

**“TŪTŪ’S HAWAIIAN AND
THE EMERGENCE OF A NEO-HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE”**

by

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A Plan B Thesis

Submitted to the faculty of
the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa
in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in Pacific Islands Studies

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December 2002

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the Emergence of a Neo-Hawaiian Language**

by Keao NeSmith

He Mo'olelo (A Story)

The year is 1996. I am attending a two day training conference for Hawaiian immersion teachers of various grade levels from among the various immersion primary and secondary schools in Hawai'i. The meeting is being held at Tokai University in Honolulu, a single ten-story hotel-like structure near Waikīkī. Inside, the building looks more like an expensive hotel than a university. The lobby on the bottom floor is plush with carpeting and pastel paneling. On the floors above, there are rooms where our conference attendees will stay the night and conference rooms for our meetings. These are very nice accommodations.

Many immersion school teachers from the different islands fly over for the occasion. Also in attendance are a number of the board members and staff of 'Aha Pūnana Leo, an agency which supports Hawaiian immersion schools.

The energy among those attending the conference is very upbeat. Many of us have come to know each other through our association in the Hawaiian immersion system. It is very good to see my colleagues, many of whom I have not seen in a while, and to renew friendships. We have become friends over time working together for the past several years to develop this new form of educational system known as Hawaiian immersion. We believe that what we are doing is for a great and noble cause and feel a sense of kinship with our ancestors because while we are learning to speak Hawaiian, we are working to pass on the language to a new generation.

My purpose for being here is not as a teacher, but as a curriculum developer for the immersion school system. In this capacity, I produce learning materials including books and other

media. I am also here to collaborate with some of the teachers regarding curricula that have been and will be produced by the office for which I work, Hale Kuamo‘o, the office of Hawaiian Immersion Curriculum Development at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo.

In all, there are more than forty people in attendance. All are speakers of Hawaiian to some level of proficiency or another. Five are native speakers from among the Ni‘ihau community¹ who also are teachers either at the school for Ni‘ihau children on Kaua‘i or the school on Ni‘ihau. The remainder of those in attendance are second-language speakers who learned Hawaiian later in life. Most have learned by taking courses in Hawaiian at tertiary schools (community colleges or universities). The meeting is conducted in Hawaiian.

At this meeting, I notice that of the keynote speakers, none are any of the five native speakers. Our native-speaking colleagues sit calmly toward the back of the room, seemingly enjoying the presentation of speakers and the topics discussed.

In the course of the meeting, time is devoted for small group discussions on various topics. In my particular group, our topic for discussion is the concept of art and how we understand it in terms of a Hawaiian perception. It is not an easy topic for our group to discuss because each of us is trying to answer the question, “How does a native Hawaiian view the concept of art?” as best as we can. This is a daunting task for someone like myself who was not raised in the traditional way. Some in the group offer that the common understanding of art is a logical point from which we can begin the discussion.

One of the native speakers is in our group; a Ni‘ihau woman who is a teacher at the school

¹The Ni‘ihau community consists of people who are native speakers of the Ni‘ihau dialect of Hawaiian and live on Ni‘ihau, Kaua‘i and beyond.

for Ni‘ihau children on Kaua‘i. This is a woman whose proficiency in Hawaiian is strong while her proficiency in English very limited. After sitting quietly for a long time allowing others to present their ideas, she offers a different view on art. She talks in terms of art as an expression of skill and deftness of action and thought that ranges from the most pedestrian act to more grandiose acts. She talks about art as an aspect of the person rather than the product.

As soon as she finishes, however, one of the second-language speakers puts forth an unrelated idea about some of the more common aspects of art as is known in today’s society. The discussion pursues that line of thought without exploring the view of our native speaking group member.

The meeting ends the next day with a generally positive and upbeat feeling and a general sense of purpose and accomplishment among the attenders as we exchange parting thoughts. I too feel somewhat energized and upbeat as a result of the meeting. Many clever ideas were presented and many important points were discussed to help our teachers do their jobs more effectively. As I leave the meeting, I have a feeling that I belong to a movement that is positive, historic and necessary for Hawaiians. In the meeting, we discussed ways in which the Hawaiian language can and should be used as the medium for conveying Hawaiian epistemology.

Ko‘u Ēwe (My Family Heritage)

I was born in Waimea, Kaua‘i and raised on Hawaiian Homestead Land in Kekaha just four miles away. My mother is Hawaiian, born in Keaukaha, Hawai‘i and raised for a time in Keaukaha and then in Kāne‘ohe, O‘ahu. My father and his family are Americans of Scottish and Welsh descent. He and his family migrated to Hawai‘i from the United States when he was

fourteen years old.

My maternal grandmother, Annie Kealoha Kaaialii Kauhane, was born in Honu‘apo, Hawai‘i in 1912 and raised for some years in a *pili* grass house in Puna, Hawai‘i. Her family’s roots are in Ka‘ū, Hawai‘i. My maternal grandfather, Samuel Kekuawela Kalola Kauhane, was born in Honolulu in 1909 and raised there. His family’s roots, however, stretch to Kaua‘i and the Hanalei area.

My maternal grandparents were native speakers of Hawaiian. My mother and her ten siblings, however, do not speak our native tongue. My grandparents did not raise them speaking the language. From the time the eldest of my mother’s siblings was born, Hawaiian was the secret language spoken among the parents’ and grandparents’ generations and was not spoken to the children. Although they have a knowledge of many Hawaiian words which were used in their household throughout their growing up years, my mother and her siblings speak predominantly English and Pidgin (a.k.a Hawai‘i Creole English, or HCE). My mother and her siblings are no different than virtually every other Hawaiian of the same generation who is not from Ni‘ihau².

Our story is similar to many other Hawaiian families. In fact, for some families, the shift from Hawaiian to English occurred one or two generations earlier than in my family. As Silva (1999) discusses, the Hawaiian language was already in decline by 1896. Therefore, virtually no Hawaiians of my mother’s generation are able to speak or comprehend Hawaiian unless they are from Ni‘ihau. Over the past twenty plus years, those of my grandparents’ generation have been growing old and are passing on with increasing frequency. Although my grandfather passed away at the relatively young age of 63, my grandmother passed away at the age of 87. I was with her

² For a similar discussion on language loss and preservation, see Ladefoged, 1992.

long enough for her to leave a profound and lasting impression on me.

Since the time of the illegal overthrow of the legitimate government of the Hawaiian Kingdom in 1893 by American businessmen, the political environment in Hawai'i has been hostile towards Hawaiians and their language (Kahumoku, 2000; Matsubara, 2000). The United States annexed Hawai'i in 1898 against the will of the citizens of the Kingdom (Silva, 1998), and declared Hawai'i a state of the United States of America in 1959 after a controversial referendum (Day, 1984). In 1896, the de facto government of Hawai'i, comprised of conspirators of the overthrow of 1893, enacted into law Act 57 which made English the "medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools" (Silva, 1999). The Act exacerbated the problem of the decline in Hawaiian language usage by making it impossible for Hawaiian language education to exist (ibid.). Although petitions were submitted after the passing of Act 57 by some schools to reinstitute Hawaiian medium education, they were summarily rejected (Kahumoku, 2000).

By 1940, Hawaiians amounted to only 15% of the total population of Hawai'i (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1998). My mother was born a few years prior to Japan's bombing of the American military installation at Pu'uoloa (commonly known as Pearl Harbor) in 1941. Hawaiians were a minority in their own homeland (Benham & Heck, 1994) while my mother and her generation went through grade school, and pressure and stigma from non-Hawaiians and the anti-Hawaiian environment of the public schools made it such that my mother and other Hawaiians of her generation often felt embarrassed to be known as Hawaiian. It was undesirable to be a speaker of Hawaiian or to live according to traditional cultural practices for fear of negative treatment by either teachers, public servants or non-Hawaiian peers (Matsubara, 2000). There are even reports of Hawaiian students being slapped and humiliated in front of peers by teachers for speaking

Hawaiian or for not speaking English. Sarah Keliilolena Nakoa, who was born in 1911, is one native speaker who published stories of her childhood years and her difficult experiences adjusting to the English instruction of grade school (Nakoa, 1993). Hawaiians of my mother's and grandmother's generations tell numerous stories of how they were made to feel embarrassed or hurt because of their linguistic and cultural background. My mother and Hawaiians of her generation did not think while going through school that they were being targeted for reprogramming and assimilation by the American system of education to think and act American, but this is what the American education system was designed to do (Kahumoku, 2000).

My grandmother reported that, as a little girl, her household consisted of her parents and sisters. They lived in Ka'ū, Hawai'i and the family only spoke Hawaiian. When she was about seven, her father contracted leprosy and was relocated to Kalaupapa, Moloka'i. Her mother went along to care for him and all the children were adopted by various families. My grandmother was adopted by a Hawaiian-Portuguese man, a single father who had four children of his own and whose Hawaiian mother lived with the family. My grandmother was the oldest of the children in that household. It was with this adopted family that my grandmother lived in a grass house in Puna, Hawai'i. Hawaiian was the only language spoken, and for a time, my grandmother was the only one in the family who was able to speak English because of her schooling. She would often interpret English into Hawaiian for her new family when having to go to the store or to do business in Hilo, the nearest town. She also reported that her adopted grandmother, whom she knew as "Tūtū Kalola," would tell her that English should be left to the *Haole* and Hawaiian to Hawaiians.

My grandmother stated further that her education consisted of learning how any language other than Standard American English was not allowed. Even though my grandmother and her

family were native speakers of Hawaiian and did not speak much English, they were taught in school that English helped to ensure their futures as successful individuals who were not “constrained” by a “backwards” language and lifestyle such as the Hawaiian. Accounts like these are common among Hawaiians of my grandmother’s generation (Kahumoku 2000).

When my grandmother started having children of her own, she, along with the rest of her generation, decided to put into practice what they had learned in school and from society of the time; and they chose not to speak Hawaiian to their children so as not to “hinder”—as they supposed—their progress in school and in life. My mother’s generation, for the most part, does not know the Hawaiian language, traditional cultural practices and lore. My mother reported that it was difficult for many Hawaiians of her generation to appreciate almost anything Hawaiian given the intense external pressure to assimilate into American culture.

When my mother’s generation started having children of their own, there was nothing but their English language background and their American culture—intermingled with tidbits of Hawaiian culture and a few Hawaiian terms still in use—with which they raised me and my generation. As Fishman (1966) stated, “. . . acceptance of American values results in the fragmentation of traditional ways” (395). My mother’s generation are now grandparents and great-grandparents.

Whereas many Hawaiians of my grandparents’ generation could speak of accounts of Hawaiian heroes, genealogies, chants and old songs and speak Hawaiian fluently, most of those of my mother’s generation do not know virtually any of these things. They could not pass them on to their children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren even if they wanted to because they do not know them.

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

Hawaiian belongs to a language and culture family generally known in linguistics as Eastern Polynesian. The family includes Mā’ohi (Tahitian), ‘Enana (Marquesan), Pa’umotu (of the Tuāmotu Islands), Mangareva (Gambier Islands), Tuha’a Pae (Austral Islands), Rarotongan Māori, Rapanui, and New Zealand Māori. These languages resemble each other in many ways. If one speaks any of these languages and learns any of the other of these languages, one learns quickly because there are many similarities in grammar, vocabulary and expressions.

These Polynesian peoples also share physical characteristics. We look like each other. The pure-blooded and mixed blooded people look alike. On flights from Honolulu to Pape’ete, Tahiti, for instance, it is often difficult to distinguish Hawaiian passengers from the Tahitian passengers until they speak. Tahitian passengers will speak in French or Tahitian, the common languages of Tahiti, and Hawaiian passengers will speak in English, the common language of Hawai’i.

In Kekaha, Kaua’i where I grew up, many of my neighbors are native speakers, originally from Ni’ihau, and speak the Ni’ihau dialect of Hawaiian. Other people of my town are native speakers of Hawaiian whose family roots are on Kaua’i and whose dialect is typical of Kaua’i speakers. Some of the differences between the two dialects include: Ni’ihau speakers use *k* and *t* sounds interchangeably whereas Kaua’i speakers use only *k*, and the Ni’ihau dialect uses the rolling *r* sound like in Tahitian or Māori and the *l* sound interchangeably, whereas the Kaua’i dialect uses only the *l* sound. Despite having native speakers as part of my environment growing up in Kekaha, my own family did not speak Hawaiian.

In my early years, my maternal grandmother lived in Hau’ula, O’ahu. Whenever I had a chance to visit with her, however, she always seemed to me to be of some other time and place

because her mannerisms differed from those of others I knew. She seemed so Hawaiian. I always felt that even when she spoke English, her nature made it seem as if she belonged to some time where everybody was a real Hawaiian who spoke the language and knew the traditions of their forefathers. Although I always knew I was Hawaiian, I did not necessarily feel this way about my own family nor myself. Whereas my grandmother's childhood period could be symbolized by the grass house in the *hala* groves of Puna, Hawai'i and a family of Hawaiian speakers, my childhood could be marked with the opening of the first McDonald's, Burger King and Taco Bell on Kaua'i and by a family of English-only speakers.

Since there were many people of Ni'ihau in Kekaha while I grew up, Hawaiian was heard often. Some of my childhood playmates were Ni'ihau boys and girls who did not speak English. I do not remember now how it was that we got along so well since we did not speak the same language. I suppose children overlook such barriers when it comes to play. I went through public elementary and intermediate school on Kaua'i in the 1970s, and attended Kamehameha School on O'ahu for secondary school in the 1980s. At Kamehameha, Hawaiian was offered as a course, but I was not interested in taking it; I did not think there was much benefit in learning it. In addition, when I was very young, I remember my grandmother talking about "university Hawaiian" as being different than the Hawaiian she was used to. I was leery of the Hawaiian that was taught at Kamehameha. Even though I was not sure, I felt the Hawaiian at school was not the same as what I was used to hearing on Kaua'i from my neighbors or from my grandmother. Instead, I chose to study Japanese because there were many job opportunities in the tourism industry for those who could speak English and Japanese.

After graduating from Kamehameha in 1984, I lived with my grandmother in Hau'ula. I

started attending Brigham Young University in Lā‘ie which was just one town away. At my grandmother’s home, I remembered how I had admired her so much while growing up and so I wanted to learn Hawaiian from her as well as what it was like to be a real Hawaiian, someone who spoke the language and knew the stories of our people. I constantly encouraged her to speak only in Hawaiian to me. By the end of that first year of living with my grandmother, I was able to speak exclusively in Hawaiian with her.

I came to know many of my grandmother’s friends, male and female, who also seemed to display that same Hawaiianness I observed in my grandmother. They also were native speakers. My grandmother would often spend hours on the phone talking in Hawaiian with her sisters or other relatives or friends. I loved to hear it. It was an aspect of my family that I was only beginning to learn.

One time my grandmother took me with her to Hawai‘i to meet some of our relatives of her generation. The ability to understand and speak in Hawaiian came in handy then because it was the language of choice among my grandmother and kin on Hawai‘i.

Then, there were occasions when I travelled home to Kaua‘i and reconnected with my childhood Ni‘ihau friends. They were amazed that I was now able to speak Hawaiian and they started teaching me to talk in the Ni‘ihau dialect. I began to feel more Hawaiian because of my ability to interact with native speakers.

Today, however, despite being able to speak Hawaiian, whenever I interact with native speakers, I am often reminded of my limited knowledge of the language because I do not speak exactly like native speakers. I know only a fraction of what my grandmother knew in terms of the language. I am not a native speaker. I am a second-language speaker who was fortunate enough to

acquire my basic language skills and knowledge from native speakers.

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

I never considered studying Hawaiian in school. The language was not offered at Brigham Young University when I attended there. But even if it had been, I do not think I would have been interested in taking it. I spent the first two years of college studying Japanese, intending to make use of it in some future career. It wasn't until after I took a few years off from school that I started to wonder what it was like to study Hawaiian in school compared to learning it from my grandmother.

I lived and worked in Utah from 1990 to 1992. I met many Hawaiian families who were living there and many asked me to teach a course in the language. I had never taught it before; but I started teaching a language course for the community. I contacted a professor of Hawaiian, Dr. William H. Wilson, at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo to inquire about teaching materials and to ask about teaching techniques. After a few conversations with Dr. Wilson in 1992, he proposed that I return to Hawai'i and work with him and others who were involved in curriculum development for the Hawaiian immersion schools. After considering Dr. Wilson's proposal over a period of a few months, I decided to accept. I relocated to Hilo, Hawai'i in 1992, where I began working for 'Aha Pūnana Leo translating story books from English to Hawaiian for the elementary level immersion schools. A year later I transferred to and started working for Hale Kuamo'o at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, another center for curriculum development. At Hale Kuamo'o, I developed curriculum for the intermediate and secondary school levels of the Hawaiian immersion system.

I returned to school in 1994, this time at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo, and pursued a degree in Hawaiian Studies with an emphasis in language. I received my Bachelor of Arts degree with honors in December 1995 at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo. I continued working at Hale Kuamo'o until January 1997 when I moved to Honolulu to teach Hawaiian as a lecturer at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

It was at the University in Hilo where I had my first experience in taking courses in Hawaiian. I already spoke the language, so I thought the courses would be easy. I never examined Hawaiian syntax and grammar before, but I studied these things in detail. Studying it was strange for me at first and it was not as easy as I thought it would be. At times, I disagreed with some things that were taught; at times, the grammar and terminologies taught conflicted with my experience with native speakers. I accepted what was being taught in some instances and in others, I rejected it. I felt, however, that the experience was worthwhile and that I was adding to my knowledge of Hawaiian. I was and continue to be grateful for that experience.

It was at the University in Hilo where I delved into Hawaiian literature, history and lore, and to study many of the old chants and lyrics of songs of some of the finest Hawaiian lyricsists, such as Alice Namakelua, a relative of my family, Liliuokalani, and Piilani, wife of Kaluaikoolau. At the library on campus, I had access to huge volumes of material printed in Hawaiian and written in the nineteenth-century. I was beginning to see and appreciate even more the richness of the language and culture, and how so many aspects of these were inexplicable in English terms. While living with my grandmother, Hawaiian was our own secret language. At the University in Hilo, I was exposing myself to a larger population of people who were also aspiring to become speakers of Hawaiian.

He Aha ‘o “Mānaleo”? (What is “Mānaleo”?)

It was at the University in Hilo where I first learned the word *mānaleo*. According to Pukui & Elbert, the term was invented in the 1970s by second-language speakers Dr. Wilson and Larry Kimura to mean “native speaker” (Pukui & Elbert, 1986). Ironically, this is not a word that native speakers know unless people who studied Hawaiian in school explained it to them. A native speaker of Hawaiian is someone who was raised by a family whose primary language is Hawaiian. Parents of the family were likewise born into and raised by Hawaiian speaking families.

Population estimates for the Hawaiian archipelago at the time of Capt. James Cook’s arrival in Hawai‘i in 1778 range from 200,000 to over 800,000 (Kamakau, 1868; Dye, 1994; Stannard, 1989). All of those people were native speakers of Hawaiian. Hawaiian continued to be a commonly spoken language until about World War II as evidenced by the closure of the last Hawaiian language newspaper, *Ka Hoku o Hawaii* in 1948 (Chapin, 2000). No census has been taken in recent years of native speakers. In 2002, prominent members of the Ni‘ihau community reported an estimate of about 500-600 people who have family ties to Ni‘ihau and who are native speakers of the Ni‘ihau dialect of Hawaiian. About 100 people live on Ni‘ihau at any given time. The rest live predominantly on Kaua‘i and a few live on O‘ahu and other islands (personal interview, 2002a). In the same year, Hawaiian language scholars at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa reported an estimate of about 300-400 native speakers outside of the Ni‘ihau community (personal interview, 2002b). This brings the total number of native Hawaiian speakers to 800-1,000. This population is scattered among a current population of nearly 1.5 million residents of all ethnicities combined throughout Hawai‘i. Unfortunately, the majority of native speakers are elderly

folk and they are passing away in increasing frequency as the years pass.

Ke Aloha ‘Āina (Hawaiian Nationalism)

The recent trend among Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians to study Hawaiian as a second-language has played a vital role in awakening the current generation of Hawaiian people to a sense of importance of everything Hawaiian. This drive, however, stems from political activism of Hawaiians of an earlier decade. Trask (1993) and McGregor-Alegado (1980) report that the beginning of the resurgence of Hawaiian national pride and political activism occurred in 1970 with the protests by Hawaiians of the evictions of Hawaiian families from Kalama Valley, O’ahu. Hot spots of Hawaiian political issues were in the communities where Hawaiians actively struggled against development and the wholesale marginalization of Hawaiians and Hawaiian issues. Since that time, the university campuses have also become important centers where Hawaiian issues are discussed and debated and where activities centering around education in Hawaiian language, culture, politics, history, and arts are found.

As Kahumoku explains, it was not until the 1970s that a new sense of pride and activism emerged among Hawaiians (Kahumoku, 2000). I refer to this time of Hawaiian political activism which extends to the present as the period of “Neo-Hawaiian Nationalism”. This represents a period of rediscovery by Hawaiians of their history, a sense of the importance of Hawaiian culture, tradition, language and nationalism. It is a period of “[turning] the heart of the children to their fathers” (Holy Bible—The King James Version, 1983:Malachi 4:6) in an attempt by Hawaiians to reclaim what has been denied them since 1893. The period of “Neo-Hawaiian Nationalism” is an attempt to recapture in a new age what I refer to as the “Original Hawaiian Nationalism.” The

original period began with the establishment of the first Constitution of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i in 1840 until the period when Hawaiian national pride and hope for the restoration of the Hawaiian Kingdom waned around World War II. This sense of loss of hope was reflected in the decline in the commonality of spoken Hawaiian as well as the sharp increase in the number of Hawaiians dropping out of school (Kahumoku, 2000).

The following are some parallels I have drawn between original and neo-Hawaiian nationalism. Both value the following:

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

Likewise, certain differences may be drawn between the eras of original and neo-Hawaiian nationalism:

Original Hawaiian Nationalism Era

1. Hawaiians who had contact with fellow Hawaiians who were raised knowing their traditions and language.
2. Hawaiians who were contemporaries of the *ali‘i* of the Kingdom.
3. Hawaiians most of whose lands were in Hawaiian control (until 1893).
4. Hawaiians who were native speakers,

Neo-Hawaiian Nationalism Era

1. Hawaiians who have little or no contact with fellow Hawaiians who were raised knowing their traditions and language.
2. Hawaiians who live almost 100 years after the passing of Hawai‘i’s last reigning monarch.
3. Hawaiians who, for the most part, have been dispossessed of their lands.

but who were beginning to shift toward a preference for English (by 1896).

4. Hawaiians who are predominantly English speakers many of whom want to learn Hawaiian as a second-language.

The fact that Hawaiians of today have little or no contact with fellow Hawaiians who were raised knowing their traditions and language means that in order for people to learn these things, one must turn to texts that have been published by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians on these subjects.

Ka Laha ‘ana o ka ‘Ōlelo i A‘o ‘ia (The Expansion of Second-Language Speech)

Soon after the first acts of Hawaiian political activism came acts of linguistic activism in promoting the Hawaiian language. Larry Kimura hosted a weekly hour-long radio talk show in Hawaiian called *Ka Leo Hawai‘i* starting in 1971 (Matsubara 2000). Kimura interviewed native speakers who talked about their lives and knowledge of various aspects of Hawaiian culture.

‘Aha Pūnana Leo is an agency that was organized in 1983 for the purpose of promulgating Hawaiian language through the creation of language schools where Hawaiian is the medium of education (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001). This concept resembles the type of Hawaiian education system that was prominent in the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. ‘Aha Pūnana Leo helped to fund and manage the first of the immersion preschools, called “Pūnana Leo,” which was established in 1984 in Kekaha, Kaua‘i. Former teachers of the first Pūnana Leo reported recently that there were six native Ni‘ihau speaking teachers and seven students in the year the school was established. That school was closed in 1986 for economic reasons and relocated to Puhi, about 25 miles away. Only one of the original Ni‘ihau teachers continued as a teacher. Two second-language speakers were

hired as teachers at the Pūnana Leo at Puhi in addition to the one native speaking teacher (personal interview, 2002c). Another Pūnana Leo was opened in 1986 in Hilo with one second-language speaking teacher (ibid.). A third Pūnana Leo was opened in Honolulu in the same year with 3 native speaking teachers (personal interview, 2002d). In 1987, two new immersion schools opened with kindergarten and first grade students combined. One, in Waiiau, O'ahu, had 12 students, and the other in Keaukaha, Hawai'i, had 16 students (personal interview, Wilhelm, 2002). Both of these immersion schools had only one second-language speaking teacher each.

For the school year 2001-2002, not counting the three schools that serve the Ni'ihau community, the Hawai'i State Department of Education reports that 1,621 students enrolled in Hawaiian immersion schools throughout the islands (ibid.). All of these students come from English speaking homes. There were 121 teachers employed in those schools and exactly one was a native speaker (ibid.). The majority of teachers learned Hawaiian as a second-language in the tertiary schools and a few first studied Hawaiian at the secondary level and continued studying the language in the tertiary schools (ibid.).

One of the three existing Ni'ihau community-based schools, Niihau School, is located on that island. It serves all families who live there. For the 2001-2002 school year, teachers of that School reported 40 students attending and three teachers. All of these people were native speakers of Hawaiian. There are two schools on Kaua'i which serve the Ni'ihau community there: Kula Aupuni Ni'ihau o Kahelelani and Ke Kula Ni'ihau o Kekaha. For the same school year, Kula Aupuni Ni'ihau o Kahelelani (then known as Ni'ihau School of Kekaha) reported 50 students attending and four teachers employed: three native speakers of Hawaiian and one native speaker of English. Ke Kula Ni'ihau o Kekaha reported 20 students and five teachers: three native speakers

and two second-language speakers.

The number of students enrolled in Hawaiian language courses at secondary and tertiary-level schools throughout Hawai'i has increased greatly since the 1980s. The University of Hawai'i at Mānoa has the largest number of students enrolled in Hawaiian language courses of any tertiary campus. In the Fall 2002 semester, the Department of Hawaiian and Indo-Pacific Languages and Literatures reported the following numbers of students, total number of teachers, native speaking and second-language speaking teachers for the following semesters:

<u>Semester</u>	<u># Students Enrolled</u>	<u>Total # Teachers</u>	<u># Native Teachers</u>	<u># 2nd Lang. Teachers</u>
Fall '90	434	14	0	14
Fall '93	671	20	0	20
Fall '96	997	27	0	27
Fall '99	840	21	0	21
Fall '02	718	19	1	18

In addition to its teaching staff, however, the University at Mānoa also employs three native speakers as mentors. The three share a large office and meet with students to converse in Hawaiian. Besides the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa campus, there were 11 tertiary schools that offered Hawaiian courses in the fall of 2002. There were 34 teachers of Hawaiian among these schools combined—none of whom were native speakers (personal interview, Wilhelm, 2002). Among the 27 secondary non-Hawaiian immersion public and private secondary schools which offered Hawaiian in the school year 2001-2002, there were 29 teachers of the language—all of whom were second-language speakers (ibid.).

As illustrated by these numbers, academia has almost entirely been the domain of second-language speakers. With the increase in the number of students enrolling in Hawaiian courses in the 1990s came the need for more teachers of Hawaiian and many students of the tertiary schools responded by applying for teaching positions in those schools. Likewise, with the increase in enrollment in Hawaiian courses in the secondary schools and in immersion schools, more tertiary-level Hawaiian language students became teachers at those schools as well. Ironically, since the time of the opening of the first Pūnana Leo school, the number of people who studied Hawaiian as a second language increased, but the number of native speaking teachers decreased. The field of teaching of Hawaiian as a second-language has almost entirely been taken over by second-language speakers.

At the three Ni‘ihau community-based schools—Niihau School, Kula Aupuni Ni‘ihau o Kahelelani and Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha—the majority are native speakers of Hawaiian. For the 2001-2002 school year, there were 119 native speakers combined among these schools. These people are concentrated on Ni‘ihau and Kaua‘i and generally do not interact with other Hawaiian language-based programs. This separation between Ni‘ihau and second-language speakers has created two spheres of Hawaiian language influence—the native speaking Ni‘ihau community-based schools and the predominantly second-language speaking non-Ni‘ihau community-based schools. Native speakers who are not of the Ni‘ihau community are scattered throughout the archipelago and are not concentrated in any one area. These speakers are role models for language learners, but only a few of them interact with second-language learners for significant lengths of time. The influence of these speakers on the Hawaiian language revitalization movement as a whole, though invaluable, is minimal.

At times, teachers of non-Ni‘ihau community-based schools organize activities and excursions where native speakers interact with students and second-language speaking teachers. These activities are usually limited from one hour to a few days. Often at such activities at the Mānoa campus of the University of Hawai‘i, for example, the ratio of students and/or second-language speakers to native speakers is ten or more to one. This usually is due to the low number of available native speakers and logistical difficulties in arranging for native speakers to attend the activities. This limits greatly the effectiveness of such activities in conveying native-like speech to students of the language. These activities are invaluable nonetheless since they provide some contact time between native speakers and students of Hawaiian. Activities where students and native speakers interact occur at least once nearly every semester at the tertiary-level and the Hawaiian language program of the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa arranges one or two-week long summer retreats with students and native speakers.

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

The teachers in the non-Ni‘ihau community-based schools are second-language speakers who teach Hawaiian according to their learning and their individual proficiency levels. Students who graduate from Hawaiian language programs earn tertiary-level degrees and many become teachers themselves of the language. The perpetuation of second-language speech in the schools has created a kind of institutionalized second-language form of Hawaiian that I call “neo-Hawaiian.” Like Neo-Hawaiian nationalism, neo-language is an attempt to recapture the language of native speakers. Unlike neo-Hawaiian nationalism, however, which is separated from the

original era by many years, neo-Hawaiian language exists side by side with traditional Hawaiian language. Traditional language still exists among the 1,000 or so native speakers who remain, while neo-Hawaiian burgeons and is concentrated in the non-Ni‘ihau community based schools. Neo-Hawaiian has developed certain characteristics of its own, just as neo-nationalism has characteristics that are different from the original. The different characteristics of neo-Hawaiian are based on the fact that its speakers interact regularly with each other and not with native speakers. Neo-Hawaiian speakers reinforce each other’s proficiency in the language and as a community, they develop the characteristics of Neo-Hawaiian speech. As Baugh (1966) noted, “. . . there is a general similarity in the speech of a given community at any particular time” (18). These characteristics differ from native speech (“Traditional Hawaiian”) in many ways. Among these differences, the following may be noted³:

Neo-Hawaiian

1. An American or Hawai‘i English accent.
2. Consistent pronunciation of Hawaiian w as an English v sound.

Traditional Hawaiian

1. A distinct accent that is relatively consistent among native speakers.
2. Three prominent pronunciations for w.
 - 1) Labio-dental fricative [v] (lower lip and upper teeth touch)
 - 2) Bilabial glide [w] (made with both lips)
 - 3) Bilabial fricative [β], with slight

³The following examples of neo- and traditional speech must be heard as they are spoken in order for the differences to be fully appreciated. The representations of neo- and traditional speech as contained in the following list are an attempt to convey some of the aural differences that exist between the two.

3. Difficulty in distinguishing between final unstressed *-e* and *-i*.

hoihoi and *hoehoe* > *hoyhoy*

4. Difficulty with long sequence of vowels and with distinctive vowel length in general.

eia a'e > *ea'e*

5. *A* is not raised to [] before *i* and *u*. As a result, phonetically, the *a* sounds in *maika'i* and *makemake* are the same.

maika'i > both *a* sounds treated the same

makemake > both *a* sounds pronounced like *au* in the English word *maul*.

6. The distinction between long vowels and diphthongs is not maintained.

labio-dental contact, depending on context (lower lip and upper teeth barely touch).

3. Consistently clear and articulate pronunciation of vowel combinations and endings.

hoihoi and *hoehoe* remain distinct

4. No problem articulating long vowel sequences.

eia a'e = *eia'e*

5. The pronunciation of *a* follows the phonological rules of Hawaiian: it is raised before *i* and *u*, but not in other positions. Thus, phonetically, the *a* sounds in *maika'i* and *makemake* are different.

maika'i (sometimes rendered as

meika'i/meike'i)

makemake > *a* pronounced like *u* in the English word *up*.

6. Long vowels remain audibly and meaningfully distinct from

penei > peinei

nō > nou

lākou > lākō

7. Insertion or deletion of glottal stops or long vowels inconsistent with important aspects of native speech, eg.

Kepākemapa ‘September’

nī’oi ‘chilli pepper’

manāva ‘time’

he ‘oli ‘a chant’

8. Consistent use of ua (verb) (pattern 1) in expressing English past-tense in the active voice as opposed to using all eight ways of expressing past-tense and/or aspect as is typical of native speakers.

diphthongs; words with *ō* vs. *ou*, *ē* vs. *ei* are kept distinct.

penei = penei

nō = nō

lākou = lākou

7. Clear unambiguous articulation of glottal stops and short and long vowels, eg.

Kepakemapa ‘September’

nīoi ‘chilli pepper’

manawa ‘time’

he oli ‘a chant’

8. Eight ways to express past-tense and/or aspect: 8 Patterns

1. *Ua (verb)*

2. *Ua (verb) (aku/mai, etc.)*

3. *Ua (verb) (aku nei/mai nei, etc.)*

4. *Ua (verb) (akula, maila, etc.)*

5. *(verb)*

6. *(verb) (aku/mai, etc.)*

7. *(verb) (aku nei/mai nei, etc.)*

8. *(verb) (akula/maila, etc.)*

9. Consistently using traditional expressions that are very seldom or never used by today's native speakers, eg.

Vahi a ... 'According to ...'

E like me ka mau. 'As usual.'

... , 'eā? '... , right?' (end of a question)

10. Using words in ways that are inconsistent with typical native usage, eg.

ho'omana'o 'remember'

ka (noun) 'ē a'e 'the other (noun)'

kekahi (noun) 'ē a'e 'a different (noun)'

wānana 'guess'

ho'i 'come back'

11. Lack of knowledge of common expressions used by native speakers.

12. Frequent use of the English word "just."

9. Such Neo-Hawaiian expressions almost or never heard among native speakers.

The following expressions are more likely:

'Ōlelo 'o (name)... '(name) said ...'

E like me ka mea ma'amau 'As usual.'

... , ē? or ā? '... , right?'

10. Typical usage, eg.

ho'omaopopo 'remember'

kekahi (noun) 'the other (noun)'

kekahi (noun) 'oko'a 'a different (noun)'

kuhi/koho 'guess'

ho'i 'go home'; *ho'i mai* 'come back'

11. Knowledge of expressions reinforced by interaction with other native speakers.

12. Although certain English words are sometimes heard in traditional speech, such as "and," "but," and "and then," the word "just" is never used.

13. High value placed on a limited, prescriptive set of grammatical structures and rules, as studied in the classroom and/or grammar texts. High value placed on the training and knowledge of course instructors.

14. High usage of recently invented terms that are unknown to native speakers, eg.

pō 'aiapili' 'context'

faila 'file'

anilā 'weather'

kinika 'sink'

mō 'aukala' 'history'

15. A shallow inventory of traditional vocabulary.

16. Preference for certain traditional expressions or vocabulary based on one experience of interacting with one, two or three native speakers (as opposed to many experiences interacting with many native speakers) or on 19th century texts or Pukui & Elbert.

13. High value placed on spoken Hawaiian lexical usage that sometimes contradicts scholastic thought. High value placed on learning from fellow traditional speakers, especially family members.

14. Usage of traditional Hawaiian terms and expressions for various concepts.

various expressions for 'context'

such as *māhele*, *manawa*

'file' *pu'u pepa*, *waihona*

various expressions for 'weather'

'sink' *kapu holoī* (*pā/lima*)

'history' *mo'olelo*

15. A deep vocabulary inventory with keen understanding of nuances.

16. Tendencies toward using certain expressions and vocabulary based on interaction with many native speakers over the period of a lifetime. This gives rise to the usage of many expressions with a keen understanding of the many possible contexts and nuances for each.

17. Reliance on the glottal stop (represented in Hawaiian orthography as a single open quote mark) and macron (a dash over a long vowel) diacriticals for reading and writing Hawaiian.

17. Little use of the glottal stop (represented by either an apostrophe or a single open quote mark) and no macron.

One way to hear the differences between neo- and traditional speech is to listen to audio cassette tapes of the radio talk show *Ka Leo Hawai'i*. Sometimes, tertiary Hawaiian language students take part in a portion of the program, and so the voices of Hawaiian language students and native speakers are recorded speaking often on the same program. Other than this, one must interact with second-language speakers and with native speakers separately in order to hear the differences in speech. The non-Ni'ihau community-based schools are centers where Hawaiian language students and second-language speakers gather and reinforce each other's habits in the neo- language. Due to the shortage of native speakers at these schools, and therefore the lack of contact that would allow second-language learners to learn native speech patterns and accents, second-language speakers have developed a style of Hawaiian that is different. Second-language speakers who have greater contact with native speakers often adopt native-like tendencies in speech. But there also are many second-language speakers who have had much contact with native speakers over years and who have not adopted native-like tendencies; who still retain foreign accents and language habits.

With the scant number of native speakers, there are very few role models to help convey the essence of the language as spoken by its native speech community, and therefore, it is difficult for a student of the language to acquire native-like speech tendencies. One of the primary sources for

learning the language today is printed texts. There are a great number of texts from the 19th and early 20th centuries that were written by native speakers and there are many recent texts that have been written by neo-Hawaiian speakers.

As important as written language is to human existence, it is devoid of many aspects of communication that are crucial to the conveyance of language. This point is illustrated by the act of studying Hawaiian as a second-language. Written or printed Hawaiian texts do not allow the reader to hear how the author would enunciate the text. In the absence of these authors, language learners cannot get from printed text the spoken accents, emphases or stresses. In addition, one cannot see the facial expressions and body gestures that are every bit aspects of Hawaiian speech that make the language whole.

Hawaiian as written by its speakers (eg., as in nineteenth-century Hawaiian material) gives learners clues as to the mentality behind language usage. However, without these speakers, learners are left to conjecture the intended meanings and nuances that exist in printed Hawaiian. They hazard guesses as to the cultural reasoning behind the wording of certain expressions. As with any language, Hawaiian has its own particular expressions. For example, the English expression “I made a mistake,” would likely be worded in traditional Hawaiian, “*I hewa no ko‘u (lima, waha, wāwae, a pēlā aku)*,” (lit., My [hand, mouth, foot, etc.] was wrong, or, made a mistake). Likewise, it is typical in modern American English to say that a baby is “so cute,” whereas in traditional Hawaiian, for cultural reasons, it is more appropriate to say the baby is *pupuka* ‘ugly’. My grandmother explained that in Hawaiian tradition, it is believed that if you say a baby is beautiful in appearance, as much as it truly may be the case, an unwelcome hearer, human or spirit, might become jealous of the good fortune of the parents of the baby and wish or do it harm. Pukui and

Elbert support this concept of praising beauty (Pukui & Elbert, 1986).

To help bridge the gap between English and Hawaiian thought processes, instructors of Hawaiian often make use in class of audio cassette recordings of native speakers talking about various subjects. Nearly all of these speakers have passed on by now. In tertiary-level courses, the cassette tapes are used as part of the curriculum to derive content and sometimes as a model to mimic voice inflections and accents. Tertiary schools such as the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and the University of Hawai'i at Hilo have Hawaiian courses that are based on comprehension and transcription exercises from audio cassette recordings of native speakers. The goal of these courses is to help the students learn native tendencies in speech and thought processes (personal interview, 2002b). A significant disadvantage to the cassette recording is that it is merely a one-way communication between the tape and the listener.

Students of Hawaiian today (this writer included) are native speakers of English and Pidgin. We learned how to enunciate English and Pidgin and put inflections in our voice through interactions with other native speakers of these languages. We are capable of expressing the entire range of emotions with an appropriate English and/or Pidgin voice because of our constant contact with speakers of these languages. While relationships can be drawn between Hawaiian, Pidgeon (HCE) and English, these languages⁴ are different from each other. It is natural for a student of Hawaiian to knowingly or unknowingly employ English speech tendencies in attempting to speak Hawaiian. Part of learning a language other than one's native language is to try to overcome such tendencies and adopt the tendencies of the native speakers of the language being learned. With only

⁴There is on-going debate whether Pidgeon is a language or a dialect of English.

a very small and sparse population of native speakers of Hawaiian, however, contact between the average learner and native speakers is rare and therefore there are not many opportunities for the learner to learn native speech tendencies.

There are many examples of neo-Hawaiian speakers inventing new terms. For example, in English, one might say a little furry puppy or a baby girl all dressed up in frills and bows in her hair is “cute.” Depending on how delighted one might be with the appealing appearance, one might utter the word with a high pitch as uttered in excitement. Neo-Hawaiian speakers have invented the word *kiuke*, a supposed Hawaiianized form of the English ‘cute.’ The word is sometimes uttered with the high pitch and lengthened syllable as if said in English. The word also often is used in every context in which the English ‘cute’ is used. Native speakers, on the other hand, use different expressions to express how delighted they are with the ‘cute’ appearance of something. It is likely that a native reaction to the furry puppy scenario would be, “*Auē nō ho‘i ka u‘i o kēia wahi ‘ilio keiki!*” [approximate translation: “What a cute little puppy!"]. It is likely that a Hawaiian reaction to the little girl scenario would be, “*Auē, aloha nō ho‘i kēia wahi keiki!*” [approximate translation: “Oh, this adorable little child!"]. It is likely that a reaction to other scenarios would be similar. For instance, if in the English sense, one finds that the scenario of an elderly couple holding hands and strolling on the beach is “so cute,” this scenario could be expressed in Hawaiian, “*Auē, nui ke aloha!*” [approximate translation: “Oh, what love they share!"]. In each scenario, the Hawaiian voice inflection is not like English, and it takes a second-language learner long-term interaction with native speakers to learn to recognize the appropriate voice inflection and how to enunciate it.

I have asked some of my second-language speaking colleagues why *kiuke* has become so popular. Some have responded to me that second-language speakers often do not know how else to express the appropriate thought in traditional Hawaiian. Others have responded that they feel that traditional expressions such as those mentioned above do not capture their idea of what something cute is (personal interview, 2002e). Native speakers have never heard the word *kiuke* unless they come in contact with neo-Hawaiian speakers. Many examples similar to *kiuke* exist among neo-Hawaiian speakers.

Other examples of the attempt by neo-Hawaiian speakers to invent terms that correspond to their English concepts are found in the immersion schools where it is not uncommon to find students using Hawaiian words in English syntax word-for-word. While working as a teacher at an immersion school, I have heard students say such things as “He aha kēia no?” [lit., ‘What this for?'] as opposed to the traditional Hawaiian “No ke aha kēia?” or “I mea aha kēia?” [‘What is this for?'] I also have heard students say “Ua ha‘i vau iā ‘oe, akā,” as if to mean ‘But, I told you,’ or in Pidgin, ‘I wen tell you, but.’ In traditional Hawaiian, this phrase likely would be rendered, “Akā, ua ha‘i akula wau iā ‘oe.” Warner reports on various Hawaiian speech tendencies among immersion school students that differ from native speech tendencies (Warner, 1996).

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

What effect does the second-language speaking community have on the language itself? Who is considered a speaker of Hawaiian? By what measure do you determine whether someone is a speaker of Hawaiian? Should all those who are able speak some Hawaiian be included into one category of “Hawaiian Speaker,” native or not? Should a real distinction be made between native

and second-language speakers? In conversations⁵ with colleagues of mine in the past relating to these questions I have received the following types of responses:

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

The responses to these questions suggest that the Hawaiian language is on a continuum that is moving from the past and into the future. The previous responses, however, may also be viewed in the following ways:

1. All languages evolve:

Language evolution is a natural process among native speakers. American English has evolved over the past 100 years, for example, to the point where many expressions that were common 100 years ago are not well understood today or are simply considered so archaic that no native speaker of American English uses those expressions anymore. New terms and expressions have emerged which are created by native speakers of American English. Although many expressions in English are actually taken from other languages, ultimately, it was the native

⁵To protect the anonymity of those with whom I conversed, their names will not be revealed.

speakers of English who collectively chose to adopt those terms and modify them as they wished.⁶

Likewise, Hawaiian has evolved among its native speakers over the past 100 years. The best example of Hawaiian language evolution is found among the Ni‘ihau speakers of Hawaiian. Ni‘ihau speakers live predominantly on Ni‘ihau and on the west side of Kaua‘i. The Ni‘ihau speaking community can be looked at as one where Hawaiian has thrived continuously until today. New expressions and terms were created among the community and old ones are no longer used.

To second-language learners, however, Hawaiian is new and unfamiliar. In most cases, they begin to learn the language in their early adult years. Without the benefit of daily interaction with native speakers, the learner cannot learn native accents, expressions and thought processes. As the learner increases in proficiency by interacting with other second-language speakers, he or she reinforces second-language speech tendencies. This is not an example of language evolution. It is the creation of a new language. Research must be done to determine the status of neo-Hawaiian whether it is a dialect of traditional Hawaiian or a separate language.

2. Text and school-based learning:

The classroom is like a laboratory or a surgeon’s operating room. It is a sterile environment where language is dissected and picked at with surgical precision so as to be able to examine its individual parts. Hawaiian grammar texts are published to act like anatomy text books that name and analyze each individual part of a sentence and describe how the parts are put together.

In reality, most native speakers of a language do not know what the individual parts of the sentences they utter are called, nor are they able to explain their various functions. Taking English

⁶ For a discussion on how American English has shifted, or “evolved” over time, see Pinker, 1994 and Baugh, 1963.

as an example, spoken English is “improper.” It exists in every context including the streets and executive offices. It thrives because because it is allowed to exist in all contexts and, most importantly, English structure is regulated by a consensus among native speakers of English (Pinker, 1994).

A grammar text is, by definition, only a partial description of a living language. Thus, the content of a grammar text does not necessarily reflect the Hawaiian spoken by native speakers. Andrews acknowledged that grammar texts derive from the writings and utterances of native speakers and that it was always best to defer to the authority of native speakers (Andrews 1854). One needs much interaction with native speakers in order to become familiar with the language and distinguish the difference between written and spoken Hawaiian. In addition, if Hawaiian language teachers have not acquired native-like proficiency, the language they are instilling in their students is not traditional, but neo-Hawaiian.

3. Native speakers have passed on and second-language speakers now determine the nature of Hawaiian.

I believe this argument represents a defeatist attitude. It represents a sense of frustration and futility in trying to acquire the speech of native speakers. It represents hopelessness and argues for a need to create a new language based on the inventions of our minds. If we allow for this argument, then the question “What is Hawaiian?” becomes crucial. If we are admitting to ourselves that the speech of native speakers is unknowable and different from the speech of neo-Hawaiian speakers, we are admitting that two different languages exist, or at least, two different forms of the same language. In either sense, there is a difference between the two.

In actuality, native speakers are not all dead. They are rare and the greatest concentration of

them is among the Ni‘ihau community. Whether one seeks out the native speakers to learn their manner of speech is a responsibility of the learner. But to say it is no longer possible to learn the speech of the Hawaiian speaker is not true. Although difficult, it is possible.

In order to assess problems in native language conveyance in Hawaiian language programs, it is first necessary to identify whether problems exist in this area. By addressing the issue of institutionalized second-language (neo-Hawaiian) versus native language (traditional Hawaiian), Hawaiians can then make decisions about the state of the Hawaiian language, such as: 1) whether to accept that two forms of the language exist and are equally genuine: native speech and neo-Hawaiian speech, 2) whether it is possible to improve the quality of second-language programs so that the speech of second-language speakers becomes native-like, or 3) whether Hawaiians in general will want to adopt the Ni‘ihau dialect since it is the Ni‘ihau community that is the last community of native speakers containing many individuals who could become teachers of the language throughout Hawai‘i.

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

Matsubara and Kahumoku are two authors who have written about the history of the Hawaiian language, tracing the history of the decline in the language to the emergence of a “revitalization movement.” In general, both authors discuss the Hawaiian language issue as a movement from decline to reemergence (Matsubara, 2000; Kahumoku, 2000). In Table 1, I illustrate the trend:

200,000 - 800,000+
Native speakers

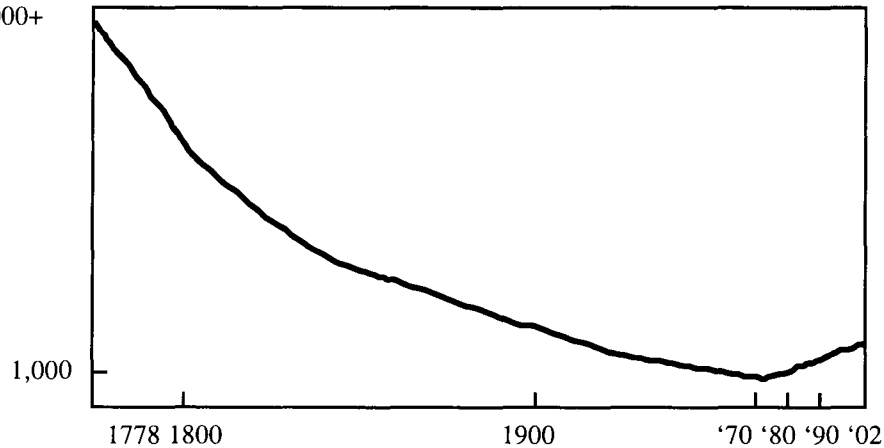


Table 1: The pattern of “decline and reemergence” of native speakers as proposed by Matsubara and Kahumoku.

Kahumoku describes some problematic issues in the period of revitalization related to logistics and financial support in operating immersion and second-language learning programs, but he discusses the decline and reemergence as activities happening to the same language (Kahumoku, 2000). What I am proposing is that traditional Hawaiian has been experiencing a decline as explained by both Matsubara and Kahumoku, but that this decline continues unabated with the Ni‘ihau community becoming the last surviving keepers of that language. Since the 1970s, however, the number of neo-Hawaiian speakers has been increasing. I illustrate this trend in Table 2:



200,000 - 800,000+
Native speakers

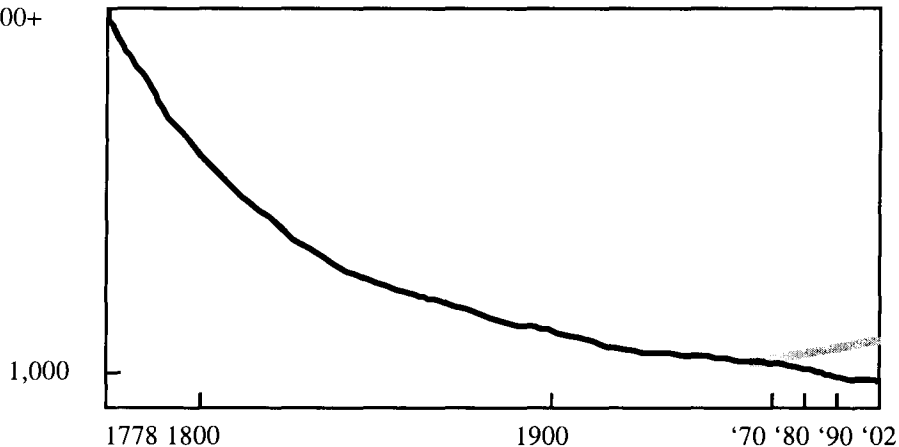


Table 2: The decline of native speakers compared to the increase in neo-Hawaiian speakers as proposed by NeSmith.

— = Native speakers
— = Neo-Hawaiian speakers

The above table shows that neo- and traditional Hawaiian exist side by side. It also demonstrates that the influence of neo-Hawaiian speakers increases while that of the traditional speakers decreases.

Ka Po'e Ni'ihau (The Ni'ihau People)

The two spheres of Hawaiian language influence sometimes interact with each other. On many occasions, this interaction has worked to the benefit of each party. Second-language speakers interact with native Ni'ihau speakers and learn aspects of native speech and Ni'ihau speakers learn from administrators of the non-Ni'ihau community-based schools ways in which they can improve their programs.

Many Ni'ihau people do not speak, read, or write English well. There are even some who do not speak English at all. The history of the Ni'ihau people in the public education system is a

very sad one. Ni‘ihau community members reported that many of them were placed in special education throughout their formative educational years. They received the same education and treatment as the mentally impaired, not because of any mental or psychological retardation, but simply because they did not speak English (personal interview, 2002f). The stigma attached to such “special” treatment has had a huge and devastating effect on the community. Most Ni‘ihau people dropped out of school before completing high school.

In the 1992-1993 school year, being somewhat inspired by the Hawaiian immersion school movement on the other islands, Ni‘ihau families on Kaua‘i took it upon themselves to put an end to decades of being misunderstood and marginalized by the public education system. They decided to form a school that would be tailored to the educational needs of their children. They desired an education that would be communicated through both Hawaiian and English so that mathematical, philosophical, and other concepts would make more sense. They also felt they needed to learn English as a second-language so that they could be functional in the current English-dominated society.

In 2002, parents of the Ni‘ihau community reported that in the Fall of 1992, they stopped sending their children to area public schools and met at the Kekaha Neighborhood Center, a public community center situated on a public park in Kekaha, to begin teaching their own children without materials or funding. The Hawai‘i State Department of Education threatened legal action against the Ni‘ihau families, but they continued their refusal to return their children to public schools. Fortunately, the Department of Education did not follow through with its threats. Ni‘ihau parents referred to their endeavor as “home schooling.” They formed a *hui* to support their program and named it “Hui Hoonaauao o na Makua” [Educational Association of Parents] (personal interview,

2002f)

The parents then sought help in establishing a school of their own, and asked outside organizations for assistance in providing for immediate needs such as books and funding. One outside organization, 'Aha Pūnana Leo Inc., provided books and expressed support for the creation of a school for the community.

In 1994, Kekaha Elementary School granted a room for the Ni'ihau program to use. According to one of the Ni'ihau teachers at the time, she had had a dream and in it she was instructed to name the school, "Ke Kula Ni'ihau o Kekaha" (personal interview, 2002g).

'Aha Pūnana Leo became more involved by providing the school's teachers with access to professional development conferences for immersion teachers and paying the salaries of all uncertified teachers of the school (personal interview, 2002f). However, this increased involvement marked the beginning of misunderstanding and false assumptions that led to a strained relationship and eventually, the severing of ties with 'Aha Pūnana Leo.

Ke 'Ano Polikika o ka Launa 'ana o ka Māhele 'Ōlelo Hou a me ka Māhele 'Ōlelo Ku'una (The Politics of the Interaction Between the Neo- and Traditional Spheres)

The relationship between the Ni'ihau families and 'Aha Pūnana Leo could have been saved and strengthened had certain traditional protocols and etiquette been observed at an early stage of the collaboration. This could have ensured mutual respect and understanding. In the case where the Ni'ihau community was the *kama'āina*, the people of the land, and 'Aha Pūnana Leo was the *malihini*, the outside visitor, it would have been a proper observance of traditional Hawaiian protocol for 'Aha Pūnana Leo to request entrance into a formal agreement with the Ni'ihau

community in relation to their school. In this situation where the entire Ni‘ihau community was involved, a formal meeting of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo board and the community should have taken place. ‘Aha Pūnana Leo could have explained who they were and explain the function they serve. After having done this they could have presented a plan wherein a working relationship could have been entered into between the Ni‘ihau community and ‘Aha Pūnana Leo where the roles and responsibilities were clearly defined and respected. Of most importance in the observation of traditional protocol is the understanding that the host always remains the host and the guest always must respect his or her position as guest. In addition, the rules of traditional protocol and etiquette must be reviewed, reevaluated, and respected as time passes. These observances were not kept by ‘Aha Pūnana Leo and this led to strife in its relationship with the Ni‘ihau community.

From 1994 on, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo started taking on more of an administrative role at Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha without making their long-term intentions known in clear fashion to the Ni‘ihau community (personal interview, 2002f). In 2002, members of the Ni‘ihau community who either worked at the school or whose children attended the school at the time, report that it was not clear in their minds whether their school was an immersion school based on ‘Aha Pūnana Leo philosophy and backing or an independent school run by and for the Ni‘ihau community. They reported that the community’s plans for their school included Hawaiian and English instruction from kindergarten to twelfth grade whereas ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s philosophy focused on Hawaiian-only instruction, with only one hour a day of English instruction from the fifth grade level. The Ni‘ihau parents wanted more English instruction because most Ni‘ihau families do not speak English very well and Hawaiian is the primary language of the home (personal interview, 2002f).

Parents and teachers of the Ni‘ihau school reported that between 1994 and 1999, many of

the Ni‘ihau community questioned the role of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo in their school because it was becoming apparent to them that ‘Aha Pūnana Leo was now defining the job responsibilities of the teachers and other employees of the school, making fiscal decisions without the input of the Ni‘ihau community, and formulating the curriculum of the school. One of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s board members, a Kaua‘i resident of non-Hawaiian background, was implemented as “lead teacher” of the teaching staff to ensure that ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s mandate was being executed in the school. According to former parents and teachers of the school, a feeling of consternation among the Ni‘ihau community about the relationship between it and ‘Aha Pūnana Leo grew among the community at about this time (personal interview, 2002f).

In 1998, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo helped to acquire and renovate a former National Guard armory situated just across from Kekaha Elementary School as a schoolground for Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha. The school began meeting at the new building at the opening of the 1998-1999 school year (personal interview, 2002f). In January of 1999, I started using the facilities at Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha for the purpose of developing curriculum for the immersion schools. At the school, members of the Ni‘ihau community expressed the great reservations they had about ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s actions. In February of that year, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo and the Ka Haka ‘Ula o Ke‘elikōlani—Hawaiian Studies College of the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo decided to make Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha a laboratory school of the college which meant the school’s focus would be to implement the philosophies of the Hilo College. This was done without the consent of the parents and teachers of the school, and many of them expressed anger over this decision (personal interview, 2002f).

Members of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s board of directors became aware of increasing discontent

among the Ni‘ihau community, and in May 1999, board members flew to Kaua‘i to meet with the teachers and parents of students of the school. I also attended the meeting. The meeting was videotaped by Ni‘ihau parents. ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s board members explained to the community that the school was in the control of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo and that the perceived problems community members were expressing were disruptive and not in line with ‘Aha Pūnana Leo philosophy. They told the Ni‘ihau community that the community needed ‘Aha Pūnana Leo because the community was not capable of operating a school. Board members then set up two large poster papers at the front of the room and wrote at the top of one, “Kāko‘o wau i ka ‘Aha Pūnana Leo [I support ‘Aha Pūnana Leo]” and atop the other, they wrote, “ ‘A‘ole wau kāko‘o i ka ‘Aha Pūnana Leo a e ha‘alele wau [I do not support ‘Aha Pūnana Leo and I will leave].” They told all parents and staff in attendance to come forward and sign on one paper or the other. A number of people, particularly from one Ni‘ihau family, immediately came forward and wrote their names on the paper in support of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo. Others in attendance waited a long time before going up and writing their names on the paper stating that they did not support ‘Aha Pūnana Leo. Among those were two teachers and a few staff members of the school. In the end, more names appeared on the paper that stated support for ‘Aha Pūnana Leo than the other one. However, many of those who signed that paper did not have children who attended the school. At the end of the meeting, one ‘Aha Pūnana Leo board member stood and told those who had signed their names to the paper stating that they did not support ‘Aha Pūnana Leo that it was customary that they give a two week notice of their intent to resign. Those teachers responded by saying that they would not return the next day. The next morning, the majority of parents withdrew their children from the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo supported program and continued their school at Kekaha Neighborhood Center without funding, just as in

1992. In 2002, one of the teachers who signed on the paper not supporting ‘Aha Pūnana Leo reported that, in fact, it was not her intention to leave the school. She stated that she simply wanted the school she felt belonged to the Ni‘ihau community to remain in the community’s control (personal interview, 2002c).

One of the executive directors of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, Ms. Ilei Beniamina, originally of Ni‘ihau, then registered the name “Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha” as “president” of Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha at the Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs in Honolulu, the government agency for registering trade names. She later changed her title to “director” then subsequently signed the name over to ‘Aha Pūnana Leo. Those who now were meeting at Kekaha Neighborhood Center sought to organize themselves formally and attempted to register the name “Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha” with the Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs, but they were informed that Beniamina had already registered the name and had subsequently signed the name over to ‘Aha Pūnana Leo. The group then registered the name *Ni‘ihau School of Kekaha* with the same department. The school challenged ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s registration of the name in a hearing with the Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs.

At the hearing, in relation to the beginnings of the Ni‘ihau community school, Maki and Thorn (2000), attorneys for ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s, argued that 1. “ ‘Aha Pūnana Leo provided support to the program in the form of books and school supplies,” 2. “ ‘Aha Pūnana Leo received a grant from OHA for the program,” 3. “. . . Hōkūlani Cleeland, in his capacity as a member of the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo Board of Directors, identified the program as Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha,” 4. “‘Aha Pūnana Leo continuously used the name Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha to identify its program for immersion model education for Ni‘ihau children,” 5. “[Ms. Beniamina] used the title of

“president” to reflect her role as the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo liaison in charge of matters concerning Ni‘ihau”. In closing statements at the hearing, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s attorney argued that the Ni‘ihau community “acquiesced” in favor of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s outright control of the school.

Ni‘ihau School of Kekaha was comprised of families of the Ni‘ihau community who did not have the means to hire an attorney to represent them in a hearing at the Department of Commerce and Consumer Affairs. Ni‘ihau family members asked me to represent them Pro Se in the hearing and I accepted this task with much trepidation having had no experience in such matters. I interviewed parents, former teachers and staff of the Ni‘ihau school and presented their arguments at the hearing. Ni‘ihau School of Kekaha argued that 1. “. . . the Ni‘ihau community of Kaua‘i formed an educational program for Ni‘ihau children,” 2. “. . . the Ni‘ihau parent group invited various private and public entities, including [‘Aha Pūnana Leo], to participate in discussions to help establish its program and for fiscal needs,” 3. “. . . [a] teacher of the Ni‘ihau program and president of the parent group, had a dream in which she was given the name “Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha,” for the program,” 4. “[‘Aha Pūnana Leo] agreed to assist the Ni‘ihau program by paying the salaries of teachers . . . [and] there was [no] discussion about transferring ownership of the Ni‘ihau program to ‘Aha Pūnana Leo,” 5. ‘Aha Pūnana Leo represented itself to at least the Office of Hawaiian Affairs . . . as owners of the educational program . . . Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha,” and 6. Ms. Beniamina misrepresented herself in her application of the trade name as being the “president” of Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha, despite the fact that she had no official affiliation with Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha (NeSmith, 2000).

Among the findings at the conclusion of the hearing, the hearings officer determined that 1. “. . . a group of Ni‘ihau parents formed a group which they identified as Hui Ho‘ona‘auao o na

Makua (HHM),” 2. As a result of their concern [for the children’s education], the members of HHM sought to establish a program specifically designed to meet the unique educational needs of these children, 3. “These classes were operated as a home school program with instruction given in both Hawaiian and English,” 4. “. . . the members of HHM sought the assistance of various organizations to operate the program, including . . . [‘Aha Pūnana Leo], 5. “[‘Aha Pūnana Leo] provided the program with books and supplies. [It] received a grant from OHA for the program and in 1995, [it] started to administer the program in cooperation with the DOE,” 6. “By 1995, the program took on the name, Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha and was referred to as such by both [Ni‘ihau School of Kekaha] and [‘Aha Pūnana Leo],” 7. “Beniamina signed the application as a “director” of the applicant because she had intended to file the application on behalf of [‘Aha Pūnana Leo] for which she was a director,” 8. “. . . Beniamina changed her position on the application from “director” to “president” of Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha even though she was not the president of any such organization,” 9. “. . . Beniamina filed an Assignment of the trade name registration to [‘Aha Pūnana Leo].” In conclusion, the hearings officer determined that “. . . [Ni‘ihau School of Kekaha] has not established by a preponderance of the evidence that [it] is the owner of the trade name “Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha”. The Hearings Officer therefore recommends that the petition be dismissed.” (Uyehara, 2000)

The hearing was decided in favor of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo. It was decided that the Hilo agency’s actions were in accordance with the law. But despite being vindicated, the reactions by Ni‘ihau community members on Kaua‘i towards the actions of ‘Aha Pūnana Leo between 1994 and 1999 should have been indication enough that what ‘Aha Pūnana Leo perceived as appropriate actions on its part was being perceived by the majority of the Ni‘ihau community of Kaua‘i as

anything but appropriate. In the end, 'Aha Pūnana Leo's take over became moot because the majority of Ni'ihau families abandoned that school and created their own and named it "Ni'ihau School of Kekaha." While this was not a name imbued with *mana*, it served the purpose of the community for the time being until permanent facilities could be acquired. However, in a letter to Ni'ihau School of Kekaha, 'Aha Pūnana Leo threatened the newly formed institution with a lawsuit, claiming that the name, if translated, was identical to "Ke Kula Ni'ihau o Kekaha," the one officially registered to them.

The Ni'ihau families learned on their own the proper procedures for establishing a school and procuring funding via the public educational system. In 2001, Ni'ihau School of Kekaha received authorization as a New Century Public Charter School under the Hawai'i State Department of Education, and in the 2001-2002 school year, the school had fifty students attending. Among its teaching staff is the first Ni'ihau person ever to receive a Master's degree. Ni'ihau School of Kekaha also became a member of an all-island association of charter schools called Nā Lei Na'auao, and it has support from this network. The school has no affiliation with 'Aha Pūnana Leo, but Ke Kula Ni'ihau o Kekaha continues to be supported by 'Aha Pūnana Leo. Ke Kula Ni'ihau o Kekaha implements the philosophies of 'Aha Pūnana Leo and the Hawaiian studies college of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo on immersion education. The school also is a laboratory school of the Hilo college.

'Aha Pūnana Leo came to Kaua'i as a guest to the house of the Ni'ihau community and after arriving having borne gifts of "assistance," imposed itself on the owners of the house, stole the family name, and justified these actions by the fact that it came bearing gifts.

'Aha Pūnana Leo and the Hawaiian Studies College of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo

entered into a relationship with the Ni‘ihau community of Kaua‘i in an effort to bring the two spheres of Hawaiian language influence closer together. While the initial purposes of the Hilo entities may have been altruistic, the process they took became guided by their politics at the expense of the desires and needs of the Ni‘ihau community. The majority of the community, in turn, exercised its own brand of politics by withdrawing from Ke Kula Ni‘ihau o Kekaha and establishing Ni‘ihau School of Kekaha. In 2001, *kūpuna* of the Ni‘ihau community were asked by the school board to produce a new name for the school. Two ideas were put forward, *Kula Aupuni Ni‘ihau* and *Kula o Kahelelani*. The result was a combination of the two ideas and the name that was approved by the board in October 2002 was *Kula Aupuni Ni‘ihau o Kahelelani*. The name may be interpreted in English as ‘National School of Ni‘ihau Origin Belonging to Chief Kahelelani’ or ‘School of the Government of Ni‘ihau Under Chief Kahelelani.’ The name reflects a political sentiment that perhaps stems from the political nature of the school’s creation. In a way, the new name is a declaration of independence from outside rule. The school functions as a program of, by and for the Ni‘ihau community. A positive result of the contention between the Hilo entities and the Ni‘ihau community is that the event helped to make the community more politically active and personally involved in the education of their own children.

Ma ke Pani ‘ana (In Conclusion)

As of 2002, there likely are fewer than 1,000 native speakers of Hawaiian left and access by second-language learners to native speakers is difficult. This exacerbates the problem of native-like speech acquisition. The development of neo-Hawaiian is very similar to what Zuckermann (2000) explains happened to Hebrew. He explains that Hebrew is a language that existed more than

1,700 years ago and the language that is commonly spoken in the nation of Israel today should more correctly be referred to as 'Israeli,' a language based largely on Hebrew, but modified by today's speakers. Neo-Hawaiian likewise is largely based on traditional Hawaiian, but modified by second-language speakers.

Language itself has been used to create a distinction between traditional and neo-Hawaiian such as in the case of the term *mānaleo*. Although a need was felt among second-language speakers to create a term for 'native speaker,' a similar need was not felt to create a term for themselves, and so there is no Hawaiian term for 'second-language speaker.' In the immersion school system as well as in the schools where Hawaiian is taught as a second language, one refers to second-language speakers as 'Hawaiian speakers,' making no distinction between them and any one else who speaks Hawaiian. But when referring to native speakers, the term *mānaleo* is used. The creation of the term *mānaleo* by second-language speakers simultaneously created the 'Other,' the thing that is different from 'us,' the second-language speakers.

Widening the gap between traditional and neo-Hawaiian spheres of influence is the efforts of the neo- sphere to maintain itself. One function of language maintenance is to coin new terminologies, like *mānaleo*, that those involved in the act of language maintenance feel are needed. In 1987-1988, a committee, known as the Lexicon Committee, was formed for the purpose of creating new lexicon. The original members of the committee consisted of native speakers and second-language speakers. Today, the committee consists entirely of second-language speakers (Hale Kuamo'o & 'Aha Pūnana Leo, 1998). The committee publishes a dictionary, entitled *Māmaka Kaiāo*, of the lexicon it produces. As the book explains, "As Hawaiian gains strength through use in Pūnana Leo and Hawaiian immersion schools, as well as in Hawaiian language

classes held at high schools, universities, community colleges, and elsewhere, the need for new words applicable to modern contexts increases” (introduction). Since these venues consist almost entirely of second-language speakers, the lexicon produced by the second-language speaking Lexicon Committee are meant for use by second-language speakers. Further research is needed to determine whether, or to what extent, the committee’s lexicon are used by the Ni‘ihau community.

While some of the lexicon produced are based on traditional language, such as *ho‘oka‘ina mana‘o* ‘to sequence ideas, as in a composition’(31), other terms are complete inventions that are not based on traditional language, such as *pāheona* ‘art, artwork; fine arts’ (121). According to *Māmaka Kaiāo*, *pāheona* derives from *pā-*, the meaning of which is not explained and has no correlation to ‘art’ in traditional terms, and *heona* (19), a word whose roots are not explained and which does not exist as a traditional word. *Māmaka Kaiāo* explains the meaning of *heona* as ‘artistic, i.e. esthetically appealing or having artistic talent.’ Pukui and Elbert (1986) indicate the traditional Hawaiian terms for ‘art’ as being *hana no‘eau* [lit., ‘clever, dextrous or artistic work’] and *‘ike hana no‘eau* [lit., ‘knowledge of or ability to do artistic work’] (56). In other words, Pukui and Elbert describe art as an aspect of a person rather than the product produced, much like what our native speaking group member expressed at the teacher training meeting at Tokai University in 1996.

Based on the differences that exist in speech between traditional and neo-Hawaiian as well as the efforts of the Lexicon Committee to create new terminologies for second-language speakers, it may be possible to determine that neo-Hawaiian is, in fact, an invented dialect of traditional Hawaiian or an invented language. In a personal communication with linguist, Dr. Victoria Anderson, she explains that the linguistic determinant in clarifying whether a language is a dialect

or a distinct language is mutual intelligibility (personal interview, Anderson, 2002). Given the nature of traditional and neo-Hawaiian, it is likely that mutual intelligibility between speakers of either type is limited. Neo-Hawaiian speakers are more capable of understanding other neo-Hawaiian speakers and traditional Hawaiians are more capable of understanding other traditional Hawaiians. At least some determinants are evident that indicate that traditional and neo-Hawaiian are, at least, two distinct dialects, but more scientific research needs to be done.

In order to preserve the integrity of the Hawaiian language, it must be the native speakers of that language who fill the roles of teachers and mentors of the language. It must be the native speakers who formulate the system of language conveyance including language planning⁷ and maintenance as well as curriculum development in schools. Currently, native speakers, for the most part, do not participate in the planning, administering and implementation of the Hawaiian language acquisition movement in the schools throughout Hawai'i. The Ni'ihau community administers three schools which remain separate from the second-language-based sphere of influence, and therefore, they have little or no opportunities to influence the language acquisition processes of second-language learners outside their community. As long as this separation of spheres continues, there always will be a distinctive gap between the language of native speakers and the language of second-language speakers. If native speakers should become extinct, second-language speech will become the only form of Hawaiian in existence.

As a result of the breakdown in the traditional system of conveying language and knowledge, Hawaiians of the neo- period must come to terms with the situation in which they live. There is power in carving out a unifying "identity" among second-language speakers of Hawaiian.

⁷ Fishman (1972) defines "Language Planning" as a study of ". . . how writing systems are created and spelling systems revised, and extends to the study of how to assist government or other official efforts to manipulate language." (365)

This is part of the process of decolonization. By taking on the “neo-Hawaiian” identity, second-language speakers help perpetuate the distinction between “Hawaiian” and “others.” Linnekin (1983) cites the case of the village of Keanae [sic.] as a situation where what constituted traditional Hawaiian practice and lifestyle was actually invented at that time. Kahumoku (2000) comments on Linnekin’s findings that “She also asserted that urban Hawaiians and the villagers visualized the lifestyle in Keanae to be ‘traditional’ because: . . . they were reacting to the growing ethnic Hawaiian nationalism of that time.” Creating a unifying “neo-” identity perpetuates neo-Hawaiian nationalism and the drive to protect and advance social and political agendas that serve the interests of indigenous Hawaiians. At the same time, although many differences exist between neo-Hawaiian and traditional Hawaiian language, many second-language speakers strive to mimic native speech. This may be a life-long effort, but it is possible to better emulate native speech as long as one is persistent and aware of native speech characteristics.

There is an element of sadness, however, in the idea that traditional Hawaiian may become extinct and that, for the most part, it already is non-existent in most parts of Hawai‘i. Interactions between second-language and native speakers of Hawaiian are few and far between and the separation of the two gives rise to the development of unique characteristics in neo-Hawaiian speech that differ from native speech.

If a sufficient need is felt among Hawaiians to preserve traditional Hawaiian (as opposed to neo-Hawaiian), this effort must involve tapping into the last remaining community of native speakers—the Ni‘ihau community. Large numbers of Ni‘ihau community members will need to earn tertiary-level degrees in order to be qualified to teach in the immersion, secondary and tertiary schools. Perhaps 200 or more Ni‘ihau community members would be needed to fill the teaching

positions currently held by second-language speakers. In addition, another 50 or so Ni‘ihau community members would be needed for language planning and curriculum development. This would involve many years of education in order for this many Ni‘ihau people to earn tertiary degrees. This also would mean a great exodus of Ni‘ihau people from areas where they are concentrated on Kaua‘i and Ni‘ihau to be scattered among the rest of the islands of Hawai‘i. This would amount to a considerable depletion of the number of Ni‘ihau community members in their traditional homelands. In addition, if Ni‘ihau speakers become teachers of the language throughout Hawai‘i, then the Ni‘ihau dialect would likely become the prevailing dialect of Hawaiian in Hawai‘i, but at least it would be a dialect that is traditional.

He Mo‘olelo (A Story)

I am sitting in a faculty meeting of fellow teachers of Hawaiian at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The meeting is conducted in Hawaiian. We are being asked by our program director to provide input on a possible major change that may occur at our university that may affect the future of our Hawaiian language program. One instructor offers some input. The accent sounds very much like an American English one. A question is asked by another instructor. It’s a long question, and the voice rises at the end, exactly as it would in English. Some of the words being used seem inappropriate to me. They seem out of context, not the kind of words native speakers might choose, at least according to my experience of interacting with native speakers. This is difficult for me to listen to and I let my mind wander.

My mind takes me back to the home of my grandmother at the time I was living with her. I am in the kitchen washing dishes while my grandmother is cooking dinner on the stove right next

to me. We are having a conversation—in Hawaiian as usual. No special subject, just the things of the day. I turn to step over to put one of the dishes in the cupboard on the other side of the stove where my grandmother is cooking. As I turn and step over, my grandmother turns toward me and reaches around me and gives me a big hug and holds me tight. I hug her back. Since she is a petite woman, she buries her head in my chest. She says to me, *“I kou māmā mā nō e li‘ili‘i ana, ua mana‘o aku au ‘a‘ale meike‘i ke a‘o ‘ia lākou i ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Auē, nui loa nō ko‘u mihi.”*

[“When your mother and her brothers and sisters were children, I thought it wasn’t good to teach them to speak Hawaiian. I am so sorry.”] Ke aloha nō, Tūtū.

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Mahalo: I am deeply grateful to Michael Puleloa, Dr. Walter Kahumoku, Dr. Ablert Schütz, Dr. Victoria Anderson, Dr. No‘eau Warner, Laiana Wong, and most especially, the Ni‘ihau community, for their insight and generous input in helping me articulate my thoughts in this paper.

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