History of Hawai‘i Sign Language and Hawai‘i Deaf People

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Introduction

This chapter will discuss what we know so far of the history of Hawai‘i Sign Language (HSL) and its users. The information was collected under a pilot study conducted in 2012[1] and is the first published information on the history of the Hawai‘i Deaf community and its original sign language. Deeper linguistic research on HSL will occur over the next three years under a grant from the Endangered Languages Documentation Programme (London) directed by Prof. James Woodward entitled “Documentation of Hawai‘i Sign Language: Building the Foundation for Documentation, Conservation, and Revitalization of Endangered Pacific Island Sign Languages.”

Lexicostatistical comparison[2] of core basic vocabulary between HSL and American Sign Language (ASL) shows that HSL shares less than 20% cognates in basic core vocabulary with American Sign Language (ASL) indicating that it is a completely distinct language from ASL. For now, it must be classified separately from all other known sign languages as a Pacific Sign Language Isolate. HSL scores 92% on the Scale of Endangerment used by the Catalogue of Endangered Languages,[3] indicating that HSL is “critically endangered.”[4] The upcoming ELDP project will document HSL and create opportunities to revitalize the language.

Issues we will examine are when and under what circumstances HSL might have begun to be used. Since there is no written history of Deaf people in Hawai‘i nor of HSL, we can look at the history of other sign languages in similar environments.

Brief background on sign languages

Indigenous sign languages can develop in several ways, and their development relates to sociolinguistic conditions.[5] Sign languages have developed indigenously in a number of relatively isolated agrarian and fishing communities. These include Martha’s Vineyard Island in North America[6], Isla Providencia in the Caribbean,[7] Rennell Island in the Solomon Islands,[8] Adamorobe Village in Ghana,[9] Desa Kolok in Bali,[10] Ban Khor Village in Thailand,[11] and a village of Bribri in Costa Rica,[12] among others. In each of the above communities, an indigenous sign language developed out of the interaction of Deaf and hearing people in normal village activities. The development of an indigenous sign language does not require the existence of a Deaf Community, or even of many Deaf people. In 1974, Rennell Island had only one Deaf person out of a population of approximately 1,000 people and yet the majority of hearing people signed with the Deaf man in their regular interaction.[13] Martha’s Vineyard had only 20 some Deaf people yet everyone signed to some extent.[14] Similarly, Isla Providencia has only 22 Deaf people, but an indigenous sign language is used on the island.[15]

The following sections will examine historical records, most written in English but some from Hawaiian language newspapers, to find what references have been made to Deaf

people and sign language use in Hawai‘i. Our interviews and other discussions with elderly Deaf people in Hawai‘i have also been used for more recent historical information. Though much has not yet been discovered, this summarizes what we know so far about the history of Deaf people in Hawai‘i, their language environment, the use of HSL, and its subsequent suppression by ASL.

Ancient Hawai‘i

Polynesian ancestors began exploring eastward from southeast China 5000 to 6000 years ago. About 3500 years ago, they settled the western Polynesian islands of Fiji, Tonga, and Samoa and developed the Lapita culture; they spoke Austronesian languages.[16] Within 1000 years, they settled all the Polynesian islands, traveling by outrigger canoe over vast areas of the Pacific. They traveled from the Marquesas and Society Islands to settle the Hawaiian Islands around 900 A.D. There were likely multiple waves of immigrants,[17] perhaps from Tahiti around 1100 A.D.[18] But by 1300 A.D., the Hawaiians seemed to cease contact with eastern Polynesian cultures and from then on, developed their own distinct culture.[19]

We know that Polynesian communities had Deaf members at least two millennia ago up to the present. At least six Polynesian languages have words for “deaf” that are related: Hawaiian (*kuli*), Māori (*turi*), Samoan (*tutuli*), Tongan (*tuli*), Tuamotuan (*turi*), and Marquesan (*tu‘i*).[20] The similarity of the words for "deaf" indicates that Deaf people were present in the ancestral community before the migrations took place thousands of years ago.

Though the spoken languages of these Polynesian islands are related, we do not know whether the sign languages are related. This can only be answered through historical/ comparative linguistic research on sign languages. If Deaf people using signs were included in the early migrations, the present sign languages could be related. However, if there were no deaf people who used a sign language present in the migrations, it is unlikely that the sign languages would be related. Rather they would have developed independently, and the Pacific Island sign languages would be language isolates.[21]

Could Deaf people with sign language have gone on migrations to settle new islands? Considering that population pressure was one of the reasons for the migrations;[22] perhaps Deaf people were numerous enough to meet one another and develop ways to communicate. There is no mention of exclusion of Deaf people from migrations: “... migrations were made by whole villages in their double-hulled canoes.”[23] Thus, the migrating Polynesians likely would have included any Deaf members of their village, and with them, the seeds of sign languages that would take root in the new islands. However, the facts are unknown at this time.

First Glimpse of Deaf People in Hawai‘i—1821

The leader of the first company of missionaries to Hawai‘i, the Reverend Hiram Bingham, was friends with the founder of the first Deaf school in America, the Reverend Thomas

Hopkins Gallaudet.[24] (Gallaudet, with Laurent Clerc, founded the American School for the Deaf in Hartford, Connecticut in 1817. American Sign Language (ASL) was born there[25]). It was because of Bingham's friendship with Gallaudet that we have some information on signs used in Hawai'i in 1821.

Bingham and Gallaudet shared a belief that signs and gestures could be universally understood and could therefore be of immense help to the missionaries in their effort to Christianize the Hawaiians.[26,27,28] At the time, the missionaries did not yet know the Hawaiian language hence they were looking for a way to communicate and teach. Sign language was thought to be the answer. Gallaudet asked Bingham to report on the signs he found in Hawai'i. Bingham arrived in Hawai'i in March 1820; he reported his observations in a letter to Gallaudet dated February 23, 1821.[29]

Bingham described having met a Deaf man "of apparently more than ordinary activity"[30] who served as intermediary about the division of firewood that had been purchased by another member of the mission:

> "the deaf & dumb man immediately communicated the intelligence to me ... To signify the quantity that was to come to me, he put his hands together 4 times so as to save his fingers ....,[31] at each time giving a very little nod, counting off four tens..."[32]

Bingham then described another silent interaction with the same Deaf man:

> At another time he came to me expressing a desire to sell one a hog which he said he had at home. He ... me that <u>it was long</u> extending his arms in one right line, <u>it was large</u> .....his hands and arms in a natural position to express magnitude, it <u>was ready for slaughter</u>, putting his finger suddenly to his throat, with great intensity of look and manner, highly recommended the animal to my notice, & and set his price by putting his thumb & forefinger, in the form of a circle to express a <u>dollar</u>, & then lifting up so many fingers to express the number.[33]

Bingham declined and attempted to bargain with the Deaf man by indicating that the pig was very small for the price. In response, the Deaf man:

> laughing heartily, repeated in substance what he had before said and added <u>you may go and see for your self</u> - pointing firstly to me then towards his house then ... his two forefingers so as to point directly forward from his temples or the corner of his eyes, enclined a little downward, & staring enquisitively with a little quick motion of his head & eyes as if narrowly examining something ... before him.[34]

When Bingham offered him one dollar for his hog, "he at once....., turning away his head, throwing the back his hand towards me and turning the palm downwards -- & then offered to sell me a small pig at that price..."[35]

Though brief, these examples are valuable because they show that Deaf people in Hawai'i in 1821 communicated in some form of signing. It is extremely interesting to note that the signs Bingham described the Deaf man using for "money", "pig" and "examine/see" are

cognate with the signs for “dollar” “pig”, and “see” in modern HSL. Likewise the method of counting is similar to that used in HSL today.

Another important piece of information contained in Bingham’s letter was his observation on the ease of communication between the Deaf man and hearing villagers. Of the Deaf man, Bingham noted the “facility he could converse with the common people, and make himself understood by me.”[36] Bingham also told Gallaudet “You will be interested to know that many of his signs are in common use.”[37] This indicates that hearing villagers were in the habit of using at least some of the same signs as were used by the Deaf man. Bingham went so far as to say that “The language of this people consists very much in signs and gestures...”[38] These statements indicate that Deaf people would have had little problem communicating with hearing villagers.

It is possible that such extensive gesturing/signing on the part of hearing Hawaiians could have come from regular interaction with Deaf people in their village, just as was noted in the fishing/agrarian communities of Martha’s Vineyard Island, Isla Providencia, Rennell Island, Adamorobe Village, Desa Kolok, Ban Khor Village, and the village of Bribri. All of these places have documented sign languages shared by hearing and Deaf villagers. It is possible that Deaf and hearing Hawaiians similarly shared a sign language in the past.

It is also possible that the signing/gesturing by hearing Hawaiians was used as contact communication with hearing outsiders like Bingham. The same ability was noted in another hearing Hawaiian, Thomas Hopu, who studied at the Foreign Mission School at Cornwall, Connecticut. Hopu likewise impressed Gallaudet with his skill in communicating through gestures when confronted with a language barrier.[39,40] There was reportedly similar sophisticated gesturing by the Tahitians upon the arrival of Captain Cook in 1769.[41]

The use of signs and gestures by hearing Hawaiians may have served both purposes: to communicate with Deaf villagers, and to communicate with hearing outsiders such as Bingham who could not speak Hawaiian. The large amount of gesturing/signing that Bingham commented on could easily mean a Hawaiian predisposition to using extensive gesturing/signing with Deaf villagers in the past.

The following points are beyond dispute: 1) there were Deaf people living together with hearing villagers in Hawai‘i before 1821; 2) these Deaf people used signs in their communication; and 3) some of the signs that Bingham reported seeing in 1821 are cognate with signs in HSL today. Thus, at least part of HSL has indigenous roots that go back to Hawaiian Deaf people before the missionaries and before the waves of immigrants that arrived from the mid-1800s to early 1900s.

Hawaiian Government notice of Deaf People

The Hawaiian government was aware of Deaf people. A population census of 1853 included a count of Deaf people in the islands, and found 29 in Hawai‘i; 22 in Maui; none in Moloka‘i and Lāna‘i; 34 in O‘ahu; 15 in Kaua‘i; and 6 in Ni‘ihau, totaling 106 Deaf people out of a population of 71,019. (This was before the waves of immigrants: the

census included only people of Polynesian descent). The highest proportion of Deaf people in all the islands was found in *Maunalua a Maunalua*, O'ahu, where 29 Deaf people lived.[42] With only 5 in the rest of O'ahu, it can be hypothesized that Deaf people migrated to the district[43] so as to be near other Deaf people. HSL could best develop in such a community.

Hawaiian language newspapers, published on the mission printing press, also mentioned Deaf people. It was reported in 1875 that a Hawaiian delegation went to visit a "School for the Deaf and Mute" in California. The author praised the government for providing a school for the "unfortunates."[44]

An 1876 article related part of a speech given by the Honorable E. Helekunihi to the Legislature on June 27, 1876. Helekunihi talked about a deaf school in Ireland that was famous among deaf people and said schools like this are necessary for Hawai'i.[45] It is noteworthy that the need for a Deaf school was discussed in the Hawaiian Legislature at this early date.

In 1887, Queen Kapi'olani and her niece Lili'uokalani visited the National Deaf Mute College (later became Gallaudet College) in Washington D.C. while *en route* to England.[46] According to her interpreter's memoires, the Queen was moved by the sight of Deaf higher education and expressed her hope that a school would be built in Honolulu for the islands' Deaf children.[47] But the *coup d'état* (1893)[48] and American annexation (1898)[49] intervened.

Late 1800s and early 1900s: news of Deaf people in the English press

In the latter decades of the 1800s, Hawai'i changed radically as tens of thousands of immigrants were brought to work in the American-controlled sugar industry that drove the economy. The first immigrants were Chinese (1852); then Portuguese (1878); Japanese (1886); Puerto Rican (1901); Korean (1904); Filipino (1906); and others.[50] From 1890 on, immigrants outnumbered the native population.[51] Soon, the immigrant groups had Deaf members. The demographic change brought new cultural influences to the islands' Deaf community, and new linguistic influences to HSL (e.g. signs/gestures/expressions/ Pidgin words from the plantation camps; perhaps Okinawan or Japanese signs[52]). The extent of these influences has not been studied.

There are many news articles in the English-language press related to Deaf people and what they were doing in the late 1800s and early 1900s. These news articles provide snapshots of Deaf life back then, including insights on HSL.

Most of the news items noted activities of Deaf people in or near Honolulu, where Deaf people were very visible. There were jobs in the city: selling newspapers,[53] washing clothes,[54] selling flowers,[55] shining boots,[56] even working at a police stand on Merchant St.[57] All of the jobs that appeared in the news were done by Deaf boys or men, except for washing clothes, which was done by a "deaf servant girl."[58]

A Deaf community was in evidence. A fancy Deaf wedding was described on the *Evening Bulletin* society page in 1911. **The bride and groom, three bridesmaids, the best man, the flower girl, the ring bearer, and eighty of the ninety-six guests were all "deaf mutes"!** The marriage was conducted in sign language.[59] From this story, there can be no doubt that a Deaf community and their sign language not only existed, but perhaps thrived, in the early 1900s.

A two-handed alphabet(s) was first noted in the press around the turn of the century. In 1893, a stowaway from Liverpool, England named "Hannah the Mute" and his hearing friend arrived in Honolulu on the *Alameda*; a week later they were put on a ship returning to the Mainland. The captain of the departing ship "made a wry face and went through a lot of motions...of the deaf and dumb alphabet"[60] (he was probably mimicking the British Sign Language—BSL-- alphabet). In 1902, the Hilo Circuit Court admitted a deaf man, Conrad Lehman, to citizenship. The interview with Lehman was interpreted by his brother using the "deaf and dumb alphabet."[61]

Fortunately, the letters in Hawai'i's two-handed alphabet can be recalled by some elderly Hawai'i Deaf people. These letters are very similar to letters in the American two-handed alphabet.[62] Both American and Hawai'i alphabets have differences from the BSL alphabet. A separate article will report on the alphabet used in Hawai'i.

Court and Sign Language Interpreters

During the early 1900s, Deaf people appeared in court in various capacities: as culprits, victims and witnesses to crimes, and for civil matters. Sometimes Deaf men got in trouble for stealing[63,64,65,66] or for violent incidents.[67,68] In a 1905 case, a deaf man, Maou Jr., allegedly stole $20.55, but in court it was found that he could understand neither writing nor sign language (or was faking it);[69] therefore he was sent to the Reform School.[70]

The newspapers reported several cases of persecution of Deaf children. In 1902, a "little mute native boy" was struck with a rock; the culprit was given a month's imprisonment.[71] Also in 1902, two "Portuguese hoodlums"[72] were charged with assault on Moauliilii, a "deaf mute" native boy;[73] they were sentenced to three months imprisonment with hard labor.[74] In 1915, Eddie Opunui, a 7-year old Hawaiian "Deaf mute" was struck over the head with an iron bar. His attacker, a Japanese man, was fined $15.[75] Also in 1915, a Portuguese man was charged with sexual assault of a "deaf mute" girl named Maria Pimental; the girl testified against him in court.[76]

The first mention of the use of a sign language interpreter was in 1900: when a "deaf and dumb" native man was tried for stealing firewood, "another native who understood the sign language was sworn as interpreter."[77] A story meant to be humorous was written in 1900 about Judge Wilcox's pantomime in the case of a "Deaf mute" taken off the streets for intoxication. The Judge made motions of draining a mug of beer, to which the Deaf man agreed. But, according to an observer, there was a misunderstanding: the judge thought the man was admitting drunkenness, but the man was just agreeing to a beer![78]

Sometimes Deaf people were witnesses to crimes. In 1902, "a deaf and dumb native boy who used to polish shoes at the Union stand on Merchant street" gave evidence to the police about a man carrying a can before a fire erupted, clearly stating what he saw but not inferring the contents of the can.[79] In 1904, a "deaf and dumb" Hawaiian boy was called as a witness in a case of theft. "By eloquent signs and gestures, he demonstrated to the Court how he had seen the defendants raise the window ... take out ... (the man's) trousers and abstract from them the money."[80]

The case involving the Deaf girl who was sexually assaulted required two interpreters. The girl's mother was allowed to be the sign language interpreter. There was another interpreter from English to Portuguese. When the girl was questioned,

> some of the answers she wrote on slips of paper which were handed the court and jury, while others were translated into English by her mother. The method of conversation between the mother and daughter was a mixture of lip movements, waves of the hands and actions of the arms. In many instances (the mother) conveyed the girl's answers to the court through the Portuguese interpreter.[81]

From this description it is revealed that the Deaf girl had some (probably basic) literacy skills. The sign language emphasized lip, hand, and arm movements. Lastly, it gives an example of the mixed language environment of Hawai'i at the time.

A similar situation was described in a trial that required English, Hawaiian, and sign language. A "Deaf mute" named Henry Opunui was called to testify in a larceny case. The questions put to Opunui were given in English to (interpreter), who translated them into Hawaiian for the witness's mother. Mrs. Opunui, with the aid of arm, hand, and lip movements, conveyed the questions to her son, who answered them with like movements.[82]

There was a high-profile divorce of a young "Deaf mute" woman named Lennie Hopper Barth from her abusive hearing husband. Having graduated from a Deaf school in California, she attempted to open a "School for Deaf Mute Children" in Honolulu in 1902.[83] There was no further mention of the school, but Mrs. Barth received alimony by order of the court. A sign language interpreter was used to tell her story.[84]

In 1910, a "deaf and dumb man," George Davis, fought his case for the right to vote. He and his lawyer insisted that the "deaf and dumb" are allowed to vote if they are intelligent and know what it means." He submitted a decision from a law book that stated:

> Although the early writers on elections held that deaf and dumb persons were not qualified as voters (due to) the doctrine which classifies these persons with idiots, there is no doubt that if they are of sufficient mental capacity they are competent to vote.

Mr. Davis's legal argument proved that he was intelligent and knew what he was doing, and he was thus registered. His means of communication were not stated.[85]

To summarize: there were twelve news articles that discussed testimony given by Deaf people in court (or, in one case, to the police). In five cases, sign language interpreters were used. In three cases, testimony in sign language was given but there was no mention of the use of interpreters. In two cases, interpreters were not used. In the case of George Davis who won the right to vote, it was not clear how he communicated or if his lawyer spoke for him. In one case, the Deaf defendant could neither write nor understand sign language (or was faking). In these early cases, family members or friends served as sign language interpreters.

Much later, a news article in 1987 described the use of two sign language interpreters in court, one for HSL and one for ASL.[86] From this information, *Ethnologue*, since the 11th edition, 1988, listed the local sign language under the name "Hawai'i Pidgin Sign Language [hps]."[87] They used the name "Pidgin Sign Language" because the newspaper called it that.[88] However, HSL is not a pidgin and does not derive from the Pidgin language. Recently, *Ethnologue* officially changed the name to "Hawai'i Sign Language [hps]."[89]

Founding of the Deaf School and Effects on Hawai'i Sign Language

There was no permanent school for Deaf children in Hawai'i until 1914 when a School for "Defectives" was established by the Territorial government.[90] From the beginning and lasting for many decades, the school had an oral philosophy; sign language was banned. This had a devastating effect on children's ability to learn, and perhaps contributed to the decline of HSL.

At first, the curriculum was strictly vocational. Young children were taught paper folding, simple weaving, and clay modeling.[91] Soon children were making hammocks, simple furniture, and paper and raffia items,[92] by which small sums could be earned.[93] In 1919, the school moved to its present location in Waikīkī.[94] In 1921, developmentally delayed children were sent to a separate school in Aiea, and the school was re-named the Territorial School for the Deaf and Blind.[95]

By 1922, there were 23 deaf and two blind children in attendance. The school's oral philosophy was stated as follows: "with the deaf, the Oral Method... speech and speech reading, together with writing, are made the chief means of instruction. Facility in speech and speech-reading, as well as mental development and written language, is aimed at.[96] In 1923, dorms were built to house children from other islands.[97] In 1926, there were 53 Deaf pupils and 12 blind.[98]

The "oral" method to teach children to speak and lipread words they cannot hear is notoriously difficult. A 1934 interview with teachers at the school revealed that it took four months to teach a deaf child their first word, "arm." It was taught by showing the mouth movement while the child felt the vibrations in the throat and watched the tongue movements. A full year was needed to teach 100 words.[99]

In a strictly oral school, how did Deaf children learn HSL? The children inhabited a dual reality: in class, they did what the teachers required, but outside class, they signed. They craved visual language and used it whenever possible: in the dorms, during recess, and in their free time. Their peer leaders would have been those children who came from Deaf families who came to school with HSL already established as their first language; those children would have taught the other children. However, children from Deaf families would have been few.[100] Encounters with other Deaf people in Honolulu may have provided opportunities to pick up signs; however, the school was self-contained.[101]

Even though children signed in their free time, the philosophy of the school imposed limits on the development of HSL. According to an elderly Deaf man interviewed around 1985, describing his childhood at the school, "the number of signs we used and the ways in which they were used was limited. We signed to help make lipreading easier."[102]

A somewhat more favorable signing context was observed during a school outing in 1941. A visitor to the Deaf school accompanied a group of children and staff on the short walk from the school to Waikīkī beach. She described the children as being engaged in their own world, signing excitedly. She could not understand their signing but it was non-stop and animated.[103]

A picture emerges of Deaf children being able to sign, but having limited sign input from adults. They had limited knowledge of the larger world because everything in school was taught orally; this would impose limits on their HSL vocabulary and ability to express concepts. It was possible to become more skilled after leaving school, broadening their horizons, and using sign language full-time.

A 1953 survey confirmed that alumni (who graduated approximately from 1933 to 1952) used sign language almost exclusively upon leaving school.[104] This shows that despite their years of oral training, Deaf school alumni used sign language[105] as their first language once they were free to use it.

Decades later, our 2012 interviews revealed a similar pattern. (Our informants graduated between approximately 1939 and 1968). They all signed despite their oral background. One bitterly recalled how the hands would be struck if a child was caught signing.[106] They reported that they "couldn't learn"[107] in school; "couldn't understand,"[108] "learned more from movies" his grandfather bought for him,[109] "ignored school,"[110] "played"[111] throughout school, and "turned off" after being smacked by a teacher.[112] The limited language input and sometimes abusive learning environment caused Deaf children to be unsure about many things, to grow up doubting themselves and having low self-esteem.[113]

Though the school did not support sign language, it provided identity, friends, and community that Deaf people needed. Some children also benefitted from vocational and sports training. And, despite its intentions, the school was crucial to the standardization of HSL across the islands. From 1923 until recently, most Deaf children from all the islands spent their formative years here. Despite the obstacles, they learned HSL and then took it home to the other islands during vacations and upon leaving school.[114]

Father Mac's Deaf Club and Edwin Inn

A Deaf Club was formed in 1939 that filled the need of Deaf young adults to improve their signing. The Club grew out of five weekly meetings held in the summer of 1939 by a priest called "Father Mac" who visited from Los Angeles.[115] For most of the group, it was their first introduction to ASL.[116]

The Maryknoll mission wanted to continue to work with Deaf adults after the priest departed. The meetings continued as "Father Mac's Deaf Club," of which Edwin Inn was President and sign language instructor. The Club met monthly from October, 1939 to at least 1943.[117] A 1940 news article reported that the group included "23 ambitious young men and women."[118] The members were Japanese and Chinese, some Hawaiian and a few Portuguese.[119] The oldest of our informants is the only member of Father Mac's Deaf Club still alive in 2014.[120]

Edwin was Catholic,[121] thus he was able to lead the group in signing prayers.[122] The format of the meetings included a half hour of religious instruction, half hour for the study of signs, and two hours for socializing.[123] Though the church was paternalistic, back in 1939 Deaf people sometimes needed a powerful ally that could help them when they encountered discrimination.[124]

The group knew that Father Mac used signs from the Mainland, different from theirs. There is evidence that Edwin thought ASL was progressive: in a letter to a Sister who taught religion at the Deaf school, he urged her to:

> keep on studying hard and learn the method of sign languages as described in the book that Father M.C. used because it contains several spellings and other kinds of languages than Deaf in Hawaii have. So therefore keep on studying with the book and some day there will be a change between Hawaii's method and Father M.C.'s method.[125]

From this letter, we know that a book was used to teach the ASL alphabet and ASL signs. Based on his advice to the Sister, Edwin seemed to support learning ASL. We don't know the extent that the group incorporated ASL signs; however, they likely used any signs that could improve their communication. Edwin taught his children the ASL alphabet.[126] However, Edwin's signing remained mostly HSL; his son knew mostly HSL and confessed to being confused by the incomprehensible signs[127] he encountered upon moving to California in 1973.[128]

Father Mac's Deaf Club was important because it was the only time that sign language was nurtured instead of punished. Having a Deaf person in a leadership position was also unprecedented. Emerging out of deeply oppressive oral times, Edwin Inn was a remarkable man[129] at a transitional moment.

Transition from HSL to ASL

The priest's 1939 visit not only introduced ASL to Deaf young adults; it also led to Deaf children's exposure to ASL. At the priest's urging, children at the Deaf school began to receive religious instruction from the Sisters in ASL.[130] For many years, successive classes of Deaf children were taught ASL; the Sisters taught them every Wednesday at the school.[131] However, permission to use signs did not extend to other classes.

According to undated notes of the Sisters, the children "like to learn new signs, because they enrich their sign vocabulary, which is somewhat limited." The signs were taught by explanation in signs paired with the English word written on the blackboard.[132] One of our informants recalled first seeing the ASL alphabet taught by a nun around 1941, and being immediately attracted to it.[133]

Also in late 1939, children at the Deaf school got another source of ASL. Mrs. Lacey, a teacher, departed for the Mainland due to sickness. She was replaced by Mr. (Sam) Palmer, a CODA[134] from the Mainland who "strongly advocated the use of signs."[135]

According to the informant in Hellman's 1985 paper, "Mr. Palmer... was shocked we did not use sign language very much. Even though sign language was forbidden,... Mr. Palmer taught us signs... He taught us many new signs."[136]

At around the same time that Mr. Palmer was hired, Alden Ravn and his wife Laura (both Deaf from the Mainland) were hired as dorm parents, thus providing another source of ASL. However, according to Alden, the students resisted ASL.[137] The Ravns returned to the Mainland in 1942 after the bombing of Pearl Harbor.[138]

Our informant expressed disgust that Mr. Palmer was eventually fired for signing and that the children were thrust back into strict oralism.[139] (Mr. Palmer was fired in 1946; it means that children at the Deaf school had about 6 years of ASL input from him).

In 1948, a new teacher from the Mainland, Hershel Mouton, was hired. Two of our informants recalled learning ASL signs and alphabet from him; this was a high point of their schooling.[140] He and his wife Georgia, both Deaf, had met at Gallaudet University and moved to Hawai'i for Hershel's job. They settled and became part of the Deaf community. The locals looked up to them because not only did they have education, they also completely embraced their new culture in Hawai'i, including all the ethnic influences. The locals respected them for their strong support of the Deaf community. ASL was already considered superior to HSL; many local people learned ASL from the newcomers.[141]

In 1950, the Hawai'i Chapter of the Deaf, affiliated with the National Association of the Deaf (NAD),[142] was organized. This group was a self-advocacy group. They had twenty to thirty active members. Hershel Mouton was Vice President and Georgia Mouton was Secretary, while the President was Duane Wright and Treasurer was Charles Tanaka. Three of the four officers were from the Mainland and used ASL.[143] Meetings were conducted in "a language of signs and the manual alphabet."[144] It was probably a bilingual

context in which both HSL and ASL were used. But after a while, the boundaries between the two languages would tend to blur.

The linking of leadership with ASL would only increase as the top students from the Deaf school were sent to Gallaudet University beginning in the early 1950s.[145] They would return with expert ASL to take up positions of leadership. This trend has continued up to the present.

By 1955, HSL and ASL were mixed about fifty-fifty.[146] An informant described a diglossic language context: ASL was "high" and HSL was "low."[147] Hellman hypothesized a large degree of language flexibility among Deaf adults at the time: they negotiated language continua between 1) HSL and ASL; 2) HSL and HCE (Hawaii Creole English known as Pidgin); and 3) HSL-ASL and Standard American English, depending on the situation and communication needs.[148]

During the era of plantation camps before statehood, HSL incorporated mouth movements that were "approximations of local Pidgin words and expressions,"[149] an observation corroborated by a key informant who provided examples of Hawaiian and Pidgin words contained in HSL: *pau* (finish), *holoholo* (going out), *lolo* (crazy), *pupule* (act crazy), *make* (dead), *bumbye* (later on).[150] Now, English words have largely supplanted Hawaiian and HCE words among our informants: instances of mouthing/ voicing in English in conjunction with their signing were commonly seen among our elderly interviewees; only *pau* was retained.[151]

In 2012, only a few of our informants used HSL signs (mixed with ASL) naturally and un-self-consciously. One insisted that ASL is superior to HSL.[152] Most could only reflect on HSL of the past. Several expressed that while ASL had more complexity than HSL, it did not embody the Hawaiian spirit and the spirit of all the immigrants, who themselves had absorbed the Hawaiian spirit, the way HSL did. The spirit of Hawai'i was missing from ASL. The loss of HSL was a loss of spirit.[153]

Conclusions

Though much remains unknown, the following historical account is offered. The evidence indicates that there were native Hawaiian signs dating from at least the early 1800s. Hawaiian culture in the past may have been favorable for development of a sign language because of the evident willingness of hearing Hawaiians to include signs and gestures in their communication. There could have been a sign language used by both Deaf and hearing people. Or perhaps hearing Hawaiians used signs and gestures for contact communication with hearing people who did not speak Hawaiian. Either case would have been a good communication context for Deaf Hawaiians. Perhaps signs and gestures were used for both purposes.

During the immigrant period, HSL incorporated influences from the plantation camps and the Pidgin language used in the camps and possibly from the sign languages of immigrant populations. Though HSL was no longer strictly Hawaiian, evidence suggests that it

retained its Hawaiian core while adding and evolving through the interaction of ethnically diverse Deaf people.

When the Deaf school was established in 1914 under the Territorial government, its oral philosophy negatively affected HSL. The ban on sign language in the school limited the scope of knowledge that was accessible to Deaf children; the vocabulary of HSL was thus correspondingly limited. Though HSL signs were spread to the other islands as a result of the school, development of the language was impeded.

Father Mac's Deaf Club from 1939 to 1943 was a positive assertion by Deaf young adults of their right to sign language. But a resurgence of HSL was not possible because ASL was already gaining ground. The priest introduced ASL to the young adults, who may have welcomed new signs to fill gaps in their HSL caused by oralism.

More importantly, from late 1939, children at the Deaf school were taught ASL by the Sisters. Moreover, Mr. Palmer, the Ravns, and later Hershel Mouton, taught them ASL. Children craved sign input and ASL was increasingly provided. This was a death knell for HSL because the children then grew up with a foundation in ASL. They would later identify with ASL, not HSL, causing a disjunction between the generations of Deaf people in Hawai'i. With ASL established as the first language of Deaf children, HSL would slowly die out as its users passed on.[154]

The larger picture of what happened with HSL in some ways parallels the near demise of the indigenous Hawaiian language and the Pidgin language, which were both targeted by the American regime to be replaced with English. From the beginning of ASL in the islands, it held power because it was American and therefore superior. ASL was promoted by religious teachers, thus had a stamp of approval. Reflecting the larger trend of Americanization, sources of ASL were increasingly prevalent in Hawai'i and ASL was increasingly associated with superior education and leadership.

Like other oppressed minorities, Hawai'i Deaf people internalized their oppression and lacked self-confidence due to their poor educational background under oralism. Maybe they doubted their own worth and the worth of their language. Maybe they sought to improve themselves by learning ASL. But in the oral context of the time, this trend was probably not experienced as linguistic imperialism because ASL was a *sign language* and access to *any* sign language was liberation. This explains the apparent absence of resistance to ASL.[155] ASL became increasingly indispensible to Deaf children's education and upward mobility, and was therefore supported. ASL gradually became the new normal while HSL gradually became a curiosity from the past.

Now HSL survives mostly in old people's memories, though it is possible that from these memories, HSL can be recreated. Over the next few years, the activities of the ELDP grant directed by Prof. James Woodward will bring HSL back from the brink. But it remains for future HSL signers to infuse it again with spirit.

Acknowledgements

Linda Lambrecht kept a box of papers collected by Harrison Hoo, aka Hirakana Kanji. Before his untimely death, Kanji spent countless hours at the UH-M Sinclair library collecting these references. The box yielded several important pieces of information.

Special thanks to Prof. James Woodward for adding numerous insights to the discussion on HSL. Especially helpful is the background on indigenous sign languages from similar contexts as that of early Hawai'i.

Thanks also to Prof. Albert J. Schütz for contributing background on Polynesian languages and the shared word for "deaf" across many islands; also for stimulating discussions on an earlier draft.

Mahalo to Akea Kiyuna for searching Hawaiian language newspapers for articles related to Deaf people, and for translation of several articles.

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[1] Entitled "History and Documentation of Hawaiian Sign Language and Deaf Lives of the Past," funded by Hawai'i Council for the Humanities, Gallaudet University, The College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature, University of Hawai'i- Mānoa, and the Linguistics Department, UHM. We interviewed 19 elderly

[2] Woodward, J. 2013ms. Using Lexicostatistics to Determine the Relationship Between Hawai`i Sign Language and American Sign Language. Manuscript, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i at Manoa, Honolulu, Hawai'i.

[3] www.endangeredlanguages.com

[4] Woodward, J. (2013). Project "Documentation of Hawai'i Sign Language: Building the Foundation for Documentation, Conservation, and Revitalization of Endangered Pacific Island Sign Languages" funded by ELDP.

[5] Woodward, J. 2013ms.

[6] Groce, N.E. (1985). *Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language: Hereditary Deafness on Martha's Vineyard*. Harvard University Press.

[7] Washabaugh, J., J. Woodward and S. DeSantis (1978). Providence Island Sign Language: A Context-Dependent Language. *Anthropological Linguistics*, Vol. *20(3)*, pp. 95-109.

[8] Kuschel, R. (1974). *A Lexicon of Signs From a Polynesian Outlier Island*. Copenhagen: Psychological Laboratory, Copenhagen University.

[9] Nyst, V.A.S. (2007). *A descriptive analysis of Adamorobe sign language (Ghana)*. Utrecht: LOT

[10] De Vos, C. (2011). *A signers' village in Bali, Indonesia*. Minpaku Anthropology Newsletter, 33, 4-5.

[11] Nonaka, A. M. (2004). The forgotten endangered languages: Lessons on the importance of remembering from Thailand's Ban Khor Sign Language. *Language in Society 33:5*. pp. 737–768.

[12] Woodward, J. (1991). Sign Language Varieties in Costa Rica. *Sign Language Studies,* 73, p. 329-346.

[13] Kuschel, R. (1974). *op. cit.*

[14] Groce, N.E. (1985). *op. cit.*

[15] Washabaugh et al. (1978). *op. cit.*

[16] Bishop museum display.

[17] Bishop museum display.

[18] Mythic Hawaii 2006. http://mythichawaii.com/hawaiian-history-culture.htm

[19] Bishop museum display.

[20] Albert J. Schütz, personal communication, 27 April 2013.

[21] James Woodward, personal communication, 15 May 2013.

[22] Bellwood, P. A Hypothesis for Austronesian Origins. *Asian Perspectives*, xxvi(1) 1984-1985:109. http://scholarspace.manoa.hawaii.edu/bitstream/handle/10125/16922/AP-v26n1-107-117.pdf?sequence=1

[23] Mythic Hawaii (2006). http://mythichawaii.com/hawaiian-history-culture.htm

[24] Hiram Bingham and T. H. Gallaudet were of the same Congregational faith and "brothers" from Andover Seminary, Mass.

[25] ASL developed from French Sign Language (LSF) brought by Clerc mixed with signs brought by students, including local and home signs and signs from Martha's Vineyard Sign Language (MVSL).

[26] Gallaudet, T.H. (1826). The Language of Signs as Auxiliary to the Christian Missionary. *Christian Observer* 26:592-593.
[27] Lepore, J. (2002). *A is for American*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. p.104.
[28] Schütz, A. J. (1994) *The Voices of Eden: A History of Hawaiian Language Studies*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. pp. 99–100, 398–99).
[29] Bingham, Hiram (1821). Personal letter addressed to Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, Principal of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum, Hartford, Conn. Written at Sandwich Island Woahu February 23, 1821. p. 2-3.
[30] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 2.
[31] Parts of Bingham's handwritten letter are illegible. These places are indicated with .... in the transcription.
[32] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 3
[33] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 3.
[34] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 3.
[35] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 3.
[36] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 2.
[37] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 3.
[38] Bingham, *op. cit*. p. 2.
[39] Gallaudet, T.H. (1826). The Language of Signs as Auxiliary to the Christian Missionary. *Christian Observer* 26:593.
[40] Lepore, J. (2002). *A is for American*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. p.103.
[41] Schütz, A. J. (1994). op. cit. p. 100. See also Notes from Hawkesworth's account, how Cook and his men communicated with the Tahitians, courtesy of Albert Schütz.
[42] Census Table of the Hawaiian Islands for 1853. The Polynesian Race only is included. Source: Hawai'i State Archives.
[43] There is no modern district named *Maunalua a Maunalua,* but *Maunalua* is the area between Koko Head and Koko crater in the east Honolulu area. Source: Ulukau Hawaiian Electronic Library. http://wehewehe.org/gsdl2.85/cgi-bin/hdict?e=q-11000-00---off-0hdict--00-1----0-10-0---0---0direct-10-ED--4-------0-1lp0--11-en-Zz-1---Zz-1-home-Maunalua+--00-3-1-00-0--4----0-0-11-00-0utfZz-8-00&a=d&d=D90298
[44] Huakai ma Kaleponi. Helu 10 29 Apelila 1875. *Ka Lahui Hawaii*. B1H18A1.
[45] Ka Haiolelo a ka Hon. E. Helekunihi. 6 Iulai 1876 *Ka Lahui Hawaii*. B2H28A1.
[46] Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Washington, D.C. Bureau with Ke Ali'i Maka'ainana Hawaiian Civic Club (2009). *Ali`i Diplomatic Missions and other Business Travel to Washington, D.C. Phase 2 Research*. p. 16. http://www.oha.org/pdf/alii_mission2009.pdf Original source: "Deaf & Dumb Orators; Presentation Day at Kendall Green Honored by Queen's Presence." *The Washington Post* (Archives). Edition Date: May 5, 1887.
[47] Iaukea, Curtis Piehu and Lorna Watson. *By Royal Command*. Honolulu: Hui Hanai, 1988 (pp. 111-112).
[48] HawaiiHistory.org http://www.hawaiihistory.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ig.page&PageID=312
[49] U.S. History. Seeking Empire: Hawaiian annexation. http://www.ushistory.org/us/44b.asp
[50] Hawai'i Plantation museum, Pāpa'ikou, Big Island.
[51] Catton, Margaret M.L. (1959). *Social Service in Hawaii*. Palo Alto, CA: Pacific Books. p. 288.
[52] Darlene Ewan, personal communication, April, 2013.
[53] *Honolulu Times*, July 1, 1903, p.7.
[54] Mrs. Wharton Begins her Story. *The Hawaiian Star*, Thursday March 29, 1906, p.6.
[55] Eye Witness tells of Accident Yesterday Forenoon. *Evening Bulletin*. Territory of Hawaii, Tuesday September 29, 1903, p.1.
[56] Local and General. *Evening Bulletin: Honolulu, H.I.*, October 20, 1898, p.5.
[57] Local and General. *op. cit*.
[58] Mrs. Wharton Begins her Story. *The Hawaiian Star*, Thursday March 29, 1906, p.6.
[59] A China Shower. *Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu, H.T. December 9, 1911, p. 21.
[60] The City's Guests: Two Travelers Whose Modesty Prevents Their Buying Tickets. *The Hawaiian Star*, Friday, September 29, 1893, p.5.
[61] *Hilo Tribune*, October 10, 1902, no page number.

[62] Loew, R. C., C. Tane Akamatsu, & Mary Lanaville (2000). A Two-Handed Manual Alphabet in the United States. In Karen Emmorey & Harlan Lane (eds.) *The Signs of Language Revisited; an Anthology to Honor Ursala Bellugi and Edward Klima*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 245-259.
[63] A Bungling Lot of Amateur Thieves. *The Hawaiian Star*, Monday, December 21, 1903, p. 5.
[64] *Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu, T. H. March 10, 1904, p. 8.
[65] Deaf Mute Clue. *The Hawaiian Star*, Friday, September 8, 1905, p. 7.
[66] Deaf and Dumb Culprit. *The Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu H. I. Monday. April 9, 1900, p. 6.
[67] Was Deaf and Dumb. *The Evening Bulletin*. Honolulu, H. I. May 4, 1898, p. 8.
[68] Wanted to Stab his Old Mother. *The Hawaiian Star*, Honolulu, H.T. February 9, 1903, p. 1.
[69] Authorities are in a Quandary. *The Hawaiian Star*, Friday, September 8, 1905, p. 5.
[70] *The Independent*, Saturday, September 9, 1905, no page number.
[71] Local and General. *The Independent*, October 22, 1902, no page number.
[72] *The Hawaiian Star*, Monday, December 29, 1902, p. 4.
[73] Wilcox Fires Some Hot Shot. *The Hawaiian Star*, Tuesday, December 30, 1902, p. 5.
[74] Toughs Treated to Imprisonment: Three Months for an Assault on Deaf Mute. *Evening Bulletin*, Territory of Hawaii, Tuesday, December 30, 1902, p. 1.
[75] Local and General. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Friday, November 19, 1915, p. 3.
[76] Deaf and Dumb Girl Testifies in U.S. Court. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Thursday, January 7, 1915, p. 3.
[77] Deaf and Dumb Culprit. *op. cit.*
[78] The Judge and the Mute. *The Hawaiian Star*, Tuesday, January 9, 1900, p. 6.
[79] Nigel Jackson Denies that he was Connected with the Friel Fire. *Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii, Friday, October 31, 1902.
[80] Was Deaf and Dumb but Had a Good Sight. *Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu, T. H. March 25, 1904, p. 5.
[81] Deaf and Dumb Girl Testifies, *op. cit.*
[82] English, Hawaiian and Sign Languages Necessary in Trial. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Friday, January 14, 1916, p. 6.
[83] School for Deaf Mute Children, *Sunday Bulletin*, Honolulu H.I. Sunday May 4, 1902, p. 8.
[84] *Hawaiian Gazette*, Tuesday April 8, 1902, p.5. Mrs. Barth was recently from California and therefore used ASL. The interpreter may have been her mother. (Mrs. Barth's mother was noted in the ad for the proposed school as being available to teach the "lip language" to children having "any voice." Source: Sunday Bulletin op. cit. 1902).
[85] Big Gain in Registration. *Evening Bulletin*, Honolulu, T. H. Monday, October 10, 1910, p. 3.
[86] Sign language, pidgin used in homicide case. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, Tuesday, April 14, 1987.
[87] Joe Grimes through William O'Grady, personal communication, 11 March 2013.
[88] Barbara Grimes through William O'Grady, personal communication, 12 March, 2013.
[89] Personal communication, Albert Bickford, 7 February, 2014.
[90] "Defective" reveals the attitude of the Territorial government toward children with disabilities.
[91] Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Biennium ending December 31st, 1914. (1915) Honolulu: The Hawaiian Gazette Co. Ltd. p. 35
[92] Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Biennium Ending December 31st, 1918. Honolulu: The New Freedom Press. p. 16.
[93] Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Biennium Ending December 31st, 1918. Honolulu: The New Freedom Press. p. 35.
[94] Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to the Governor of the Territory of Hawaii for the Biennium Ending December 31st, 1920. Honolulu: The New Freedom Press. p. 25.
[95] Hawaii's Public Schools. (January 1923). Being the Biennial Report of the Department of Public Instruction, Territory of Hawaii, 1921-1922. Honolulu: The Advertiser Publishing Co. p. 89.
[96] Hawaii's Public Schools, op. cit. p. 89.
[97]Department of Public Instruction, Territory of Hawaii, Biennial Report to the Governor and Legislature. Biennium ending December 31, 1924, p.72.
[98] Biennial Report of the Department of Public Instruction of the Territory of Hawaii 1925-1926. (1927). p. 103.
[99] Williams, J. (1934). Making the Blind "See" and the Deaf "Hear'. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, December 8, 1934. Third section, p. 1.

[100] Many sources estimate that approximately 10% of Deaf children are born to Deaf parents, but the incidence could be as low as 4%. See R. Mitchell & M. Karchmer (2002). Chasing the Mythical Ten Percent: Parental Hearing Status of Deaf and Hard of Hearing Students in the United States. http://research.gallaudet.edu/Demographics/SLS_Paper.pdf
[101] Hellman, E. (circa 1985). *The Question of Hawaiian Sign Language: Pidgin, Creole or Dialect?* Unpublished paper. p. 4.
[102] Hellman, E. (circa 1985). *op. cit.* p. 3.
[103] Hester Parsons, personal communication, May 4, 2014. One of the staff may have been Alden Ravn.
[104] Nishikawa, Y. (1954). *A Descriptive Study of the Hearing Handicapped in the Territory of Hawaii*. A thesis submitted to the Graduate School of the University of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts. According to Nishikawa, all 30 respondents reported using sign language and the manual alphabet (likely the HSL alphabet but possibly also the ASL alphabet) to communicate with other Deaf people. Ten used speech and speech reading to communicate with hearing people, and 20 used gestures or writing.
[105] Assuming that students left school at age 18, some of these informants could have entered the Deaf school as early as 1921. The years they were in school are during the HSL period, though exposures to ASL began in late 1939.
[106] Wallace Hamada, August 21, 2012.
[107] Wallace Hamada, August 21, 2012.
[108] Informant A wishes to remain anonymous, August 23, 2012.
[109] James Souza, August 18, 2012.
[110] Informant B wishes to remain anonymous, August 15, 2012.
[111] Suichi Honda, August 14, 2012.
[112] Informant C wishes to remain anonymous, August 13, 2012.
[113] Wanda Andrew, personal communication, April 27, 2014.
[114] This scenario is generally accepted. Hester Parsons, age 90, (personal communication, April 3, 2014) provided a specific case. Her late Deaf husband, Anacleto "Koni" Battad, was from Kaua'i and knew a sign language used in the past only on Kaua'i. "But its all gone now" due to the spread of HSL from the school.
[115] He Helps the Deaf: Priest Leads Deaf Persons in Silent Sunday Gabfests. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, August 11, 1939, p. 1.
[116] William Silva had learned some ASL during trips to the Mainland for boxing meets; John Morales also knew some ASL from visiting the Mainland (source: Norman Galapin Oct. 6, 2013). These two men are seen in a 1940 photo of the Deaf Club.
[117] Based on Mission papers that listed enrollment of the Deaf Club at 28 for the year 1942-43. Source: Maryknoll Mission archives.
[118] Fingers Busy at Meetings of Deaf Club. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 8 1940, p. 1.
[119] Paper "Information Gathered from Interview with Sister Gregory, Aug. 20, 1941." Source: Maryknoll Mission archives.
[120] She is Betty Tatsuda. Her signing is now almost completely ASL.
[121] Waikiki Waves, October 5, 1939.
[122] As stated by Edwin Inn in his letter to Sister Gregory written October 3, 1939 from his home at 541 M. Road, Damon Tract, Honolulu.
[123] Paper "Information Gathered from Interview with Sister Gregory, Aug. 20, 1941." Source: Maryknoll Mission archives.
[124] A Hawaiian lawyer named David Trask was a friend of the Sisters and sometimes assisted members of the Deaf group; e.g. when employers tried to withhold just wages. Source: "Information from Interview with Sister Gregory, August 20, 1941."
[125] Edwin Inn's letter to Sister Gregory, October 3, 1939.
[126] Roland Inn, personal communication, December 2, 2012.
[127] Roland Inn, November 8, 2012.
[128] Roland Inn, November 28, 2012.
[129] Besides his accomplishment as a teacher, Edwin Inn is remembered for his many talents: he excelled in swimming, tumbling, judo, and arm wrestling, and was also a skilled carpenter and artist. According to his son, "perfection was a common thing with him." Source: Roland Inn, November 8, 2012.

[130] Waikiki Waves, October 3, 1939.
[131] Personal communication, Kim Mouton, Nov. 10, 2013.
[132] Source: Mission papers that listed enrollment of the adult Deaf Club at 28 for the year 1942-43. Source: Maryknoll Mission archives.
[133] Norman Galapin, interview August 31, 2012.
[134] Child of Deaf Adults. It means that his parents were Deaf and his first language was ASL. A CODA understands Deaf reality and Deaf culture.
[135] Waikiki Waves, October 20, 1939.
[136] Hellman, E. (circa 1985), op. cit. p. 4.
[137] Interview with Alden Ravn, 1995, by Wendy Carrington.
[138] Obituary for Alden Ravn, September 10, 2009, Williamson Funeral Home, Jacksonville, Ill. http://www.airsman-hires.com/obituaries/viewobit.php?oid=3447
[139] Norman Galapin, interview, August 31, 2012.
[140] Informant C (August 13, 2012); Informant D wishes to remain anonymous (August 16, 2012).
[141] Patty Sakal interview August 12, 2012. The Deaf teacher was her father, Hershel Mouton who used ASL. Her mother, Georgia, was an activist and leader in the Hawai'i Deaf community.
[142] The affiliation with NAD awaits confirmation from old records.
[143] Duane Wright was also from the Mainland. Source: Patty Sakal.
[144] Nishikawa, Y. (1954). op. cit. p. 60.
[145] School for Deaf Awards Degrees to 2 Islanders. *The Honolulu Advertiser*, Thursday, June 12, 1958, p. A6.
[146] According to Lambrecht's recollections.
[147] Norman Galapin, personal communication, April 21, 2013.
[148] Hellman, E. (circa 1985). op. cit. p. 6-8.
[149] Hellman, op. cit. p. 3.
[150] Patty Sakal, interview, August 12, 2012.
[151] It is not surprising that English would usurp HCE, as all schools in Hawai'i, not only the Deaf school, suppressed HCE and emphasized English only.
[152] Harry Aiana, August 13, 2012.
[153] James Souza best articulated this sentiment during interview August 18, 2012.
[154] Hester Parsons shared her experience of this. Personal communication, April 26, 2014.
[155] The research has uncovered no evidence of disagreements among Hawai'i Deaf people over which sign language to use. Rather, for some time, they shared signs, with both sides adopting signs from the other. Source: Hester Parsons, April 26, 2014.