

NĀ PĀ'ANI KEIKI MA HAWAI'I NEI: CHILDREN'S PLAYS, PASTIMES,
AMUSEMENTS, RECREATIONS IN HAWAI'I

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This is dedicated to my sweet grandparents, my dearest little brother, and my mentor, Uncle Tsuneo that rest in peace.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Introduction

Outline of the Project.....	1
Personal Significance.....	2
Brief reminiscences of my childhood.....	2
A brief history of Hawai'i after first contact: The transition period.....	5
Today's Hawai'i.....	6
Framework of the Project.....	7
Theoretical Framework.....	11
Methodology.....	12

Chapter 2. *Kuiki o Nā Hali'a Aloha* (Quilt of Memories):

<i>Pā'ani Tūtū</i> , Grandpa's/Grandma's Pastime.....	13
<i>Pā'ani Kinipōpō</i> , Ball Game.....	13
<i>Pā'ani Lima</i> , Hand Game.....	15
Peas-porridge-hot.....	15
A Hawaiian version of Pease-porridge-hot?	18
A variety of Hawaiian hand games.....	19
<i>Pā'ani Hei</i> , String Figure.....	20
Fingering: Fingers, teeth and toes?	21
Motif of string figures.....	22
a) Mythological motif.....	22
b) Legendary motif.....	24
c) Historical motif.....	25
Superstition linked to <i>hei</i>	26
<i>Pō</i> , 'Uhane, <i>nā mea maka'u na nā keiki</i> (night, spirit, things scary for children).....	26
<i>E ki'i mai i ka mea 'ai! Go get something to eat!</i>	28
Food-gathering.....	28
Fishing as <i>pā'ani</i>	30

Chapter 3. *Kuiki o Nā Hali'a Aloha* (Quilt of Memories):

Competitive games.....	35
<i>Pā'ani Māpala</i> , Marble.....	35
Marble-shooting.....	35

Alternative marbles.....	35
The hole-in-one game.....	38
Games called <i>Pili</i>	38
<i>Pā'ani me ka 'Ili'ili</i> , Pastimes with Pebbles.....	41
Checkers.....	41
A set of <i>Kōnane</i>	42
Direction for the <i>Kōnane</i> game.....	43
A variety of gussing games with pebbles.....	44
Ancient pastimes with pebbles.....	45
Juggling/Jackstones.....	48
<i>Pā'ani Pepa</i> , Card Games.....	49
A card game known to Hawaiians before European contact.....	50
Western card games brought to the royal blood of Hawai'i.....	50
Surging waves of foreign desires and influences.....	50
A variety of card games in the islands of Hawai'i.....	53
Folding paper.....	55
<i>Ho'olele lupe</i> , Kite-flying.....	56
<i>Ho'oleipōpō</i> , Cup and Ball.....	58
<i>Hū koa</i> , Spinning Tops.....	59
<i>Nā Pā'ani me ke Kaula a me ka Lā'au</i> , Pastimes with String, Rope and Stick.....	60
Tug-of-war.....	60
Jumping rope.....	60
Pastimes with dragonflies.....	62
Playing soldiers.....	63
Darts.....	65
<i>Pā'ani Heiheī</i> , Race.....	66
Footraces in ancient Hawai'i.....	66
Selected runners.....	67
Can racing.....	68
<i>Malina</i> -walking.....	69
A variety of Hawaiian stilts.....	71
Sledding.....	72
A variety of Hawaiian races.....	74
<i>Pā'ani ma ke Kai</i> , Pastimes in the Sea.....	75
<i>'Au'au kai</i> (Swimming).....	77

<i>He'enalu</i> (Surfing).....	80
Chapter 4. <i>Kuiki o Nā Hali'a Aloha</i> (Quilt of Memories):	
Contests of Strength and Endurance.....	85
Wrestling.....	85
Boxing.....	87
Cockfight.....	88
Bowling.....	89
Lifting.....	89
Chapter 5. <i>Nā Mea Hawai'i no Kēia Au</i> (Things Hawaiian in today's modern days).....	90
<i>Pā'ani</i> repeats itself?	91
Ancient Hawaiian Pastimes on the decline.....	92
<i>Amelika</i> (America) or <i>Hawai'i</i> ?	95
A journey to find something distinctly Hawaiian.....	96
<i>Nā Mea Kūpuna</i> (Things ancestrally Hawaiian).....	98
Things cross-culturally local.....	99
Pidgin English.....	99
Hawaiian food?	101
<i>Ka Lei Ha'aheo o Hawai'i</i> (The cherished <i>lei</i> of Hawai'i).....	103
Glossary.....	107
Working Bibliography.....	108

Chapter 1.Introduction

Outline of the Project

Playing means a lot to children, and from older generations to younger generations, this meaning is the same, I assume. But, at the same time, there are no pastimes whose forms, rules, needed tools, or meanings are exactly the same over time. People change and move, and so do their cultures. People with different cultures, materials, traditions, languages, lifestyles, beliefs, values, practices come and go between places, exchange their belongings, and communicate with other peoples from different cultures. It is natural that something in their cultures changes or mingles with others.

In a long history, through migration, arrivals of new people, languages, materials, values, beliefs, practices, educations, technologies, lifestyles, and coexistence with those new folks, Hawai'i's island culture has been mingled and mixed with others. Enduring a bitter and painful history of foreign threats, depopulation of native people, and dispossession of their own land, Hawai'i now evidences a new cross-cultural or cross-national "localism" in which ancestral Hawaiian traditions and lifestyles live together with many other different backgrounds. Focusing on this unique co-existence and interactions, I will reexamine how children after first contact have spent their early days in *Hawai'i nei* and on what kind of activities, pastimes, amusements, and recreations they have engaged in. Through exploring how native people spent their childhood in ancient times and analyzing how their pastimes have shifted, I will investigate how things that ancient Hawaiian *kūpuna* once cherished and considered as 'Hawaiian localisms' have transformed and, with this transformation, how new understandings of localisms have emerged among the local people of Hawai'i. Quilting

and twining the written histories and spoken living memories together, I would like to see how things ancestrally Hawaiian have been preserved in today's cross-cultural co-existence and what tells or symbolizes contemporary Hawai'i's local culture.

Personal Significance

Children have a streak of genius for playing. They play tag, hide-and-seek, and house; they run a race, relay a baton, swim, surf, build blocks, draw, color, read, write, sing, act, and dance. They play musical instruments, ball games like dodge ball, and word games that involve riddling. They perform magic and play bingo ... It would take me forever to enumerate all the kinds of children's play or pastimes, but those listed above appear to be popular or common and go beyond the racial, regional, cultural, or linguistic boundaries. Of course, each child's experiences are different. In any case, I do not know the answer to a simple-looking but quite difficult question: "Why do children play?" Just to pass the time or kill time? I am not sure if each child plays with some clear sense of purpose or reason, but I know that they learn to play anyway, no matter how different their learning processes are.

Brief reminiscences of my childhood

Ever since I can remember I have been absorbed in playing, and tried all kinds of play except surfing. I recall that I really did not enjoy running and ball games except those that involved bouncing a ball and singing because I was slow in my movements, and lacked physical strength. Instead, I did enjoy something that I could do alone such as playing with blocks (*Tsumiki*), drawing (*Oekaki*), coloring (*Nurie*), reading only favorite books (*Honyomi*), playing beanbags (*Otedama*) or string games (*Ayatori*), folding paper

(*Origami*), lining up small discs of glass (*Ohajiki*) or just following my very active sister and childhood friends everywhere and doing whatever they did. I also liked the *janken* game, making and throwing paper planes (*Kamihikouki*), skipping rope (*Nawatobi*), playing leapfrog (*uma-tobi*), kick-base (a foot version of baseball), ~~and~~ kicking-a-can game (*Kankeri*), playing with yo-yos, walking on cans with long string grips (*Kanpokkuri*), hopping on the circles drawn on the street with pieces of chalk or agalmatolite (*Kenkenpa*), and so on. My reserved and retiring nature basically kept me from playing new games with new friends, but since our family welcomed a puppy when I was eight, my days have been filled with adventure and exploration. Following his tiny steps, in spring, my sister, friends, and I used to visit a huge field of rape blossoms to chase after cabbage butterflies (lizards in summer, dragonflies in autumn) and hop on foot through a path lined with a row of cherry blossoms. Sometimes, without any words, we just kept on walking in a line holding and swinging shepherd's purses (foxtails in summer, Japanese pampas grass in fall). When cherry petals were falling like snowflakes, we children jumped about over and over again under the tree to catch them. With the advent of the azalea season, we sucked nectar from flowers.

In summer, we would often go to the cabbage field everyday to find the spawn of cabbage butterflies; and in those days, raising the larva and observing them turning into butterflies were among my favorite pastimes. I distinctly remember that a great cheer always arose when we children found tadpoles in some muddy puddles. Nobody tried to bring them home, though. In autumn, we were immersed in picking up chestnuts and ginkgo nuts but usually acorns (*Donguri-hiroi*) to make a tiny doll drawing eyes, nose, and mouth on the face or a tiny top (*Koma*) pricking a hole at the bottom and inserting a toothpick. In winter, having a snowball fight with neighbor children or schoolchildren

(*Yukigassen*), building a snowman (*Yukidaruma*) or snow-house (*Kamakura*), riding on a sled (*Sori-suberi*) were our recreations. The cabbage field turned into a world mantled in snow on which my sweet little brother romped about and ran around. This sight is branded on my memory. Through play, pastime, recreation, or amusement, we children got to know the seasons and learned a variety of seasonal changes on the land. We also learned about our culture. Mimicing adults bustling about in the households, we came to understand food and cookery, manners and customs, beliefs and practices, superstitions, traditions, and traditional or ancestral pastimes connected with the seasons...

Here, I neither intend to list up all of what I did in childhood nor explain all of what we children learned through our pastimes. There is not enough space. Our reality was playing while we were playing, and it did not seem to matter to us whether our pastimes or our actions were meaningful or not. But, looking back upon my early years objectively, I realize that we children never played at random. On the contrary, each pastime had certain tacit rules to be followed. Indeed, some amusements were limited to only boys or only girls. Sometimes punishment was assigned to the one who broke the rule or failed. Growing up in Japan, I learned many types of traditional Japanese recreations in many different places; at home, at school, in communities, and later, in foreign countries. 'Traditional Japanese' though they were, most of what I learned as "Japanese" pastimes were a bit different from those of my parents' generation. Then, my parents' generation's pastimes were a bit different from those of their parents' generations. In other words, our not-exactly-the-same pastimes that each generation understood as something "traditional" or "ancestral" changed as time passed. Pastimes change and are fluid in form and meaning. They do not necessarily die or disappear altogether. Something survives and continues. Through our pastimes, the past, present,

and the future are linked to one another.

A brief history of Hawai'i after first contact: The transition period

After coming to Hawai'i, I began looking for something truly Hawaiian. Not caring about its history, I wondered where I could find things totally, purely, and genuinely 100% Hawaiian. Hawai'i's history is a history of mixture and migration, cash economy, consumption culture, intermarriage, new ideas, new technologies, and new trends that brought considerable change. Since Captain James Cook disembarked on Kaua'i on January 18, 1778, the islands of Hawai'i have been willy-nilly entangled in foreign interests, aims, desires, and calculation for profits; they have been dragged into "the world market economy." To use Noel Kent's words, from the first European contact, these islands have been "under the influence of sea captains, fur traders, sandalwood merchants, whaling ship owners, sugar planters, presidents, congressmen, admirals, banks, life insurance companies, land developers, and airlines" (1993, 5).

Until foreigners forced capitalist ideas on Native people, each relationship among *Āina*, *Akua*, *Mō'i*, *Ali'i*, *Kahuna*, and *maka'āinana* had been maintained well under the *kapu* system, and each had its own responsibility, duty, or obligation to do that kept the balance of the traditional society. In her book titled *Native Land and Foreign Desires/Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?*, Kame'eleihiwa points out there was a separation between the ranks such as chiefs and commoners and between men and women. A strict system of rules or *kapu* governed this separation and affected all aspects of life (1993, 33-36). With the *kapu* system gone and the highest chiefs out of *nī'auipi'o* mating regarded not as *akua* but as the product of "incest" by missionaries, these clearly distinctive but still mutually balanced relationships from chiefs to commoners collapsed under the new Western rules

and laws. Traditionally independent roles based on rank, status, gender, or age got intertwined. This brought great confusion to Hawaiian society (1993, 40-44).

With the *Aliʻi*'s conversion to Christianity, the missionaries with new *mana* began to partake in politics as new *Kahuna nui*; nothing could be turned back (1993, 137-167). The ancient Hawaiian Gods, especially the war God *Kū*, were replaced by Jehovah who hated warfare. The *Mōʻī* had to avoid bloodshed of his people. By the 1848, the Native population had already decreased because of foreign diseases such as “influenza, measles, mumps, and whooping cough” (1993, 299). In order to protect his people from additional threats, the *Mōʻī*, surrounded by young and foreign *kāhuna*, and under intense foreign pressure, had to make bitter decisions. Under “the new Christian *pono*,” King Kauikeaouli, King Kalākaua, and Queen Liliʻuokalani were led to make huge “mistakes” that allowed foreigners to get involved with Hawaiian politics and finally take control of Hawaiian land (1993, 287-306, 315-318). Hawaiian culture then has been forced to endure a painful history of being erased and replaced; Native people have been dispossessed and marginalized in their own land by Christianization, capitalization, colonization, Westernization, urbanization, and modernization.

Today's Hawaiʻi

I will not go into further discussion here of how Native people have been struggling on their own land. My focus is on native peoples' cross-cultural co-existence and interactions with other foreign backgrounds, and my issues here are how Hawaiian pastimes have been mingled, entangled, mixed, and influenced by foreign ones. In this history of mixture, was everything replaced or erased? I think not. Now many different peoples from different backgrounds live together in the island culture, but *ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi*

(the Hawaiian language), *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*, *‘Ōlelo Nane* (riddles), *Mo‘olelo*, *Ka‘ao*, *Mele*, *Oli*, *Hula*, *Lei*, *Lei Hulu* (feather work), *Kapa Kuiki* (quilt), *Lo‘i* (taro patches), *Hana ma ka lo‘i* (*Lo‘i* work), *Lū‘au*, Hawaiian tattoo, Hawaiian Creole English, music, food, lifestyle, and collective memory are cherished and passed down to younger generations over time as something that represents, in Eric Yamamoto’s words, “the goodness of Hawaii” (Kent 1993, 198). Noel Kent calls the result of this mixing “localism.” My interest is in that part of this “localism” that involves a history of children’s play, pastimes, amusements, and recreations. Going back through Hawaiian children’s pastimes to ancient times and exploring some factors underlying their changes and transitions to recent years, I examine how Hawai‘i’s localisms have shifted. I am curious to know, in modern times, what kind of localism has emerged in the areas of play and pastime. Retracing my own childhood memories binding some *kūpuna*’s and *mākuā*’s living memories together, I weave my own *lei* of memories in which something is still Hawaiian, something that twines flowers, fruits, or greens of many different backgrounds together.

Framework of the Project

What children amuse themselves with in childhood is often not so far from that of their grandparents’ generation. On the contrary, experiences tend to be alike and similar to one another over time. Growing up around *kūpuna* or *mākuā* and sharing much time with them, it would be natural that children inherit their knowledge, skills, interests, and experiences as well as pastimes. Adults around them at home or in communities play an important role in children’s early years in that they are the first people to lead children to a new world and show them new things. Focusing in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 on such connections and memories between *kūpuna* (or *mākuā*) and children

in Hawai'i, I will uncover a unique quilt of memories of childhoods both spoken and written down.

A variety of pastimes for both sexes are considered, and a classification of these pastimes is necessary. Chapter 2 deals with children's pastimes handed down from grandparents or adults around children: *Pā'ani kinipōpō* (Ball game), *Pā'ani lima* (Hand game), *Pā'ani hei* (String figure). In the section, *E ki'i mai i ka mea 'ai!* (Go fetch something to eat!), I will also talk about food-gathering and fishing as *pā'ani* or pastime. Chapter 3 is about competitive games that utilize marbles, pebbles, cards, kites, cup and balls, tops, strings, ropes and sticks: *Pā'ani māpala* (Marble), *Pā'ani me ka 'ili'ili* (Pastime with pebbles), *Pā'ani pepa* (Card game), *Ho'olele lupe* (Kite-flying), *Ho'oleipōpō* (Cup and ball), *Hū koa* (Spinning top), *Pā'ani me ke kaula a me ka lā'au* (Pastime with string, rope and stick). It also includes races in great variety and ends with competitive water sports: *Pā'ani heihei* (Race), *Pā'ani ma ke kai* (Pastimes in the sea). Chapter 4 involves contests of strength and endurance that not only children but also adults engaged in: Wrestling, Boxing, Cockfight, Bowling, Lifting.

There are four people, listed below, who have been the principal interviewees. They have given generously of their time. Several other people also helped me. I am deeply thankful to them all for sharing their unique memories, stories, and experiences. I am also grateful for their continuous support. My Hawaiian language teacher, Kumu Ku'uipolani Wong, was especially gracious in making time for me, encouraging me, and giving me such generous support as *kumu*, informant, and reader as well as advisor. I would like to take this occasion to express my gratitude to her. *Mahalo he nui iā 'oe, e Kumu Ipo!* What follows are short biographies of my four main informants.

Ms. Annette Ku'uiopolani Wong (*mai Ni'ihau mai*)

Teaching Hawaiian language courses and seeking her PhD degree, as the Hawaiian *mānaleo* (native speaker) and instructor, she works for the students in the Hawaiian language department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Born and raised in Ni'ihau as a native Hawaiian, she has inherited the knowledge of old times and ancestral values and practices from her *kūpuna*. Without her profound understanding of Hawaiian language, culture, and *kūpuna's* work passed down from her *kūpuna*, I could not have completed this project.

Mr. Elia Ku'ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua (*mai Ni'ihau mai*)

Followed a year of preparation, *Hōkūle'a* was launched in 1975. Its first voyage was to Tahiti in May, 1976, and it was 'Anakala Elia Ku'ualoha Kāwika Kapahulehua of Ni'ihau who was the captain on board. Besides translating Hawaiian written sources into English, just like Kumu Ipo Wong, 'Anakala Kāwika also works for the students in the Hawaiian language department at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa as a *mānaleo* (native speaker). He is not only a master of navigation but also an expert in the *lo'i*.

Ms. Ruth Shizu Brighter (From Honolulu, O'ahu)

She is Nisei born, and has been a resident here on O'ahu. Losing her beloved mother at the age of 10, she was in charge of cooking in the household for her busy father and sisters who were working outside. She got married to a warm Hawaiian husband, and from him, she received the knowledge of Hawaiian food and traditions. After her husband's death, she started writing down her personal history, and is still working on it. She sings in a choir at St. John's-by-the-sea Church, and her beautiful singing voice makes us feel relieved. Before practicing singing every Sunday morning with Ms. Evelyn

Hirose, she works busily in the parish hall kitchen for church members.

Mr. Ivan Kong (From Hala'ula, Hawai'i)

Growing up in Kohala as a *kolohe* kid, from morning till night, he has been pretty busy exploring the region of North Kohala with his bicycle. Without sparing himself, he tried any kind of pastime, worked in the pineapple fields and mountain *lo'i*, fished at the mountain stream, and cycled from Hala'ula to everywhere else in North Kohala. He has witnessed Hawaiian *kūpuna's* work and knowledge. After retiring from government but still working full-time as an estate agent in Honolulu, he enjoys in his spare time taking care of his cats and chickens, and his lovely yard in which taros, huge trees of mango, lemon, litchi, banana, guava, shaddock, star fruit, *tī* leaves, and many other plants grow. We can feel his unique and rich childhood experiences in his yard.

Chapter 5, *Nā Mea Hawai'i no Kēia Au* draws on observations of children's pastimes at St. Andrew's Priory School. What kind of pastimes do children of today engage in? Are their pastimes similar or close to those of their parents' or grandparents'? What, then, is considered Hawaiian or "local" pastimes now? Spending about two months with 25 priory-students from 1st grade to 10th grade and observing them playing, I will reexamine what has caused the decline of ancient Hawaiian pastimes and consider some possible factors that brought on change in such ancestral children's pastimes in Hawai'i.

Chapter 5 is also about change and persistence. Since European contact, peoples, languages, traditions, cultures, lifestyles, beliefs, practices, values, have been mingled and mixed in the islands of Hawai'i. Culture is always shifting and moving, and its nature is fluid as different peoples come and go or co-exist. Under such conditions, did all ancestrally Hawaiian cultures die out? Do different cultures refuse to mingle and to live together? Or while more and more Hawaiian *kūpuna's* ways of knowing, living, and being

are revitalized, is cross-cultural co-existence driven into the corner? Neither of these extremes is true, I think. What then results from these was cultural encounters over time? Through my interviews, archival research, and observations on *pā'ani* (pastimes), I have come to understand that *Hawai'i's* contemporary localism involves the co-existence of *nā mea kūpuna* (things *kūpuna* or ancestrally Hawaiian) and things resulting from cross-cultural interaction. Here in this final section, I will discuss how these two different ways of living coexist in today's *Hawai'i nei*.

Theoretical Framework: Patchwork approach → Quilting approach → Historical approach

Multiple subjectivities, cinematic approaches, imagining literacy... I have learned some useful approaches in graduate seminars. However, in this section, I will set forth a new approach—a Patchwork approach, I call it. When I was little, I used to wear my older sister's hand-me-downs. I liked them because my late grandmother and mother always patched the tiny holes in those clothes or moth-eaten sweaters with strong embroidery threads or pretty appliqués in the shape of pandas, dogs, apples, or stars. I always felt a strong attachment to old things and to the fact that beloved people patched old clothes for me. This feeling informs my academic approach. I will quilt together a variety of fragments of *kūpuna's* spoken memories, sometimes patching fragments of the written history to fill up the blanks in their memories. I will sew many fragments of knowledge, experiences, memories, and stories together neatly, and make a big and wider quilt of history. I will not try to unify the color, shape, or arrangement of patches. The *kūpuna* have told me whatever they wanted. I did not ask them to fit their knowledge, experiences, memories, stories, and histories to others or to the recorded history. I asked

them to relax and show me their childhood memories... any color, shape, or arrangement of memories was fine. I did not give them any hint to lead them to a certain direction. First, the *kūpuna* began to talk. I then collected their fragments of memories one by one and sewed those fragments of memories together to make a whole quilt. In short, while learning the *kūpuna's* memories and histories and recording them, I also patched the written facts with their memories, and hopefully have shown them (and myself, too) a big and wider quilt of memories in which each memory is linked to each other... a history map.

Methodology

I carried out a literature review mainly at Hamilton Library at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. Hawaiian texts were mostly used and included books, articles, magazines, and videos as well as old-time Hawaiian newspapers. *Ōlelo No'eau* (Hawaiian proverbs), *Ōlelo Nane* (riddles), *Mele* (songs), or *Ōlelo Hawai'i* (Hawaiian language) were also used as sources.

Interviews with several *kūpuna* and *mākuā* were a key resource for this project. Through each person's stories, many important ideas flashed into my mind. I focused on living memories. Most interviews were carried out in English, but all the interviews with Kumu Ku'uipolani Wong and 'Anakala Elia Kāwika Kapahulehua were done in Hawaiian. These interviews were 'formal' so that my interviewees could talk in a relaxed manner. Taking things easy, talking with each other, sitting together, cooking together, singing together, playing together, teaching our languages to each other, and sometimes cracking jokes, they shared their memories with me, and I recorded them using a tape recorder if they did not object. Otherwise, I wrote them down.

Chapter 2. *Kuiki o Nā Hali‘a Aloha* (Quilt of Memories):

Pā‘ani Tūtū, Grandpa’s/Grandma’s Pastime

Excuse me for coining some words. I need some words synonymous with certain Japanese phrase, “*Ojii-chan/Obaa-chan asobi*,” meaning Grandpa’s/Grandma’s pastime. These words are key in this chapter because children’s pastimes are often alike and similar over time and over generations. In other words, it is common and natural that children repeat the ways in which their *mākuā* or *kūpuna* entertained themselves when they were little. ‘History repeats itself’ is a phrase that aptly expresses this idea.

Pā‘ani Kinipōpō, Ball Game

Nursery rhymes or folk songs often come together with some repetitious and monotonous activities for children. Even though they do not understand what they mean, children receive and learn certain melodies, rhythms, words, and actions from adults around them. Basically the recognition and understanding of the meanings of their actions come after learning.

Looking back upon my early years, brought up by my grandparents who always upheld, cherished, and carried out Japanese traditions passed down by their ancestors in everyday life, my childhood was never separated from things “old” or things traditionally Japanese. Through everyday life and observations around them, my mind and senses necessarily inherited their ancestral knowledge, thoughts, notions, beliefs, values, practices, customs, manners, and lifestyles. I also received their folk songs, tales, legends, myths, riddles, games, pastimes, entertainment, amusement, recreation. Perhaps, through this kind of process, a Hawaiian loop-ball game called *Pala‘ie* was learned repeatedly by children over and over again.

Pala'ie – simply described, it is a game of “Loop and ball, loop is niau, ball is of kapa” (Mitchell 1952, 3). More minutely depicted, “...a flexible stick made of braided coconut leaflets with a loop at one end and a tapa ball on a string attached below the loop, the object being to catch the ball in the loop; this game was often played to a chant” (Puku'i 1957, 308). To make this special kind of plaything out of *nī'au* (midrib of coconut leaf) and *kapa* (tapa), the *kūpuna's* knowledge is needed. In the times when a rubber ball was not available, the *kūpuna*, who were, of course, once children, knew how to enjoy themselves with what they had: materials (*nī'au*, *tapa*), and certain suitable rhythms, tempos, and chants¹. By watching the adults around them, listening to their words, chants and songs, and following what they do, children learn to enjoy these monotonous and repetitious actions. Children try first what they see, hear, and learn around their *mākua* or *kūpuna*; meaning comes last. It is a pity that any chant accompanied by the *pala'ie* game has not been found.

Another Hawaiian tapa ball game is *Kini holo*, “something like playing catch on the run” (Puku'i 1957, 153) or a ball game “described by native informants as played with a rag ball made of kapa, which is struck with the open hand” (Culin, 1899, 227). The action, *Holo* (run) appears to have reminded Andrews of baseball (1974, 276), but I sense that this game is similar to rugby football. A bit more complicated game is *Nounou pūniu*, in Puku'i's interpretation, “throwing tapa balls at suspended coconut shells” (1957, 271). Culin explains its details:

“A cocoanut is hollowed out and suspended by a cord, and the players throw at it with balls made of kapa. One acts as banker, and pays a prize to a player who hits

¹ That reminds me of *Kemari*, a sort of football introduced by China about 1400 years ago and enjoyed by nobles in ancient Japan; it is played by kicking a ball around in a circle and chanting in time “*Ari*”, “*Yaa*”, “*Ou*”, the names of Gods who are believed to go down into certain trees planted in the *kemari* playground.

the cocoanut a certain proportional number of times” (1899, 227).

While *Nounou pūniu* and *Kiniholo* are the casting games by hands, another game called *Peku kinipōpō* is a football game with a large tapa ball. Culin states:

“...A hole somewhat larger than the ball was dug in the ground on each side as a goal, and the object of the game was to force the ball into the opponent’s hole. Football is now played with a rubber ball, with two posts with a string across at opposite side as goals. This form is of recent introduction” (1899, 227).

It seems to be a foot version of golf. Unlike *Pala’ie*, the main purpose of the ball games such as *kini holo*, *nounou pūniu*, and *peku kinipōpō* appears to have been vying with others in skills rather than playing to chants.

Pā’ani Lima, Hand Game

It is interesting that our childhood pastimes, hand games in particular, were basically accompanied by nursery rhymes or folk songs that our *ojii-chan lobaa-chan*, *tūtū pā / tūtū mā*, grandpa / grandma sang softly to us.

Peas-porridge-hot

One day in Honolulu, I had a chance to learn a nursery rhyme that I had never heard before. On that day, I missed a bus that came only once an hour, which meant I would be one hour late for a scheduled meeting. And what made matters worse, it started raining just when I decided to leave the bus stop for another stop to catch a different bus. My umbrella had broken just the day before, and I had to make a decision: to walk to another bus stop getting all wet in the downpour or to stay at the bus stop which had a roof. I was sulking while looking up at the sky. “Miserable weather, huh?”--- It was then

that an elderly lady probably in her eighties showed up and talked to me. Smiling at me, she said, “Shucks, I missed the bus again! My legs are very weak, so I can’t walk fast. And, um, yeah, I left my umbrella again. I’m getting so forgetful, and oh, my mind is all mixed up! See, I got this wet! But I’m happy that I’m not alone today. A young lady is here. One hour is not bad if I’m with you.” That is how I chose to stay there until the next bus came. Really, waiting for an hour was not a torture on that day.

While listening to her story, I was thinking of my granny who passed away last spring. Deep wrinkles around her eyes and mouth, a hoarse voice, and bending tiny body that showed all her life history reminded me of my granny, and I felt unbearably wounded missing her so much. Then, a simple question crossed my mind—“Do you remember any nursery rhymes that your grandmother sang for you?” No sooner had I finished saying so than she said, “I forgot already!” Giggling, she added “My mind forgot everything,” and cast her eyes downwards. Then, suddenly opening her eyes wide and turning to me, she said, “Oh, young lady, my *haole tūtū* from the mainland used to sing it. Yeah. You mean this kind? Ah, “peas-porridge-hot”? Right?” Well, I did not understand what she was talking about at all. “Peas what?” – my funny cry made her giggle more, and she sang it for me slowly but clearly. It was beautiful, needless to say.

Peas porridge hot

Peas porridge cold

Peas porridge in the pot

Nine days old!

“I think she clapped hands or something. I forgot already, though. Ah, but she sang it with some funny action, I mean, like this (clapping hands)? Ha-ha, whatever, I don’t remember because I was just *keiki* at that time, you know. I think it is *haole* kind, not

loko kind 'cause, growing up on O'ahu, I never heard anyone around me sing that song," she added.

If it is so, the song, "peas-porridge-hot" is a clapping game from the mainland? ---Answering in the affirmative, Aunty Ruth Shizu Brighter, who is about that woman's age, shared a bit different experience with me. Brought up in Honolulu, Aunty Ruth got to know this song and its attendant hand game "from everyone" around her in the late 1920s. More than seven decades have passed since she enjoyed it with friends and adults around her, and it is natural that she has only a vague memory of the accompanied actions. I looked for them on her behalf.

Using a modern convenience, I soon found the instruction of the game in a collection of nursery rhyme games on a website. Here it is:

1. Divide the children by pairs, sitting opposite each other or standing face-to-face.
2. As when playing Peas Porridge Hot, Peas Porridge Cold, repeat the words while clapping rhythmically as follows.
Both hands clap on your own upper thighs
Clap both hands in front of chest
High-five clap both hands with your partner
3. Speed up to the verse and clapping when children become familiar with the words and gain coordination... (www.wycliffe.org/catalog/brightideas/BI3-1.pdf)

Although I asked as many *kūpuna* as I know about this game, the answer was always the same: "I knew it, but don't remember." It was by chance that I discovered a person who has a vivid memory of this game. Aunty Sally Roggia of my mother's generation, who is a retired librarian from the Head of School Libraries Materials Processing Center, Hawaii State Department of Education Honolulu, is the one that

instructed me how to play the game and with the words of the second verse which nobody mentioned! Here it goes:

Some like it hot
Some like it cold
Some like it in the pot
Nine days old!

Growing up in LA County, CA, she also learned it “from everyone everywhere” before entering the kindergarten (about 5 year-old). More than twenty years went by since Aunty Ruth’s generation had played it, but it did not die out. Rather, everyone of her generation knew it in the communities where she was brought up, which is really something. In any case, the perhaps-introduced-from-the-mainland game had been already filtered into Hawaiian society by the time when Aunty Ruth was little (1920s). The lady at the bus stop was right in that this game is not originally a Hawaiian kind of hand game. And if so, my question here is this: Was or is there any Hawaiian hand game with a nursery rhyme just like “peas-porridge-hot”?

A Hawaiian version of Peas-porridge-hot?

One month later after I met the lady, by chance, I found the word, “peas-porridge-hot” in an article titled *Na Paani kahiko o Hawaii*. It is also seen in Malo’s *Hawaiian Antiquities*. Categorized as “games for quieter moods for both sexes,” a game called “*Pahipahi*” is described as follows: “Slapping hands as in ‘peas porridge hot’” (Malo 1893, 233, Mitchell 1952, 3). The word, *pahipahi* originally means “to slap hands” and drops a hint that the game, *pahipahi* is a clapping game. Puku‘i gives us some additional

explanation on it: “To play “peas-porridge-hot”; ...a game formerly played by children: a rotten object was buried in the sand and others were asked to dig for it, while the leader said “*kōhi kōhi kūpā, no wai, no wai ka lima i hawahawa,*” gather, gather, dig, whose hands, whose hands are dirtied” (1957, 300). Unfortunately I can not imagine how they played this game. Who slapped hands? The leader? Or the one who buried the object? And when did they slap their hands? Before or after the object was buried or found? I could not find the answers to these questions, but I do not think the game called “peas-porridge-hot” is equal to the game called *pahipahi*, and it seems to me the *pahipahi* game is closer to a guessing game just like *Kohokoho*, *Pūhene(hene)*, and so on. (I will discuss these later on.)

A variety of Hawaiian hand games

Stewart Culin demonstrates another Hawaiian hand game called *Pa‘ipa‘ilima* (clapping hands). According to him, two persons stand facing each other and clap their hands “in the same manner as played by children in the United States. The movements as follows:

1. both clap hands
2. clap left hands
3. clap hands
4. clap right hands
5. clap hands
6. each other’s hands and then repeat.

...They sing, keeping time to the play” (1899, 261). The other games that he cited as Hawaiian hand games are *Huilamakani* and something called *O-lo-lo* in his words. *Huilamakani* is interpreted as “pinwheel,” and the game goes as follows: “The feat of describing opposing circles with the hands and arms” (1899, 32) as if a wind was wheeling. So, this is not a clapping game, at least. The latter one, *O-lo-lo* runs like this: “The feat of

rubbing one thigh with the right hand and patting the other with the left hand” (1899, 31). Considering its rubbing action, probably the name should be written as “*Olōlō*” or “*Oloolō*” repeating the word, “*Olo*” (To rub back and forth/Puku’i 1957, 285). These are the only Hawaiian hand games. Well, *Kulakula’i* is the one that I still cannot put in either category of hand game and wrestling sport. This is a chest-slapping game in a simple word, but its nature seems closer to wrestling. It is described as follows:

Kula kula’i – “Chest slapping, striking opponent with open palms” (Mitchelle 1952, 2).

Kulakula’i – “Chest-slapping game: the player attempts to push opponent out-of-bounds with his open palms” (Puku’i 1957, 179).

There is also a foot version of the *kula’i* (pushing over) game:

Kula’i wāwae – The game in which players attempt to unseat one another by pushing with their feet. (Mitchell 1952, Puku’i 1957)

I classify this foot version into the same group with a game called *Honuhonu*, in which the player attempted to unseat his opponent as both sat with legs crossed.

Pā’ani Hei, String Figure

In my childhood, one of the most popular and common entertainments for girls was *ayatori* (string games/cat’s cradle), that is, *hei* in Hawaiian. We enjoyed making figures of *houki* (broom), *kawa* (river), *yama* (mountain), *hashi* (bridge), *tuzumi* (Japanese hand drum), *hashigo* (ladder), and plenty more using our five fingers on each side to the fullest. These figures were basically for one person to make, but we had many other different string figures for two persons or more to play with.

As I expected, Aunty Shizu Ruth Brighter, who is an American of Japanese ancestry, knows most of the figures that I had tried with Japanese friends as a child: broom, river, bridge, and advanced games for two people in which each person changes fingers and picks different string lines to pull in or out busily by turns so that the same figures are not made. This type of advanced game always needed time, patience, imagination, and creativity; through repeated trial and error, new figures were created again and again, which was greatly fascinating for children. Girls used to have much fun singing a song suitable for the nature of the games.

As for some basic figures for one person, Aunty Ruth showed me two unfamiliar things: one is a knot called a “square knot” that she learned from her brother-in-law who joined the Boy Scouts, and the other one is a figure called “*hasami* (scissors).” It resembles a pair of scissors, and two string blades opening and closing just like real ones. Unlike Japanese girls, she nimbly used only two fingers on both hands, which was very intriguing. Then, I wondered if it was a Hawaiian type of fingering or a common form of string games here in Hawai‘i.

Fingering: Fingers, teeth and toes?

In the introduction to an article titled *Hawaiian String Games* by Joseph Emerson, Martha Beckwith mentions: “...the (*hei*) art in Hawaii requires two instead of four hands...”(1924, 1). The six-figure patterns accompanied by the chants that Emerson collected from “the natives of Kona on the Island of Hawaii” (1924, 6) show each figure (except the figure called *Ka Hale Kumu Kaaha*, the House of Coconut-String in which three fingers are used) was completed with two thumbs and index fingers on both hands. However, it does not necessarily mean only four fingers are allowed to be used in the

Hawaiian *hei*. Emerson had some native people weave figures, and “at the right moment,” he “took these figures off his hands and secured them on paper with pins” (1924, 7), and then drew these woven designs. Unfortunately, the actual process of making these collected figures is not seen. Other fingers or other body parts, however, could also join “four-handed” games. What supports this possibility are a few simple lines by Emerson: “A person usually worked the changes entirely with his own fingers without help from another, often calling his teeth and toes into service, ...”(1924, 7).

According to my Hawaiian language instructor, Kumu Annette Ku‘uipolani Wong (Kumu Ipo), in her homeland, Ni‘ihau, the five fingers of both hands always take part in *hei*, but interestingly, no teeth or toes are used². Of course, we have to consider some differences among the islands.

Motif of string figures

Only once, in Japan, did I see my aunty making a string *chōcho* (butterfly), and its design was absolutely the same with the one named “*Pō* (night)” in Emerson’s collections. An accompanying short *Oli* (chant) goes like this:

“*E po e! E po e! Kau mai ka hoku; A ao ae helelei wale iho no.* (O night! O night! The stars are hung up; Dawn comes, lo, they drop away.)” (1924, 9)

a) Mythological motif

I already mentioned above the *Oli* (chant) that accompanies the Hawaiian *hei*. Here, I would like to discuss its nature. As figures and fingering could be different among

² Speaking of teeth and toes, some schoolchildren in Harrison School, Iowa and Ecole Maternelle Hilard, France show a few examples of teeth-using string figures in their websites: *Le bateau* (boat), *La libellule* (dragonfly), *la scie* (sew).

the islands, *Oli* (chants) could also be distinct based on places. Following from Taylor's statement that some mythological motifs are expressed in New Zealand string figures, Beckwith directs attention to one of Emerson's collections, the *Oli* named "*Koko a Makali'i* (Net of Makali'i) as the one with a "mythological interpretation" (Emerson, 1924). The *Oli* itself is quite short:

Hiu ai la Kaupaku Hanalei. Hung up on the ridge-pole of Hanalei,
I na mapuna wai a ka naulu. To the water-springs of the dense cloud.

It neither alludes to the name of *Makali'i* nor recites his stories. Thus, for those who are not familiar with the *Makali'i* stories, any connection between the figure and *Makali'i* or the chant and the figure might not be seen in these few words. But for local people in Hawai'i where Emerson did his research, the same pictures and stories of *Makali'i* would be shared around this figure and attendant *Oli*. Interweaving a place name story in the Kohala region, Hawai'i, with this *Oli* and the construction of the figure called *Koko a Makali'i* (Net of Makali'i), Emerson retells the stories of a well-known Hawaiian mythical figure, *Makali'i*, the "god of plenty living in the sky" and "the principal navigator in Hawaii Loa's voyage of discovery to Hawaii" (1924, 4).

"Makali'i, a chief of Kohala, Hawaii, wanting to deprive man of food, hung up all the taro, sweet potato (uala), plantation (maia), yam (hoi), arrowroot (pia), fernroot (ka hapuu), smilax (uhi), and other food plants in a net (koko) on a dense cloud (naulu) at Kaupaku, Hanalei, on Kauai. But Puluena, a man, put a rat (Iole) in the net who bit a hole in it and let the food fall out on all parts of the island. This rat gave its name to the division (ahupuaa) of land called Iole in Kohala. Its last resting-place is still shown at a point on the lava rock at Kalae (South Cape) in Kau, Hawaii. The net of Makalii is also pointed out on the rock in the same place" (1924, 10).

b) Legendary motif

As his seventh pattern, Emerson demonstrates two figures attended by an *Oli* named “*Aloha aiku* (unceremonious love),” which “represents the girl from ‘above Awili’ beckoning with her hand to her lover. The lovers look into each other’s eyes, but alas! He leaves her and goes down the face of the cliff like an eel and swims off carrying his clothes (the feathers of the bird) on his head, to be drenched by the rain beating on the cliff of Kaneopa” (1924, 16). It consists of 15 lines. Coming to the end of the chant around the last three lines, the first figure is turned into the second one. Here are the last three lines:

I ka ua pehi mai ma ka pali o Kaneopa

(By the rain beating down on the pali of Kaneopa)

Ke neenee i kahakai me ka huahua

(Moving seaward with the foam)

Me ka alaala paina poha.

(With the bursting Portuguese men of war)

Interestingly, when I showed these two figures to Kumu Ipo and asked her if she knew them, pointing her finger to the second figure, she said, “*O ne’ene’e i tahatai, ‘ae, kama’āina ia’u.* (‘*O ne’ene’e i kahakai*, yes, I know it.)” Her *Oli* sung in ‘*Ōlelo Ni’ihau* goes like this:

Ne’ene’e (i) tātai (tahatai) tū (i) ta moana pahū ta pōtā!

It literally means “moving seashore, reaching the sea, the bomb bursting towards *Ka’ula*.” The two familiar phrases, “*Ne’ene’e tahatai*” and “*pahū ta pōtā*” intrigued me,

and I was very curious if, though her *Oli* seems not to reflect the story of *Aloha aiku* that Emerson obtained “in 1899 from Miss Lucy K. Peabody” (1924, 16), there is some connection between the two *Oli*. To use Kumu Ipo’s words, “*A’ole paha pili*. (It is not connected, maybe.)” Then, one thing that is not clear to me is what the word, “*pōtā* (bomb)” symbolizes.

c) Historical motif

The word, “*pōtā*” first reminded me of *uila*, lightning in Ka’ula, the rocky islet off Ni’ihau. As the origin of the place name, *’Iole* in Kohala, Hawai’i is woven beneath the few lines of the *Oli*, *Koko a Makali’i*, the climate of Ni’ihau could be felt in the *Oli* that Kumu Ipo learned from her *mākuā* and *kūpuna*. It, however, is not true, maybe. One day, a tiny description caught my eye while I was skimming through a list of appendices of scholarly articles titled *Regional Seabird Conservation Plan U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service Pacific Region*. In a chart of “U.S. Pacific Islands covered in USFWS Regional Seabird Plan,” with Kaho’olawe, Ka’ula was given some “special status” as “former military bomb range.” Just then, a fact flitted through my mind: Ka’ula was once an alternative name for Kaho’olawe, the former US military training and bombing target range over a period of 50 years from 1941 to 1990. I then asked myself, “Wait, were Kumu Ipo’s folks or children in Ni’ihau singing a past history of Ka’ula?” My conviction was soon confirmed when I asked Kumu Ipo on the phone how the word, *pōtā* / *pōkā* could be understood. She said, “*No ka pahū ta pōtā, mali’a paha, ’o kēia ka pōkā i ho’opahū ’ia i Ka’ula, ’eā?* (As for the phrase, *pahū ta pōtā* (the bomb is bursting), probably it shows the bomb set off in Ka’ula, right?)” The particular historical experience of Ka’ula is condensed into a few words in Kumu’s short *Oli*; the *Oli* is a kind of history-telling.

Superstition linked to *hei*

Although I learned to understand that string figures and attended chants could be different depending upon places, a simple question remains unanswered: How about some superstitions linked to *hei*? According to the *Hawaiian Dictionary* by Mary Puku'i, *hei* means "string figure, cats' cradle." Curiously, it has many other different meanings, each of which, reminds us of some connection with net-weaving: "net, snare, to ensnare, entangle...(1957, 64)" The word, *hei*, thus, backs up Martha's opinion that "the art must have originated and developed among a net-weaving people" (1924, 5). But the more intriguing meaning of the word, *hei*, which Puku'i described but Beckwith did not mention, is "motion of hands and fingers, especially of the dying" (1957, 64). Puku'i's description continues: "Some persons did not make string figures, *hei*, at night because of the association of the figures with the motions of death." I heard about a similar idea from Kumu Ipo:

"Ma Ni'ihau, hiki ke pā'ani i ka hei ma ka lā. 'A'ole ma ka pō. 'Ōlelo 'ia, ma ka pō 'ele'ele, hihia nā 'uhane 'ino o ka pō i loko o ka hei."

(In Ni'ihau, you can play string games during the day time, not night time. At dark night, evil night spirits are entangled in the string figure.)

Even if there are slight differences of why the *lā* (day) is preferred to *pō* (night) in Hawaiian *hei* among the islands, it appears generally common that Hawaiian *hei* has been regarded as *pā'ani no ka lā* (pastime for the daytime).

Pō, 'Uhane, nā mea maka'u na nā keiki (Night, spirit, things scary for children)

Pō 'ele'ele, dark night is a mysterious time that brings us various imaginations,

associations, and superstitions. We often associate night with something supernatural and unidentified or, to borrow Kumu Ipo's words, "*uhane 'ino o ka pō* (evil night spirits);" we may share a common imagination concerning *pō* (night). The following *'Ōlelo No'ēau* (Hawaiian proverb) is about a superstition linked to *pō Kāne* or the twenty-seventh night of the lunar month (Puku'i, 1957).

He pō Kāne kēia, he ma'au nei na 'e'epa o ka pō.

(This is the night of Kāne, for supernatural beings are wandering about in the dark.)

*Said of those who go wandering about at night. It is believed that on the night of Kāne, ghosts, demigods, and other beings wander about at will. (Puku'i 1983, 98)

To my question of "*I kou wā e kamali'i ana, he aha ka mea i maka'u ai 'oe?*" (When you were little, what scared you?)," Kumu Ipo answered:

"I ko'u wā kamali'i, maka'u loa wau i ke kepalō."

(In my childhood, I was very scared of "*Kepalō*.")

It does not seem that "*Kepalō*" or *Kiapalō*" is a synonym of "ghost." Categorized as *uhane 'ino* (evil spirit), perhaps it is closer to "devil", "demon," or something like "*Obake*" in Japanese. For a long time, I have confused "*Lapu*" (ghost) with "*Kepalō*", but Kumu Ipo's words helped me draw a clear line between the two words:

"No ka lapu ma Ni'ihau, 'olelo 'ia lākou, 'o ia nō ka po'e make, 'o ia ho'i, "ghost". Make ko'u hoa hānau a lilo 'o ia i lapu. A laila, maka'u wau iā ia. Akā, i kēia wā, 'olelo 'ia, "Oh, 'a'ole. Mālama lākou iā 'oe a 'a'ole lākou hana 'ino iā 'oe."

(For "*lapu*" in Ni'ihau, they are said to be the dead people, that is, "ghost". My cousin passed away and became a "*lapu*." And then, I was scared of him. But, now, it is said, "Oh, it's not (to be feared). They protect you, and don't do bad things to you or treat

you badly.)

Thus, the notion of *Lapu* (ghost) is similar to that of *'Unihipili* or *'Uhinipili*, that is, “spirit of a dead person, sometimes believed present in bones or hair of the deceased and kept lovingly” (Puku'i 1957, 372). Puku'i continues:

“*'Unihipili* bones were prayed to for help, and sometimes sent to destroy an enemy” (1957, 372).

In other words, *Lapu* or *'Unihipili* is a benevolent spirit that protects people while *Kepalō* is the “devil” that does them harm. There are more *'uhane 'ino* or malevolent spirits like *Kepalō: Nukumane'ō* – literally meaning “itching grumbler” (Puku'i 1957), *Hio* – malevolent ghost (Puku'i 1957), and *Aumiha* – “evil spirits thought to attend graves” (Puku'i 1957, 38). For adults, these spirits must be useful in disciplining, teaching, and securing children. The next *'Ōlelo No'ēau* shows the wise use of such malignant spirits:

Moku ka ihu ia Hio la!

(Bitten off is the nose by Hio!)

*Used by adults to frighten children into staying at home. Hio was an akua (ghost) who wandered about peering into the doors of homes and biting off the noses of those who annoyed him. He escaped when his companies were caught in a fishnet set by the supernatural hero Kamiki at Ku'unaaakeakua (Net-let-down-for-akua), Makalawena, Kona.

I wonder what kind of *'Uhane 'ino* (evil spirit) can be entangled in the Hawaiian *hei* at night. Biblical spirits or Hawaiian spirits, such as *Kepalō*, *Nukumane'ō*, *Hio* and *Aumiha*?

E ki'i mai i ka mea 'ai! Go get something to eat!

Food-gathering

Children never went hungry. Well, sometimes they did, but usually they did not, for fetching something to eat outside was one of their favorite pastimes. In childhood, they were neither starving to death nor unsatisfied with what their parents or grandparents prepared for them, but getting together, children were absorbed in finding and trying whatever they could eat from the areas around them. Of course, their knowledge of fruits, plants, flowers, trees, and so on was from the adults around them.

On O'ahu, Aunty Ruth engaged in picking *wauke* (mulberry), cherry, *piku* (fig), *lemi* (lemon and lime), *kuawa* (guava), and *manakō* (mango) from her father's own yard in the 1930s. Using tin toy dishes and those real fruits from the ice box, she would often play house with her close friends after school. On Hala'ula, Hawai'i, Uncle Ivan, who is a gourmet, enjoyed exploring peoples' yards, mountains, forests and fields to gather *ōhi'a 'ai* (mountain apples), *hua waina* (wild grape), *hē'i* (papaya), *mai'a* (banana), *hua hala* (pandanus fruit) and *kō* (sugar cane). Unlike other native food plants such as *kalo* (taro), *'uala* (sweet potato), *uhi* (yam), *kī* (ti) *'ulu* (breadfruit), *niu* (coconut), and *pia* (arrowroot), such fruits saved them a lot of time and labor. Children learned the quickest and easiest way to stave off their hunger. This was quite common everywhere. In this way, all their pastimes were linked to the natural life, which brought them knowledge about nature.

By observing plants, spending most of his time in the natural world and learning from his *kūpuna*, Uncle Gene Kaululā'au Naipo from Kohala learned how to make good use of the plants, which were a part of his recreation. For example, by six, he already knew how to make the best use of *ti* leaf. When it is wrapped around a wound, it will not stick to the skin. Used as a food wrap, it holds the food within it together in the *imu*. Wrapped around a forehead, it eases a headache. It is also used to make a *Hula* basket to put gifts in. Moreover, the leaf itself is used as a talisman that protects people from evil

spirits; heated in the *imu*, the root produces a sweet whiskey-tasting water called *‘ōkole‘awa*. Besides these uses, Puku‘i writes that the leaf was also used for house-thatching as well as sandal-making.

By the time he was 12 or 13, however, his way of playing as well as his cravings for food plants had shifted because of the influence of outside cultures. He learned to play wisely and make money. In 1941, Uncle Gene and his friends often visited the baseball stadium with his dog. They threw a stone or sometimes an old ball towards the ditch of the stadium and told the dog to fetch it. Later, the dog would come back with a homerun ball. They repeated this. In those days, one homerun ball could be exchanged for 5 cents. He needed 5 balls to make 25 cents a week which brought lunches for five days. From those days on, he began to understand the value of money and to taste the sweetness of the exchange of goods for money. His wife, Aunty Emalia, had learned that lesson somewhat earlier. In late 1940, at Waiahole elementary school in Kāne‘ohe, each class had a big box assigned to it by a juice company. Students in each class used to go to a neighbor mountain, and take turns picking guavas. When they filled the box to the brim with guavas, their work was done; this work brought each student a few dimes. This was enough for children. Working hard and gaining a handful of money in return gave the children a great deal of joy. A school bus that picked them up and took them to the mountain never waited for those who were late. If they missed the bus, children had to walk there. Given no preferential treatment, they, thus, learned to be on time.

Fishing as *Pā‘ani*

Lawai‘a or fishing is a fun activity here in Hawai‘i. Some local male friends and some *kūpuna* that I know go fishing almost every night saying night fishing is the best pastime here in Hawai‘i. Ponds, reefs, rivers, mountain streams, mountain fountains,

and the sea are rich and unique fishing environments. Depending to great extent upon fish for their diet, Hawaiian people became quite adept at fishing. In a society with an abundant supply of fish, it is not surprising that there developed beliefs, customs, ceremonies, and restrictions concerning fishing and the consumption of fish³.

It seems that there were two types of fishing: fishing as *pā'ani* (pastime) and fishing as *hana* (work). In my opinion, fishing is considered more as “*hana*” rather than “*pā'ani*” because it is a food-gathering activity. Here in this section, I am focusing on some fishing activities as pastime or fun activity apart from *hana* or work.

Born and raised in a fisherman's family in Kahalu'u, O'ahu in 1930s, Auntie Emalia Naipo (Ho'okano) was engaged in catching *pāpa'i* (crab), *pipipi* (small mollusk), *ōpae* (shrimp), and *ula* (spiny lobster) in ocean shallows while her uncle and brothers went to the deep sea to catch *he'e* (octopus) and *mūhe'e* (squid). Growing up in Hala'ula, Hawai'i, Uncle Ivan Kong also had the same kind of fishing experiences. In his childhood, in the 1940s and early 1950s, he would often go up to the mountain stream in Hālawa and there enjoy catching *pāpa'i*, *pipipi*, and *ōpae*. One striking incident that he told me involved “a severe earthquake” of May 29, 1950, “which preceded the violent volcanic eruption of Mauna Loa on June 1st” (Hayes 1951, 17) while riding home together from the stream, Uncle Ivan's brother pointed his finger at the ocean and cried out with eyes wide open. Looking back to the ocean, with astonishment, Uncle Ivan could not but gape at an incredible scene: the thick ocean wall was rising higher and higher, and was about to roll over the beach. It was their first time witnessing a real *tsunami*.

³ *Aikapu* separated males from females and separated too their various social roles and activities (Kame'eiehiwa 1993). Women, for example, were not allowed to enter the *heiau* or eat coconuts, bananas, and some red fishes (Kame'eiehiwa 1993, Trask 1994). But regarding fish-eating, such restrictions differed and were often related to the worshipping of the gods. Malo states:

“The *heiau* at which fishermen worshipped their patron deity for good luck was of the kind called *Kuula*; but as to the gods worshipped by fishermen, they were various and numerous, each one worshipping the god of his choice. The articles made *tabu* by one god were different from those made *tabu* by another god” (1896, 208).

Probably the mountain stream that Uncle Ivan visited resembled *the lua ho'oki'o wai* (cistern) on O'ahu where Kumu Keli'ilolena Nākoa was absorbed in catching *'ōpae 'oeha'a* (clawed shrimp) and *'o'opu 'ōkuhekuhe* (a young fresh-waterfish) in her childhood (Nākoa 1979). In her book titled *Lei momi o 'Ewa*, Kumu Nākoa, raised in Waimalu, 'Ewa in 1911, narrates her various fishing experiences: gathering *i'a hāmau leo* (pearl oyster) at a low tide with her *kūpuna*, catching a variety of *pāpa'i* (crab) including *pāpa'i 'alamihi*, *pāpa'i mo'ala*, and *pāpa'i kuhonu*. Like Aunty Emalia and Uncle Ivan, she employed various means to catch fish, sometimes using "*he maunu, he kaula, a he 'upena*" (1979, 15) or bait, rope and net, sometimes removing rocks, and so on. Though there were many ways of preparing fish, the most common way of cooking *pāpa'i* (crab), *'ōpae* (shrimp), and *pipipi* (mollusk) appears to have been *paila* or boiling with *pa'akai* (salt).

It seems that *pāpa'i* (crab), *'ōpae* (shrimp), and *pipipi* (mollusk) are among the most common and popular aquatic animals that young people can learn how to catch easily. Many people on the different islands of Hawai'i share similar memories of catching these tiny island creatures in childhoods. From such collective memories, observations and experiences, a variety of riddles, sayings, proverbs, songs, chants and stories emerged in the form of *'Ōlelo Nane*, *'Ōlelo No'eau*, *Mele*, *Oli*, *Mo'olelo*, *Ka'ao*, *Mo'olelo Ka'ao*. In other words, *kūpuna's* childhood memories, knowledge, and skills can be seen in riddles, proverbs, songs, chants, myths, legends, folktales, and so on. Here are a couple of examples.

'Ōlelo Nane (riddles)

Q. *'Ili 'ula'ula, 'ili 'ele'ele, 'āina 'ono*: Red skin, black skin, good to eat.

A. *'Ōpae*: Shrimp.

Q. *Ku'u wahi i'a, 'a'ole ona unahi*: My little fish without scales.

A. *Puhi*: Eel.

Q. *Ku'u wahi holoholona 'ewalu ona lima*: My little animal with eight hands.

A. *He'e*: Squid. (Judd 1971)

‘Ōlelo No’eau (Kūpuna’s sayings)

Aia ka ‘ōle’a o ka pāpa’i i ka niho

(The strength of the crab is in the claw.)

*"All noise but no action. Said of one who makes threats but doesn't carry them out"(Puku'i 1983, 9).

Kokolo no o pipipi, o kalamoe me ālealea a kea lo o Kuhaimoana

(Pipipi, kalamoe and ālealea crept to the presence of Kuhaimoana.)

*"Kuhaimoana is an important shark god, and pipipi, kalamoe and ālealea are shellfish. Said of hangers-on who gather around an important person for favors" (Puku'i 1983, 197).

Here is my favorite Hawaiian song by Irmgard Aluli and Pilahi Paki telling of a maiden kidnapped by an eel from Kahakulaoa, Maui. To rescue her, her brother ask ask *‘Ōpae* (shrimp), *Pūpū* (shell), *Pipipi* (small mollusk), *Kūpe’e* (marine snail), and *‘Opihi* (limpet) for help. No one but *‘Opihi* gave him help. Listening to or singing this song titled *‘Ōpae E* invites to look back upon childhood thinking of the mountain streams, rivers, ocean, or where you enjoyed fishing.

‘Ōpae e, ‘Ōpae ho’i

Ua hele mai au, ua hele mai au

Na Kuahine

Aia wai, aia puhi,

Nui ‘o puhi, a li’li’i au

‘A’ole loa

‘Ōpae, ‘ōpae come back

I have come

For my sister

There’s water, there’s eel.

Eel is big, I am small

I cannot save her myself.

Pūpū e, pūpū ho’i

Ua hele mai au, ua hele mai au

Na kuahine

Pūpū, Pūpū come back

I have come, come

For my sister

*Aia wai, aia puhi
Nui 'o puhi a li'ili'i au
'A'ole loa.*

There's water, there's puhi
Eel is big, I am small
I cannot save her myself.

*Pipipi e, pipipi ho'i
Ua hele mai au, ua hele mai au
Na kuahine
Aia wai, Aia puhi
Nui 'o puhi a li'uli'u au
'A'ole loa*

Pipipi, Pipipi return
I have come, come
For my sister
There's water, there's eel
Eel is big, I am small
I cannot save her myself

*Kūpe'e e, kūpe'e e ho'i
Ua hele mai au, ua hele mai au
Na kuahine
Aia wai, aia puhi
'A'ole loa*

Kūpe'e, Kūpe'e come back
I have come, come
For my sister
There's water, there's eel
I cannot save her myself

*'Opihi e, 'opihi ho'i
Ua hele mai au, ua hele mai au
Na kuahine
Mai maka'u, na'u e pani
I ka maka a 'ike 'ole kēlā puhi*

'Opihi, 'Opihi come back
I have come, come
For sister
Don't be afraid, I'll cover
the eyes, and puhi can't see

This song reminds me of one of my favorite Japanese folktales in which a maiden taken by a snake as his wife was saved by a frog.

Girls in Ni'ihau seldom engaged in 'fishing for fun.' Fishing is commonly regarded as 'work for men' there, and Kumu Ipo understands *lawai'a* (fishing) as *hana* (work) apart from *pā'ani* (pastime) or *hana le'ale'a* (fun activity).

Chapter 3. *Kuiki o Nā Hali‘a Aloha* (Quilt of Memories): Competitive Games

Pā‘ani Māpala, Marble

Marble shooting

Aunty Ruth does not know the name of the game she played with marbles in her childhood or the late 1920s, and neither do her friends. But the game itself seems the same as the one called “*Lina poepoe*” in Ni‘ihau. These are the rules of the game as explained by Aunty Ruth and Kumu Ipo:

Draw a circle, and at its center, put several (basically 6 – 10) marbles. The number of marbles depends upon the number of players. Each player has his own marble called “*Kini*” (by Aunty Ruth) or “*Kinikini*” or “*Māpala*” (by Kumu Ipo),” and shoots his marble from the outside of the circle towards some of the marbles in the circle. If it hits some and knocks it out of the circle, you can take it and get a point. The winner is the one who gets the highest score, that is, the most marbles.

It interests me that, just like Kumu Ipo’s “*kinikini*,” Aunty Ruth and her childhood friends, who do not speak Hawaiian, use the word, “*kini*.” And here, my interest invites a simple question: How did they get marbles? And what was their alternative “*kini*” or “*kinikini*” when marbles were not available?

Alternative marbles

Aunty Ruth, who grew up on O‘ahu, would often go to buy marbles at a store. She does not distinctly remember what kind of store it was, though.⁴ When marbles were not

⁴ All over Japan, from the childhood of my uncle’s generation to that of my generation, we have had shops called “*Dagashi-ya*” where children got together to buy cheap sweets such as *ame* (candy), *kinako-bou* (a bar of soybean), *ramune* (lemon pop), and fun items for children such as *Bidama*, *Ohajiki*, *Menko* (card game for boys), *mizu-fūsen* (balloon for *yo-yo*), and so on. Listening to Aunty Ruth’s memory of her family’s and Japanese neighbors’ purveyors,

available, Aunty Ruth's folks played a different game called "*steal the egg*" using tiny rocks. The directions were similar to those of marble play; they put rocks inside the drawn circle. Then, dividing themselves up into two teams and likening the rocks to eggs, they shot their own pebbles towards the rocks from the outside of the circle by turn and got an egg (point) when they knocked some rock out.

Unlike Aunty Ruth, Kumu Ipo, who is from Ni'ihau, usually used a seed called "*kinikini*" instead of *māpala* (marbles). Why? It is because...

"Ma Ni'ihau, loa'a iā mākou kekahi hua, kekahi mea kanu a kapa 'ia kona inoa, he kinikini ... no laila, inā 'a'ohē a mākou mau māpala, hele mākou e 'ohi i kēlā hua. ... Hiki ke kū'ai mai i ka māpala ma Kaua'i, akā, ma Ni'ihau, 'a'ohē hale kū'ai, no laila, inā makemake mākou e pā'ani māpala, pono mākou e 'imi i kekahi mea e like me kēlā kinikini. Inā loa'a kēlā hua, 'a'ole mākou e kū'ai mai i ka māpala, 'eā?"

(In Ni'ihau, a seed called *Kinikini* is available to us. ... Therefore, if we don't have marbles, we go pick the seed. ... You can buy marbles in Kaua'i, but, in Ni'ihau, there is no store. So if we want to play marbles, we need to look for something (that is substitute for marbles) like *kinikini*. If the seed is gotten, we don't need to buy marbles, right?)

Then, how about her *kūpuna*'s generation? Kumu Ipo continues:

"...Ma mua, 'a'ohē māpala. No laila, he kākalaioa, hina kēlā mea. Kama'āina 'oe me kēlā lei 'ano lehu? He kinikini ia ma mua, ka wā kamali'i o ko'u mau kūpuna."

(...Before, there were no marbles. So, *Kākalaioa* is what they used. That is grayish. Are you familiar with gray-colored lei? That was an alternative

'Okamura Store' where a variety of businesses such as greengrocer, butcher's shop (Takashima store), grocery gathered, and where Japanese immigrants sold meats, Japanese vegetables, or Japanese items such as *tofu*, *miso*, *shōyu*, I felt that there might also have joined some shop dealing with fun items for children like *Dagashi-ya* in Japan.

kinikini before, the time when my *kūpuna* were little.)

According to the *Hawaiian Dictionary* by Puku‘i, *Kākalaioa* is a gray nicker “with thorny branches and leaf stems and with small yellow followers” (1957, 118). As Kumu Ipo mentions, “within each large spiny pod are two or three gray marble-like seeds, which are used for leis, also powdered for medicine”(1957, 118). Visiting Ni‘ihau in the late 19th century, Carrington Bolton witnessed that native Hawaiian boys were playing with seeds called *Kākalaioa* (Bolton 1890). In Culin’s collection, *Panapana hua* (seed-shooting) or also *Lena paka* (*pākā?*), the game similar to what Kumu calls “*Lina poepoe*” is described:

“The seeds of *ka-ka-lai-o-a* plant ..., which are nearly spherical, are used as marbles. Any number play, and each puts the same number into a ring on the ground 10 to 12 feet in diameter. They shoot in turn from the edge of the ring, endeavoring to knock the marbles out. When a player knocks one out he may place his *taw* or shooter (*ki-ni*) in the ring. If a succeeding player who has not knocked a marble chances to hit this shooter he goes out of the game; but if he has knocked a marble out, the one whose shooter is hit forfeits the entire number first put into the ring. The shooters, larger seeds, are valued at five of the ordinary ones which are called *hu-a ma-pa-la* or *hu-a ki-ni-ki-ni*, *hu-a* meaning seed” (1899, 230).

Here is my favorite ‘*Ōlelo No‘eau*, Hawaiian saying of the *kūpuna*: “*E ‘ai i ka mea i loa‘a*. (Eat what you have, or be satisfied with what you have.)” This idea is what my grandparents always upheld as an important Japanese value. Just as my grandparents picked coins, *mukuroji* (black beans), or *doro-menko* (a tiny baked-clay toy that has human faces) as a substitute for marbles, Kumu Ipo’s folks and their *kūpuna* knew how to enjoy themselves with what they had.

The hole-in-one game

What Kumu Ipo and people in Ni‘ihau call “*Kīkīlua*” is probably equivalent to an old-time Japanese marble game called “*Ana-ichi*”⁵ (literally meaning “hole-in-one”). *Kīkī* is a duplication of the word, “*Kī* (shoot),” and *lua* means “hole” or “pit.” From the combination of the words, *kīkī* and *lua*, we can easily imagine what this game looks like. According to the historical documents of the Board of Education in Japan, *Ana-ichi*, the Japanese hole-in-one game similar to *Kīkīlua*, was played as follows:

Dig a pit in the ground. Players stand about 1 meter away from the pit. Throw a pebble towards the pit. If it enters the pit, you can get it as a point.

Of course, the distance from the pit depends upon where you play. Though it is said that pebbles were used in *Ana-ichi*, marbles often replaced them if they were available. In *Kīkīlua*, Kumu Ipo’s folks preferred *māpala* (marbles) to *kinikini* (seed, an alternative to marbles). The reason is simple. It is because, in Kumu’s words, “*nani nō ka māpala!*” Marbles look prettier to children.

Games called *Pili*

Another *pā‘ani māpala* (marble game) that Kumu Ipo explained to me was *Pili*.

Unlike *lina poepoe* or *kīkīlua*, this one needs no marble ring. It reminds me of shooting billiards.

Arrange marbles by fives or tens in turn on the ground. (Line them up sideways.)

Then, stay far from the marble row and shoot straight your marble toward the

⁵ The same form of play called “*Zeni-uchi* (coin-shot)” was already one of the popular forms of gambling among adults of the common class in the Heian period (794-1192), and as its name shows, coins were used instead of marbles. Confronting the repeated legal bans and regulations against gambling, this form of gambling went into hiding, and continued into the Edo period (1603-1867) as underground gambling. Later, derived from this illegal coin-shot gamble, a new game called “*Ana-ichi*” (literally meaning “hole-in-one”) was rising in popularity among children, especially boys of the Edo period. Once Portuguese *Vidro* or marbles of foreign ancestry came onto the market in the 1890s of the Meiji period (1868-1912), it was soon adopted into *Ana-ichi*, the new hole-in-one game for children.

row. By shooting and hitting some of the lined marbles, “*pono ‘oe e ho‘omake i kou hoa*. (You must defeat your friend.)” In other words, “*Kū i kāna hua (ka hua a kou hoa) a lele ka māpala, a laila, lilo iā ‘oe ka ‘ai a pau loa*. (If your marble knocks some of the lined marbles, you can get as many points (marbles) as you knock out.) If it doesn’t reach the marble row or hit any marble, “*Make. Pau. ‘A‘ole hiki ke pā‘ani hou*. (You’re defeated. It’s over. You can’t try again.)”

While Kumu was showing me how to play *pā‘ani pili*, I was trying hard to remember where I had heard the word, *pili*. It sounded very familiar to me. I must have written it down somewhere, and it is probably buried somewhere in my files! ... A few days later, it was when I found the word, “*‘ume*” in the article, “*Nā Pā‘ani kahiko o Hawai‘i*” by Donald Mitchell that the word, *pili* flashed across my mind. I saw that word in the chapter of “Sports and Games, *Ume*” in David Malo’s *Hawaiian Antiquities*. The last sentence of the *‘ume* chapter tells that “another name for this sport (*‘ume*) was *pili* (touched by the wand)” (1898, 215). What then is *‘ume* or *pili*?

Mitchell calls it: “a licentious game of forfeits” (1952, 3). Puku‘i goes into it in a bit more detail: “A sexual game for commoners, the counter part of *kilu*, the chief’s game. It was called *‘ume*, to draw, because players of opposite sex were drawn to one another. To pair off in the game” (1957, 370). According to the footnotes by Nathaniel Emerson, “the president of the assembly” called *anohale* commanded the entire game whereas the *mea ‘ume*, the one with a wand called *maile* selected a couple to pair off among the assembly by touching them with his *maile*. Perhaps another name, *pili*, to touch, came from this wand or its touching action. In any case, held at the certain place called *hale ‘ume* with night falling, *‘ume* also known as *pili* was a delight not for children but for adults.

Speaking of *hale ‘ume*, “In Honolulu—which by the way was in ancient times called Kou—the *hale ume* was situated where Bishop’s Bank now stands” (Emerson, 1898,

215). As for the players, participation was not always open to anybody, and virgins or unmarried women were not allowed to join the game (Emerson 1898). Basically most of the participants were the married. It seems little matter to them whether or not the selected couple had spouses, and they appear to have left feelings of jealousy or anger at home, in order to have fun with the game. However, the one-night-stand pleasure could become extended, and, as both Malo and Emerson points out, sometimes it could bring love triangles or cause the separation or end of former relationships. In that case, “the man would not return to his former wife, nor the woman to her former husband” (Malo 1898, 214). Or if a man brought his new partner home, “it was for the new favorite to say whether the former woman might stay on the premises. The children belonged to the man” (Malo 1898, 215).

While *‘ume* or *pili* was, in Emerson’s words, “a plebeian sport (1898, 215),” *kilu* was a licentious sport at night as well; “any chief of recognized rank in the *papa alii* was admitted” (1898, 217). *Kilu* is “a gourd or coconut shell that had been cut obliquely from one end to the other” (1898, 216), and was “used as a quoit in the *kilu* game: the player chanted as he tossed the *kilu* towards an object placed in front of one of the opposite sex; if he hit the goal he claimed a kiss” (Puku’i 1957, 152). A bit more minutely explained by Charles Kenn, “the Kilu, half of a coconut shell, was spun across the mat, and if it struck a peg it scored. The forfeit was announced by a tally keeper. A score of ten usually won the game. This was a favorite diversion among the sexes, due to the highly desirable forfeit, which usually consisted of a kiss” (1936, 125). Both *‘ume* (*pili*) and *kilu* are ancient ‘pastimes’, but the players seem to have taken part in the game seriously: “Order was at once established; and if any one made a disturbance, they set fire to his clothing” (Malo 1898, 216).

Excuse me for digressing from a topic, *pā‘ani māpala* (marble games), but the thing is that one of the *pā‘ani māpala* (marble games) for children, *pili* that Kumu Ipo experienced in Ni‘ihau is totally different from the ancient game for adults, *pili* (‘*ume*).

Pā‘ani me ka ‘Ili‘ili, Pastimes with Pebbles

Checkers

It was when I first visited Kumu Ipo’s office (as well as the office for the *mānaleo*) at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa that I saw something that my friends called *Kōnane* for the first time. *Kōnane* is a Hawaiian type of checker or a favorite game of Hawaiians from *ali‘i* to *maka‘āinana*, “where in much gambling took place” (Kenn 1936, 125) in ancient times. It quickly reminded me of the Japanese game of *Igo* or *Go*.⁶ In the book titled *Hawaiian Civilization*, Kenneth Emory cites a unique story about *Kōnane* that dates back to the era of Kamehameha:

“...Campbell, who was here between 1806 and 1812, saw Kamehameha at it for hours. He remarked that Kamehameha gave an occasional smile, but never uttered a word, and that no one could beat him” (1930, 152).

And then, he comes to a conclusion that “Konane was not played elsewhere in Polynesia, and is possibly an introduction from the west” (1930, 153). On the other hand, in his article, *Ancient Hawaiian Sports and Pastimes*, Charles Kenn retraces it back further to

⁶ A Japanese type of checker, “*Igo*” or “*Go*,” goes back 1350 years in time, at least. According to “*Zuisho-Wakokuden*,” the Chinese historical documents compiled in 636 in the *Sui* dynasty, ancient Japanese people’s reverence for Buddha and love of *igo*, *sugoroku* (a Japanese version of backgammon maybe...), or gambling are already described. Also, *Souni-rei/ryō*, the regulations for the monks of *Nara* and *Heian* Period in *Taihou-Ritsuryou*, the first Japanese legal codes based on a Chinese model and established in 701, states that *sugoroku* and gambling are prohibited while *igo* and *koto* (a long Japanese zither with thirteen strings) are exempted from prohibition. As far as I know, the descriptions about *igo* are seen more often in the medieval literature such as *Azumakagami*, the historical documents on the *Kamakura* era dealing with the *Bushidō* (the way of Samurai), lifestyle, language, manners and customs, and so on, and *Tsurezuregusa*, the collected essays of a Buddhist priest, *Yoshida Kenkō* both in the *Kamakura* period (1192 – 1333), and a war chronicle, *Taiheiki* written around 1370-1371.

the mythological era:

“...It was this game that Umi was playing with his half sister when his mother called him and told him of his true parentage. ...Again, it was this game that was played between Aiwohikupua and Hinaikamalama, the beauty of Hana, in which the prince from Kauai lost everything, including his boats and himself” (1936, 125).

A set of *Kōnane*

The colored pebbles for *Kōnane* are very similar to those of *Igo*. The Black pebbles (*‘ili‘ili ‘ele‘ele* – Puku‘i 1957) and White pebbles (*‘ili‘ili kea* – Puku‘i 1957) were placed “on a flat stone on the house platform although the chiefs had boards” called *Papamū* (Emory 1930, 153). Sometimes it was also played “on the squares of a mat or on squares scratched in the ground” (Emory 1930, 153).

Speaking of the *papamū* (boards for *Kōnane*), I came across an interesting article about the *kōnane* board, in which its author, Homer Hayes investigates the origin of the Hawaii National Park, “the former City of Refuge” (1951, 16) surrounded by ‘the Great Wall’ at Hōnaunau in Kona, Hawai‘i. Focusing on *Hale o Keawe* “built around 1573 as a monument to King Keaweikekahialiokamoku for the purpose of housing his remains and those of his successors” and “demolished in 1829 by Queen Kaahumanu who had participated in the abolishment of the native *tabu* religion in 1819 and who later became an ardent Christian” (1951, 17), Hayes uncovers what the City of Refuge looked like and how it functioned in “a time when the social system of the Hawaiians was rigidly regulated by *tabu* laws, where violations invariably meant punishment by death” (1951, 16)..

“Within the enclosure of the Great Wall are three separate temples structures”

(1951, 18); these temples, “Alealea temple is a large boulder on several rock pedestals” (1951,19). It was beneath this boulder that as a sixteen-year-old bride, Queen Ka‘ahumanu hid from “a jealous husband, Kamehameha I, whose great infatuation for her was exploited by those members of his court who sought to undermine the handsome Chief Kaiana” (1951,19). What follows in this passage is what I want to cite the most:

“Several feet from the Kaahumanu boulder is a *konane* stone on which the Hawaiians played checkers. No doubt many troubled minds were relieved from the tensions of a troubled world at this checker ‘board’. It was customary for those who fled to the City of Refuge to remain there for a period of several days under the protection of the priests” (1951, 19).

It is very intriguing that the *kōnane* board and stones were attached to the City of Refuge where ‘the females, children, and old people of the neighboring districts’ in a war time as well as “defeated and routed warriors who could run fast enough to enter the sacred precincts” (1951, 16), for it seems to me that it serves the purpose of the game. There are other names for *Igo*, the Japanese version of checker; “*Yūgen*”(Mysterious profundity), “*Bōyū*”(No suffering and pain), and “*Shudan* (No need of words).” I wonder if *Kōnane* gave the refugees a relief (even though it was a temporary one) there letting them forget their sufferings and pains transcending any regional, linguistic, sexual, or generational gaps or boundaries.

Direction for the *Kōnane* game

Here is the outline of the *Kōnane* game:

“...The boards (papamu) were marked with rows of dots placed an inch from each other. There might be from 8 to 20 rows, and about the same number of transverse as of longitudinal rows. The checkers were an equal number of black

and white pebbles. The board was entirely covered with these pebbles placed on the dots. ...When all was ready the player to pick first removed a stone from the center or a corner. Then the jumping continued, the stone jumped over being removed. ... According to an old informant, when a person was blocked so he could not move he lost.” (Emory 1930, 153)

In short, to use Kenn’s words, “The object of the game, apparently, was to place a player in a position where he was unable to move any of the pebbles” (1935, 125).

A variety of guessing games with pebbles

I had the initial impression that *Kōnane* had been a very common, popular, and basic pastime for peoples on every island of Hawai‘i, but it seems to have been not always like that. To my surprise, according to Kumu Ipo’s childhood memory, “*A‘ole mākou pā‘ani i kēlā ‘ano pā‘ani,*” people in Ni‘ihau were not always into it. Instead, a game with pebbles that they were more absorbed in was *Kohokoho* or *Hūnā pōhaku* in Culin’s collection. It is a guessing game that is very familiar to me, for my sister and I used to play the same game in Japan. A rubber band was used, though, instead of pebbles. *Kohokoho* goes something like:

“Kohokoho, ‘o ia nō ka hūnā ‘ana. ...Hiki iā ‘oe ke ho‘okomo i nā kinikini i loko o kou poho lima no ka hūnā ‘ana. Mali‘a paha, hūnā wau i ke kinikini i loko o ko‘u lima ‘ākau. No laila, ma hope, nāu e koho, ‘mahea lā ke kinikini.’ A laila koho ‘oe i ka lima ‘ākau a pa‘i (i ia lima). Aia ke kinikini a loa‘a iā ‘oe. Inā koho ‘oe i ka lima hema, a wehe wau, “a‘ohe mea, ‘a‘ohe āu hele ‘ai!” (Kumu Ipo)

(*Kohokoho*, that is, hiding (pebbles)...You can put the pebbles in one hand (and clench your fists without telling a guesser which hand is holding the pebbles.) Maybe, I hide the pebble in my right hand. Then, you’re the one who guesses, “where is the pebble?” And then, you choose my right hand and slap it. There’re the pebbles (on the right hand as you guessed), and in this case, you can get the

pebbles. If you choose the left hand, I open it, “no pebble, you have no points!”

If a player guesses correctly and slaps the right hand, he/she wins and gets points (pebbles). The hider cannot cheat. “*Mai kikitī!* (Don’t cheat!)”--- I was scolded by Kumu (the guesser) when I (the hider) cheated...Forgive me, Kumu. Here are two guessing games similar to *kohokoho*: *Kohokoho Pūniu* (Coconut-shell guessing) and *Pililima*.

Kohokoho Pūniu – “A button of coconut-shell (*Puhi niu*) is concealed under two cups of coconut-shell, the object being to guess under which it is hidden” (Culin 1899, 54).

Pililima – “Two players simultaneously extend their closed hands containing marbles, money, or small similar objects, at the same time crying a number. The one who guesses the sum of the objects wins them all” (Culin 1899, 231).

Ancient pastimes with pebbles

One day, while I was chatting with Kumu Ipo and Kumu Kalei from Ni‘ihau, they told me they had found another name for the *kohokoho* game in a story of *Hi‘iaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele* that appeared in an old-time newspaper. “*Kapa ‘ia kēlā pā‘ani ‘o Pūhene ma loko o kēlā nūpepa.* (That game was called *Pūhene* in that newspaper)”, they said. I sensed immediately what they were driving at, for I had just seen some descriptions about the game called *Pūhenehene* that was “greatly enjoyed by the chiefs and chiefesses” (Kenn 1936, 124) at night in ancient times. According to the article dated 22 *Pepehualī* (February) 1834 in one of the old-time Hawaiian newspapers, *LAMA HAWAII*, like the aforementioned games *pili* (*‘ume*) and *kilu*, and *pahe‘e* (I will discuss it later), *pūhene* is listed as one of the *hana le‘ale‘a o ka wā kahiko* (fun of the ancient time): “*O ka hula kekahi, ‘o ka pili kekahi, ‘o ka pā puhene, ‘o ke kilu, ‘o ka pahe‘e a me nā hana*

le'ale'a e aku nō he nui loa.” *Pūhene* is very close to *kohokoho* in that it is a game in which the hider hides the pebbles and the guesser guesses where they were hidden. Thus, probably, the *kohokoho* game comes from an ancient pastime called *Pūhene*, *Pūhenehene*, or *Pāpuhene*. What is *Pūhene(hene)*?

A small and smooth stone or wood, *no'a* is hidden under several pieces of kapa (bark cloth) spread between the two parties composed of five men and five women each. The president of the assembly “whistled a call on the *pūheoheo*, or called out, *pūheoheo*, all the company answered “*pūheoheo*” (Malo 1898, 218). Then, “a man stood forth and chanted a gay and pleasing song, while three men picked up the kapa and covered or screened one party with it”(Emory 1930, 151). One player on this party would hide the *no'a*, and the other on the other party “would try to locate it in one attempt. This required great skill, and a “poker face”” (Kenn 1936, 124).

When the screen was removed, “the men, one of whom had the *no'a*, leaned forward and looked down” (Malo 1898, 218), which is perhaps what Kenn meant by the phrase “poker face” above. If the guess was right, it counted for one point. If not, the point was given to the opposite party. The first side to score ten won the game, and someone in the winning party would start a *Hula* (Malo 1898).

No'a, the small pebble or wood used for *Pūhene(hene)* or *Pāpuhene* is also indispensable to another game called *No'a*. Obviously it was named after the stone, *no'a*. This is a variation of the *pūhene(hene)* game, and “was extremely popular with people and chiefs. The number of those, including chiefs, who were beggared by this game was enormous” (Malo 1898, 225). When this *no'a* gambling went to extremes, human bodies would often be wagered. In that case, death could fall under the category of wagers. Supporting this are Emerson’s footnotes:

“It was not an unknown thing for a man, having exhausted other resources, to stake his own body, *pili iwi* as it was called. If he lost, he was at the least the slave of the winner, who might put his body to what use he pleased. If put to death by his master, he would be called a *moe-puu*, i.e., he joined the great heap, or majority of the dead, “*ka puu nui o ka make*.” Death was the *puu nui*. There was evident allusion to the same thought in the expression *moe puu*, applied to the human sacrifices that were in ancient times made at the death of a king” (1898, 226).

Here are the composite directions for the *No’a* game:

Divided into two groups, the players of the both parties sit down facing each other. Then, five bundles of *kapa* (*tapa*) are put between the parties, and a small pebble or wood, *no’a* is hidden, by one party, under one of those five differently-colored crumpled pieces of *tapa* which, according to Emerson’s informant from Moloka’i, “were named in this order: *Khipuka, pilimoe, kau, pilipuka, kihimoe*” (Malo 1898, 226). One of the opposing party makes a guess as to where it is placed and “indicated the pile by striking it with a *maile*, a small elastic rod, highly polished. Through a slit in the upper end of this rod a tuft of dog skin or a *ti* leaf was drawn” (Emory 1930, 151). The same party hides “the stone 5 or 10 times, according to an agreement made at the beginning of the game. Whichever party came through with the fewest strokes was the winner. Sometimes they reversed this, and those who struck the most without finding the stone were considered the winners” (Emory 1930, 151).

Here, turning eyes to the five *tapa* used to hide the *no’a*, since the English equivalents of these words are not provided in the Hawaiian dictionaries by either Puku’i or Andrews, I cannot tell exactly what these mean. However, through the combinations of the terms “*Kihi* (1.outside corner, edge – Puku’i 1957)”, “*Pili* (6.border, edge of time unites, especially of late night – Puku’i 1957),” “*Kau* (2. period of time, time of late night before dawn – Puku’i 1957)”, and “*Moe* (1.to sleep, lie down; 3.sleeping place; 4. Dream – Puku’i 1957)”, one clear picture emerges – the motif of the night. These are *Khipuka* – door to

the night, *Pilimoe* (like *pili aumoe?*)– the middle of the night / the late night, *Kau* – late night before dawn, and *Pilipuka* – almost dawn, “near appearance (of the sun)” (Puku‘i 1957, 331). I wonder if these concepts are connected with the fact that the game was held at night. If so, a scene in which people were so deep in the game all night long is strong in my mind. Lastly, I would like to close this part with a chant introduced by the same informant of Moloka‘i to Emerson:

<i>Aia lā, aia lā,</i>	There it is, there it is,	
<i>I ke kau, i ke pili, i ka moe,</i>	Under the kau, under the pili, under the moe,	
<i>I laila e kū ai ka no‘a a kāua.</i>	There is lodged our no‘a.	
<i>E kū!</i>	It’s lodged!	(1898, 226)

Juggling/Jackstones

Before moving on, I will talk about two more games with pebbles, *Kiōlaola* and *Kimo*. The former is a juggling game “with small stone balls by one person who keeps three in the air at the same time” (Culin 1899, 228). The latter is “Jack stones, popular with adults as well as children” (Mitchell 1952, 3). The game runs as follows:

“A game similar to jacks: a stone is tossed into the air by the player, who quickly picks another off the ground before he catches the other. ... The players often chanted” (Puku‘i 1957, 152).

Personally, the *Kimo* game that Kenn describes is the most interesting to me: “*Kimo*, picking *hala* nuts from a heap without touching the others” (1936, 126). The used materials, directions, or rules of the game must have been different depending upon the islands, but I cannot tell which type of *kimo* is from which island or what was used for the *kimo* game on the different islands. But, the *Hala* or the pandanus nuts always remind

me of *Kohala*, Hawai'i. "When I was a little kid, I often saw my grandmother making leis with the *hua hala* (pandanus nuts) and plaiting *tapa* and *pāpale* (hat) with *lau hala* (pandanus leaves)." ... the memory of Uncle Ivan Kong from Kohala lingers on my mind. And here is a riddle, 'Ōlelo Nane about the place name: "*Ku'u lei hala*" (My hala wreath.)... What is the answer? ... *Kohala*?

'Ōlelo Nane, 'Ōlelo No'eau, Mele, Oli, or anything that represents the land cannot be separated from what is seen, heard, or gotten on the land. The same thing is true for pastimes, I believe. It seems natural that children in Kohala or any place where *hala* trees were available hit upon the idea and started a new game such as *Kimo* using what surrounded them or what was connected to their lives.

Pā'ani Pepa, Card Games

I learned a number of Western card games from friends and some *kūpuna* in Hawai'i: Old Maid, Go Fish, Twister, Fan-tan, Poker, Page One, UNO, Whist, and so on. As for Go Fish, it was all in Hawaiian that I learned how to play this game. Thus, it took me a year to get to know what I had often played with 'Anakala Kāwika and other students in the *mānaleō's* office was what my friends called "Go Fish." So far, I have heard a variety of equivalents for the familiar phrase, "Go fish:" "*E hele 'oe i ka lawai'a*" (Kumu Haili'ōpua), "*Pono 'oe e hele i ka lawai'a*" ('Anakala Kāwika), "*E lu'u iho 'oe i kāu i'a pono*" (Kumu Kalei). Here in this thesis, I do not intend to inquire into the origin of these Western games; rather, I seek to know if these kinds of card games or their equivalents were available to native Hawaiians before the first contact.

⁷ This is a play on words. *Ko* literally means "belonging to someone or something." Thus, in this case, the combination of the words, "*ko*" and "*hala*," suggests that the *hala* belongs to the speaker. According to Hopkins, "Hawaiian divides everything in the world into two categories and has two sets of possessives to use with them" (1992, 74). To form possessives, *ko* or *kā* is put before pronouns or nouns. Hopkins draws a clear distinction between *ko* and *kā* in *Ha'awina 'Eiwa* (Lesson 9) of the *Ka Lei Ha'āheo*

A card game known to Hawaiians before European contact

In his work titled *Fragments of Hawaiian History*, John Papa 'I'i states that "the only card game the people and chiefs had known before was "*Nuuanu*" (1959, 127). This is the only mention I found in the sources that I consulted. Thus, I can not tell when, where, how, or by whom it was played. However, it seems the game had already filtered into the society, from *ali'i* to *maka'ainana*, by the early 19th century when 'I'i served Liholiho (Kamehameha II) and the high chiefs in the royal court.

Western card games brought to the royal blood of Hawai'i

Western card games, on the other hand, seem to have spread particularly among the royal blood, and royal members' enthusiasm for card games have often been depicted. Writing on the election that followed the death of King Lunalilo in late 1872 to select his successor, Kent portrays one of the candidates, David Kalākaua as "a dapper man-about-town, well known for his addiction to all-night poker games and horse racing..."(1993, 44). Dating back to the time (1849-1850) when Alexander Liholiho, Kamehameha IV, and his brother, Lota Kapuāiwa, Kamehameha V were in Europe with Gerrit Judd (Kame'eleihiwa 1993), playing cards was a relaxation to the two young princes. Going further back to 1816, it is said that some agents of the Hudson's Bay Co. instructed Kamehameha I and his successor, Liholiho (Kamehameha II) how to play "whist." Thus, Western card games such as whist, poker games, or so appear to have been already imported into Hawai'i with other Western materials and goods probably by sailors by early 1800s just after the 1778 British landfall or Cook's arrival, which was the Hawai'i's first step into the evolving capitalistic economy.

Surging waves of foreign desires and influences

Kent points out that this era “was marked by the emergence of Western Europe from the economic and social break down of the early feudal age; it was marked by the rise of an urban civilization with a market economy geared to generating demands for scarce commodities, valuable minerals, and the far-off lands where these could be found” (1993, 11). Above all, England had become a “prominent European and world power” (Kent 1993, 11) with the success of the Industrial Revolution and was the first to launch the global exploration project. Hawai‘i was caught up in this world-wide process towards capitalism as one of “the far-off lands” (Kent 1993, 11) that could enrich European industries. Characterized by inequality and foreign dominance, Hawai‘i’s roles in the ‘trans-Pacific trade’ were always subject to a “combination of factors *exogenous* to the Hawaiian Islands” (Kent 1993, 21).

In the late eighteenth century, Hawai‘i became “a provisioning station for the handful of U.S. and English fur traders bound yearly for China” (Kent 1993, 14); this was Hawai‘i’s “first mode of integration” (Kent 1993, 15) into the global market. Hawai‘i’s rich sandalwood forests and Hawaiian commoners who provided labor free of charge for their *ali‘i* soon attracted foreign eyes, especially “New Englanders” (Kent 1993, 17). This paralleled the exhaustion of the “Fijian and Marquesan sandalwood trade. Later on by the third decade of the nineteenth century, Hawai‘i became the center of the whaling. The trade was overwhelmingly dominated by the “haoles”, and once again, “peripheral” factors such as the “exhaustion of North Atlantic whaling grounds” (Kent 1993, 21) and the steep rise in whale oil prices brought more “haole” traders, sailors, developers, merchants, doctors, ministers, businessmen, carpenters to the Islands. Under such conditions, Hawai‘i’s socio-politico-economic shifts from subsistence economy to capitalist economy or from agricultural to town markets were inevitable. From the 18th and 19th

century sandalwood and whaling industries to the rise of sugar plantations and the emergence of the Big Five firms some of whom had already risen in the prosperous era of the whaling business, foreigners found in Hawai'i "cheap land, cheap money and cheap labor" (Kent 1993, 35).

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that foreign items captivated the islanders from *ali'i* to *maka'āinana*. T'i writes:

"There were few English ships in the harbor then, but American ships came frequently. Many Hawaiian women boarded the ships coming to the port here. They did not think that such associations were wrong, for there was no education in those days. The husbands and parents, not knowing that it would bring trouble, permitted such association with foreign men because of a desire for clothing, mirrors, scissors, knives, iron hoops from which to fashion fishhooks, and nails. Some women, most of them wives of foreign residents, were seen wearing men's shirts and beaver hats on their heads. They thought such costumes were becoming to them" (1959, 87).

In the *ali'i*'s case, "Kamehameha, who held a royal monopoly on the sandalwood trade until his death, became a fervent consumer of high-priced Western goods, including telescopes, cannons, and even ships" (Kent 1993, 19). He was seen in "a colored shirt, velveteen britches, red waistcoat, large military shoes and worsted socks, a black silk handkerchief around his neck" (Morgan 1948, 277). More to my interests, Western card games were also brought in, those days, by foreign sailors just as the Portuguese *karta* was introduced into Japan by Portuguese seamen with other foreign items. Many different foreign pastimes also landed in the islands, with those seamen. In the introduction to a paper titled *Hawaiian Games*, Stewart Culin writes:

“The new materials of this paper were collected from four Hawaiian sailors, from Honolulu, named *Aka (Kamehameha), Daviese, Kahimoku, Welakahao* and *Hale Paka* (Harry Park)...” (1899, 201).

Through communications and exchanges between native and foreign sailors, many new pastimes thus mingled with local ones and spread throughout the islands.

A variety of card games in the islands of Hawai‘i

In Culin’s article, two card games are mentioned. One is *Pepa hakau (hākau?)*, and the other one is *Kohokoho pua‘a*. Although Culin categorizes the latter as “pig-guessing,” a guessing game or lottery, I classify it as *pā‘ani pepa* (card game) because numerous cards are used. *Pepa hakau* is perhaps equivalent to poker games:

“Foreign playing cards are used. Poker is a favorite game. Five cards are dealt around and the highest hand wins. A player not getting a pair is out of the game” (1899, 246).

Referring to Andrews’ dictionary, the author adds, “...*hakau* means “fighting,” but Puku‘i defines the word, *hākau* as “to protrude, as bones or cliff ridges” or “perch.” In my sense, *hakau* is probably close to another word, “*hahau* (to strike, hit, beat, throw down...)” I wonder if what Puku‘i calls *Pepa hahau* (playing cards or *kōnane* pebble) is the same or, at least, similar to the *pepa hakau* game collected by Culin.

Kohokoho pua‘a is quite unique. It is exactly as it translates: “guessing pig”, or in other words, winning pigs in a lottery! Culin explains:

“This is a kind of lottery. The principal stake consists of pigs (*pua‘a*). On one hundred cards are written the names of various articles of food, as pig, fowl, banana, bread, fruit, orange, eggs, etc. Twenty persons each draw a card, the

object being to get the one marked “pig”. If this is not drawn the first time, the drawing is repeated until someone gets it. The lottery is held on a holiday. The prizes are offered by some rich person. The winner gets five pigs” (1899, 245).

I wonder if, in 1899 when these pastimes were recorded by Culin, local people still enjoyed the Hawaiian lottery or *kohokoho pua’a* on holidays. It must have been a fun time when people gathered to relax and to divert themselves from their fatigues, cares, worries, troubles, or stress.

Other available names of the card games are as follows: *Kāmau* / ‘*Uwiki* / ‘*Uiki* – An equivalent for “Whist, *Konoki* – Poker, and *Hailōkeaka* – The card game “high-low-jack-and-the-game” (Puku’i 1957, 48). *Male* – Unfortunately, any direction for the game is not available, but perhaps it is equivalent to the game called “Marriage” (Puku’i, 1957).

In Ni’ihau, cards brought from Kaua’i seem to be one of the favorite relaxations for children. Called *Pā’ani pepa ku’u*, card games are often played at night.

“*O kēlā kekahi pā’ni hoihoi ‘ē a’e, ‘o ia ka pā’ani pepa ku’u. Ma Ni’ihau, pā’ani mākou i kēlā ‘ano pā’ani. ‘O ka pili, hiki ke pā’ani ‘ia i ke ao, kēlā ‘ano pā’ani kohokoho i kekahi manawa, pā’ani ‘ia ma ka pō, no ka mea, ‘a’ole pono e pā’ani ma ka lepo, ‘eā? No laila, ‘o ka pā’ani pepa ku’u kekahi, he ‘ano pā’ani kēlā no ka ho’onanea ‘ana me ko’u mau kaikua’ana a ko’u kaikunāne.*” (Kumu Ipo)

(As for another interesting pastime, that is card games (*pā’ani pepa ku’u*). In Ni’ihau, we play at cards. For the *pili* game (marble game), it can be played at daytime, the *kohokoho* game (guessing game with pebbles), it can be played (at home) at night, for you can’t play on the ground (outside) at night, right? So, card games were something that relaxed my sisters and me or something that we had much fun with (in the house at night).

What Kumu Ipo and her sisters enjoyed was a game called “*Ēkake*.” Known also as

“*Kēkake*” or “*Piula*,” it is an equivalent for the Western card game, Donkey. Puku‘i explains:

“...The player must follow suit in discards, and if he cannot, he draws from a pack; the object is to play all of one’s cards, and the player left with a card at the end is the *piula* (donkey)” (1957, 332).

I really would like to know if Western cards were used in *Nu‘uanu*, the game to which ‘Ūi referred as the only Hawaiian card game in ancient times. If not, I wonder what kind of cards native Hawaiian people had.

Folding Paper

Lastly, here is a pastime called *Pā‘ani pepa*. This is not a card game but a paper game. It is equivalent to a Japanese popular pastime, *Origami* (fold paper). Showing a sample figure called *manu* (bird), “which glides down like a bird in the air” (1899, 220), Culin describes the game as follows:

“Children fold paper (*pepa*) or kapa into a variety of shapes, ... Other forms are a box (*po-ho-kui-i*) for pins and needles, and neckties (*le-i-a*). They also weave strips of kapa into mats, *mo-e-na*, and braid” (1899, 219-220).

My old Japanese neighbor called “Aunty Kameyo,” who had grown up on Kaua‘i, shared her unique memory about folding paper. She was born into a poor farmer’s family in 1910. In childhood, her sisters and she had to go to the field everyday to help their parents. Heavy labor in the field told on little children like her. In those days, according to her, there was no car on Kaua‘i; the wagon was the only means of transportation for farmers. On their way home from the field, the wagon was jammed full with fatigued workers. She still remembers how uncomfortable it was to ride in. It jerked along noisily

on the bumpy hill. That kept her from dozing off. To divert herself, she folded paper into a variety of shapes with her sisters. But the rough road always prevented them from folding what they wanted to make the most: paper cranes. “That was irritating! I don’t know why, but folding paper cranes was really fun to us,” she said.

In Japan, making a paper crane brings “status” for children as it involves very complicated folding processes. Have you ever heard of *Senba-zuru* (one thousand folded paper cranes on a string)? If you complete folding one-thousand paper cranes, it is believed that your wish or prayer will be answered. It is also said that any existing wounds will be soothed and healed. Sometimes you can see a bundle of one-thousand threaded paper cranes in a hospital. Bunches of paper cranes folded and woven with a number of peoples’ prayers are also seen in the memorials for atomic-bombing victims in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. If I may mention a private matter, when my sweet little brother was nearing his end in Yokohama, Japan, I was about to complete a bundle of one-thousand threaded paper cranes in Los Angeles. But it was just after he breathed his last that I was done with it. Losing him, I wondered where my prayers had gone.

Ho’olele lupe, Flying Kites

Made out of *hau* wood covered with *kapa* (Mitchell 1952) or *kapa* strings called *aho* with sticks of *wiliwili* wood (Culin 1899) and called *Ho’olele lupe* or *Lupe*, flying kites has also been a Hawaiian favorite pastime. According to Puku’i, there existed four types of *lupe*: “*Lupe lā* (a round kite)”, “*Lupe mahina* (kite with tapa cut in a crescent shape)”, “*Lupe manu* (kite with wings on the side)”, and “*Lupe maoli* (kite suggestive of European kites in shape).” Culin’s informants, however, spoke of six different Hawaiian forms of kites:

**Lupe manu* — The bird kite “has a bow of bamboo and two sticks crossed right at angles; the triangles above and below the bow are bound with cord (*kau-la ku-ina*); tails (*hu-e-lo, we-lo-we-lo*) are fastened at the sides, but none at the extremity” (Culin 1899, 224).

**Lupe huinahā* — “The four-sided kite has two crossed sticks with two binding sticks and is lashed with cord about the edges; it has a long tail with strips of *kapa* attached called *kai-kai-a-po-la*” (Culin 1899, 224).

**Lupe lele* — It has a similar long tail to that of *Lupe hōkū*. (Culin 1899)

**Lupe hōkū* — The star kite has four sticks crossed in the middle, the edge being formed by a cord tied with a radial cord between each of the sticks. (Culin 1899)

**Lupe mahini* → This is a language error. If Culin means “Moon kite”, it should be “*Lupe mahina*” as Puku‘i says. It “has three sticks, a long vertical one, crossed by two parallel horizontal sticks, and an exterior hoop of bamboo. Both star and moon kites have tails (*kai-kai-a-po-la*)” (Culin 1899, 224).

**Lupe kanapī* — It looks like centipedes as the name, “*Lupe kanapī* (Centipede kite)” suggests. (Culin 1899)

According to Culin’s informants from Honolulu, “men fight with kites, one man entangling (*hoo-wi-u-wi-u*) his line with another’s and endeavoring to bring down his antagonist’s kite. They bet on the result” (1899, 224). The ‘kite-fight’ is still seen in Japan during the New Year’s holidays.

I was very curious to know how Kumu Ipo’s folks on Ni‘ihau enjoyed flying kites and what plants or materials except *wiliwili* wood, *hau* wood, or *kapa* were used to make kites. Her answer somewhat shocked me, for she said, “*Lupe? ‘A’ole. ‘A’ole lākou ho’olele lupe.* (Kites? No. they (people in Ni‘ihau) don’t fly kites.)” The reason is as follows:

“No ka wai, ma Ni‘ihau, pono ka wai, ‘eā, ‘a‘ohe ua. Malo‘o ka ‘āina a nele i ka wai. ‘A‘ole maika‘i no ka wai. Wahi a ko‘u mau kūpuna, “Inā ho‘olele lupe, ‘a‘ohe ua, no laila, mai hana pēlā.”

(In Ni‘ihau, water is important, right, for we do not have much rain. The land is dry, and we lack water. Flying kites is not good for water. My *kūpuna* said, “If you fly kites, we have no rain, so don’t do that”).

This is reflective of what some people might understand as a superstition. As they do not play string games at night (see the *hei* section), people in Ni‘ihau are not engaged in flying kites following their *kūpuna*’s words.

Ho‘oleipōpō, Cup and Ball

In Hawai‘i, *Ho‘oleipōpō* (cup and ball) was a popular pastime with a long history. It seems that it had already been known to Hawaiians even before first contact. Here is a unique episode involving the game that Culin cites:

“In Captain King’s journal of Cook’s voyage to the Pacific ocean, he says that young Hawaiian children have a favorite amusement which shows no small degree of dexterity. They take a short stick, with a peg, sharpened at both ends, running through one extremity of it and extending about an inch on each side; and throwing up a ball made of green leaves molded together, and secured with twine, they catch it on the point of the peg; and immediately throwing it up again from the peg, they turn the stick around, and thus keep catching it, on each peg alternately, without missing it, for a considerable time” (1899, 226-227).

By the time of Culin’s own informants in the late nineteenth century, materials used had become more sophisticated. Their account goes;

“A ball (*po-po*) made of rags of kapa is tied by a cord fastened to the middle of a

stick about eight feet long, at the end of which a pocket (*pa-ke-ke*) is attached. The stick is grasped by the other end, and the object is to swing the ball and catch it in the pocket. Two or more play. When one misses, the next takes a turn. The maximum count is one hundred” (1899, 226).

The toy that Cook saw must have required more skills. As the receiver for the ball, the point of the peg, and the pocket were more rudimentary. In order to improve their skills and learn the knack of playing better, children come up with various ideas. This kind of process fosters children’s imaginative powers as well as creative powers. That is what children’s pastimes are for.

Hū koa, Spinning Tops

What is called *Hū koa* in Hawaiian seems very similar to *Kenkagoma* (top-fighting)⁸ in Japanese. *Hū koa* is a wooden or peg top (*hū*), whose name came from the *koa* tree out of which it was made. “They have iron points. A top is put in the middle of a ring on the ground and the object of the game is to knock it out” (Culin 1899, 221). Another spinning-top game that I found is *Hū oeo*, or humming tops (Puku’i). Culin adds:

“Humming tops are made of small gourds. Andrew gives o-ka, “a top made of a small gourd”; o-kaa, “a top,” “to spin like a top”; u-li-li, “a small gourd used for a top to play with”; and o-ni-u, “a top for spinning, a plaything for children, generally made of a cocoanut” (1899, 221).

So, there are three types of *Hū oeo* (humming tops) available: *Hū oeo o ka’a*, *Hū oeo*

⁸ It was a New Year’s Day’s favorite item for boys in my childhood. The top was special one, and an iron ring was fit into the wooden top with an iron axle. Spinning tops with ropes one by one and aiming them at one another’s tops, boys enjoyed watching their tops hitting one another. The one, whose top was still spinning after all had fallen, was the winner. According to my father, in his childhood, local boys thronged to a neighbor blacksmith, for the master was kind enough to make *kenkagoma* for them. No tops were as great as the tops that the master made, and bumping each other, the tops often sparked, which excited all the boys.

‘ūlili, and *Hū oeo* o *niu*. What is very interesting is the word, *ūlili*. The original meaning is “wandering tattler,” from whose cry several other sounding items got their name, *‘ūlili*. Not only humming tops but also an ancient type of police whistle made of bamboo (Puku‘i 1957) were named *‘ūlili* for it. *Hoihoi maoli nō!*

Nā Pā‘ani me ke Kaula a me ka Lā‘au, Pastimes with String, Rope and Stick

Tug-of-war

Tug-of-war was one of the popular old-time Hawaiian pastimes; there were *Hukihuki kaula* (Rope-pulling) and *Hukilā‘au* (Stick-drawing). Known also as *Hukihuki* or *Pā‘ume‘ume*, *Hukihuki kaula* (Tug-of-war) was held both on land and at sea. According to Culin, each team consisted of seven men with a captain, and “a piece of kapa is tied to the middle of the rope”. Money prizes are prepared for the winners. In *Hukilā‘au*, the straw was often used rather than sticks. Its direction is a bit different from that of pulling rope: “One player prepares two slips of wood of uneven length, and the others draw. If the drawer gets the long piece, he wins; if the short pieces, he loses” (1899, 246).

Jumping rope

There were some other Hawaiian games with ropes. Jumping rope, *Kowali* (Culin 1899), *Koali*, or *Lele koali* (Puku‘i 1957) was a popular ancient sport. The *koali* vine rope was used. Not only swings but also nets (*Kōkō*) were made of the same vine (Puku‘i 1957). *Kowali*, according to Culin’s informants, “is the name of the convolvulus, the vine of which is used as a rope ...” (1899, 205). It was played as follows:

“The rope may be swung by two persons, by one person with the other end fastened, or by one person who also jumps. Two girls frequently jump together,

counting until they miss” (Culin 1899, 205).

Culin also points out that *kowali* is something like “*Pūheoheo*” that Lorrin Andrews mentions. Andrews describes *Pūheoheo* as “A sport of children like jumping the rope. If grown people attended the play, it was called *kilu*” (1899, 501). Does *Kilu* refer to the licentious game in which the winner claims a kiss?

Another rope game that interests me is the one called *Pūkaula* that Culin mentions:

“A trick of twisting a cord around the fingers or tying it around the arm or leg in such manner that, while seemingly secure, it comes off with a slight pull. ... This is a common amusement in Japan, but my Japanese acquaintances have no particular name for it ...” (1899, 224).

My Japanese acquaintances have no particular name for it, either. Probably this game is regarded as part of *ayatori* (*Hei*/ String figure) in Japan. Puku‘i’s explanation of its game is clearer:

“An old guessing game: a knot was tied in a cord and the two ends given to two persons to hold; the onlookers guessed and wagered whether the knot could be loosened by pulling on the ends of the string. This game was sometimes called in English slip trick” (1957, 351).

Pūkaula, in Mitchell’s article, is described as “Juggling, betting as to whether a knot would hold” (1952, 3). Malo minutely portrays a scene that he himself probably witnessed:

“...The performers very cunningly gave one end of the line into the hands of one man and the other end into the hands of another man to hold, and then did their

tricks with the middle part of the line. The juggler artfully tied the middle part of the line up into a knot and then asked the people, “What do you think about the knot? ...” (1898, 227).

As I mentioned in the section on the *No‘a* game, people seem to have often staked their bodies on this game, which made themselves slaves of the jugglers (Malo 1898). “They were let off only when they paid a heavy ransom (1898, 227),” Malo adds.

Pastimes with dragonflies

Though I have not heard from any *kūpuna* about these, the two Hawaiian pastimes below may be also considered as competitive games. One is *Lele pinau* (Dragonfly-flying), and the other is *Hopuhopu nalo* (Dragonfly-catching).

**Lele pinau* – “Children catch dragonflies and tie them to a string to see which can fly farthest” (Culin 1899, 219).

Although it is not clear what kind of string was used to tie dragonflies, these four different types of strings might have been considered usable; *aho* (kite string), *‘aha* (string for musical instruments – “Sennit; cord braided of coconut husk, human hair, intestines of animals” (Puku‘i 1957, 5)), *kuaina* (twine), and *kaula* (rope, lash). No matter what material was used, it is important how it was tied.

Unlike Culin, Puku‘i describes *lele pinau* as “Game said to resemble *kōnane*” (1957, 202). I am then confused. Is *Lele pinau* the dragonfly-flying game as Culin says or a game similar to checkers as Puku‘i mentions? According to Puku‘i, the word, “*Pinau*” means “to recoil, snap, as a rope” (1957, 331); a Hawaiian equivalent for the word, “dragonfly” is not *pinau* but *pinao*. On the other hand, in Andrew’s Hawaiian dictionary

that Culin consults, *pinau* is defined as dragonflies. Here, I do not intend to make a clear distinction between the words, *Pinao* and *Pinau*. In either case, it seems that Hawaiians likened human actions such as swinging and jumping rope to *lele pinao (pinau)* or flying dragonflies. Interestingly, Puku'i interprets a pastime called *Lelepinao* like this: "To swing on a *koali* vine. Lit., dragonfly leap" (1957, 202)."

**Hopuhopu nalo* – "Children catch dragonflies, *pi-nau*, in a net, crying out the number, one, two, three, four, and so on, as they catch them. The one who first gets ten wins. All then stop, and putting the dragonflies in their handkerchiefs, count "one, two, three," and release them" (Culin 1899, 219).

I am not familiar with Hawaiian kinds of dragonflies.⁹ Just once, I saw *pinao 'ula* or red dragonflies at Kumu Pualani Hopkins's funeral held in St. Andrew's Cathedral in Honolulu. According to my friends raised in Hawai'i and images available on the websites, yellow, light blue, and emerald dragonflies are also seen here in Hawai'i. Puku'i's Hawaiian dictionary has several Hawaiian terms regarding dragonflies with different periods of growth: *lohelohe* (the larval stage), *po'olānui* (the young stage), *pinao* (adulthood), and so on. That shows *pinao* or *pinau* is one of the insects indigenous to Hawai'i.

Playing Soldiers

"Girls do not join boys when they are playing soldiers." It was a tacit agreement between boys and girls in my childhood. Boys loved *chanbara* (sword fight) with sticks or

⁹ In Japan, in my childhood, the most popular dragonfly was *Oniyama* (Japan's largest black and yellow spotted dragonfly). The second most popular was *Ginyama* with a beautiful emerald green body. The most common was *Shiokara-tonbo* (gray dragonfly).

rulers. With a familiar stock phrase¹⁰ of *Samurai*, they went into battle. Our cleaning time at school was a nightmare for girls because boys always started *chanbara* with brooms, getting out of clean-up duty and raising a cloud of dust. Sharing a similar memory, my soft-spoken Japanese neighbor in her eighties from Waimea, Hawai'i said:

“*Chanbara* (sword fight)! Oh yes, my old Japanese and Hawaiian friends loved that. Shouting, “*Shutsugeki!* (Make a sortie!),” they were swinging sticks. Just sticks. Boys love that. I think my Hawaiian friends learned Japanese through *Chanbara*. Of course, we, girls didn't do that kind!”

According to Aunty Ruth, her younger brother would often make toy guns out of pieces of flat and wide board. First drawing the shape of the gun on the board, he then sawed it and cut it out. Gun toys were one of the favorite items for boys. Squirt-guns, too, were favorites across generations. Called *Hano*, the squirt-gun appears to have been popular regardless of gender in Hawai'i in the late 19th century; perhaps its popularity derived from its association with war and soldiers. It is explained by Culin:

“...Squirt-guns are made of bamboo. Boys and girls play with them on holidays, especially on New Year's day. A specimen in the Berlin Museum ...is made of gourd (*i-pu ha-no-ha-no*)” (1899, 222).

This is exactly what my uncle's folks did, not on a special occasion, but on a regular basis in 1930s. As for the *ipu* gun, I wonder if a hole was made at the bottom of the *ipu* or if the gun had some equivalent for the trigger. The name, *Hano*, makes little sense to me. Was it *Hānō* (to wheeze)? It should not be. Wondering how it got the name and focusing on some of the described meanings such as “humming” or “nose flute” (or even “to wheeze”), I

¹⁰ “*Iza shutsujin-ja!*” or “*Shutsugeki!*” (Jump-off! / Go to the front!). It is heard in many historical plays set in feudal times.

first thought it was named after the sound of the gun. But I am perhaps wrong. Puku'i and Andrews give another meaning of the word: "syringe" or "to inject."

Darts

**Pā hi'uhi'u* – "Throwing darts at a target on the field, or "pushing a stone with sharp sticks to a goal" (Puku'i 1957,300).

**Moa* – Sliding torpedo-shaped darts on a smooth grassy course or alley of *Kahua* (Bryan 1950). It is probably equivalent to what Mitchell calls *Moa pahe'e*.

There is a game for children available with the same name, *Moa*. Puku'i explains:

"Children's game played with *moa* twigs; the tiny branches were interlocked, and the players pulled on the ends; the loser's twigs broke and the winner crowed like a rooster (*moa*)" (1957, 248).

Not only darts but also spears or javelins were thrown. *Ō'oihe* (spear throwing) was a sport as well as a martial art. In the *Pahe'e* game, spears or sometimes darts were thrown over a smooth surface: "(Peter) Buck describes the darts as from 34.5 to 67 inches (about 85 to 170 cm) long, tapering at one end, with the greatest diameter of from 1 to 1 1/2 inches (2.6 to 3.9 cm)" (Puku'i 1957, 299). *The pahe'e* is a game in which the players threw short javelins. Instead of javelins or spears, sugar cane was used in some games. This is *Ke'a pua*. Arrows made of the stems of tassels of sugar cane were slid or shot. Another sport in which wooden spears were used is *Kākā lā'au*. This is not spear throwing, though. Instead, the players had the fencing match with those wooden spears. Perhaps it is something equivalent to what Culin calls "*Kākā pahi*."

Heihei, Race

Children grew up under the care of their parents, grandparents, or adults around them. Thus, the games children learned from them and played together with them were necessarily linked to those of their generation. However, once children joined the circle of schoolchildren or community children, their interests began to shift little by little to new games that they had never experienced before. While indoor games such as string figure were their great pleasure, they got absorbed in other active pastimes such as hide-and-seek or *Pe'epe'e kua / Pe'epe'e akua*,¹¹ tag or *To / Pio*, race or *Heihei*, and so on.

Footraces in ancient Hawai'i

Footraces or *Kūkini* were a major source of amusement for people in old-time Hawai'i. People bet a variety of properties including money, breadfruit, pigs, coconuts, or even their lives and those of their wives (*pili hihia*) on foot racing (Malo 1898, Culin, 1899). Some people also wagered belongings that others had lent them (*pili kaua*) (Malo 1898). To my surprise, sometimes even a runner seems to have involved himself in betting by selling out the race to his opponent and letting a third person wager his property on the other runner (Malo 1898). Called "*Yaochō*" in Japanese, this kind of rigged match is said to have sometimes occurred in the *Sumō* circles of old times in Japan.¹²

¹¹ Stewart Culin confuses this game with *Onigokko* (tag), and cites the wrong Japanese name (1899, 232). The Japanese equivalent for *Pe'epe'e kua* is not *Onigokko* but *Kakurenbo*.

¹² The name, *yaochō* originates in an episode in the Meiji period (1868-1912):

In the Meiji period, there lived a man named "*Chōbē*" who was excellent in *go* (similar game to *kōnane*, checkers). He was a master of a greengrocer's shop (*Yao-ya*). He had a *go*-play mate called "*Ise-no-umi-godayū*" who was an elder member in the Japan *Sumō* Association. Ingratiating himself with his mate to gain his patronage, he intentionally lost the *go* game so often. Later, the fact was brought to light, and since then, the put-up match or selling out the race came to be called "*Yaochō* (*Chōbē* of Greengrocer)" not only in the world of *Sumō* but also in any other different field of sports.

Selected runners

The celebrated *Kūkini* runners were originally “swift messenger, as employed by old chiefs, with a premium on their speed” (Puku‘i 1957, 177), and they were professionally trained (Malo 1898). The race itself was a long-distance one. According to Culin, the course was one-half to three quarters of a mile on which more than a dozen of men raced for a prize. From *pahukū* (starting point) to *pahuhopu* (final goal), the *kūkini* runners were naked except for *malo*, the loincloth (Culin 1899). Emerson cites a unique episode of involving one noted *kūkini* racer:

“Uluanui of Oahu, a rival and friend of Kaohele (son of a king of Moloka‘i, Kumukoa), was a celebrate foot runner. It was said that he could carry a fish from the Kaelepulu pond in Kailua round by way of Waialua and bring it in to Waikiki while it was still alive and wriggling” (1898, 220).

The runners’ duty was to carry the orders of chiefs to different parts of the island as Culin says. Thinking of the origin story of the Greek marathon and the duties of the Japanese messengers that had served the *Samurai* clans, I was impressed with the common roles and obligations of ‘messengers’ in ancient times everywhere. It is unique that their work of running or racing can be experienced in modern days. But some questions that occur to me here are these: Did the *kūkini* runners traverse the ocean and visit other islands? Was there anything that could be the equivalent of a long-distance relay using horses, canoes, or other available transportation from island to island? Were there any other kinds of professional racers who could achieve this? I do not have any answer to these questions at this moment.

Can-racing

The *kūkini* race is a professional race for adults, but how about footraces for children? Kumu Ipo's memory of the *Wāwae kini* race is as follows:

‘O kekahi pā‘ani punahele a‘u, ka heihei ‘ana me ka wāwae kini. ... ‘Ai ‘oe i ka tuna, ke kini o ka tuna, ma hope, no kēlā kini, hana ‘oe a puka ma luna, pahu a puka, ‘eā, ho‘opa‘a i ke kaula, huki i ke kaula. Pa‘a ke kaula ma luna o ke kini a pūliki i ke kaula me kou lima. Kau kou manamana ma waena o ke kaula a pono ‘oe e holo. ...No ke kaula, nāki‘i ‘ia i ka lā‘au. ... ‘O ka mea lanakila, ‘o ia ka mea mākaukau. I kekahi manawa, inā heihei ‘oe, hiki ke hā‘ule i lalo, no ka mea, pepe‘e ke kini inā kaumaha loa ‘oe, (‘aka‘aka) Ma Ni‘ihau, ‘ano pa‘a ka lepo, ‘eā? Ma ‘ane‘i, palupalu ka lepo ma muli o ka ua, akā, ma laila, pa‘akikī nō ka hehi ‘ana.”

(One of my favorite pastimes is racing-riding-on-the-can. ...You eat tuna, and later, you pierce a hole in the tuna can. Next, you pass a rope through the hole, stick it to the can, and grip tightly the rope with your hand. Then put your toe between the rope on the can. When you place both your toes on the two prepared cans, you have to run. For the rope, it is tied by some plant. The winner of the game is skilled. Sometimes if you race (on it), you fall down, for the can is smashed. If you are very heavy or big, you cannot run without smashing your cans because of your heaviness (weight). In Ni‘ihau, the soil is hard, right? Here, the soil is not hard because it rains more. But there (in Ni‘ihau), it is difficult to stamp with cans).

Sometimes children share a common imagination and creative power with one another regardless of where they live, what nationality they are, what backgrounds they come from, or when they were born. Kumu's favorite *wāwae kini* race was what Japanese children called "*Kan-pokkuri*." *Kan* means "can," and *pokkuri* comes from an imitation sound of horse walking or the clatter of hoofs, *pokkuri-pokkuri*. Just like Kumu Ipo's folks, we used the tuna can sometimes, but usually preferred the mackerel can because it was a

bit bigger and thicker. Instead of piercing a hole in the can, we just stuck both ends of a woolen thread to the two sides of the can with scotch tape. The string to grip may have symbolized a rein for riding a horse. This was our favorite outside recreation, and for those who always came in last in a normal footrace, this race was much more fun because it did not matter if one was a fast runner. As Kumu says, this race required certain special skills or ideas to run better and faster.

Though the form was a bit different, this kind of race was also what Aunty Ruth's folks greatly enjoyed on O'ahu in the late 1920s. Go barefoot, stick caster beans, which are very sticky, to the can, stand on the can stuck with sticky beans, and walk and run. *Voila*, this is *wāwae kini* with no string to grip!

Malina-walking

Another foot race that Kumu Ipo described enthusiastically is *Malina*, the game similar to stilt-walking in English or *Take-uma* in Japanese. *Malina*, to use Kumu's words, is "*he mea kanu*", a plant; the word itself is not an English or Japanese equivalent for stilt-walking or *take-uma*. Puku'i gives a full detail of this plant:

"...Sisal (Agave sisalana; Furcraea foetida on Ni'ihau), a tropical American plant grown for its fiber; used for rope, twine, hula skirts. The plant forms a huge rosette of stiff, straight leaves (1.8 m by 15cm). It is called malina because marine ropes were made from it. ..." (1957, 233).

Kumu's memory shows her thorough knowledge of this plant and how to make a full use of it:

"...Pā'ani mākou i ka malina, 'o ka malina, he 'ano mea kanu kēlā. Loa'a kēlā ma Hawaiian Studies ma ka 'ao'ao o ka pali. Loa'a kēlā kumu lā'au 'ano like kona lau me kēia 'ōma'ōma'o. Akā, loa'a kekahi lā'au lō'ihi. 'O kēlā lā'au, 'o ia kā mākou

mea e ki'i ai e ho'ohana. ... 'oki a pōkole a 'oki a 'elua. 'Oki puka, hana mākou i wāwae lā'au, inā 'oki'oki lā'au, hiki ke loa'a 'elua, 'eā? 'Elua lā'au lō'ihi, hana a puka, hiki ke ho'opuka, no ka mea, palupalu 'o loko, ho'okahi puka ma 'ane'i a ho'okahi ma kēia 'ao'ao, pi'i 'oe i luna, ho'okomo i kou wāwae i loko (o ka puka), pūliki i ka puka 'ē a'e, hiki iā 'oe ke hele. Ho'ohana mākou i mea e heihei ai, no ka heihei 'ana. 'O kēlā, kapa 'ia kēlā pā'ani 'malina,' he malina, ka inoa o kēlā 'ano mea kanu."

(...We play *malina*, *malina* is a plant. You can see it on the sideway of the cliff across Hawaiian Studies. Leaves of this plant are green, but you use not those leaves but a long stick shooting forth among them. This is what we use for this game. ... You cut it short, I mean, cut in half. Then, make a hole to put your foot in, if you cut this long stick in half, you can get two sticks, right? Two long sticks. On each stick, make a hole here (downward) and another on this side (upward), the inside of this stick is soft enough to pierce holes in. Place your feet in the bottom holes and grid the upper holes with your hands, and then you can walk. We used this for race, for racing. This play is called *malina*. Again, *malina* is the plant name).

Kumu Ipo and people in Ni'ihau knew how to be satisfied with what they had. No store, no money, no toy --- that never means they had nothing to do. As children, they were always busy exploring the land, finding new things, and trying every kind of fun activity. Kumu says:

"... i kekahi manawa, 'a'ole loa'a iā mākou kēlā 'ano kini a kumu lā'au. No laila, 'imi mākou i kekahi mea e pā'ani ai, kēlā 'ano pā'ani Hili paha. 'A'ole hā'awi 'ia iā mākou kēlā lā'au no ka hili 'ana i ke kinipōpō. 'Ae, hele mākou e 'imi i loko o ka nahelehele. Inā loa'a kekahi lā'au, kiawe paha, 'o ia kā mākou lā'au e ho'ohana ai no ka hili 'ana. ... 'A'ole kekahi manawa, inā 'a'ohe mea, hele mākou e pi'i ma luna o nā kumu lā'au a heihei ma luna o ke kumu lā'au. ... Holo mākou i luna (o ke kumu lā'au), heihei wale aku a wala'au a loa'a kekahi mea e pā'ani ai, nā mea hahai iā 'oe, 'eā, a ma laila, he aha kēlā, 'imi ka po'e o laila i kekahi mea e pā'ani ai. Ma laila, 'a'ohe hale kū'ai, 'a'ohe kīwī, 'a'ole loa'a, no ka

mea 'a'ohē satellite. Inā loa'a ke kīwī ā ka hale kū'ai, auē, 'a'ohē po'e 'imi a hana i kēia mau mea.

(...But, sometimes, we can not get that kind of plants (*malina* and so on...) to play with, so we go looking for something to play with. For example, as for battering (baseball), the stick for battering a ball is not given to us, so, we have to find any stick from the bushes. If some stick, *kiawe* maybe, is found, it is the thing that we use as a bat. Sometimes, it is difficult to find, and if we have nothing, we climb up the trees and race on the tree. We run, just race, and chat together. You have the company, right? And there in Ni'ihau, how do I say, people search something to play with. There, we have no store, no TV because a satellite is not available. But if such kind of things were available, *auē*, people will not be creative anymore. They will not go search things to play with.)

Pololei loa --- It is so true. Necessity is the mother of invention. Lack or want is sometimes the great source of imagination and creation.

A variety of Hawaiian stilts

Kukuluae'o or *ae'o* is the word for stilt-walking in Puku'i's Hawaiian dictionary, and I wonder if, in walking on stilts of varying heights, *Kukuluae'o*, the *malina* plant was employed. Any pastime, its names, used materials, or directions could be different depending upon where one lives. Thus, it is very hard to define each Hawaiian pastime in English or any other language. The sport that Mitchell calls *Kahau* is a case in point; *Kahau* is "wrestling on stilts which are tied to feet and legs" (1952, 3) in his words. Supporting this, Bryan says it "was a rather dangerous game in which two persons wrestled on stilts" (1950, 91). However, Puku'i describes it as "the sport of hurling lightweight *hau* wood spears; to hurl such spears" (1957, 61). On the other hand, Andrews defines *Kahau* this way: "*KA-HAU*" – The name of a play or pastime" (1865, 238)." What kind of play or pastime was this? Puku'i helps provide an answer to this

question with her explanation of the plant, *hau*:

“A lowland tree, ... The leaves are rounded and heart-shaped, the flowers cup-shaped, with five large petals that change through the day from yellow to dull-red. Formerly the light, tough wood served for outriggers of canoes, the bast for rope, the sap and flowers for medicine. Of the two varieties of *hau*, a rare erect one (*hau oheohe*) was grown for its bast and a creeping one (*hau*) was planted for windbreaks ...” (1957, 60)

Among many different uses of this plant, this was what I was looking for ... “...the light, tough wood served for outriggers of canoes.” In other words, this wood is light and tough enough to make outriggers or spears to hurl as Puku‘i says. This, also, could be possibly used for stilt-wrestling. In order to move and wrestle on stilts quickly and safely, the lightness and toughness of the material from which the stilts are made are important. Thus, it is wrong to try to define the *ka-hau* (the-*hau*) game as only a game of hurling spears or stilt-wrestling. The combination of the two is possible, as indicated by the name, *kahau*.

Sledding

**Hōlua* – Chiefs sled on a grassy slopes riding on the *holua* sled made of “*mamane* or *uhiuhi* wood¹³, chamfered to a narrow edge below, with the forward end turned up so as not to dig into the ground, and connected with each other by means of cross pieces in a manner similar to the joining of a double canoe” (Malo 1988, 224).

According to Puku‘i, the *māmane* tree is a native leguminous tree, and its hard wood was formerly used for spades as well. The *uhiuhi* tree is an endemic legume, which was also used for “spears, digging sticks, and house construction” (1957, 364). Kenn explains its

¹³ My grandfather and uncles in Japan made sleds out of cherry trees as I mention in the earlier section.

design as follows.

“The slide was usually sprinkled with *kuku'i* (candle nut) oil and covered with *la'i* (leaves of a *ki* plant” (1936, 121).

As for the *hōlua* course, Emerson writes:

“The course of an old-time *holua* slide is at the present writing clearly to be made out sloping down the foot-hills back of the Kamehameha School. The track is of such a width, about 18 feet, as to preclude the possibility of two sleds traveling abreast. It is substantially paved with flat stones, which must have held their position for many generations. The earth that once covered them has been mostly washed away. The remains of an ancient *kahua holua* are also to be made out at Keauhou, or were a few years ago” (1898, 224-225).

How to sled is described by Bryan:

“We are told that the rider would grasp the upper sidepieces near their middle, run a few strides at the top of the slide, and then spring in a crouching position upon the sled and either stay on or keep the sled upright and on its course as it sped at breakneck speed down the slope” (1950, 89).

While *Hōlua* sledding was an almost exclusive sport for chiefs or members of royalty, commoners and children indulged in sliding down grassy slopes or hills on ti leaves or coconut leaves (Bryan 1950, Mitchell 1952). How common or popular was *tī*-leaf sledding is in Hawai'i? Unfortunately, none of my informants had tried *tī*-leaf sledding. In Ni'ihau's case, there is a certain reason why people there do not do it. Kumu Ipo says:

“A'ole loa, ma Ni'ihau, 'a'ole mākou hana i kēlā 'ano. Nui ka pōhaku ma laila, auē, 'eha ka 'ēlemu! 'Eha loa!”

(No way, in Ni'ihau, we do not do that kind. The land has lots of rocks, (and if you do that,) *auē*, your buttocks is so aching! It so hurts!)

Her words convinced me.

A variety of Hawaiian races

Games and sports often come together with competitive spirits. A couple of more different types of Hawaiian races are available here:

Heihei wa'a – This is canoe-racing in sharp and narrow canoes for racing called *Kioloa* (Malo, 1898, Culin 1899). As for the number of paddlers, it was “according to the size of the canoe” (Malo 1898, 222); sometimes two, three, or more paddlers rode in a canoe.

Malo enters into detail about *heihei wa'a*:

“The racing canoes paddled far out to sea – some, however, stayed close in to the land (to act as judges, or merely perhaps as spectators) – and then they pulled for the land. If they touched the beach at the same time, it was a dead heat; but if a canoe reached the shore first, it was the victor...” (1898, 222)

Heihei eke – This is sack-racing, in Culin’s words, in which “eight men usually race, starting from a line, running to a goal and back to the line” (1899, 211), but no other description of it was found in any other source. How did the runners race with *eke* (sack)? Is it a game similar to what Japanese children call *Kaban-mochi* (holding-bags) in which the one who loses *jankenpoi* has to carry all the bags of the one to four other people? Or is it something equivalent to what is called Bucket brigade? It should not be because eight men run at the same time. In any case, it seems to me that this game arose from heavy labor of laborers or seamen, who must have carried a burden of sacks busily in the harbor.

A race called *Heihei kapu* (Tub-racing) by Culin is a bit harder to visualize. Two ways of playing, however, come to mind. Were the players rolling the tubs in the race? Or

if each player rode in each tub racing towards the beach with paddles, it was a water sport. Culin explains as follows:

“Tubs for racing are made out of casks cut in halves, and propelled with the hands. Andrew gives *ka-pu-wai*, from *ka-pu*, “place” and *wai*, “water”, a bath tub” (1899, 212).

A key question is where this race was held. In the ocean or river? Or on land? If so, wheels must have been needed. Probably it is not unnatural to assume that the race field was around the water so that the players could propel the tub with hands or paddles.

Heihei hā'awe – To borrow Culin's word, it is “burden-racing.” It seems to be a word-for-word translation; the word, “*hā'awe*” literally means “to carry a burden on the back, ...a bundle or burden so carried...” (Puku'i 1957, 45). Culin continues: “This is a contest in which participants carry another astride his neck” (1899, 211). On the other hand, Puku'i reports on a different game with the same name:

“...A tumbling game: a player lies face down, reaches back and grasps his ankles, pulling them back and up to form a loop; the second player, lying at right angles to the first, slips his arm in that loop and tumbles the player over his head. ...” (1957, 45).

It is not clear if the two are referring to the same game because Culin did not give any detailed explanation or directions for the game. But it is clear that, in this race, the players carried or tumbled not objects but humans!

Ho'okaka'a is a race by turning somersaults or cartwheels. The players might have been somewhat professional. The course might have been a gentle field. Otherwise, they would get wounded! A similar race, *Kuwala po'o* or *Kuala po'o*, or racing by turning somersaults head first, according to Culin, seems more difficult. Probably these were two sports in which the players vied to perform the most technically difficult moves. Were the

players professional on special occasions such as the *Makahiki* season or were the games enjoyed by adults and children as daily pastimes on a regular basis?

Pā‘ani ma ke Kai, Pastimes in the sea

From ancient times until today, the remarkably popular pastimes for children in Hawai‘i remain to be *he‘enalu* (surfing), *‘au‘au kai* (swimming in the sea), and *lawai‘a* (fishing). Given the Hawai‘i’s tropical latitude and surrounded by the ocean, it is not surprising that Hawaiian people are excellent in water sports such as swimming, diving, surfing, and canoeing. When I asked ‘Anakala Elia Kāwika Kapahulehua, the first captain of *Hōkūle‘a*, what was his favorite pastime, he answered: “*O ia nō ka he‘enalu, lawai‘a, ‘au‘au kai. Ma Ni‘ihau, na nā kāne kēia mau mea.* (That is surfing, fishing, and swimming in the ocean. In Ni‘ihau, these kinds of pastimes are for men.)” Of course, on O‘ahu or other islands or many other places in the world, it is common to see a lot of females do these kinds of activities today. But in Ni‘ihau, these seem to be clearly regarded as men’s activities as ‘Anakala said. Kumu Ipo states:

“Na nā kaikamāhine a me nā keiki kāne, ua like nō kēlā ‘ano pā‘ani kinikini a pā‘ani heihei ma luna o kēlā lā‘au kini paha. ‘O ka mea ‘oko‘a wale nō, ‘o ia nō ka he‘enalu. Na nā kāne wale nō. ‘O ia ke kumu, kekahi manawa, ‘a‘ole nā makahiki a pau, mālama ‘ia kekahi pā‘ina he‘enalu no nā keiki kāne. Pā‘ina he‘enalu, no laila, kēlā ‘ano pā‘ina no ka ‘ohana a pau loa. Lūlū kālā, ua kū‘ai ‘ia ka mea ‘ai, hele mai ka po‘e a pau loa a ‘ai i ka pā‘ina. Ma hope, hele lākou i ka he‘enalu, ... ‘o nā kāne wale nō ka mea e hele i ka he‘enalu, ‘a‘ole nā wāhine hele i ka he‘enalu. Hapa nui o nā wāhine, ‘a‘ole lākou hele nui i kahakai, no laila, ‘a‘ole paha hiki ke ‘au‘au kai. ... ‘O ka lawai‘a, ‘a‘ole nā wāhine hele i ka lawai‘a. ‘O nā kāne wale nō.”

(The pastimes I have told you so far such as the *kinikini* game or walking on

malina stilts are for both girls and boys. The only difference (between boys and girls) is surfing. Only men do. That is why, not every year, but a surfing party is held for boys. The surfing party, so, that kind of party is for the entire family. Donating money, people purchase food for the party. Then, later, they go surfing. It is only men who surf. Women do not go surf. Most of the women, they seldom go to the beach. So probably they cannot swim. ... As for fishing, women do not fish. Only men do.)

It is not true as Bryan claims that “Swimming was considered a necessary art among the Hawaiians, and in Hawaii everybody was able to swim” (1950,123). When Culin interviewed his informants in the 1890s, swimming in the ocean was an almost exclusively male sport. As one of the common and popular pastimes for males, *Heihei ‘au* (Swimming race) is described as: “Men and boys play, either in fun or for a prize of food or money” (Culin 1899, 207).

‘Au‘au kai (Swimming)

When Aunty Ruth entered high school (in 1934), however, swimming had begun to be a popular sport for both boys and girls. According to Aunty, she started going to the natatorium in Waikīkī, and belonged to the club “*Forty and Eight*,” and later to “*Hui Makani*.” “It was the cheapest sport. We bought only one swimming suit, that’s it,” she said. She then showed me an old but very precious photo, in which she was beautifully flying in the sky. It was at the exact moment of her diving into the water that the shot was taken. Sensing Aunty’s energy, beauty, and youth, I felt as if Aunty had been leaping towards a freedom that only youth could reach. Aunty was eighteen then. Another black and white photo of Aunty’s that surprised me was the one in which all the club members got together. Among more than thirty boys, only three tiny girls’ faces, including Aunty’s, could be seen. The ratio of boy to girl members in the club was obviously 10 to 1. As for

race, most of the boys were Hawaiians or “mixed-kind” of Hawaiians, Aunty said. The photo clearly shows that, too. In any case, it seems to me that swimming itself (whether in the ocean or natatorium) was not yet that common for girls in those days.

Some other ancient sports linked to swimming in the sea are as follows:

**Kaupua* – Swimming and diving for half-submerged objects, formerly for green gourds, and later for “*noni* or citric fruits or green coconuts or papayas” (Puku‘i 1957, 139).

Speaking of diving, one of the most famous water sports in Hawai‘i is *Lele kawa*. I had not known anything about it until my good Hawaiian friend, U‘ilani, told me about this sport. In her story, it was *Menehune* or dwarf people who were skilled in *lele kawa*. Though I forgot the story itself, I remembered the part about this aquatic sport. *Lele kawa* is diving feet first from cliffs into water without splashing. I initially understood it as a very common legendary sport in a ‘mythological’ world. But later, I saw the familiar words, *Menehune* and *Lele kawa* by chance while I was reading a *Kaua‘i* version of a *Menehune* story in Beckwith’s *Hawaiian Mythology*.

“...The sports in which they indulge are top spinning (olo-hu), quoits (maika), shooting arrows (ke‘a pua), hide-the-thimble (puhenehene), foot races, sled races, hand wrestling (uma or kulakulai), and diving off a cliff” (1976, 327).

It was not just a mere mythological sport then. It was enjoyed by actual people in old times. Here is an interesting article running in an old news paper, *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a* published in 26 *Nowemapa*, 1864:

“*Na paani kahiko o Hawaii nei, o ia hoi ka heenalu, lelekawa, heeholua, piliwaiwai a me ka mokomoko. He nui a lehulehu wale na hana o Hawaii nei, e*

pili ana i nei mea he lealea, a ua kapaia mai lakou, na paani kahiko o Hawaii nei...” (Helu 32).

Thus, with *heʻenalu* (surfing), *heʻehōlua* (hōlua sledding), *piliwaiwai* (gambling), and *mokomoko* (boxing), *lelekawa* is listed as one of the ancient pastimes. The writer continues:

“...O ka lelekawa, o ia kekahi paani o Hawaii nei, a penei hoi ka hana ana no ia hana: Ua imi e ia ke kawa, o ia hoi kahi e lele kawa ai, a loa ia, a laila, makemake kekahi poe e hele i ka lelekawa, o ka hele akula no ia a hiki ma ke kawa i hoomakaukau mua ia, a o ka lele ihola no ia o na kane a me na wahine; a o ka mea iamo hoi ma ka lele ana, o ia hoi ke mahalo nui ia, a makemake nui aku na mea a pau ia ia. Ina hoi e makemake ana kekahi poe kane i na wahine, a laila, penei hoi e hana ai, e lawe ae na kane i ka malo puakai, hume no hoi a ku ka puali; a o ua wahine no hoi, pau no hoi i ka pau-puakai a paa, a o ka lele akula no ia. A ma ia hana ana aku, o ka pili no ia i ka hana apiki, o ka moekolohe aku no ka hope.”

According to this article, the divers had to first find a cliff suitable for diving. Then, when ready, males and females leaped from the cliff into the ocean. The latter part tells us a very unique old-time episode regarding *lelekawa*. There was a sexual aspect to this cliff diving: A man would put on a red loincloth dyed with *noni* juice (*malo puakai*). The woman whom he desired also wore a red tapa skirt tightly. They dove into the water. Following their dive, they flirted and then made love. Despite the love making, the women who were involved with this sport had to be very brave.

Another diving game is *Lele pāhiʻa* or diving sideways into the water without splashing and rising from the dive feet first. In the *Mid-Pacific Magazine* of August, 1911, Bryan notes that Hawaiian boys enjoyed diving into the water “near the wharves at the arrival and departure of ocean steamers” (1911, 117). The boys dived for the nickels the

passengers tossed. He continues:

“They seldom fail to catch a piece of money before it sinks, though it is tossed in the water several feet away. ...We have seen boys with their mouths full of nickels and dimes caught while sinking. The native boys never fail to know when a shark is in the harbor and are not afraid. In fact there is no authentic case of a shark in Hawaiian waters, attacking a live human being” (1911, 117).

Is this something equivalent to what is called *Pākā* (or *Pākākā*) or *Pōhakukele*? *Pākā* or *Pākākā* is, according to Puku‘i and Mitchell, the game in which the players skim stones on the surface of the water. As for *Pōhakukele*, Mitchell understands it as an equivalent for *Pākā* while Puku‘i interprets it as “flat stones used for skipping” (1952, 335). Another Hawaiian water game is *Aholoa* or *Ahonui*, that is, long-breath or great-breath to stay under the water as long as possible.

He‘enalu (Surfing)

There is a favorite water sport in Hawai‘i. It is no exaggeration to say that it is a national sport of Hawai‘i. I am referring to *He‘e nalu* or Surf riding! In Ni‘ihau, according to Kumu Ipo and ‘Anakala Kāwika, it was not common to see females surfing in the ocean. However, in other islands of Hawai‘i, surfing seems to have been a quite common pastime for both sexes from ancient to modern times. Citing the former surfer Nakoina’s work, Bryan states:

“...many men and women and children often neglected the necessary daily duties of farming, fishing, mat and tapa making for the indulgence of this sport. ... Many women have become proficient surf-riders. Princess Kaiulani is mentioned as one who could compete successfully with men” (1911, 116).

As an old-time Hawaiian newspaper, *Ka Nūpepa Kū‘oko‘a* says, “*O ka heenalu, o*

ia kekahi paani nui loa o Hawaii nei, mai na alii a na makaainana”(Nowemapa 26, 1864).

This translates as: Surf riding is one of the most popular pastimes, from the chiefly to common classes. However, to my shock, this most delightful Hawaiian pastime almost disappeared in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Emory says: “The art nearly went out of existence between 1860 and 1900” (1930, 144). He goes on to cite a description in 1853:

“Lahaina is the only place where surf riding is maintained with any degree of enthusiasm and even there it is rapidly passing out of existence (Haole, 299)” (1930, 144).

According to Emory, *heʻenalu* was revitalized around 1910 “being introduced to other lands” and giving “rise to the world-wide sport of aquaplaning” (1930, 144). After the revitalization of surfing in the early 1900s, the long surf boards that only chiefs had been allowed to ride on were reexamined, and their designs were employed to produce a new long board that could approach “closely the ancient model” (1930, 145).

Speaking of *papa heʻenalu* (surf boards), there were two sorts, according to Emory: *Alaia*, the small and thin but heavier surfboards made out of *koa* or *ʻulu*, and *Olo*, the long boards made out of *wiliwili*. The latter one was only for *aliʻi*. The newspaper, *Ka Nūpepa Kūʻokoʻa* states:

“Penei nae hoi ka hana ana o keia hana: Ua hoomakaukau ia ka papa ma mua, o ia hoi ke koa, ke kukui, ke ohe, ka wiliwili, a me kekahi mau laau e ae no i kupono no ka hana i papa. I ka hana mua ana nae hoi, o ia no hoi ke kalai ana i ka wa hou o ka laau, a pau hoi ia, waiho hou aku a maloo, a laila, hana hou a kahi kupono; a hiki mai hoi ka wa e lealea ai i ka heenalu...”(1864).

Thus, besides *koa*, *ʻulu*, and *wiliwili*, *kukuʻi* and *ʻohe* were also used to carve surf boards.

After use, surfers took good care to keep their boards in good condition. Culin's informants spoke of how to care for the boards:

“After using, it is placed in the sun until perfectly dry, when it rubbed over with cocoanut oil, frequently wrapped in cloth, and suspended in some part of the dwelling” (1899, 212).

I knew that surfing was greatly connected with *ali'i*'s lives, and that especially Waialua, 'Ewa, and Waikīkī were important places for *ali'i*. Trask writes of Waikīkī as “home of *ali'i*” (1994, 60) in her poem entitled *Waikīkī*. The other places for them were 'Ewa and *Waialua*. I learned this from an article below by Kamakau:

“I ka noho mō'i 'ana o Mā'ilikūkahī, ua lawe koke 'ia 'o ia e nā ali'i (i) Waikīkī e noho ai, 'o ia paha ka maka mua o ka noho 'ana o nā ali'i ma Waikīkī, no ka mea, 'o Waialua ka 'āina i noho mua 'ia e nā ali'i: a 'o 'Ewa kekahi...” (Kamakau 2 Sepatemaba 1865).

What supports this is 'Ōlelo No'eau, *Kūpuna's* sayings. Focusing on only Waikīkī, here is an 'Ōlelo No'eau that shows the connections of *Waikīkī*, *ali'i*, and *he'e nalu*:

**Ka nalu ha'i o Kalehuawehe.*

(The rolling surf of Kalehuawehe.) (Puku'i 1957, 161).

Puku'i explains:

“Ka-lehua-wehe (Take-off-the-lehua) was Waikīkī's most famous surf. It was so named when a legendary hero took off his lei of *lehua* blossoms and gave it to the wife of the ruling chief, with whom he was surfing” (1957, 162).

Concerning *ali'i* surfers, here is an account that reminds me of *pā'ina he'enalua no nā keiki kāne*, the surfing party for boys in Ni'ihau that Kumu Ipo told me about:

“ ... Ina hoi no na alii ka nalu e hee ai, a laila, penei hoi e hana ai: hele no a hiki ma kapa kahakai, kalua ka ilio, au hoi na alii i ka heenalua, a pau hoi ka heenalua ana, hoi mai huai ka imu o ka ilio, a laila, paina na alii a pau, a laila, hele hou no i ka heenalua. ...Pela mau no e hee ai a pau ka makemake o na alii” (Nowemapa, 1864 – Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a).

The above-article tells of how the chiefs or *alii* spent their time at the beach. Just like the surf party for boys in Ni‘ihau, the chiefs in old times shared the great surf time together. After first surfing, they prepared the *imu*, baked the dog, and then returned to the ocean to surf again. Later, they came back to the shore, uncovered the *imu*, and shared the meals together. After they were full, they again went back to surfing. Perhaps, the more skilled *alii* surfers were, the more they were considered to be honorable chiefs: surf contests must have been ideal chances for *alii* to improve and show their skills.

When children grew up, there was another way to enjoy this water sport. Another account tells about a sexual aspect to surfing:

“A ina hoi he heenalua hooihai, penei hoi e hana ai, Hume mai na kane i ka malo puakai, hele wale hoi kela a ka ka puali, me he kanaka koa la no ia wa. O na wahine hoi, pau mai i ka pau puakai, a laila, hele huikau na kane me na wahine i ka heenalua; i ka hee ana, hee mai la ke kane a me ka wahine i ka nalu hookahi, o ia pae pu ana nae o ke kane me ka wahine i ka nalu hookahi, ua kapa ia mai he hooihai, a o ka hope o ia hana o ia no ka moekolohe. ...” (Nowemapa, 1864—Ka Nūpepa Kū’oko’a).

When breaking waves returned, men wore red loincloths tightly. Then, *malo*-clad warriors ran towards the ocean as if they were real soldiers. Women, wearing red tapa skirts, mingled with men on the surf. They rode the same surf. This was called *ho’oha’iha’i*. Later, these male and female surfers enjoyed each other sexually. This process is very similar to that of *lele kawa*. I like the expression, ‘*Moekolohe*’

(illegal/mischievous/naughty mating) rather than the English expression, ‘adultery’. Accompanied by *lele kawa*, *he‘enalu*, or any other activity maybe, it does not sound indecent or lecherous. As for waves, the small comber that was swelling up high and smooth without breaking all at once was called ‘*ōhū* or ‘*ōpu‘u* while the long comber that was breaking all at once was called *Kākala*. (Emory 1930)

Similar to surfing is *Heiheī nalu* or racing on the surf. It is said to have been a very popular pastime. “Two champions will swim out to sea on boards and the one first arriving on shore wins” (Culin 1899, 213). *Kaha nalu* is body surfing, “where waves were not suited to the surf board” (Mitchell 1952, 3). Before moving on to the next section, here is one of the chants that were sung to call the big wave “when it was low and small” (Emory 1930, 145). With this, I am going to close this section:

*“Kū mai! Kū mai! Ka nalu nui mai Kahiki!
‘Alo po‘i pū. Kū mai ka pōhuehue.
Hū. Kaiko‘oloa!”*

(Emory 1930, 145-146)

Chapter 4. *Kuiki o Nā Hali‘a Aloha* (Quilt of Memories): Contests of Strength and Endurance

Wrestling

All kinds of *sumō* or wrestling are very popular among boys in Japan from our grandparents' to our generation and younger¹⁴. There are *Udezumō* (Arm wrestling), *Yubizumō* (Finger-wrestling), *Ashizumō* (foot-wrestling), and just normal *sumō*. The last one is something that girls seldom played, though. I could not find anything equivalent to *sumō* wrestling from my Hawaiian informants. I assumed Aunty Ruth or her younger brother as a Japanese descent must have experienced this form of play. But, Aunty Ruth replied; "We didn't do that kind. Neither did my brother."

Giving up collecting *sumō* experiences and memories from my informants, I focused instead on historical and written memories of ancient wrestling in Hawai'i. They seem to have been professional sports for adults rather than for boys on special occasions such as the *Makahiki* season. "Most of these were tournament games played on a KAHUA or sports arena at the time of the Makahiki. They trained the men for war and provided amusement around the chief's household" (Mitchell 1952, 2). There was;

* *Hakōkō* – Wrestling, catch-as-catch-can style within a circle. (Mitchell 1952, Bryan 1936, Puku'i 1957)

* *Hakōkō-noho* – Wrestling and toppling over the opponent while seated. (Culin 1899, Puku'i 1957)

* *Uma* – Hand wrestling kneeling and forcing opponent's wrist to the mat. (Malo 1898, Bryan 1936, Mitchell 1952, Puku'i 1957)

¹⁴ In the *Edo* period (1604-1868), *Warabe-zumō* or the *sumō* tournament for children around ten was often held in *Edo* (Tokyo). The scenes of the tournament have been the common and popular subjects in literature and *Ukiyoe* paintings or woodblock prints produced in *Edo* period.

**Pāuma* – Standing wrist wrestling, facing each other, grasping the opponent’s right hand, and pushing the opponent’s hand to his chest. (Mitchelle 1952, Puku’i 1957)

**Honuhonu* – Sitting cross-legged with their knees touching and trying to unseat each other. (Malo 1898, Mitchelle 1952, Puku’i 1957)

**Loulou* – Hooking index fingers of right hands and pulling. (Malo 1898, Puku’i 1957)

**Kula’i wāwae* – Trying to unseat one another by foot-pushing. (Mitchelle 1952, Puku’i 1957)

**Lua* – Also called *Ku’ialua* (Malo 1898), dangerous hand wrestling including breaking bones (Puku’i 1957), “dislocated bones at the joints, and inflicted severe pain by pressing on nerve centers” (Malo 1898, 213).

According to Velasco, *uma* is very similar to Filipino hand wrestling or *Sang-gal*. As for *Loulou*, Bryan adds: It was “played by two men who sat facing each other with legs intertwined. Each attempted to tip the other over sidewise” (1936, 91). What scared me and got my skins stunned is the last one, *Lua*. From what background did the players of the game come? *Ali’i*, *maka’āinana*, or *kauā*? How did the fighters train for such a match?

There were also more casual forms of wrestling.

**Ulumi-i-loko-o-ke-kai* – Wrestling in the sea. “One man tries to “duck” another and reach shore before the ducked one can catch him. The winner receives the stake of roast pig, cocoanuts, or whatever it may be” (Culin 1899, 210).

**Hukihuki āi* – Neck pulling. “Each of two persons puts a loop around his neck and pulls, endeavoring to pull the other over. The contest is engaged in for small prizes. It is known in Japan by the name *kubi hiki*” (Culin 1899, 210).

**Hukihuki lima* – Finger pulling. “Two persons lock forefingers and each endeavors to pull the other’s finger straight out” (Culin 1899, 210).

Culin is right to equate *Hukihuki āī* with *Kubi-hiki*. We Japanese used to have that kind of wrestling in old times. Indeed, one of the *ukiyoe* (woodblock prints) by *Utamaro*, the very noted *ukiyoe* artist of the *Kansei* era (1789-1801), depicts the match between two girls¹⁵ of those days. The game had become forbidden as a dangerous sport in my childhood. It might be not as dangerous as the *Lua* game, though.

There were many other popular outdoor sports and games of strength and endurance held “at the end of a day of religious festivities connected with the God *Lono*” (Bryan, 1950, 88) in the *Makahiki* season. I list some of them below.

Boxing

**Mokomoko*—Dangerous hand-to-hand fighting of any kind, “whether boxing (*ku’i*) or free-for-all wrestling; prize fight (Puku’i 1957, 252). It seems to have been very brutal, and Malo says:

“The one who fell was often badly maimed, having an arm broken, an eye put out, or teeth knocked out. Great misery was caused by these boxing matches” (1898, 232).

What made the boxers so wounded was probably the boxing style. Emerson adds:

“The Hawaiians do not seem to have used the fore-arm, after the manner of modern practitioners of the “noble art.” Each boxer sought to receive his opponent’s blow with his own fist. This meeting of fist with fist was very likely the cause of the frequent broken arms” (1898, 232).

¹⁵ The two girls were *Okita* and *Ohisa*, who were said to be the most beautiful in Edo.

Thus, it seems to have been not so much a hand boxing match as a fist boxing match. In another boxing sport, *Pelepele*, hands were “wrapped only with *tapa*, tied at the wrist” (Culin 1899, 207). It is unclear if *tapa* was used to wrap hands in the *Mokomoko* game. Even if there were, the *tapa* was not strong enough to prevent the breaking of arms.

Cockfight

It was not only men but also roosters that put on a display of fighting. Called *Hākā moa*, or *Hakakā-a-moa*, in ancient times, cock-fighting was a very popular sport for *aliʻi* (Malo 1898). Betting was often involved, and it seems to have often driven people into a frenzy. Malo describes the excitement and frenzy of the people:

“When the betting was done, the president, or *luna hoʻomalū*, of the assembly stood forth and a rope was drawn around the cock pit to keep the people out. Any one who trespassed within this line was put to death” (1898, 230).

My old landlady had two beautiful and well-built roosters, but those two were stolen. The cage was broken, and obviously they were taken away by somebody. She was crying and crying saying, “It’s not the first time! My first rooster was taken by Filipino men. The second time, it was by Hawaiian men. They’re still crazy about cockfight! I know, this time, either of them did it!” Well, no body knows, but it seems true that cock-fighting is also popular among some Filipino people. Called “*Tadi*,” “this recreation is entirely a gambling game. It doesn’t benefit the people morally, mentally nor physically. It drives some people to poverty, causes hatred among the gamblers, and shouldn’t be encouraged. Even in Hawaii, the Filipinos indulge in this game” (Velasco 1936, 107). Because of the legal ban imposed during the Territorial Period, *tadi* or *hākā moa* went underground, and survives to the present day as one of the very common forms of gambling.

Bowling

*(*Ulu*)*Maika* – Rolling a disc for distance or accuracy. The (*ulu*)*maika* stone was made of a variety of stones: “sandstone, coral limestone, coarse-grained or smooth-grained basalt” (Bryan 1950, 89).

According to Bryan, “the sections of *ulu* (breadfruit) were formerly used” (1950, 90). That is how it got its name, *ulumaika*. Interestingly, Kenn says, “On Hawaii and Maui, the game was known as *ulu-maika*: On Oahu and Kauai, the people called it *Olohu*” (1936, 122). On the other hand, Culin writes “*Mai-ka*. Described by Brigham as a game played with the *u-lu* or *o-lo-hu*. The first name was current on Hawaii and Kauai, and the latter was known on Maui and Oahu” (1899, 237). Puku‘i just defines the word, *Olohū* as “same as *Ulu maika*.”

Maika is what I experienced with my friend at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. We played the two games exactly as described by Bryan: bowling for distance and for accuracy. We did not try the third one, that is, bowling to show the strength of the material out of which the stones had been made. We were not very good, but it was a lot of fun.

Lifting

Lifting is associated with a masculine image, and is seen as a symbol of strength, power, and endurance. The contest in which the players lifted heavy rocks is called *Pōhaku ikaika*. In *Mākoī kanaka*, on the other hand, a player lying prone on the ground lifted his opponent from the back and hoisted him to his feet (Mitchell 1952, Puku‘i 1957).

Chapter 5. *Nā Mea Hawai'i no Kēia Au* (Things Hawaiian in today's modern days)

Everybody is getting old day by day, which inevitably brings loss. My sweet little brother, grandparents, some uncles and aunties, and some childhood friends are not here anymore. I know 'loss' is never-ending, and I have to go through this kind of process again someday in the future. Of course, I myself have to go someday. I have sought to preserve my memories of their expressions, scents, voices, smiles, laughter, words, favorite songs, colors, and places; in short, anything connected to them. Looking back upon my childhood and re-discovering my little brother's presence in it, I have tried to return him to this life. I wanted to make sure that his fourteen years were restored to our own memories as well as our family history. That is what inspired me to start this project and preserve memories of some sweet people whom I met in Hawai'i. With different personal memories and family histories respectively, some *kūpuna's* or *mākuā's* lives and my own have intertwined in Hawai'i over the last two or three years. This is miraculous to me.

I have been weaving some spoken childhood experiences with some written ones, focusing on *pā'ani keiki ma Hawai'i nei* (pastimes here in Hawai'i). Some *kūpuna* and *mākuā* kindly allowed me to learn their stories and shared their own unique childhood memories with me. I recorded them not only for myself but also for younger generations. We played and reminisced together. Around string games, clapping games, guessing games, card games, and songs, we laughed. Our laughter brought back our memories one after another, and the more we showed our pastimes to each other, the more we came to understand each other. Difference in age, race, religion, place, or nationality mattered little. Through our memories of play, we learned that we are not so different. I am not arguing, however, that we are all the same or that history repeats itself. Through my

study of pastimes and play, I have discovered things that are distinctly Hawaiian and also a localism that includes the mixture of peoples, languages, cultures, and lifestyles.

Pā'ani repeats itself?

One summer, I was given a wonderful opportunity to work at St. Andrew's priory school in Honolulu. Teaching Japanese to 1st-10th grade students, I had a chance to learn how children of today amuse themselves during lunch-time breaks and after school. On the first day, looking around the playground, I saw little schoolchildren playing *pe'ep'e kua* (hide-and-peek) and *'io/pio* (tag), pastimes common to Hawai'i, Japan and many other areas of the world. In the kindergarten room next to the playground, several girls were engrossed in playing house. I thought how close all of our sensibilities, ideas, and interests were. I soon realized, however, that *pā'ani* then and now is not always the same.

Many more children were absorbed in playing with laptops, Game Boys and other computer games. Their laptops had card games or everything. No one was engaged in *hei* (string game) or *pepa pā'ani* (folding paper). Some enjoyed reading *Manga* (Japanese comics) and watching DVD on their laptops. Who cared, I asked myself, about the peas-porridge-hot or clapping games or guessing games? On the other hand, many little children stood in a long line to buy their favorite snacks such as push pops at the cafeteria. Nobody was picking guavas, mangos or mountain apples to stave off their hunger. There were slides, bars, balls tied to poles, and jungle gyms, around which children lined up for their turns, following the rule of "one person at a time." There was a bunch of *ti* leaves planted, but no *tī*-leaf sliding was seen, needless to say. Neither was *'ulumaika* though they had a huge *'ulu* tree bearing big fruits. When I asked some of my students, "What is your favorite Hawaiian game," they replied, "*Sensei*, we don't play Hawaiian kind. We love to play American games like Graveyard! Or musical chairs? You

got to learn American games if you live here.” Times have changed, and children’s interests have also shifted. It is the nature of times.

Ancient Hawaiian Pastimes on the decline

Looking back upon such ancient Hawaiian pastimes as *Mokomoko* (Boxing), *Hōlua* (Sleds), *Hākōkō* (Wrestling), and *Ō’ō’ihe* (Spear-throwing). I assumed that few *kūpuna* of the 20th century had experienced them even if they might have tried something similar. Remember that the 1778 British landfall brought a different sense of *pono* connected to a new *Akua* to the islands of Hawai‘i. What resulted was cultural replacement, decline, erasure, and a loss of original *pono* with its attendant values, beliefs, practices, customs, lifestyles, economics, and politics. Describing the original *pono* as *hewa* or sin, a few lines in an old newspaper, *LAMA HAWAII* published on February 21, 1834 shows that the new *pono* had already replaced the original *pono*:

“No ka pono kahiko a me ka pono hou. ... Eia na hewa o ka wa kahiko; O ka naaupo, aole ike i ka wahahee o ko lakou akua. He lehulehu ko kakou akua. He moe papalua i ka wahine i ke kane, papakolu, papaha, papalima. Pela no ke kane i ka wahine. O ka hula kekahi, o ka pili kekahi, o ka pa puhene, o ke kilu, o ka pahee a me na hana lealea e aku no he nui loa. O ka moe kolohe, o ia ka mea nui i pili i keia mau hana lealea a pau.”

Thus, among the pastimes that I have listed up in this thesis, *Hula*, *Pili* also known as *Ume* (A licentious game of forfeits), *Kilu* (Quoits; the winner claiming a kiss from his favorite), *Pāpuhene* or *Pūhene(hene)* (Guessing where stones are hidden), *Pahe’e* (spear-throwing), and other games linked to “*moe kolohe*” or adultery were regarded as *hewa o ka wā kahiko* (*hewa* in old times). Remember, *moe kolohe* also had some

connection to *Lele kawa* (leaping feet first from a cliff into water without splashing) and *Heʻenalu* (surfing). Called “*Naʻaupō* (ignorance, uncivilized...),” these pastimes had been discredited as “*hewa* (mistake, sin)” by the time this newspaper article was published. Directing his attention to this shift of *pono*, Bryan analyzes some main factors that led Hawaiian pastimes to decline:

“In spite of the fact that so many of the Hawaiian pastimes were in every way equal to those brought in by the European, and often better suited to the island environment and Hawaiian temperament, they have with the single exception of surf-riding been almost entirely replaced by their European equivalents or have been dropped. In the great shock to Hawaiian culture occasioned by the first contact with the Europeans, most of the Hawaiian athletic sports and games immediately went almost or completely out of existence. This was due to the two main factors. The first was the absorption of the Hawaiians in their adaptations to the new life. They were busy learning to read and write. They were earning money to buy clothes and other foreign articles and to pay the greatly increased taxes of the chiefs. The second was the fact that because their pastimes were bound up with their ancient mode of life, religious belief and practices, all these ancient pastimes were discouraged by the missionaries. A stigma or feeling of inferiority and disgrace was attached to everything connected with their former life” (1950, 142).

This “stigma” or “feeling of inferiority” toward their ancestral life resulted from the newly imposed idea of “*naʻaupō*.” Following Bryan and Emory, Mitchell also points out a tremendous impact that the missionaries had on Hawaiian pastimes:

“...The Hawaiian sports declined rapidly after the arrival of the missionaries who attempted to stamp out native customs in order to make way for the new religion. The betting that accompanied the old games met with intense disfavor of the missionaries and contributed to their disapproval of these pastimes” (1952, 2).

For many decades the first contact, not only Hawaiians but also other Pacific Islanders have been portrayed as a “simple people lacking in complexity, intellect, or ambition” (Hereniko 1999). Not only in missionary accounts but also anthropological writings, paperback novels, and documentaries, Pacific peoples have been given stereotypically fixed images such as lazy, primitive, uncivilized, savage, cannibalistic, and dangerous. Bolton’s description that “As all games were more or less associated with gambling, these simple-minded Kanakas would seem to have discovered independently thimble-rigging tricks of their civilized contemporaries” (1890, 22) is a case in point. By separating the Pacific from the West, belittling and simplifying the Pacific region and its peoples, and representing them with such stereotypes, Westerners have asserted their superiority and power over the Pacific “Other.” And this sense of superiority has been supported and reinforced by Western imperialism, capitalism, racism, militarism, and colonialism. Giving his careful consideration to such a distorted interaction between bitter Pacific pasts and the Euro-American practice of history over the Pacific, David Hanlon states:

“The histories that Europeans wrote about this region, then, would be largely about themselves, that is, from their own frames of reference and focusing on European personalities and activities. In their displacement or erasure of Oceanic histories, these written histories provided a discursive dimension to the colonizing process...”(2003, 21).

Disrespecting and often even dismissing Hawaiian ways of knowing, living, or being as *na’aupō*, new education systems and programs contributed to keeping Hawaiian people away from their own language, value systems, activities, and culture. Kumu Nākoa tells of her shocking experience at school around 1917 in her book *Lei momi o Ewa*.

At the age of six, she was sent to an English school by her grandmother, who told her to learn English and with the warning not to use Hawaiian. On the first day of the class, a teacher called students' names one by one, but her name was not on the list. *Keli'ilolena* – that is her name. Then, walking to her seat and standing before her, her teacher said, "Sarah Lum Chee. Is that your name? Answer me!" Immediately thereafter, the teacher slapped her on the cheek. "*He pū'iwa ho'i kau!*" – How astonished she was! It was the first time to hear her English name. Enjoying Hawaiian pastimes was out of the question. In any case, schools and other new educational institutions certainly accelerated the decline of Hawaiian recreations and activities for children.

Amelika (America) or Hawai'i?

At St. Andrew's Priory School, on July 4th, Independence Day, three of my first-grade students with paper crowns came to class. Making paper crowns with the same designs was their class activity on that day. Letting me wear each of them, they explained the designs drawn by colorful pens. "You know, this man is President. President Bush. Then, this is the American flag. ..." On their way back to their homeroom, waving their hands to me and skipping, they sang snatches of the famous song, "God bless America." A few moments later, one of them ran back to me. Stuffing a Push Pop candy in my skirt pocket, she said, "Happy Independence Day!" Then, she ran back to her friends. It struck me that Hawai'i is certainly a part of America now. What we were into in our childhoods seems outdated. Children today have much easier, cuter, more amazing, more exciting, more interesting, more convenient, more tasty, and more lovely things than older generations had. They have no reason to stick to ancient Hawaiian pastimes or those of their *kūpuna's* generations. They are 'modernized' and more Americanized

rather than 'Hawaiianized.'

What is something local or something distinctly Hawai'i then? Is it what most of my friends in Japan and on the mainland imagine? ... Hawai'i is a paradise where happy-go-lucky people with Aloha shirts live happy lives, say *aloha* under the palm trees, dance *hula*, play *'ukulele*, eat macadamia-nut chocolates, lie in Waikikī beach, and have lovely fun time at Ala Moana Shopping Center? They do not even know that there is a Hawaiian language, and that their favorite word, *aloha*, is Hawaiian. Is this all there is to Hawai'i's localism today? I think not.

A journey to find something distinctly Hawaiian

On the last day of the class at St. Andrew's Priory School, my students in both the morning and afternoon classes had a surprise *Lū'au* (Hawaiian feast) for me. But there were no *pua'a kālua*, *moa laiki loloa*, *kalo*, *haupia*, *kūlolo*, *poi*, *poke*, and so on. Instead, brownies, croquettes, macaroni-salad, *mochiko*-chicken, chili beans, cookies, potato chips, soda, and sandwiches were arranged on the table. In addition, almost all the students prepared sweet gifts for me, which touched me greatly. There were hand-made key rings, pictures, chocolates, a stuffed toy dog, pens, and *lei, lei, lei...*

Thirty minutes before the class for grades one through three was over, I asked everyone if they could tell me about Hawai'i. "*What do you want to know?*" "*Oh, anything,*" I said. Raising their voices and hands, they competed with one another in trying to speak first. The first girl asked me where I live. Upon hearing that I lived in Mānoa, she began to retell a story of *Tuahine* that she had learned from her *tūtū*. The next girl showed us a series of *hula* movements explaining that they symbolized *makani* (wind) and *ua* (rain). One girl displayed a picture of a Portuguese-man-of-war that stung

her foot when she went camping, which made everyone laugh a lot. When she said it was a native fish, some agreed while some objected. Another student talked about her kite-flying experiences though the rest of the class said flying-kite is a Japanese recreation. Different students talked about *Lū'au*, *Lei*, *Haupia*, a famous song titled *Aloha 'Oe*, *Ipu* (the *hula* drum), King *Kalākaua*, War God named *Kū*, Queen *Emma*, and *Mu'umu'u*... According to them, they inherited such knowledge from their *tūtū* or *kumu hula*. In other words, a home-level or community-level history-telling or knowledge-telling about Hawai'i is still practiced individually. I realized then that their language remained something uniquely Hawai'i.

Another day, during class, one girl cried out: "Eh, my bag got *Puka!*" All but two children gathered around her bag and laughed looking at a big hole on it. The two students who were from the mainland did not understand what she meant. At first, I did not notice that these two mainland students were often confused by such phrases as "Not *pau*," "Poor ting den," "Eh, you so *kolohe!* Don eat my Spam-*musubi!*" "Hū da '*Ono!*" "Ho, dat's da kine," "Oh Choke!" "Eh, you are *māhū!*" One day after school, the two visited my classroom and confessed that they were having a hard time catching up with their classmates. "Sometimes they even use a different language! What's 'do to'? Did she mean 'due to'? And then, she asked me if we were 'happa haoli'¹⁶ or something. What's that? They have such a funny accent. So confusing," they said. Listening to their words, I remembered my first day at UH. Like my two students, I missed much of what my Hawaiian teacher and friends said; it took me a long time to get used to their English. Pidgin English – This is absolutely something Hawaiian. Then, I realized that, in today's world, there are two types of localism here in Hawai'i; something ancestrally Hawaiian

¹⁶ *Hapa haole* – Part-white person

and something cross-culturally local.

Nā Mea Kūpuna (Things *Kūpuna* / Things ancestrally Hawaiian)

Lū'au, nā mea 'ai Hawai'i (Hawaiian food), *Lei, Hula, Mele, Oli, Mo'olelo, Ka'ao, He'enalu, nā i'a Hawai'i* (Hawaiian fish), *nā mea kanu Hawai'i* (Hawaiian plants), *Lo'i* (taro patches). These things remain as does the language that describes them. The revitalization of *'Ōlelo Hawai'i* (the Hawaiian language) is very important for the preservation of Hawaiian *kūpuna's* knowledge. At the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, just like Kumu Ipo, 'Anakala Kāwika, and Kumu Kalei, there are *mānaleo* (native speakers) whose first language is Hawaiian. This language provides us access to knowledge including knowledge about play and pastime as well as other cultural practices.

Nowadays, there are many *pūnanaleo* schools where Hawaiian *kūpuna's* language as well as their ways of knowing, living, and being are cherished, learned, practiced, and experienced in everyday life. Of course, *kūpuna's* favorite pastimes can be also practiced there. I was amazed and impressed to find a bunch of *'Ōlelo Nane* (riddles) that first-grade children composed by themselves. I found these in Hawaiian in the newspaper, *Nā Maka O Kana* published by University of Hawai'i at Hilo. Here is an example riddled by a schoolchild named Kaila Boisey:

Q: *Loa'a 'ehā wāwae. 'Ai wau i ka mau'u. Kau nā kānaka ma luna o'u. He aha au?* (—Na Kaila Boisey)

(I have four feet. I eat grass. People ride on me. What am I?)

A: *He lio* (horse)

Institutions such as the *Pūnanaleo* schools will grow in number; this will

eventually increase the number of *mānaleo* or Hawaiian speakers much more. This, in turn, will contribute to the revitalization of Hawaiian activities, pastimes, and recreations for children. It will be as Emory once described it; “Each year the Kamehameha Schools hold a field day of Hawaiian sports, with spear throwing, *ulumaika* bowling, and the like” (1930,92).

From the beginning, respecting *kūpuna* and cherishing their ways seem to be the central value here over time. This is something ancestrally Hawaiian that has been carried over to today’s people of Hawai’i as something that represents their ancestral value systems. This sort of island-oriented value can be seen, heard, felt, or experienced at a community level on a daily basis. “I like this culture. People here do respect old people. No matter how slow we are on the bus, they neither push us nor yell at us. I appreciate it,” --- Aunty Sally Roggia from Los Angeles, California, says so. I think many people share this sort of feeling in everyday life.

Things Cross-culturally Local

While hoping for revitalizations of things *kūpuna* or things ancestrally Hawaiian, I am aware of ‘another Hawai’i’ that is results from a blending with other peoples and their cultural practices. I have in mind as Kent calls “a coalition” or “a joint project by native Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians in the name of creating a different Hawaii nei (1993, 200),” a cross-cultural co-existence and interaction of local people with different backgrounds.

Pidgin English

“Eh, don do it bumbye you get *Bachi!*” This is a very familiar phrase to me now. I

still remember it was my first year at UH that I asked my friend in our Hawaiian class, “How do you spell ‘bumbye?’” “B-o-m-b-a-i”, “Wait, was it?”, “Don’t ask me!” After passing my question around, one of them said, “Eh, you know, we’re oral people. Spelling? Who cares! Forget about it.” Then, we laughed and laughed, which is one of my most unforgettable memories here. The place where I learned to speak English for the first time was *Bombai (Mumbai)* in India, and I feel an inexpressibly strong attachment to so-called broken English with a strong accent. Thus, I do not have any sense of incongruity or denial towards Pidgin English or any kind of ‘broken English’. Once, I was discussing a matter with a professor. During the course of our conversation, that professor said, “I know you hang out with Hawaiian friends or such kind of people. And you’re taking Hawaiian courses, right? But, don’t get used to their language. Okay, look at the world. The English language that we Caucasians speak is the most powerful language. Unfortunately not Hawaiian, not Japanese, not your friends’ broken English.” When I said that I was very offended by such inappropriate remarks, that person sniffed at me saying, “I’m just telling you the truth. Okay, think about this. In reality, how many people in the world could understand Hawaiian or your friends’ language or whatever? Who understands such minor languages?”

The truth is that that professor does not understand Hawaiian and Pidgin English. That person does not intend to try to get closer to people here and learn from them. If that person feels that is okay, that is fine. But, thinking of that experience, I believe that Pidgin English can be used in two ways: as an access to learn from local people and as a political tool to keep local people and non-local people distinct. To borrow Kent’s words, it also could be a possible slogan to challenge the assimilation to metropolitan countries and “stand in opposition to the agendas and projects of overseas

corporations and their collaborations in the Hawaii establishment” (1993, 198). Trask points out:

“The use of pidgin by locals is often a political statement, especially in the presence of haole. Like Black English, pidgin has also come under attack as a substandard language that must be eradicated from everyday speech. Given the resistance of local people, however, pidgin is likely to remain the basic medium of local speech” (1994, 22).

This sort of a local mixture of Hawaiian and something else can also be seen in the *Lū‘au*, the Hawaiian feast or in today’s Hawai‘i’s food culture.

Hawaiian food ?

*I ola nō ke kino, i ka mā‘ona o ka ‘ōpū.
I mā‘ono nō ka ‘ōpū, i ke aloha o ka makua.
E pūpa‘akai kākou, me ka mahalo.
Ua loa‘a ho‘i iā kākou ka ‘ai a me ke aloha.
‘Āmene.*

Above is the first Hawaiian grace that I learned in Kumu Kāhealani’s Hawaiian class. Of particular note is the third phrase.

“E pūpa‘akai kākou, me ka mahalo.”
(Let’s sit around salt, with gratitude.)

As the phrase suggests, “*pa‘akai* (salt)” has been essential to the eating habits of Hawaiians since ancient times. One day, when I went to help some *kūpuna* prepare *imu* (underground oven) and bake pigs (real pigs!) for an upcoming *Lū‘au*, a certain *kupuna* in his seventies said, “Eh, girl, I tell you something. In my culture, salt is important. When I was *keiki*, everything was seasoned and preserved with salt. No ice box before. No soy

sauce, no oyster sauce, no vinegar. Only *pa'akai* (salt)¹⁷. That was my culture before.” The well-known phrase, “*E pūpa'akai kākou* (Let's sit around salt)!” supports his memories. For the so-called ‘common Hawaiian food’ such as *Poke*, *Kālua* pig, *Lomi(lomi)* salmon, and *Laulau*, the main seasoning was always salt, he added. I then asked myself how many times I had tried salted *Poke* with no oil, sesame, *wasabi*, soy sauce, or onion. My friend's *Kālua* pig was seasoned with soy sauce. How about *Lomi* salmon? Salmon was brought to Hawai'i from Alaska (Uncle Ivan) or Oregon (Puku'i 1957). Neither salmon nor tomato is indigenous to Hawai'i. Even such a common item for *Lū'au* as *Laiki* (rice) or *Laiki loloa* (long rice) is of Asian ancestry. Once I started to think about which foods are indigenous to Hawai'i, I came to realize how mixed and mingled the Hawaiian diet has become.

Laiki (rice), *Laiki loloa* (long rice), *Koiū* (Shōyu), *Ōhi'a (haole/lomi)* (tomato), *Kāmano* (salmon), and *Pia kūlina* (cornstarch) in *haupia*; these and many other foreign foods are incorporated into the ancestral Hawaiian food. While the ingredients may be foreign, the preparation process and its associated meanings are ancestrally Hawaiian. There are ‘Hawaiian’ tastes and flavors that remain after the blending. For *Lū'au*¹⁸, many local people still prepare *imu*. Under the direction of *kūpuna* and *mākuā*, many young people like my friends are involved with the ancestral processes of preparing at a community level. Even though nowadays a steamer is used more often instead of *imu* at home, taro and *tī*-leaves are still indispensable to wrap up the contents of *Laulau*. Though Salmon is preferred or more often used than native fish, the process of mashing

¹⁷ Later, another *kupuna* told me that one more important seasoning for Hawaiians when he was little was *kōpa'a* (sugar).

¹⁸ *Lū'au* – “Hawaiian feast, named for the taro tops always served at one; this is not an ancient name, but goes back at least to 1856, when so used by the Pacific Commercial Advertiser; formerly a feast was *pā'ani* or *'aha'aina*” (Puku'i 1957, 214).

raw fish (*lomi*) with salt is still ancestrally Hawaiian. *Poke* still keeps its traditional style; cutting fish crosswise into pieces with *Limu* (seaweed). No matter what foreign elements are used in the recipe, a variety of *kūpuna*'s ways of cutting, mashing, seasoning, preparing, cooking, and broiling are still maintained. Thus, *Poke* is still *Poke*; *Lomi* salmon is still *Lomi* salmon. The coconut pudding *Haupia* is still *Haupia* even though *pia* (arrowroot) has been replaced by cornstarch (Puku'i 1957). In adopting, incorporating, mixing, and combining foreign ingredients with their *kūpuna*'s ways, the people of Hawai'i have still produced their own food. The ingredients may change, but the form remains the same.

“History, it seems to me, can be sung, danced, chanted, spoken, carved, woven, painted, sculpted, and rapped as well as written” (Hanlon 2003, 30).

Yes, today's Hawai'i's local food history is baked in the *imu*, mashed with salt, mixed with tomatoes, seasoned with onions, sprinkled with a little water, and spoken in Pidgin English.

Ka Lei Ha'aheo o Hawai'i (The cherished *lei* of Hawai'i)

On the last day at Priory, four little girls presented me with *leis* that they wreathed with their mothers. “*Sensei*, this is Hawaiian culture to show my *aloha* to someone special”; all four said exactly the same thing. I hung them on my chair, and I chuckled to myself as I stared at each. ‘Hawaiian culture’ --- One *Lei* is knitted out of wool. Another is made out of a strip of transparent plastic bag in which a bunch of snacks such as Japanese cubic rice crackers, American candies, and Korean seaweeds are stuffed. Another one is a paper *Lei* with paper flowers of various colors. And the fourth one is a

pink-yellow rosette *Lei*. Though they are not made out of Hawaiian flowers, fruits, or greens, they are still *Lei* arranged in patterns, bound, and twined with caring hearts! Uniquely blended, mixed, intertwined, cross-national, and cross-cultural but still overall Hawaiian. This mixing of styles represents today's Hawaiian localism as well as its local history.

*"I'll make a lei for the first of May,
pretty colored flower leis worn in Hawai'i nei."*

Singing so with friends at a kindergarten, Aunty Ruth Shizu Brighter was making a paper-chain *lei* on May 1st, perhaps around 1925. At a nursing school in Japan around 1983, I made a 'paper chain' with friends. We cut the paper in strips, pasted each end together, and made a circle. We repeated this monotonous process until the links got long enough to be a chain. Later, to welcome Santa Claus or celebrate some friend's birthday, we would often hang it from the ceiling or on the wall as decorations or as *noren*, a Japanese type of split curtains. Aunty Ruth's folks, however, had done what we never did; they pasted the ends of the long paper chain, thus making a *Lei*. On the first day of May observed as *Lei* Day in *Hawai'i nei*, a girl of Japanese ancestry made a paper-chain *Lei*, with care, singing an English song with friends of mixed ancestry. There was something distinctly Hawaiian in this mingling of styles. Its overall form is still greatly linked to Hawaiian *kūpuna's* ways. This is something that expresses Hawai'i and its uniquely blended history.

Here are the words of Kumu Pualani Hopkins, who always gave me warm hugs and kisses, encouraged me, made me laugh, and welcomed me with 'Hawaiian hospitality' and 'generosity':

E lei i ka lei ha'aheo o Hawai'i.

Wear the cherished lei of Hawai'i.

I am a Japanese with no Hawaiian ancestry or background. This made me feel small before. However, now I wear my own *lei ha'aheo* of connections and memories with many *kūpuna*, *mākua*, *kumu*, *hoa aloha*, and *'ohana* in *Hawai'i nei*. Perhaps, this is my own way of feeling, knowing, experiencing, and learning *Hawai'i nei*.

Glossary

Hawaiian·English

‘āina – land

akua – god

ali‘i – chief

hali‘a aloha – memory

hana – work, to work

haupia – coconut pudding

imu – underground oven

kaikamahine, kaikamāhine (pl.) – girl, daughter

kahuna, kāhuna (pl.) – priest, minister

kalo – taro

kāmano – salmon

keiki – child

keiki kāne – boy, son

koiū – *shōyu* or soy sauce

kōpa‘a – sugar

kupuna, kūpuna (pl.) – grandparent, ancestor, elderly people

laiki – rice

laiki loloa – long rice

limu – seaweed

lo‘i – taro patches

makua, mākua (pl.) – parent, adult

mea ‘ai – food

mele – song

mō‘ī – king

‘ōhi‘a – tomato

‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i – Hawaiian language; to speak Hawaiian

‘Ōlelo Nane – riddles

‘Ōlelo No‘eau – proverb, saying

oli – chant

pa‘akai – salt

pā‘ani – pastime, to play

pā‘ani hei – string figure

pā‘ani heihei – race

pā'ani kinipōpō – ball game
pā'ani lima – hand game
pā'ani māpala – marble game
pā'ani me ka 'ili'ili – pastime with pebbles
pā'ani pepa – card game
pua'a kālua – baked pork
tūtū – grandparent
tūtū mā, tūtū wahine -- grandmother
tūtū pā, tūtū kāne – grandfather
wai – water

(Andrews 1865, Puku'i 1957, Hopkins 1992)

Japanese-English

asobi – pastime, recreation
ayatori – string figure
donguri-hiroi – picking up acorns
honyomi or *dokusho* – reading books
kamakura – (building) a snow-house
kamihikouki – making and throwing paper planes
kankeri – kicking-a-can game
kanpokkuri – walking on cans with long string grips
kendama – cup and ball
kenkenpa – hopping on the circles drawn on the street with pieces of chalk
koma – top
mari-tsuki – ball game
nawatobi – skipping rope
nurie – coloring
obaa-chan -- grandma
oekaki – drawing
ojii-chan – grandpa
ohajiki – lining up small discs of glass
(o)mamagoto – playing house
origami – folding paper
otedama – playing beanbags
sori-suberi – riding on a sled
yuki-daruma – (building) a snowman
yukigassen – snowball fight

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