he pani ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o pēlā no ka mana‘o, ‘o ia ka mana‘o. ‘A‘ole paha ‘o pēlā he hua ‘ōlelo e hō‘ike i ka hana ‘o ka ho‘opuka ‘ana i ka mana‘o mai ka waha mai e like me ‘ōlelo, no ka mea, ua ‘ike au i nā hua ‘ōlelo ‘elua ma ka māmala ‘ōlelo like, “ua kokoke o naluana e make ua pau ka ike a me ka lohe pela o pu i olelo iho nei” (Young, 9 Apelila, 1871). E kuhikuhi ana au, pēnei ka mana‘o piha o “pela o pu i olelo iho nei”, ‘o ia ho‘i, ‘pēlā *ka mana‘o o pu i ‘ōlelo iho nei*’. A ua ‘ike pū ‘ia ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o pēlā a me *kama‘ilio* ma ka māmala like, “aoe oe i mahele i ko liholiho waiwai e waiho nei ia ia pela ka ke kamailio ana” (Young, 5 Malaki, 1871). I ko‘u mana‘o, ‘o kekahi mana‘o ona, ‘pēlā nā mana‘o o ka po‘e ma ke kama‘ilio ‘ana’.

‘Ane like ka nui o nā manawa i ‘ike ‘ia nā ‘ano ‘elua o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o pēlā. Ua ‘ike ‘ia ‘o pēlā (*kekahi hana*) he 13 manawa, ua ‘ike ‘ia ‘o pēlā (*ka ‘ōlelo a kekahi*) he 17 manawa.

Ka hō‘ulu‘ulu ‘ana i ka papa ‘ōlelo

Ua kālailai ‘ia kēia mau hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ohana ‘ia ma nā leka e pili ana i ka ho‘opuka mana‘o a me ka palapala me ka mana‘o lana, ma o ka ho‘ohālike ‘ana i ke ‘ano o kona ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana i ka wā ma mua a me kona ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana i kēia manawa, e hiki ana iā kakou ke koho me ka maka‘ala i ka ‘ōlelo kūpono e hō‘ike ai i ka mana‘o. He ho‘omaka wale nō kēia no ka ‘imi noi‘i ‘ana e pili ana i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, no ka mea, ‘a‘ole ‘o ka ‘ōlelo a me ka palapala wale nō kā kākou hana. Ua hiki paha ke no‘ono‘o ‘ia

he mau hana ma‘amau ‘ē a‘e o ke kanaka e la‘a me ka launa ‘ana me kekahi, a i ‘ole ka huaka‘i ‘ana, a i ‘ole ka noho ‘ana. Ma laila nō ko‘u hoihoi i kēia manawa no ka mea inā ho‘ākāka kākou i ka ‘ōlelo ma nā hana ma‘amau, e ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana he mau hua ‘ōlelo hou aku i ho‘ohana ‘ole ‘ia a e hō‘ulu‘ulu ‘ia ‘ana ko kākou waihona o nā hua ‘ōlelo ma‘amau ma ke kama‘ilio ‘ana.

Nā ‘ōlelo no‘eau ma ka leka

He mau mana‘o wale nō kēia e pili ana i ‘elua mau mea a‘u i ‘ike ai i loko o nā leka me he mea lā he mau ‘ōlelo no‘eau kēia. Ua kuhihewa na‘e au i ka lua o nā mana‘o, akā wehewehe akula au i ka waiwai o kēia kuhihewa ‘ana no‘u ma ko‘u ‘imi noi‘i ‘ana. No ka mea, he maika‘i no‘u ke hō‘ike ‘ia ka lanakila a me ka lanakila ‘ole ma kēia hana ‘o ke kuhi ‘ana a me ke kāko‘o ‘ana i ka mana‘o ma o ka ‘imi noi‘i ‘ana.

Hulili ka maka

Ua mo‘olelo ‘ē au e pili ana i kēia mo‘olelo ma nei māhele o ka pepa, he mo‘olelo e hō‘ike ana i ka nui o nā manawa a Hipa i ho‘ohana ai i ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ī akā, i kēia manawa e nānā pono ana i ka mo‘olelo no ka mea aia he ‘ōlelo no‘eau ma laila. ‘O ia ‘ōlelo no‘eau ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o “hulili ka maka”. Ua hūlili ka maka ‘o Kunuiakea i ka ‘ona iā ia e koikoi ana iā Hipa i ka ‘ona, “hulili ka maka ho mai aole au e ae aku” (Young, 3 Ianuali 1871). I ka nānā mua ‘ana, kainō ‘o ka hūlili o ka maka, he ‘ōlelo no‘eau paha e pili ana i ka ‘ona o kekahi kanaka, ‘oiai ma nei mo‘olelo ua ‘ona nō ke ali‘i. Wahi a Pukui me Elbert, ‘o ka mana‘o o hūlili, “*dazzling light, vibration, undulation; to blaze, sparkle, dazzle, glare, vibrate, swell*” (ao‘ao 89). No laila, huli akula au i ka nūpepa, a ua loa‘a mai kēia mau ‘ōlelo e hō‘ike ana he ‘ōlelo kēia e pili ana i ka huhū. Ma kēia mau ‘ōlelo ‘ekolu, ua ho‘opili ‘ia kekahi hua ‘ōlelo i ka hūlili, he ‘ōlelo nona ka mana‘o e pili

ana i ka huhū a me ka ‘āhiu;⁶² “me na maka hulili eena ua kanaka la iaia i lohe ai” (Hawaii Holomua, 1 Ianuali 1893), “pane mai la me kona mau maka hulili o ka inaina” (Nupepa Kuokoa, 15 ‘Okakopa 1925), a me kēia ‘ōlelo, “me ka nana pono ana mai o ua wahine nei me na maka hulili i ka hahu ia Kaloke” (Nupepa Kuokoa, 14 Iulai 1927). Ua ho‘ohui pū ‘ia ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o hūlili a me ka mana‘o o ka ‘e‘ena, ka inaina, a me ka huhū ma kēia mau kumu ho‘ohālikelike a pau.

Mai lumilumi i ka mana‘o o Lumilumi

Ua makemake au e ‘imi a loa‘a kekahī ‘ike hou e pili ana i ka ‘ōlelo no‘eau mai kēia mau leka mai akā, ua a‘o au i kekahī ha‘awina – mai mahu‘i laulā o lumilumi ‘ia auane‘i ka no‘ono‘o nui ‘ana. ‘A‘ole he ‘ōlelo no‘eau nā ‘ōlelo hoihoi a pau. E like me kēia, ua heluhelu au i kēia ‘ōlelo a Ke‘elikōlani, “Aia ‘o Kapoli i lalo i tahi o lumilumi ma a tolu pule” a ua unuhi ‘ia pēnei, *Kapoli has been at Lumilumi for three weeks*. Ua ‘imi au i ka ‘āina ‘o Lumilumi, ‘a‘ole i loa‘a, no laila mahu‘i a‘ela au he ‘ōlelo no‘eau paha ka mana‘o o “i tahi o lumilumi ma” no ka mea, ma ka puke wehewehe ‘o ka ‘ona kekahī mana‘o o lumilumi, “crushed, crumpled, wrinkled”⁶³ a laila, ua hō‘ike ‘ia kēia ‘ōlelo ma ka wehewehena, “*Lumilumi ‘ia lāua e ka ‘ona o ka ‘awa*, they were overcome by the intoxication of the kava” (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 215). Ua makemake nui au e kuhi he ‘ōlelo no‘eau kēia a ke hō‘ike nei ‘o Ke‘elikōlani i ko Kapoli ‘ona ma o ka ho‘ohana ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo no‘eau. Ua pa‘a loa ko‘u mana‘o, akā, ma hope, ua ‘ike akula au ‘a‘ole

⁶² Eia nā mana‘o o ‘e‘ena, inaina, a me huhū wahi a Pukui me Elbert (1986): ‘E‘ena: *shy, timid, wary, wild, afraid, fearsome*. (‘ao‘ao 37) Inaina: *anger, wrath, rage, hatred, enmity* (‘ao‘ao 100). Huhū: *angry, offended, indignant, mad, scolding; anger, wrath* (‘ao‘ao 86).

⁶³ I ka ‘imi ‘ana iā lumilumi, kuhi ‘ia ka nānā ‘ana iā lulumi, “Lumilumi: same as *lulumi*.

pololei ko‘u kuhi ma hope o ko‘u ‘imi ‘ana iā Lumilumi ma ka waihona nūpepa. Eia kā
kahia ‘ōlelo e kuhi ana iā Lumilumi, he wahine ma lalo o Ke‘elikōlani,
E ike auanei na mea a pau ma keia, owau o ka mea nona ka inoa malalo nei, ka
Lunahooponopono Waiwai o Ka Mea Kiekie Ruta Keelikolani, no Honolulu,
Oahu, ua hookohu pono aku au ia Lumilumi (w), no Kona Hema, Hawaii, i keia la
1 o Ianuari A D 1876, i Luna Aina a i Agena no'u no ka malama a hooponopono
ana i na aina Ahupuaa e waiho la ma Kona Hema, Hawaii: a ke kauohaia aku nei
kela a me keia, e nana a e hoolohe i kona mana ma keia. W.P. LELEIOHOKU,
Lunahooponopono Waiwai o Ruta Keelikolani, Honolulu, Ian 1, 1876
(Leleiohoku, 8 Ianuali 1876)

No laila, ‘o ka ha‘awina a‘u i ho‘opa‘a ai, e no‘ono‘o nui i nā alahele a pau e nānā ai ma
mua o ka ho‘ōia ‘ana i ka mea i mahu‘i ‘ia ai, no ka mea, he nui nā alahele. A mali‘a, ua
hala kekahi ‘ike ‘ē a‘e ia‘u e pili ana iā lumilumi.

Nā hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ākāka ‘ia ma ka leka

He mea hoihoi ka ‘aha ‘aina ili anu no ka mea, ‘a‘ole ia i loko o ka puke
wehewehe a ‘a‘ole ho‘i i nui ko‘u ‘ike ‘ana i kēia ‘ano ‘aha ‘aina ma ka nūpepa ‘ōlelo
Hawai‘i. No laila, ‘o ko‘u mana‘o wale nō kēia e pili ana i ke kumu i mālama ‘ia ai he
‘aha ‘aina ili anu no ka Mō‘īwahine Emmalani e kona po‘e. A laila, e wehewehe ana au i
ka pilina aikāne o Ke‘elikōlani lāua ‘o Emmalani ‘oiai he mau hoa pili lāua. No‘u, ‘a‘ole
i lawa ka wehewehe o ka puke wehewehe ‘oiai ‘a‘ole i ho‘ohana ‘ia ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o
aikāne i kēia mau lā ma muli o kekahi mau mana‘o i ho‘olaha ‘ia e pili ana i kona ‘ano he
pilina moe. A no laila, e ho‘ākāka ana au e like me ka mea a‘u i ‘ike ai ma nā leka ma

waena o lāua no ka mea, i ko‘u mana‘o, he pilina piha i ke aloha ke aikāne a he pono ke ho‘ōla hou ‘ia ka mana‘o Hawai‘i no ke aloha a me ka pilina hoa.

Ka ‘Aha ‘Aina Ili Anu

Ua kaulana ke ali‘i wahine ‘o Emmalani i kona pi‘i kuahiwi ‘ana a me kona holo lio ‘ana. He wahine puni i ka māka‘ika‘i ma uka, a he huaka‘i keu a ka maika‘i kona i ka makahiki 1871. Ma ia huaka‘i ‘ana, ua mo‘olelo aku ‘o ia e pili ana i kekahi pā‘ina i kapa ‘ia he “ahaaina ilianu”. Wahi āna,

I ka ahaaina ilianu o makou ua olelo ia i ka makaainana ina hanohano i ka pupuu pu ana me ka Moi Wahine i loko oia anu me ka ino o ke kuahiwi, o kona hoomanawanui ana, ua lilo ia i mea e kaena ai o ka poe a pau i hele pu me ia he lei alii ia no lakou, ka pupuu pu me ko lakou moi wahine aloha. (Kaleleonālani, 1 Malaki 1871)

‘A‘ole i wehewehe ‘ia ka mana‘o o ka ‘aha ‘aina ‘ilianu ma ka puke a Pukui me Elbert. Eia na‘e, aia he iwakālua kumamāhā mau ‘aha ‘ē a‘e i helu ‘ia ma ia puke. Ua kapa ‘ia ma ka inoa ‘o ka ‘aha ‘aina ho‘ola‘a, ka ‘aha ‘aina ho‘omana‘o, ka ‘aha ‘aina kahukahu, ka ‘aha ‘aina lima luhi, a he nui koe. Mana‘o au, he mana ko ka ‘aha ‘aina, e ho‘okohu i kekahi hopena maika‘i e like me ka mana‘o o kona inoa. ‘O ka ho‘ola‘a ke kumu o ka ‘aha ‘aina ho‘ola‘a, e like me ka ho‘ola‘a ‘ana i ka hale a i ‘ole ka moku. ‘O ke kahukahu ‘ana i ka ‘ike ke kumu o ka mālama ‘ana i ka ‘aha ‘aina kahukahu. Ua kūpono ia ‘ano no ke kanaka i puka mai kekahi kūlana i kekahi.

I ko‘u mana‘o, ‘o ke anu o ka ‘ili ke kumu o ka ‘aha ‘aina ‘ilianu, a laila, e pau ke anu o ka ‘ili ma ka hui ‘ana. Eia na‘e, i loko nō paha o ka ‘eha o ka ‘ili, he manawa le‘a ia. Ma ka puke mele a Puakea Nogelmeier (2001) i hō‘ili‘ili ai i nā mele no Emmalani, *He Lei*

no ‘Emalani, ua ho‘ohanolano ‘ia ua huaka‘i nei ma nā mele like ‘ole. He mau mele ho‘ohanolano kēia a ua loa‘a nā mana‘o e like me, “hōpuepue i ke anu noho mā‘e‘ele i ke one kani o Nonohili,” (‘a. 73). He mea maika‘i ka hōpuepue ‘ana. He mau hali‘a aloha ko ka po‘e i hele pū ma ia huaka‘i e like me kēia, “ka hali‘a i ke anu o ka uka lā i ka ‘ohu ne‘e o ka mauna lā,” (‘a. 80). He mahalo nō ho‘i ko‘u i ke kaona o ka ili anu no ka mea ua hiki ke ‘ōlelo ‘ia, ma ia pā‘ina ua ili ke anu ma luna o kēlā me kēia kanaka. Aia ka po‘e maka‘āinana a me ke Ali‘i wahine ma kahi like a no laila e ho‘omana‘o ‘ia ana nō kēia no nā kau a kau. Hiki ke kuhi, ua komo pū ‘o Kaleleonālani i kēia hui ‘ana ma muli o kēia, “le‘a kūlou ‘o ‘Emalani i ke anu o ‘Aipō pū‘ili lālā i ke ahi lā ē a i kapa no ia uka lā ka leo ka mea aloha i ka heahea ‘ana mai ‘Ma hea mai ‘oukou lā?’ ‘Ma‘ane‘i, ma ka mehana’,” (Nogelmeier, ‘a. 91). Pehea lā inā ‘o ‘oe kekahi o nā mea pōmaika‘i i noho kokoke i ke ali‘i wahine ma ia pō, ‘eā?

Ka pilina aikāne

Ua ‘oko‘a ko Kaleleonālani pilina me kona makuahine, ‘o Hipa, a ‘oko‘a ho‘i kona pilina me Ke‘elikōlani. Ua pili loa lāua ma ke ‘ano he mau aikāne. Ma nā leka, ua kapa ‘ia ‘o Kaleleonālani e Ke‘elikōlani, “Kuu kane i aloha nui ia” (Kaleleonālani, 1 Mei 1883) a me “Kuu wahine aloha” (Kaleleonālani, 20 ‘Apelila 1883). A ua kapa ‘ia ‘o Ke‘elikōlani, “Kuu kane aloha” i ka hapa nui o nā leka. He ‘elua paha mana‘o o “kane” – mali‘a he ho‘opōkole ia o ka hua ‘olelo ‘o aikāne. A i ‘ole ia, he kāne, no ka mea, ua kākau ‘o Kaleleonālani iā Ke‘elikōlani, “He aloha no ka wahine i ke kane” (Kaleleonālani, 8 Mei 1883). Pēlā paha ke ‘ano o ko lāua pilina he aikāne, no ka mālama ‘ana kekahi i kekahi e like me ke kāne a me ka wahine. I ka wā a lāua e kākau leka ana, ua hala nā makahiki he nui o ko lāua nohona ka‘akūmākena.

‘Oko‘a ke aikāne a ‘oko‘a ke hoa. He mea pilipa‘a ke aikāne, a ‘o ke hoa, pili ‘o ia ma kekahi wā a i ‘ole kekahi hana wale nō. E like me ka hoa hele, ka hoa papa, ka hoa kama‘ilio, he hoa ia ma kekahi wā a i ‘ole ma kekahi hana wale nō. Aia he 39 mau ‘ano o ke hoa ma ka puke wehewehe a Pukui me Elbert akā ho‘okahi wale nō mana‘o o aikāne, “friend, friendly; to become a friend” (Pukui me Elbert, ‘a. 10). ‘O ke *ai*, me ka ‘ole o ka ‘okina, “coition, to have sexual relations, cohabit” (‘a. 9) a ma muli o kēia kaona o ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o ‘ai ua lilo ia hua ‘ōlelo ‘o aikāne i mea hilahila no ka po‘e nona ke aikāne, ‘a‘ole he hoa “ai”. Aia nā hua ‘ōlelo kiko‘ī e pili ana i kēlā ‘ano hoa, he hoa pili ma ka moe ‘ana, ua kapa ‘ia ma ka inoa ‘o ke hoa moe, ke hoa kāunu, a me ke hoa ‘inau. Ua ho‘āhewa ‘ia ke aikāne ma muli paha o ke a‘o ‘ana o nā mikionali i nā hana e “hewa” ai ka moe pū. Ua kūamuamu ‘ia ke aikāne, “He moe ilio no ke kane me ka wahine, aole mare ia, he moe aikane kekahi, he hoowahine kekahi” (Haanio, 14 Malaki 1838) Ua ho‘ohuikau ‘ia maila ka po‘e ma muli o kēia hana. Ma mua, he mea ma‘amau ka loa‘a ‘ana o ke aikāne i ke ali‘i, “Ma ka naauao no hoi, i noho ai na kanaka kuaaina me na’lii i ka wa kahiko, aole hiki i na kanaka ke noho pu me na’lii, ina hele na kanaka ma ka malu o na’lii o ka make no ia, o na aikane, wale no ka mea noi o pu me na’lii, aole ka poe e ae o ka poe i aeia e na’lii.” (Kahaleluhi, 24 Okatoba 1848). I ko‘u wahi mana‘o he mea kūikawā a he nani maoli nō kēia ‘ano o ka pilina, kū i ka Hawai‘i, ka ‘ike ‘ana i kēia pilina he aikāne ‘o Kaleleonālani a me Ke‘elikōlani. He hūlili ia pilina no lāua e holomua ai me ka ‘ole o nā lei aloha i wili ‘ia.

I ka nūnē ‘ana e pili ana i kēia pilina o Ke‘elikōlani me Kaleleonālani, kau nui ko‘u mana‘o ‘ana i kekahi leka a Ke‘elikōlani i kākau ai ma ka lā 1 o Mei, 1883. Ua ho‘ohenehene ‘o ia iā Emma me ka leo nuku nō ho‘i, “a ua ite i na olelo a pau hootamalii

no olua e na mau eletule hootamalii loa mai nei Ka hoi olua” (Ke‘elikōlani, 1 Mei 1883).

‘A‘ole i ha‘i ‘ia ka inoa kanaka āna e kuhi nei. Akā, ua hō‘oia ‘o Emma i ko Ke‘elikōlani mana‘o ‘a‘ohe ona mea e hopo ai no ia kanaka,

Ua loaa mai kau leka o ka la 1 o nei mahina a ua aka iho no i ka hoohuhu o nei
mea he kane i ka wahine, he oiaio no ua lilo paha maua me neia kane i na kula
kau poohiwi o na man aka ea aohe no e loaa aku ka mea nana ke kuleana kahiko,
no laila mai huhu kuu kane ua pau akula no ia (Kaleleonālani, 4 Mei 1883).

‘A‘ole hiki ia‘u ke kuhi i ka mana‘o ‘oia‘i‘o o kēia kama‘ilio ‘ana ma waena o lāua he
mau pane mai koe – ‘o wai ke kāne a he aha ke kula kau po‘ohiwi? No laila, e mahu‘i ana
au, ua ho‘ohene paha ‘o Ke‘elikōlani iā Emma no kona ho‘okamali‘i ‘ana me ua kāne
nei, a ua huhū ‘o Ke‘elikōlani iā Kaleleonālani no laila, penei kāna ‘ōlelo, “hoohuhu o nei
mea he kane i ka wahine”. A laila, ua pono ‘o Emma e wehewehe, ““a‘ole e loaa aku ka
mea nana ke kuleana kahiko, no laila mai huhu kuu kane”. Me he mea lā, ua maka‘ala a
mālama nui ‘o Ke‘elikōlani e like me ke kuleana o ke kāne i ka wahine.

MĀHELE IV: Ka Nānā ‘Ana i Mua

Ka nānā hope ‘ana i nā pahu hopu o kēia palapala

Ua ho‘okahua ‘ia ke kumu mana‘o nui o kēia palapala noi‘i me ‘elua mau pahu hopu. ‘O ka pahu hopu mua, e hō‘ike ‘ia he mau mo‘olelo e pili ana i nā ali‘i wahine ‘o Emma Kaleleonālani, kona makuahine ‘o Fanny ‘Hipā’ Young, a me ko Emma hoa hānau, ke Ali‘i Wahine ‘o Ruth Ke‘elikōlani, e like me kā lākou kākau ‘ana e pili ana i kā lākou mau hana a me mana‘o ma nā leka. ‘O ka lua o ka pahu hopu, e ho‘oikaika a e ho‘ākāka ‘ia ka mana‘o o kekahi mau hua ‘ōlelo ma hope o ka nānā ‘ana i ko lākou ho‘ohana ‘ia ‘ana a i ‘ole ho‘ohana ‘ole ‘ia ‘ana ma nā leka. Ma o ka ho‘ākāka ‘ana i kekahi mau hua ‘ōlelo a me pilina ‘ōlelo, e mālama ‘ia ana ke kuana‘ike maoli o ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i ka wā ma mua. E like ho‘i me ka hua ‘ōlelo ‘o *ho‘oili* a me *ho‘ouna*, makemake au e paipai i ke koho pono ‘ana i kekahi ‘ōlelo ma mua o kekahi, ‘oiai, he ‘oko‘a nō ka mana‘o. Mai kēia mua aku, lana ko‘u mana‘o e lilo ana kēia noi‘i ‘ana i kōkua no ka po‘e i makemake e mālama i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, i nānā pono ‘ia kēia me kēia hua ‘ōlelo a me ka wā kupono e ho‘ohana ai iā ia.

I ko‘u mana‘o aia ka nui o ka waiwai o kēia mau leka i ka ho‘onui ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo e pili ana i nā ali‘i wahine nāna i kākau i kēia po‘e leka. He mea nui ka ho‘ohanohano ‘ana i ko lākou inoa, a me ka mahalo ‘ana i ka ho‘oilina leka i loa‘a iā kākou i kēia manawa. I loko o nā makahiki he haneli kanahā kumamāhā i hala aku nei, ua loli nō ka ‘ōlelo, a ua loli nō ho‘i ka nohona Hawai‘i, no laila, he mea waiwai nō ia ka hiki ke heluhelu e pili ana i ko lākou nohona. I kēia manawa, aia kekahi mau mo‘olelo hou e pāku‘i ai i nā mo‘olelo i kākau ‘ē ‘ia e pili ana iā Kaleleonālani, Hipā, a me Ke‘elikōlani, i laha ‘ole ma mua. Ua hō‘ike ‘ia ko lākou mau mana‘o pono‘ī ma nā leka a

ma laila i ahuwale ai ka ‘oia‘i‘o o ke aloha o lākou no ka ‘āina a me ke kanaka. ‘A‘ole au i ‘ike ma mua i kekahī mo‘olelo ma nā puke e pili ana i ka pilina o Emma a me kona makuahine, a no laila, i kēia manawa he ‘ike lihi ko‘u i ke ‘ano o nā mea i wala‘au ai lāua i kēlā lā a me kēia lā. Eia kekahī, no ko Ke‘elikōlani pilina me Kaleleonālani, ‘a‘ole paha i nānā ‘ia ka pilina ‘aikāne o lāua ma mua – a he kumu maika‘i kēia e ho‘ākāka le‘a ai i ka pilina aikāne e like me ke ‘ano o ko lāua pilina. Inā holomua wale kākou ma ke a‘o ‘ana i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, me ka nānā ‘ole i hope, e pilikia auane‘i ana paha ka ‘ōlelo i ka mālama ‘ole i ke kuana‘ike o ka wā kahiko.

No kēia palapala noi‘i ua kau palena au i ke ‘ano o nā palapala ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i e nānā ai ma ka nānā ‘ana i nā leka. Ma muli o kēia, ua palena nō ho‘i ka ‘ike i loa‘a no ka mea, he māhele li‘ili‘i wale nō kēia o ka ‘ike a pau. Ua koho au i kēia māhele li‘ili‘i ‘o nā leka ali‘i no ka mea, ua makemake au e ho‘opili i ke aloha o ke kanaka no ke ali‘i a me ke aloha o ke kanaka no ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i kahi ho‘okahi. ‘O ke aloha o ke kanaka no nā ali‘i a me ka ‘ōlelo ka mea paha e hō‘eleu ai iā ia i ka ho‘oikaika ‘ana i kāna ‘ōlelo pono‘ī. Inā e nānā ‘ia ana nā palapala ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i a pau o ka wā kahiko, ua hiki ke nānā ‘ia nā mo‘olelo nūpepa, nā palapala o ke aupuni mō‘ī, a i ‘ole nā leka a nā kānaka like ‘ole, ‘a‘ole ‘o ke ali‘i wale nō. I kekahī manawa, ua pa‘akikī ko‘u kāko‘o ‘ana i kekahī mau mana‘o o‘u ma muli o ka ‘u‘uku o nā kumu ho‘ohālikelike i loa‘a, e like me ko‘u kālailai ‘ana i ka hua ‘olelo ‘o wala‘au a me kama‘ilio no ka mea, ‘a‘ole i ‘ike nui ‘ia ma nā leka, akā aia nō a nānā ‘ia ka waihona nui a ‘ike ‘ia paha he mau mea hou e ho‘ohālikelike ai.

Ka ho‘omāhuahua ‘ana i ka ‘imi noi‘i

Ma mua o ko‘u hō‘ike ‘ana i nā mana‘o o‘u e holomua ai kēia papahana noi‘i, he mana‘o ko‘u e ho‘oikaika ai i kekahī mau wahi nāwaliwali o‘u ma ke ‘ano he mea ‘imi noi‘i. ‘Oia ho‘i, e heluhelu a ma‘a au i ke ‘ano o ke kākau leka ‘ana pili i ke kenekulia ‘umi kūmāiwa, no ka mea ‘a‘ole lawa ka nānā ‘ana i nā leka a ‘ekolu mea kākau wale nō. Inā makemake kēia e lilo i loea ma ka heluhelu ‘ana i nā leka a me nā palapala kahiko e pono ana ke heluhelu i ka huina nui o nā pepa. A laila, e ho‘oikaika au i ka heluhelu ‘ana i nā palapala a nā ali‘i no ka mea, i ko‘u kuhi, ua ‘oko‘a nō ko lākou mau hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ohana ai. He pono ke heluhelu nui ‘ia nā palapala ali‘i no ke kāko‘o ‘ana i kēia mahu‘i o‘u. Ma muli o ke kau palena ‘ana i ka māhele o nā palapala ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i a‘u i noi‘i ai, ‘o kēia mau leka ali‘i wahine, makemake au e nānā i ka laulā o nā leka ali‘i – e nānā i nā leka a nā ali‘i kāne a laila e ho‘ohālikelike i nā leka ali‘i a pau. Mali‘a, ua ‘oko‘a, ‘oko‘a ‘ole paha ka leka ‘ana a nā kāne a me nā wāhine. Ua ‘ike nō ho‘i au, he pono ke noi‘i hou aku au e pili ana i ka nohona Hawai‘i ma ka wā o ke aupuni mō‘ī a no laila, ua ho‘omaka au e heluhelu i nā puke kākau pono‘ī e like me ko Alexander Liholiho huaka‘i ‘ana i Amelika Hui Pū ‘Ia, ‘Enelani, a me Palani i ka makahiki 1849-1850. Ua ‘ike nō ho‘i au he waiwai nā mea i kākau ‘ia ma ka ‘ōlelo Pelekānia kekahī, a e maka‘ala ana au i nā puke i kākau ‘ia e nā malihini a me nā mikionali kekahī, nā kānaka i pili i ke alo ali‘i.

Makemake au e ho‘omau i ka‘u noi‘i ‘ana e pili ana i ka Mō‘īwahine Emma Kaleleonālani a me kāna kāne, ka Mō‘ī ‘o Alexander Liholiho. I ko‘u kipa ‘ana iā Hānaiakamālama i ka lā 3 o ‘Okakopa o kēia makahiki, he ho‘olaule‘a ia i ka pihana o nā makahiki he 100 o ka mālama ‘ana o nā Daughters of Hawai‘i i ka hale ali‘i, ua nīnau aku au inā ua ho‘ā‘o lākou e mālama i nā mea kanu o laila e like me nā mea e ulu ana i ko

Emmalani wā, akā wahi a ka po‘e ma laila, ‘a‘ole i mālama ‘ia pēlā, na kekahī i kohō i kona makemake. ‘Oiai, ua ‘ike au i ko Emmalani helu ‘ana i nā mea kanu o laila i kāna mau leka ‘ana iā Hipa, he mana‘o ko‘u e noi‘i a e hā‘awi aku i ka papa inoa o nā mea kanu iā lākou i ho‘okohu ‘ia ka hale e like me ko Emmalani makemake.

Ma muli o kēia noi‘i ‘ana, ua komo ka ‘i‘ini i loko o‘u e ho‘oikaika i ka‘u kākau ‘ana ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Nui ko‘u hoihoi e ho‘omau i ka noi‘i ‘ana e pili ana i nā hua ‘ōlelo i ho‘ohana ‘ia i ka wā ma mua, a e kālailai i ke ‘ano o ka loli ‘ana a hiki i kēia manawa i hiki ke wānana ‘ia i ke ‘ano o ka loli ‘ana o ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i mai kēia mua aku. Inā loa‘a kekahī ‘ike mai laila, e hiki ana ia‘u ke kōkua i ke alaka‘i ‘ana i kēia mau loli i ‘ole e pau ai ke kuana‘ike Hawai‘i ma ka hala ‘ana o nā makahiki.

‘O ka hana ho‘okahi i hiki ai iā kākou a pau ke hana i mea e ho‘oikaika ai i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, ‘oia ka ho‘oma‘ama‘a ‘ana i ke kākau ‘ana. Makemake au e paipai i ka ho‘omau ‘ana i ke kākau lima ‘ana i ka leka, ‘o ke keiki ‘oe, ‘o ka makua ‘oe, ‘o ke kūpuna nō ho‘i. Ua hiki ke haku ‘ia he papahana ha‘awina no nā kamali‘i ma nā kula ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, a e lilo i mea e paipai ai i nā keiki ma nā kula o kēia pae ‘āina e kākau i kekahī i kekahī ma ke ‘ano he ‘hoa peni’. ‘O kekahī hopena maika‘i o kēia hana, e lilo ana nā leka i alahēle e hui like ai ka po‘e ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i a puni ka pae ‘āina. Eia kekahī, ‘o ke kākau leka ‘ana, he hana o kēlā lā a me kēia lā, a no laila, ‘a‘ole paha e pau ana ka leka ‘ana ma ‘elua wale nō manawa. E makemake ana nā hoa peni e mo‘olelo aku, a mo‘olelo mai, a ma kēia hana, e lilo ana lāua i ka mo‘olelo ‘ana a mau aku ma nā leka. No kēia kumu, maopopo ia‘u, e mau ana ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i a e hiki ana ke ho‘oikaika ‘ia ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i no nā kau a kau inā ho‘omau kākou i kēia ho‘oilina o ke aloha.

NĀ KUMU WAIWAI I HELUHELU ‘IA

- Andrews, Lorrin. (2003). *A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language*. Honolulu: Island Heritage Publishing.
- Cummins, J. A. (1880). Order of the Procession for the Funeral of her Late Grace Fanny Young Kekelaokalani Kekuaipoia Kailikulani Leleoli Kulua. [Fanny Young. Order of Funeral Procession Broadsides]. (MS MC KIV, Folis Box 4.7). Bishop Museum Archives, Honolulu, HI.
- Daybell, J. (2001). *Early Modern Women's Letter Writing, 1450-1700*. New York: Palgrave.
- Forbes, David. (1970, April). *Queen Emma and Lawai*. Kaua‘i Historical Society.
- Haanio, Samuela. (1838, Maraki 14). *Ke Kumu Hawaii*, ‘ao‘ao 4. Buke 3, Pepa 21. Retrieved from Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, nupepa.org.
- Hawaii Holomua*. (1893, 30 Ianuali). “Bonakila Mokuna XIII Ke Ala o ka Poino”. Buke 3, Helu 149, ‘ao‘ao 1. Retrieved from Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, nupepa.org.
- Kahaleluhi, J.W. “He Mau Olelo Ninau”. (1848, Okatoba 24). *Ka Elele Hawaii*, ‘ao‘ao 38. Buke 4, Pepa 10. Retrieved from Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, nupepa.org.
- Kaleleonālani, Emma. (1871, 28 Ianuali). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 29 Ianuali). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 13 Pepluali). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 15 Pepeluale). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

- . (1871, 1 Malaki). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 2 Malaki). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 6 Malaki). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 9 March). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 11 Malaki). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 20 March). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 27 March). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 29 March). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 15 Apelila). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI
- . (1871, 4 Mei). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI
- . (1871, 8 Mei). [Leka iā Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’ Young]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI

- Kamakau, Samuel M. (1996). *Ke Kumu Aupuni: ka moolelo Hawaii no Kamehameha Ka Nai Aupuni a me kana aupuni i hookumu ai*. Honolulu: Ahahui Olelo Hawaii.
- Kanahele, G. S. (1999). *Emma Hawai‘i's Remarkable Queen*. Honolulu: The Queen Emma Foundation.
- Ke‘elikōlani, Ruth. (1854, Kopa (no date)). [Leka iā Alexander Liholiho]. Bishop Museum Archives (MS KC Letters in Hawaiian, Box 4.26), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1883, 20 Apeli). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Bishop Museum Archives (MS KC Letters in Hawaiian, Box 4.26), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1883, 1 May). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Bishop Museum Archives (MS KC Letters in Hawaiian, Box 4.26), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1883, 8 Mei). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Bishop Museum Archives (MS KC Letters in Hawaiian, Box 4.26), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1883, 11 Mei). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Bishop Museum Archives (MS KC Letters in Hawaiian, Box 4.26), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1883, 21 Mei). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Bishop Museum Archives (MS KC Letters in Hawaiian, Box 4.26), Honolulu, HI.
- Korn, Alfons L. (Ed.). (1976). *News from Molokai: Letters Between Peter Kaeo and Queen Emma, 1873-1876*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii.
- Leleiohoku, W.P. (1876, Ianuali 8). *Nupepa Kuokoa*, ‘ao‘ao 3. Buke 15, Helu 2. Retrieved from Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, nupepa.org.
- Mouritz, A.A. St. M. (1916). *The Path of the Destroyer: A History of Leprosy in the Hawaiian Islands and Thirty Years Research into the means by which it has been spread*. Honolulu, HI: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd.
- Nupepa Kuokoa*. (1925, 15 Okatoba). “He Moolelo Walohia No Ka Ui Nohea Esetera Fanamoia”. Buke 64, Helu 42, ‘ao‘ao 3. Retrieved from Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, nupepa.org.
- Nupepa Kuokoa*. (1927, Iulai 14). “He Moolelo No Kaloke”. Buke 66, Helu 28, ‘ao‘ao 3. Retrieved from Ulukau: Hawaiian Electronic Library, nupepa.org.
- Nogelmeier, P. (Ed.). (2001). *He Lei no ‘Emalani: Chants for Queen Emma Kaleleonālani*. Honolulu, HI: The Queen Emma Foundation and Bishop Museum Press.

Oxford Dictionaries – Dictionary, Thesaurus, & Grammar. (n.d.). Retrieved October 23, 2015, from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com>.

Peterson, Barbara Bennett (Ed.). (1984). *Notable Women of Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Post Office in Paradise: Inter-Island Mail Routes. (November 10, 2000). Retrieved November 3, 2015, from <http://www.hawaiianstamps.com/interroutes.html>

Pukui, Mary Kawena. (1983). ‘Ōlelo No ‘eau Hawaiian Proverbs and Political Sayings. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Pukui, M.K., Haertig, E.W., & Lee, C.A. (1972). *Nānā I Ke Kumu (Look to the Source)* (Vol. I). Honolulu, HI: Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center.

Pukui, M. K., Elbert, S. H. (Ed.). (1986). *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Schlereth, Thomas J. (1991). *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life 1876-1915*. New York: HarperPerennial.

Thompson, Katherine Shirley. (1987). *Queen Emma and the Bishop*. Honolulu: Daughters of Hawai‘i.

Young, Fanny Kekelaokalani ‘Hipā’. (1871, Ianuali (no date)). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

---. (1871, 3 Ianuali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

---. (1871, 14 Ianuali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

---. (1871, 26 Ianuali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

---. (1871, 4 Pepeluali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonālani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

- . (1871, 6 Pepeluali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 11 Pepeluali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 13 Pepeluali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 26 Pepeluali). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 5 Malaki). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 13 Malaki). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 31 Malaki). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 9 Apelila). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 18 Pepelila). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 25 Mei). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 8 Iune). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

- . (1871, 22 June). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 7 Iulai). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 30 Iulai). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.
- . (1871, 21 Lekemapa). [Leka iā Emma Kaleleonālani]. Hawai‘i State Archives (Emma Kaleleonalani, Queen of the Hawaiian Islands 1836-1885: Private Collection no. M-45), Honolulu, HI.

Warner, Sam L. No‘eau. (2012, February 6). *Editing remarks submitted using Word document Comments feature on thesis draft*. Hard copy in possession of the author.

Zambucka, Kristin. (1977). *The High Chiefess Ruth Keelikolani*. Honolulu: Mana Publishing Co.