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A PHONEMIC ANALYSIS OF HAWAIIAN

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PREFACE

Gratitude is expressed to the informants who supplied the basic material for this study. The thesis is dedicated to Ke-akua-ho'o-ulu 'Umi-a-maka (Mrs. J. J. Davis) and to Sarah Malina Ka-'ili-kea, in acknowledgement of the friendship that began my appreciation of Hawaiian culture.

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INTRODUCTION

During the last twenty years, the science of descriptive linguistics has been revolutionized by the development of phonemics. The new techniques have been used to some extent in descriptions of the well-known members of the Indo-European family, but have proved most valuable in analyses of the exotic languages. They have not thus far been applied to a Polynesian language.

Linguists study languages as they are spoken, rather than as they"should be" spoken. This is descriptive linguistics. This is the method used in the following phonemic analysis of Hawaiian. As such, it may prove valuable as a reproducible record of a language that is probably destined to extinction.

Through phonemic analysis, the distinctive sound segments, or phonemes, of the language are determined, together with their variant sounds, or allophones. These phonemes constitute the sound system of the language. Hawaiian commands attention among the world's languages because of the paucity of consonant phonemes, there being only eight. Their allophones, furthermore, are not numerous.

The method of study was as follows. Nine informants were chosen whose native language was Hawaiian. By "native" language is meant the language first learned. In all cases the informants were speakers who are more fluent in Hawaiian than in English, thus furnishing valid material for analysis. One possible exception to this is Informant Kai.

The informants are natives of the islands of Hawai'i, Maui, Kaua'i and Ni'ihau; two of them have had long periods of residence on O'ahu. The age span of the informants ranges from seventeen to eighty-six years. Because of limitations of time and circumstance, no middle aged informants were included. The educational backgrounds of the informants are varied, ranging from no formal schooling to schooling beyond high school.

Texts were secured by listening to and transcribing phonetically samples of the speech of the informants. In some texts, the phonetic transcription was taken down as the informant was speaking. In others, the transcription was made from recordings of the informant's speech, on tape or disk-type recording machine.

From the phonetic data thus gathered all the sounds heard and transcribed were set in phonetic chart form. Questionable sounds were rechecked for accuracy wherever possible. Phonemic procedures were then applied to this corrected system, based on the established techniques of linguistics. The principal source for methodology was Kenneth L. Pike's Phonemics.[1] The presentation and arrangement of this study is in the linguistic form recommended by Pike. Thus the results are presented in the Phonemic Analysis, pp. 5 to 26. The material on which the analysis was based is in the Texts, pp. 27 to 127. Because of the special interest in the /w/ phoneme, an additional separate study was made, which

1. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1947. Hereafter cited as Pike, Phonemics.

is presented in the Appendix, pp.128 to 131. The Bibliography, pp.132 to 133, lists the references consulted.

Previous studies of Hawaiian in the traditional manner[2] date back to 1837, when Adelbert von Chamisso published Über die Hawaiische Sprache in Leipzig. Subsequent works, published in Honolulu, include William D. Alexander's Short Synopsis of Hawaiian Grammar, 1854; Lorrin Andrews' Grammar of the Hawaiian Language, 1854; and A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language, 1865. Recent works are: Introduction to the Hawaiian Language, 1945, by Henry P. Judd, Mary Kawena Pukui and John F. G. Stokes; The Hawaiian Language, 1945, by Henry P. Judd; and Hawaiian Language (unpublished) by Edward Kahale.

There is much to be investigated in the area of Hawaiian. Certain features of the language, herein treated somewhat briefly, such as vowel length, or syllable stress, could well be further analyzed. Morphophonemics and morphology could be the basis for separate investigations. Dialect studies of the language, such as those being conducted on the mainland of the United States,[3] could well be made: the problem of the selection of the v-w allophones might be

2. The term "traditional" is used to refer to studies which are based on English structure, often molded to Greek and Latin, rather than the language as it is actually spoken.
3. An example of such a study is the Linguistic Atlas of New England, Providence, R. I.: Brown University, 1939-43.

solved definitively in this way. The contributions of Hawaiian to "pidgin" have never been evaluated. Studies are needed comparing Hawaiian to other Polynesian languages, and reconstructions of proto-Polynesian should be made. It is hoped that this research will interest others to continue study in this language.

PHONEMIC ANALYSIS

1. The phonemic norms

1.1 Chart of phonemic norms

	Point of Articulation			
	Bilabial	Dental-alveolar	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p		k	'
Fricative				h
Frictionless				
Nasal	m	n		
Lateral		l		
Semivowel	w			

	Front	Central	Back
High	i ī		u ū
Mid	e ē		o ō
Low		a ā	

(Macron indicates length)

1.2 Description of the consonant phonemes

There is a series of voiceless stops at the bilabial, velar and glottal points of articulation: /p/, /k/, /'/, respectively.

There is one voiceless fricative at the glottal position: /h/.

There are two voiced frictionless nasals at the bilabial and dental-alveolar points of articulation: /m/, /n/, respectively.

There is one voiced frictionless lateral at the dental-alveolar point of articulation: /l/.

There is one voiced frictionless semivowel at the bilabial point of articulation: /w/.

A more detailed description follows, with mention of the allophones:

(1) The /p/ phoneme is usually [p]. It may have stronger aspiration than the English phoneme, especially when in an initial position or in a stressed syllable. Examples: /paha/ 'perhaps', /ipu/, 'gourd, container'.

(2) The /k/ phoneme is usually [k]. It may have more aspiration initially than the English phoneme. In the Ni'ihau dialect, and in the speech of some of the older generation, /k/ has both [k] and [ʔ] allophones. For further discussion and examples of the [ʔ] allophone, see Texts, pp. 27-127. Examples of [k]: /kanaka/, 'man'.

(3) The /'/ phoneme is the glottal stop [ʔ] . The initial closure may be slight and not easy for the untrained ear to detect. Medially the closure is sharp. The phonemic nature of the glottal stop is established by the fact that many pairs of words are distinguished only by its presence or absence, such as:

kau	- 'your'	ulu	- 'grove, to grow'
ka'u	- 'mine'	'ulu	- 'breadfruit'
ia	- 'he, she, it'	ao	- 'day, earth, cloud'
'ia	- sign of passive voice	'ao	- 'dried taro, sweet potato
i'a	- 'fish'	a'o	- 'tuition, to teach'

(4) The /h/ phoneme is usually [ĥ] with more aspiration than the English phoneme. Examples: /huhū/ 'angry'; /aloha/ [alo͡ĥa] 'love, greetings' Ku, line 33. /Kamehameha/ [kameĥameĥa] 'name of famous king' P,line 1. In the speech of some speakers the /h/ is fricativized and approaches the voiceless velar fricative sound [x]. Example: /ho'ohihi/ [ho'oxixi] 'to entangle, to desire' Ku, line 9.

(5) The nasal /m/ and /n/ phonemes are usually [m] and [n] . /n/ differs from the English phoneme in that the point of articulation is closer to a dental position than alveolar. Examples: /mana'o/ 'idea, meaning'; /kamali'i/ 'children'; /nānā/ 'to see, to gaze at'. Even contiguous to back vowels, the dental [n̪] has been noted: /Puna/ P, line 11.

(6) The /l/ phoneme is usually 'clear' [l] and made at the dental-alveolar point of articulation. It varies freely with velarized [ɫ]. Examples: /lalo/ [lalo] 'below' Ma, line 20; /kolu/ [kolu] H, line 11; /poli/ [poli] 'breast' Tu, line 3. For examples of [l] and [t] see Texts, pp.33 -43.

(7) The /w/ phoneme has two allophones, [w] and a lax labio-dental [v]. The occurrence of these two allophones may be conditioned by position, or by environment, and varies among speakers. Further discussion of this phoneme is given in the Appendix, pp.129 -131.

(8) Extrasystematic phonemes:

There are certain consonant sounds in Hawaiian that are not a part of the regular contrastive system of phonemes. These are restricted in use to specific styles of speech, such as exclamations; and to specific morphemes, such as loan words.

(a) Exclamations:

The very commonly heard exclamation "chā!" [tsa] an expression of slight annoyance, contains a consonant cluster [ts] not in the regular phoneme system.

(b) Loan words which frequently use English sounds:

/b/	baibala	'Bible'	Kai, line 11
	buke	'book'	Kai, " 12
/r/	berena	'bread'	Kai, " 15
	hora	'hour'	Kai, " 34
/t/	tita	'sister'	Ki, " 31
	otomobila	'automobile'	Ki, " 6
/s/	Kristo	'Christ'[4]	

1.3 Description of vowel phonemes

1.3.1 The short vowel phonemes and their allophones

There are two unrounded front vowels at high and mid tongue positions: /i/ and /e/, respectively.

There are two unrounded back vowels at high and mid tongue positions, /u/ and /o/, respectively.

There is an unrounded central vowel made at the low tongue position, /a/.

A detailed description of the vowels and their allophones follows. All short vowels vary freely with voiceless vowels in an utterance-final position.

(1) The /i/ phoneme is normally [i]. It is not very tense and is sometimes lowered to [i˅], generally when unstressed in a final syllable. Examples: /inoa/ 'name'; /hiki/ 'can'.

(2) The /e/ phoneme includes the phonemic norm [e] and the lowered allophone [ɛ]. Where it occurs contiguous to /l/ and /n/, it is often [ɛ]. Examples: /hele/ [hɛlɛ] 'go'; /mele/ [mɛlɛ] 'song';

---

4. 'Kristo' commonly heard during Hawaiian religious services, contains two consonant clusters, [kr] and [st], not otherwise found in Hawaiian.

/pele/ [pɛlɛ] 'name of goddess'; /weliweli/ [wɛliwɛli - wɛli] 'fear, dread'; /kenikeni/ [kɛnikɛni] 'ten cents'; but /'olelo/ ['olelo] 'say'. In an unstressed final position, the phoneme approaches the /i/ phoneme, or phonetically [Iᵛ]. The English ear often confuses unstressed /e/ with /i/, as in /wale/ [wʌlIᵛ] 'only' and /pikake/ [pikakIᵛ] 'jasmine'.

(3) The /u/ phoneme is normally [u] as in /ua/ [uʷə] 'rain', and /pule/ [pule] 'prayer; but may be lowered to [ʊ] in an unstressed position. Examples: /ku'u/ [ku'ʊ] 'mine', and /pu'u/ [pu'ʊ] 'hill or throat'.

(4) The /o/ phoneme is a pure [o] and is not diphthongized to [oᵛ] as in English. This phonemic distinction is shown in the form /ko kākou/ 'our, plural inclusive partitive'. Examples of /o/: /'ono/ ['ono] 'tasty'; /kolohe/ [kolohe] 'naughty'. The unrounded allophone [ɤ] is sometimes heard, varying freely with [o] in such words as /ona/ [ɤnə] 'his' p. 46 line 2 ; and /'ohe/ ['ɤhe] 'no' P, line 8.

(5) The /a/ phoneme has two allophones occurring in stressed positions: [ɑ] and [ʌ]. [ʌ] may vary insignificantly with [ʌ^] and [ɑᵛ]. Because of the frequency of occurrence of [ʌ] , the following

examples are given, showing its use initially, and before and after all the consonants.

'apo	'catch'	pali	'cliff'
make	'die'	nana	'his, hers'
kani	'sound'	hana	'work, do'
wale	'only'	ha'i	'tell'
kali	'wait'	lapu	'ghost'
'awa	'kawa'	kahi	'some, a place'

The [ʌ] allophone is used exclusively in the stressed vowel cluster /ai/ and /au/. Examples: /mai/ [mʌi] 'from', /'ai/ [ʔʌi] 'eat', /Hawai'i/ [hawʌiʔi] 'Hawai'i'; and /'au/ [ʔʌu] 'bathe', /wau, au/ [wʌu, ʌu] 'I', /pau/ [pʌu] 'finished'.

In unstressed positions after all the consonants, /a/ is raised and weakened to [ə], or merely weakened [ᵃ]. Examples: /ka/ [kə] 'the'; /hana/ [hʌnə] 'do'; /kanaka/ [kənʌkə] or [kᵃnʌkᵊ] 'man', /ha'a/ [haʔᵃ] 'causative prefix'. This isn't explained

1.3.2 Separation of short vowel phonemes

All short vowel phonemes are phonemically distinct by contrast in minimal pairs.

(1) /i/ contrasts with /e/, /a/, /u/, /o/:

/pali/	'cliff'	/i/	'particle'
/pale/	'to ward off'	/a/	'particle'

/hiki/ 'can' /pili/ 'concerning'

/huki/ 'pull' /poli/ 'bosom'

(2) /e/ contrasts with /a/, /u/ and /o/:

/hele/ 'go' /helu/ 'to count' /e/ 'particle'

/hale/ 'house' /hulu/ 'feathers' /o/ 'particle'

(3) /a/ contrasts with /u/ and /o/:

/pale/ 'to ward off' /ka/ 'particle showing agentive possession'

/pule/ 'to pray' /ko/ 'particle showing partitive possession'

(4) /u/ contrasts with /o/:

/mua/ 'first' /hula/ 'dance'

/moa/ 'fowl' /hola/ 'hour'

1.3.3 Separation of long vowel phonemes

For each of the vowel phonemes: /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/; there is a vowel phoneme differing only in the degree of length: /ā/, /ē/, /ī/, /ō/, /ū/. Such vowels can be defined as long level non-rearticulated vowels. The long vowels are phonemically distinct from short vowels by contrast in minimal pairs. The phonemic nature of the long vowel is symbolized by a macron placed above the long vowel.

(1) /ā/ contrasts with /a/:

nānā 'to gaze at, look upon'

nana 'his, hers, its, possessive pronoun'

Not good examples

(2) /ē/ contrasts with /e/:

pēlā 'thus'

pela 'mattress'

(3) /ī/ contrasts with /i/:

kikī 'quick'

kiki 'st#ing'

(4) /ō/ contrasts with /o/:

manō 'shark'

mano 'head of stream of water'

(5) /ū/ contrasts with /u/:

Ka'ū 'name of district on Hawai'i'

ka'u 'mine, personal possessive pronoun'

This problem is further analyzed under Length, page 22.

1.4 Description of glides

The non-phonemic sounds [j] and [w] are sometimes heard where two consecutive vowels form two syllables. These are non-significant transition sounds of short duration, varying in prominence: preceding a stressed vowel they are more pronounced than before an unstressed vowel. They can be classified as semi-vowels. The nature of their environment is as follows:

(1) The y-glide occurs freely after front unrounded vowels followed by /a/:

/i/ plus /a/ becomes i(y)a: /ia/ [iʲjaˈ] 'to'

/iā ia/ [ija·iʲə] 'to him'

/ka 'ai ana/ [kə'ʌi'jʌnə] 'the eating'

/e/ plus /a/ becomes e(y)a: /e hele ai/ [e'hɛlɛ'jʌi] 'would come'

/i lohe ai/ [i'lohe'jʌi] 'heard'

/lilea/ [li'leʲə] 'name of a shell'

(2) The w-glide occurs freely after rounded vowels:

/o/ plus /a/ becomes o(w)a: /Mākoa/ [ma·kowə] 'Mākoa, a name'

/o/ plus /i/ becomes o(w)i: /'o ia/ ['o'wiʲə] 'subject-marker, he'

/u/ plus /a/ becomes u(w)a: /'akau a'e/ ['ʌkʌu'wa'e] 'right and up'

/u/ plus /o/ becomes u(w)o: /kauoha/ [kʌu'wohə] 'command'

/u/ plus /e/ becomes u(w)e: /huelo/ [hu'wɛlo] 'tail'

Thus some morphemes have the conditioned w-glide after rounded vowels, as

[akau wa'e] 'right and up' vs. [hɛlɛ a'e] 'go up'

The morpheme a'e 'up' may become [wa'e] after a rounded vowel. The phoneme /w/, however, occurs in the same environment, as in ['auwʌi] 'water course'.

For convenience in transcription, the following phonemic procedure is adopted:

The phoneme /w/ is always written. The conditioned [w] glide is not written: /'akau a'e, hele a'e/

In some morphemes, however, there is no way to tell whether

the phonetic [w] after a rounded vowel is the morphemic conditioned glide, or the /w/ phoneme. In these few words, the /w/ is then arbitrarily assumed to be phonemic, if the following syllable is stressed:

[ˈlauˈwaˈe]	/lauwa'e/	'species of fern'
[kauˈwaː]	/kauwā/	'outcast'
[uˈweː]	/uwē/	'to weep'
[ˈuˈwalə]	/'uwala/	'sweet potato'

But the glide is less distinct if the following syllable is unstressed, and is hence not written:

[ˈʰʷa]	/ua/	'rain'
[ˈkʰʷa]	/kua/	'back'

It is current practice not to write the [w] glide before unstressed vowels. Before stressed vowels, the following procedures are in practice:

1. Always to write the glide: uwē
2. Sometimes to write the glide and sometimes not, based on no objective criteria: au, wau 'I'
   laua'e, lauwa'e 'species of fern'
   'oau, 'owau 'cat'
   'uala, 'uwala 'sweet potato'

2. The syllable

2.1 Definition of syllable

A syllable is defined as the minimum unit of word structure. Every word consists of one or more syllables. Every syllable contains one highest point of sonority, which is a vowel. In Hawaiian, vowels occur singly or in clusters of two vowels. Such clusters are close knit sequences of two vowels which act as a single nuclear phoneme in distribution.

Every syllable contains a vowel, phonemically long or short, or a vowel cluster. The vowel or vowel cluster may or may not be preceded by a consonant. Thus:

Syllable = (C)V, (C)V:, or (C)VV

A vowel cluster consists of a vowel followed by a higher vowel:

a plus e, o, i, u:	'ae	'yes'
	'ao'ao	'side'
	'ai	'eat'
	'au	'to swim'
e plus i, u:	lei	'lei'
	'eu	'move'
o plus i, u:	'oi	'sharp'
	kou	'your, singular'

The term "diphthong" is avoided in this study because of confusion in various current usages of the term.[5]

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5. Pike, Phonemics, p. 19.

These vowel clusters are short, as the glide from one vowel to the next is performed quickly. In the remaining vowel combinations, (other than the vowel clusters listed above), the glide from one vowel to the next is performed more slowly. Another phonetic difference of the two types is that the stress on the vowel clusters is always on the first member, the stress on the other vowel combinations may be on either member, depending on syllable count (see pp. 18, 19). Stressed vowels are underlined in the following examples:

'ao'ao	'side'	kaona	'double meaning'
'ai	'to eat'	'aina	'meal'
'au	'to swim	kaula	'priest'
poi	'poi'	poina	'to forget'

but:

lio	'horse'	liona	'lion'
hiu	'to fling'	piula	'exhausted'
moa	'chicken'	moana	'open sea'
'oe	'you, sg.'	koena	'remainder'
hue	'gourd'	huelo	'tail'
ui	'to question'	huila	'wheel'

2.2 Syllable stress

Analysis of stress is complicated by the stress morpheme indicating 'intensity'. This morpheme is a quantitative characteristic which modifies the length of certain sounds. In the following examples, the colon or single dot indicate that the preceding vowel is lengthened with the meaning of 'intensity'. Stress is marked by [//] placed before symbols to indicate loudest stress, and [/] placed before symbols to indicate ordinary stress.[6]

/ā hiki i/	[ˈa·ʰiˈki:]	'continuing'	Ma, line 9
	[ˈˈa: hi kiˈi]	" "	Tu, line 13
		" "	Ma, line 30
		" "	Tu, line 18
/ā i ko'u/	[ˈˈa: iˈko'u]	'to me'	H, line 9
/ā pēlā/	[ˈˈa:ˈpe·ˈla·]	'and so'	K, line 12
/no na'e/	[ˈno·ˈˈna'e]	'indeed, furthermore	P, line 18
/ali'i no/	[əˈli:iˈno·]	'also a chief'	Tu, line 15
/aloha/	[aˈˈlo:ha]	'much love'	Kua, line 33
/mahalo/	[ˈˈma:ˈhalo]	'gratitude'	Ki, line 65

The regular stress pattern is of two kinds, (1) position-stress or (2) length-stress. In the examples following, stressed syllables are underlined,

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6. Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York, 1950), p. 91.

and syllabification is shown by a period.

(1) Position-stress is predictable, therefore is non-phonemic.

(a) In a 2 or 3 syllable word, stress falls on the penultimate syllable:

'o.le.lo	'speak'
ke.ka.hi	'certain, some'

(b) In a 4 syllable word, stress falls on 1 and 3:

ka.ma.li.'i	'children'

(c) In a 5 syllable word, stress falls on 1 and 4:

e.le.ma.ku.le	'old man'

(d) In a 6 syllable word, stress fall on 1, 3, and 5:

ho.'o.ka.ma.la.ni	'to treat as a favourite child'

(2) Length-stress is superimposed on the position-stress pattern, as phonemically long vowels and clusters both receive length-stress. The examples following show contrast between position- and length-stress. Syllables receiving the additional length-stress are underlined twice. Syllables receiving position-stress are underlined once. Syllables containing long vowels or clusters are deducted from the syllable count. The remaining syllables follow the pattern outlined under position-stress.

(a) In a 2 or 3 syllable word:

ma.no	'dam, bridge'	la.lo	'down'
ma.nō	'shark'	lā.lau	'seize'
na.na	'his,hers,its'	'o.le.lo	'speak'
nā.nā	'to see'	kau.la.na	'famous'

(b) In a 4 syllable word:

pū.me.ha.na	'warm'

(c) In a 5 syllable word:

ō.pi.o.pi.o	'young'
ho.lo.ho.lō.na	'livestock'
mā.ʻu.lu.ʻu.lu	'stiff and sore'
ʻe.le.mā.ku.le	'old men'

The stress pattern in Hawaiian has not been worked out completely. It seems, however, that the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables in Hawaiian is not as great as it is in English.

2.3 Types of syllable structure

The following types of syllable structure occur in normal words. (v - vowel, long or short, or, cluster of two vowels as defined on page 16.) (c - consonant.)

v	o
cv	no
v cv	a.le
cv cv	ha.le
v cv cv	a.lo.ha
cv cv cv	pa.le.na
v cv cv cv	a.ka.he.le
cv cv cv cv	me.ha.me.ha
v cv cv cv cv	ū.he.pu.he.pu
cv cv cv cv cv	ho.lo.ho.lō.na
v cv cv cv cv cv	'ai.na.ho.'oi.li.na
cv cv cv cv cv cv	ho.'o.'i.ke.'i.ke

The following combinations have been noted:

v v	u.a
cv v	ku.a
v. v v	ē.i.a
cv v v	kā.u.a
cv cv v	'a.hi.u
cv vcv	'ā.i.na
v cv v	e.hi.a
v v v v	u.a.u.a
v cv v cv v	ā.nu.e.nu.e

3. Length

Length is a phonemic consideration only in regard to vowels, there being no phonemically long consonants in Hawaiian. Length can be determined by mora, a minimum unit of time. An impressionistic assignment of morae to the 4 degrees of phonetic length found in the vowels is:[7]

1. 1 mora
2. 1.5 morae
3. 2 morae
4. 4 morae

Of course there is considerable fluctuation in amount of length, depending on speech and style, but the relative contrasts appear to be maintained.

Degree 1 occurs in words of these phonetic shapes:

ua¹ 'rain' kane¹ 'skin disease'

wahi¹ 'place'

Degree 2 occurs in words of these phonetic shapes:

kane¹ 'skin disease' 'olelo²¹ 'speak'

Degree 3 occurs in words of these phonetic shapes:

kāua³¹² 'we two' lālau³¹¹ 'to seize'

kēia³¹² 'this' kēlā³³ 'that'

holoholona²¹²⁵¹ 'livestock'

pā³ 'enclosure' wā³ 'time'

---

7. Pike uses a similar method in phonemic analysis of pitch in his Phonemics, p. 108-9.

kō³ 'sugar cane' kī³ 'ti-plant'

Degree 4 occurs in words of these phonetic shapes:

nānā⁴⁴ 'to gaze at' pono'i¹²⁴ 'own, self'

ōma'oma'o⁴¹²¹ 'green'

These 4 degrees of length are conditioned: Degree 1 occurs in unstressed final positions; Degree 2 elsewhere on unmarked vowels. Degree 3 occurs before another vowel, or in a positionally stressed syllable, or in a monosyllable; Degree 4 occurs elsewhere on marked vowels.

Examples of minimal pairs indicate that Degrees 3 and 4 are phonemically separate from Degrees 1 and 2, and should be so indicated.

kāne³	'man'	kane²	'skin disease'
māla³	'garden'	mala²	'stiff and sore'
wāhi³	'split'	wahi²	'place, some'
koholā²²⁴	'whale'	kohola²²¹	'reef'
kānaka⁴²²	'men'	kanaka²²¹	'man'
wāhine⁴²²	'women'	wahine²²¹	'woman'

Vowels with phonetic degrees of length 3 and 4 are phonemically in contrast with vowels of phonetic Degrees 2 and 1, and fill the same structural position as is filled by single long vowel phonemes; thus they represent single

long vowel phonemes and are marked by a macron. Symbols are not needed to separate Degrees 3 and 4 from each other because they are mutually exclusive. Similarly, the unmarked Degrees 1 and 2 are mutually exclusive and do not need to be separated from each other.

4. Distribution of phonemes

4.1 Distribution of consonant phonemes

In syllables, consonants occur only initially. In words, every consonant occurs initially and medially. Consonants never occur finally. There are no consonant clusters.

4.2 Distribution of vowel phonemes

In syllables, vowels occur before every consonant and vowel, and after every consonant and vowel. In words, every vowel occurs initially, medially and finally.

5. Notes on morphophonemics

Morphophonemics is the study of the replacements, losses and additions of phonemes in the morphology of a language. The two most common occurrences in Hawaiian of morpheme change in connected discourse are phoneme replacement and phoneme loss. These take the forms of vowel assimilation, and the coalescence of like vowels.

1. Assimilation: the process of replacing a sound by another sound under the influence of a third sound

which is near to it in the utterance.[8] Certain assimilations have become established in Hawaiian: (a) and (b). Many others occur in rapid speech. See 'Notes on Text' in the discussion of each informant.

(a) /o/ near /a/ becomes /a/[9]

/'a'ole/	[ʔa'a\e]	N, line 3 First selection
/mā hope/	[ma'hape]	
/mā'ona/	[ma''ana]	

(b) /a/ near /i/ becomes /e/

/mai/	[mei]	Ma, l. 18; N, l. 3 Kua, l. 3, 27 P, l. 11; M, l. 3 Ki, l. 61
/laila/	[\eila]	P, l. 3, 9 M, l. 8, 9 Second selection
/kaikaina/	[keikeina]	Kua, l. 8
/kaikamahine/	[kei-]	H, l. 5, 7 Ma, l. 1, 13

The particles /ka/ and /ai/ near /i/ may freely assimilate to [ke] and [ei].

/i ka lupe/	[i ke lupe]	M, l. 3
/i 'ike 'ole ai/	[i'ite'oleiʃei]	Ki, l. 22

2. Coalescense of like vowels:

(a) Like vowels separated from each other by /'/ freely coalesce; the glottal stop may then be

8. Daniel Jones, An Outline of English Phonetics, (New York, 1940), p. 202.

9. These three forms are very common and are constantly heard in conversation.

moved forward or dropped, with or without subsequent lengthening of the vowel:

/loa'a/	[loa·]	H, line 9
	[lo'ʌ]	K, line 14
	[lo·ə]	M, line 3 first selection
	[loa·'ə]	Ma, line 27
/pua'a/	[pua·]	See page 67, under 'Notes on Text' for variations of pronunciations of this morpheme.
/ho'o'ike/	[ho·'ike]	Kai, line 29

(b) Like vowels contiguous at morpheme junctures freely coalesce, with subsequent lengthening of the vowel, or omission of the vowel:

/kēlā auwai/	[kelaːuwʌi]	N, line 4, 5 second selection
/e hele ana au/	[ehɛlɛana·u]	Ma, line 23
/ka awawa/	[kaːawa·wə]	Kua, line 25
/ā pēlā aku/	[a·pe·laːku]	Ki, line 56
/ia lā aku/	[iʒala·ku]	Ki, line 56
/laila aku/	[leila·ku]	P, line 3
/ā hiki i/	[a·hikiː]	T, line 13

TEXTS

Preliminary Remarks.

The texts are of two types: personal narrative, and traditional stories. As stated in the introduction, they were taken down in phonetic transcription from nine different informants. An explanation of the situation and of the method of making the transcription is given in notes preceding each text.

The phonemic transcription is given in the first line of each text. To conform to the English translation given below, punctuation has been included. This transcription differs from the established orthography by the inclusion of the glottal stop phoneme, by the marking by macron of phonemically long vowels, and also by the separation of words in proper names by hyphens.

The phonetic transcription is given in the second line of each text. Symbols used are those of the International Phonetic Alphabet modified as explained below. The data were recorded as heard and checked for accuracy. Inconsistencies where they appear may be due to changes in sound discernment on the part of the writer, or differences of pronunciation among informants. Slips of the tongue are somewhat numerous; they were glaringly apparent in texts mechanically recorded. These are recorded phonetically as heard, but phonemically are reconstructed to what the speaker appears to have intended saying. Grammatical errors are, of course, not changed in the phonemic writing.

A great deal of variation exists in pronunciation of certain very common forms, principally in substitution of [ei] for [ai] in such forms as maika'i, mai, ai, laila, kaikaina. These have been written phonetically as heard, but have been normalized phonemically as /ai/; this is the usual written form and, most speakers feel, the "correct" one.

Degrees of length are not always distinguished in the phonetic transcription. Some vowels may be phonemically long due to suprasegmental characteristics of emphasis or stress. Both position- and length-stress are usually, but not always, marked.

Pitch was not analyzed in this study, as pitch is difficult and requires special training for analysis. Much controversy still exists as to methods of analytical technique.

The following symbols are used in addition to those already described in pp. 5-15 :

Certain transcription (where significant)	C̲, V̲
Uncertain transcription	C̲, V̲
Pause:	
Tentative, or short	[|]
Final, or long	[‖]
Stress	ˈC (or ˈV)
Strong stress	ˈˈC (or ˈˈV)
Phonetic length:	
Long	[·, :]
Short	unmarked
Modification of articulation:	
Pharyngealization	C̵
Aspiration	Cʰ
Voicelessness	C̥, V̥
Dentalization (where particularly apparent)	C̪

An English translation is given in the third line of each text. The aim in translating was to be as literal as possible without distorting the English syntax.

Informant Kai

Age: 17

Background:

This poised and personable young man is from Kala-pana, in Puna, Hawai'i, a small village predominantly Hawaiian in race and language. There are no Caucasian or Japanese families there, and the few Chinese speak Hawaiian. His mother is from Kona. Both parents have had schooling beyond elementary level. There are some strains of Chinese, Portuguese and Caucasian in his background, but these are subordinate to the Hawaiian on both sides which predominates in his appearance, outlook and upbringing.

Extent of Hawaiian:

Although Kai heard and understood Hawaiian from childhood he received instruction in speaking and reading from his maternal grandparents. The younger children in his home are learning Hawaiian in the same way.

Kai's English is the General American dialect, although in the home, he says, the family use the Island dialect. The father, who exerts considerable influence, is apparently much more fluent in Hawaiian than in English. His parents, now dead, spoke Hawaiian exclusively, and did not permit English to be spoken in their home.

This informant is active in church work and often uses Hawaiian in such activity outside of his own community.

Manner of Speaking:

The informant's topic, selected by him, is formal in nature and content. The pronunciation was accordingly distinct and somewhat precise. His voice quality was clear, pleasing and resonant.

The tempo was slower than that of other informants. A word count showed that the average speed in reading was about 120 words per minute, which contrasts with the reading rate of 170 words per minute of Ki, the Ni'ihau informant.

Securing the text:

The text was recorded on a disk, as the informant read a script which he had prepared himself. The transcription was then made from playbacks. Because of the slow tempo and clear articulation, transcribing was relatively easy.

Notes on the text:

There is considerable stress on final syllables, normally unstressed, changing the quality of the vowel to [a] instead of the more usual [ə].

Line 1 [ʔoʻhana], [kaloʻana], [puna]

Line 11 [kaiʻola]

Line 16 [ʔola]

Note the pharyngeal [ʕ] and [ɦ] in [loʕo], line 5, and [kaiʻola], line 11.

This informant used [v] in the following words:

Lines 2, 3, 6, /Hawai'i/ [həˈvaiʔi] with very heavy stress.

Line 8 /kona wala'au/ [ˈkona vaˈlaˈau]

Line 12 /iwakâlua/ [ˈiva ˈka·lua]

Line 24 /o'oma wai/ [oˈomaˈvai]

There is only one example of the use of [w], in line 7: /ho wau/ .

The older form of counting, /kumamā/, is used in line 14 and 36.

In this text, the "clear" and "dark" allophones of /l/ are marked as follows: "clear" - [l̥], and"dark" - [ɫ]. Some grammatical errors occur in the text. These are not indicated because this study does not concern structure.

1. Ke noho ana nei o ka'u 'ohana i Kala-pana mā Puna

ke ˈnohoˈ ˈanɜ ˈneʲi o kaˈu ˈʾohɜnɜ iˈkɑlɜˈp̣nɑˈmɑ·ˈpuna

My family are living at Kala-pana in Puna

2. o ka mokupuni o Hawai'i. Ho'okahi no au i maopopo iā'u

oˈkɜˈmokuˈpuni o hɜˈvʌʲiˈʾi ‖ ˈhoˈʾokʌhi ˈnoˈ ʾɑuˈiˈmɑoˈpopº | iiˈʲnɑ

on the island of Hawai'i. Actually I first understood

3. i 'olelo nei i Hawai'i mā ka pili ano o ka luakini

iˈʾoˈlɛlɜˈnei i hɜˈvʌʲiˈʾi ˈmɑ· | ᵐᵃ kɜˈpiˈl̩i nnɜ oˈkɑˈɬuɜˈkini

spoken Hawaiian in connection with the church

4. mā Puna. Ho'okahi lā o Lā Pule ho'i, au i hele

ˈmɑ·ˈpuna ‖ ˈhoˈ̣ʾokahi ɬɑ·|oˈɬɑ·puˈ|ᵉⁿ ˈhoˈʲi | ʾɑuˈiˈhɛlɛ

at Puna. One day on Sunday I went

5. i kēia luakini ā noho no au i loko. Lohe no au

i ˈkeˑiʲa ˈluaˈkini ˈaˑ noʰo ˈhoáu i ˈtokọ ‖ ˈtohe noˈau

to this church and I sat down inside. I listened

6. i kekahi kānaka e ʻolelo nei i ka ʻolelo Hawaiʻi

iki kahi ˈkaˑnʌkə eˈoˈlelo ˈneʲi | ikəˈoˈlelo ʰhʌˈwʌiˈᶻ ‖

to certain men who were talking Hawaiian.

7. Makemake no wau i lohe ai i kēia kanaka, akā ʻaʻole

ˈmʌkiˈmʌkɛ ˈhoˑəˈwau iˈtohe ˈʃʌi ˈkeˑiʲəˈkaˑnʌkə aˈkaˑˈaˈote

I really wanted to listen to this man, but

8. au i maopopo kona walaʻau ana. Hoʻomaka ana ʻo ia me kēia.

ˈau iˈmaˑoˈpopo ˈkonə vʌˈlaˈauˈʌnə ‖ ˈhoˈọˈmʌkaˈʌnə ˈoiʲəˈmɛˈkeˑˈiˑ |

I didn't understand his talk. He began with this.

9. E nā po'e haumana a ke Akua, ho'olohe 'olu'olu

ɛna ˈpoˈɛ ˈˈhaːumanəˈaːkeəˈkuə | ˈhoˈeˈlohe ˈˈoʧuˈoʧu

Students of the Lord, please listen

10. mai 'ōukou i ka'u e 'olelo nei i ka 'olelo a ke Akua.

ˈmai ˈˈoːukou iˈkaˈue ˈˈoˈlelo ˈnei i kə ˈˈolelo ˈˈaːkeəˈkuə ‖

to my telling the story of the Lord.

11. He 'ike 'ia kana 'olelo mā ka Baibala, Kauoha hou,

he ˈˈikᴵ ˈˈiə ˈknnəˈˈoˈlehoo maka ˈʧaiʧala | ˈkauˈwohaˈhou |

His story is known in the Bible, (in the) New Testament,

12. o ka buke o Luka, mokuna iwakālua kumamā lua,

oke ˈpukeo·ˈʧukə | ˈmoˈkunəˈivəˈkaʧuəˈkuːmaˈmaːʧuə |

in the Book of Luke, chapter twenty two.

13. ho'omaka ana mā ka paukū ehiku ā pau mā ka paukū

ˈhoːˈomaka ˈana maˈkəˈpauˈkuː ˈeˈhiku/ˈaː ˈpau maka ˈpauˈkuː

beginning with paragraph seven and ending with paragraph

14. 'umi kumamā ono.

ˈˈumi ˈkumaˈmaːono

sixteen.

15. Ā hiki mai ka lā o ka 'aha'aina berena hū'ole,

ˈaːˈhiˈkiˈmai/kaˈlaː\ oˈkəˈʔahəˈainə bəˈɾɛnə ˈhuːˈoɬe\

When the day of the feast of the Unleavened Bread came

16. ka lā e pono ai ke pepehi i ke keiki hipa molia'ola,

kaˈlaː eˈpunowni keˈpeːˈpehi i keˈkeːiki ˈhipə ˈmoliəˈʔolaǁ

the day when the young sheep were to be killed for Passover,

17. ho'ouna a'e la ho'i'ia iā Petero, ā me Ioane,

ˈhoˈʔunaˈɛˈta ˈhoˈiˈʔoˑijaˈʔiˈa pɛˈtɛro ˈaˑ me joˈwʌni

He sent Peter and John,

18. i mai la, "E hele 'ōlua e ho'omakaukau no kākou

iˈmʌi haˑ | ɛ hɛlɛ ˈʔoˑtua ɛˈhoˈoˈmaˈkʌuˈkʌu ˈnoˑˈkaˑkou |

(and) said, "Go, you two to prepare for us

19. i ka molia'ola e 'ai ai kākou."

i kaˈmoˈiaˈʔotaˈ eˈʔʌˈiˈjʌˈiˈ ˈkaˑkou |

the Passover, that we may eat."

20. Ninau aku la lāua iā ia, "Mā hea lā i kou

ˈninʌu ˈakuˈtaˈkaˑuaˈʔaˑjiˈa | "maˑheaˈlaˑ i koˑ

And they asked him, "Where do you

21. makemake e ho'omakaukau ai māua?"

ˈmʌkeˈmakeˈaˑ ˈhoˑgˈˈmʌˈkʌuˈkauˈwʌiˈmaˑuəˀ

wish that we prepare?"

22. A ha'i mai la 'o ia ia laua, "Aia ho'i, i ko 'olua

aˈhaˑiˈmaiˈlaˑ ˈoˈjʌijaˈhaˑuəˀ ˈʌjiˈəˈhoˑiˈˈ iˈkoˈoˑtua

And He said to them, "Behold, when you two

23. komo ana i loko o ke kulana kau hale, e halawai

ˈkomoˑjʌnəˈtokoˈokeˈkuˈtʌnəˈkʌuˈhalaeˀ eˈhalaʌvʌi

enter into the city, you will meet

24. mai me 'olua kekahi kanaka e hali ana i ke ki'aha o'oma wai;

mʌi meˈoˑtuaˈkeˈkahiˈkaˈnʌkəeˈhalijʌnəˈeˆkiˈkiˈʌhəˈoˑmaˈvʌiˀ

/with you two/ a certain man bearing a water pitcher;

25. e haha'i 'ōlua iā ia i loko o ka hale ana

e ha'hsi 'o·lua i'ja·ija i loko o ka'ha‍hzana

you follow him into the house (where he)

26. e komo ai. Ā e 'olelo 'ōlua i ka mea nona ka hale;

e kamo ai ‖ a· e'o‍helo 'o·lua i ka mea no·na ka hale |

enters in. And you say to the man of the house :

27. Ke ninau nei ke Kumu iā 'oe; Au hea ke ke'ena 'aha'aina

ke'ninau'nei ke'kumu la'ija·'oe | 'au'hea ke 'ki'ena 'nha'aina |

The Teacher says to you; Where is the feast chamber,

28. kahi e 'ai ai au me ka'u mau haumana, i ka molia'ola?

'ƙahi e'aijaijau me'ka'u 'mau "ha·umana i ka'mo·hia'ola ‖

the place where I will eat the Passover with my disciples?

29. Ā hō'ike mai no 'o ia ia 'olua i ke ke'ena nui

'ə·'ho·'iki mai'ho·'ojə'ijə'o·tuə i ke'kɛ'ɛnə'nui

And he will show you a large upper room

30. mā luna i ho'olakolako'ia, mā ka 'aila 'ōlua e

'ma·huna i'ho'o'ta̠ko'ta̠ko 'ijə || makə'ni̠la 'oluə ɛ

furnished, with the oil you two

31. ho'omakaukau ai."

'ho'o'ma'kauka'wai

prepared.

32. Hele aku la lāua, ā 'ike aku la e like me

'hɛ'lɛ'aku'ta'tə·uə |'ə·'ike'aku̠la e'i̠ki me

They went and found as his saying

33. kana 'olelo ana iā lāua; ā ho'omakaukau iho la

ˈkʌnəˈoˌleˌloˈʌnəˈiʒaˈkaˑuəˌ ˈaˑˈhoˈoˈmaˈkʌuˈkʌu ˈioˌhə

to them; and they prepared

34. lāua i ka molia'ola. Ā hiki mai ka hora, noho

ˌlaˑuə iˈmoˑhiəˈoɾə ‖ ˈaˑˈhikiˈmʌi kəˈhoɾəˌ ˈnoho

the Passover. When the hour came, he sat

35. iho la ia e 'ai, ā me ka po'e luna'olelo

ˈihoˈhə ˈiiə eˈˌʌi | ˈaˑˈmeˈkəˈpoˈeˈˌlunəˈoˌleˌlo

down to eat, with the twelve apostles

36. 'umi kumamā lua me ia.

ˈumiˈkumaˈmaˑˌluəˈmɛˑiːjə

with him.

37. Ā 'olelo mai la 'o ia iā lākou. "He nui ka makemake

ʻaʻʻoheʻmaiʻaʻōiʻiaʻiʻaʻaʻkouʻheʻnui keʻmakeʻmake

And He said to the, "With much desire

38. ā'u i makemake ai e 'ai pū me 'ōukou i kēia molia'ola

ʻaʻu iʻmakeʻmakeai eʻʻaipuʻmeiʻoʻukouʻi keʻiaʻmoʻliaʻola

I have desired to eat with you this Passover

39. mā mua o ko'u make ana; nō ka mea, ke ha'i aku nei au

ʻmaʻmuaoʻkoʻuʻmakiʻʻnaʻʻnoʻkameaʻkeʻhaʻiʻakuʻneiʻau

before my death, for I say here

40. iā 'ōukou; 'a'ole au e ia hou aku ai,

iaʻoʻukouʻʻaʻoʻteʻauʻeʻʻiʻhouʻakuʻwai

to you; I will not eat any thereof again (until)

41. e ho'okō 'ē 'ia mai ia i loko o ke aupuni o ke Akua."

e'ho'o'ko·'e·'i'a'mai·i'a i'loko oke "'aupuni 'o·kea kua"

it be fulfilled in the kingdom of the Lord."

42. Me kēia mau heluhelu a ke Akua he 'ike iā kākou

me kei·a mau 'helu'helu 'a·ke'aku a he'ike ni'ka·kou

With these readings of the Lord's (He) shows us

43. i ka ho'ailona a ke Akua e ho'omakaukau ana

i ka'ho"ailona 'a·ke'kua e'ho'o ma'kau'kau'ana

a sign of the Lord preparing

44. no kona make ana.

no'kona'maka'ana

for his death.

Informant P

Age: about 55

Background:

This informant was born and reared in Ka'ū, Hawai'i, as the "punahele" (favorite) of her grandmother. Because of her extensive knowledge of Hawaiian lore and remarkable memory, she has had wide association with scholars as an informant. She has great interest and pride in everything Hawaiian.

Extent of Hawaiian:

She has a flair for language which is shown in her command of English. Her Hawaiian is probably superior to her English. She continues to speak Hawaiian to her daughters, although their husbands do not understand the language.

Manner of speaking:

There is much vocal variety with wide pitch range and strong stresses in her speaking, also, more assimilation than was noted in other transcriptions.

Securing the text:

The material used was a short selection from the Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Folk-lore,[10] Vol. 5, p. 491, entitled "No Mākoa". Transcription was made from a tape recording. This text was read with rapid

10. Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Polynesian Ethnology and Natural History, Honolulu, H. I. (Bishop Museum Press, 1919).

tempo by the informant. This text offers interesting examples of sound and stress changes due to tempo, rhythm and assimilation. In line 1, 2 "...loa ia...", the stress moves back from [ˈloəiə] to [loʷˈʌijɛ]. Note the glides.

In line 3, two contiguous like vowels coalesce to form one long vowel:

"..ˈlaila ˈaku..." [ˈlɑ·ko] . There is also change of stress here.

In line 6, note change of stress, coalescence of like contiguous vowels, and assimilation:

"..ˈmai kaˈheleˈanaˈā..." becomes [ˈmʌiˈkeheˈleəˈnaː] .

In line 8, there is a pattern of centralized vowels due to assimilation:

"...ā mama ka ˈawa..." becomes [ʌˈmʌməkaˈʔʌvə] .

In line 8, there is also a lengthening of /e/ and a disappearance of /i/:

"...e ˈinu pū ai..." becomes [ʔɛ·ˈnu·ˈpu·ˈwʌi] .

Note [w] glide between [u] and [ʌ].

In line 11, there is a vowel change and loss:

"...mai la o Mākoa..." becomes [ˈmeiloˈmɑ·koə] .

In line 15, there is assimilation of [e] to [i] :

"...i ke awakea..." becomes [ikiˈəvəˈkeə] .

Concerning Mākoa

1. He kukini māmā loa ia i loko o ko Kamehameha ekahi mau lā.

ˈheˈkuˈkiniˈmaˑmaˌloˈwɐijeˌiˈlaˑkoˈkoˌkɐˈmeɦɐˈmeɦɐeˈʞɐkiˈmɐuˈlaˑ‖

He was a very fast runner in the days of Kamehameha I.

2. ʻUa kaulana loa ia, ʻaʻohe ona lua. Iā Kamehameha

ˈvˈkʌvlʌnɐˈloˌwɐijɐ |ˈˈɐˈoleˌɤɐˈluɐ | ˈijɐ kɐˈmeɦɐˈmeɦɐ

He was very famous, none his equal. While Kamehameha

3. e noho ana mā kahakai o Ka-wai-haʻe; mā laila aku ā hiki

eˈnoɦoˈʌnɐˈmaˑkʌhɐˈkɐiˈoˈkoˌvɐiˈhɐi ‖ ˈmaleiˈlaˑkoʷˈˈaˑhɪkɪ

was staying at the beach at Ka-wai-haʻe; from there

4. i Hilo mā Wai-a-kea, he lō'ihi loa, he 'ino, he kahawai

iˈhiloˌvɐˈvɐiˈˈkeɐ|ˈheˈloːˈihiˈloɐ |ˈheʷˈɪnɤ|heˈkʌhɐˈvɐi|

to Hilo, at Wai-a-kea, is very far, it is bad (going)

5. he alu po'opo'o. 'Ua like ka lō'ihi me nā mile

he'ʌlu 'po'o 'po'o || 'wə'lɪkɪ kə'lo·ihi me'na·mí'e

there are valleys and deep ravines. The distance is like

6. he kanawalu, mai ka hele ana ā ka ho'i ana.

he'kʌnə'vʌlu | 'mai'kehé'leə"na; kə'ho'i'ʌnə ||

to eighty miles, with the going and returning.

7. I ka wā e 'ai ai ka 'aina kakahiaka o Kamehameha,

i kə'wa·e 'ʌij'ʌi kə'ʌinə 'kʌkəhi'kə° kə'meĥə'meĥə

At the time when Kamehameha was eating breakfast,

8. ā mama ka 'awa, 'a 'ohe pūpū e 'inu pū ai me ka 'awa,

ʌ'mʌmə kə'ʌwə | 'a'xhɛ'pu·'pu·"e·nu·pu·'wʌi meka'ʌvə |

and the awa (was being) chewed, (there was) no "chaser"
to drink with the awa,

9. ā laila, o ka manawa ia o Mākoa e holo ai i Hilo

ə'leilaokəmə'nəwə 'iə'ə'ma·koə e'holowa''i·'hilo

then this (was) the time for Mākoa to be running to Hilo

10. i ka 'anae o ka loko a Wai-akea, āia mā ka palena

i kə'ʌ'nae oka'loko°'vaiə'keə\'ə·iəməkə pə'lenə

(to get) mullet of the pond of Wai-akea, there on the border

11. e pili lā me Puna. Ā loa'a ka 'anae, ho'i mai la o Mākoa

e'pīli'ə·me'puna\'ə·'lo·ʌ'ə kə'ʌ'naɛ\ hɤ'i'mɛi\o'mə·koə

joining there with Puna. When (he) got the mullet, Mākoa returned

12. ā hiki i mua O Kamehameha, me ke kapalili no o ka i'a;

"ə:'hiki'muə o'kə'mehə'mehə məkə'kʌpali''li'no·i'okə'i'ə

to Kamehameha, with the fish still quivering;

13. 'a'ole i make. Ia wā, 'inu o Kamehameha i ka 'awa a pūpū

ʔaʔʔliˈmʌkeǁ ikəˈwɑ·ˈinuº kəˈmehəˈmehə ikəˈʔʌvəˈa·ˈpu·ˈpu·

not yet dead. Then Kamehameha drank the awa (with) the mullet

14. i ka 'anae no ka mu'emu'e o ka 'awa. O kēia ho'i ana mai

ʔiˈkəˈʔʌnʌɛ| ˈno·kəˈmʔuˈɛˈmuˈɛºkəˈʔʌvə| oˈkeˈiəˈhɤˈiˈʌnəmʌi

as the "chaser" because of the bitterness of the awa. This return

15. o Mākoa, ēia no i ka manawa kakahiaka, 'a'ole i ke awakea.

ʲoˈmɑ·keə |ˈe·ijəˈno ikəməˈnʌvəˈkɑ·kəhiˈʌkə|ʔəˈoleˈikiˈʌvəˈkeə|

of Makoa was still in the morning, not at noon.

16. O ka lō'ihi 'o ia wahi ke hele 'ia i kēia wā,

oˈkəˈloˈˈˈihi ʔoˈiəˈwʌhi| keˈhɛleˈʔiəˈiˈkeˈiəˈʔvə·|

The distance of this place when travelled at this time

17. 'ua like me nā lā ehā, ke hele māmā loa mā ka ukana 'ole

ˈuˈlikᵉmᵉˈnaːlaˑeˈhaˑ ‖ ˈkeˑˈhɛleˈmaˑˈmaˑˈloə meˈknuˈknnəˈɤlɛl

(would take) about four days, going very fast without baggage,

18. ā ho'i mai, akā, pilikia no na'e, mā'ulu'ulu loa, me ka 'eha.

"aːˈhoˈimsi | aˈkaˑ piliˈkiəˈnoˑ"nnˈɛ |ˈmaˑˈulɯˈulɯˈloə, meˈkᵃˈeha ‖

and returning, but, with difficulty, very stiff and sore and in pain.

Informant M

Age: about 58 - 60

Background:

This informant was born on Maui and spoke Hawaiian as a child. Now that she is widowed, she speaks English most of the time as her family speak only broken Hawaiian, if any. Her Hawaiian is very fluent and she is proud of it. She is affable and extrovert.

Manner of speaking:

The medium used permitted complete informality, which was shown in the rhythm, the wide variations in pitch and quality, and the inclusion of laughter.

Securing the text:

The two transcriptions, "The Story of the Kites", and "About the Name 'Popoki' ", were made from a tape recording of M's comments in answer to questions asked.

Notes on the text:

"The Story of the Kites"

[v] is used in the following words: /wau/, line 1; /wī/, lines 5, 6, 8, and 10; and /wehewehe/, line 9. The word /wa/ is pronounced with [w] in line 2, and with [v] in line 5.

Note that the article /ka/ becomes [kə] and [ke] due to stress of rhythm, or to assimilation: line 3, /ho'olele i ka lupe/ - /a/ in /ka/ becomes [e] .

There is a loss of phonemes due to the stress pattern: line 6, /ka wī ana o ka 'āina/
[kaˈvi: an o kaˈʔʌina]

or to the proximity of like consonants: line 8, /ka 'āina no.../ [kə'ʌin:no]

"About the Name "Popoki'"

Note that [ei] is used in /mai la/ line 1 and in /no laila/ line 8, 9, but that [ʌi] is used regularly in the /mai...mai/ constructions, line 3, 9 and 10. Note the loss of phonemes in the word /loa'a/ [lo'ə] line 3, and [lo'ə] line 9.

The Story of the Kites

1. Ha'i ana wau iā 'oe i ka mo'olelo o ka lupe.

ˈhaʻiˌjanəˌvau ˌiəˈoeˈi kəˈmoˈoˈleˌlo oˌkəˈlupeˌ

I will tell you the story of kite(s).

2. Ka mākou wā kamali'i, ke pa'ani mākou me ka lupe,

kəˈmaˑkouˈvaˑ‖ kəmaˈliʔi keˈpaʔaniˈmaˑkou me kəˈlupeˌ

In the time of our childhood, when we played with kite(s),

3. ho'olele i ka lupe ā huhū mai la nā kūpuna.

ˈhoˈoˈleˌlikeˈlupe‖ aˈhuˈhu meiˌlaˈnaˑˈkuˑˈpunaˌ

(we) flew the kite(s) and our grandparents became angry at us.

4. Pane mai la lākou: "'A'ole ho'olele i ka lupe, no ka mea

ˈpanɛmaiˌləˈlaˑkouˌ/ˈaˈoleˈhoˈoˈleleˌiˌkəˈlupeˌ/ noˌkəmeə

They said: "Do not fly the kite(s), because

5. o ka wā e lele ai i ka lupe e wī ana ka 'āina,

o kə wa·ʾelele^{j} ʌi kelupe | ev·iʲʌnə kaʾʌinə

when the kite flies, the land will have famine,

6. he ho'ailono kēlā ka wī ana o ka 'āina.

he hoʾʌilonə ke·la· | kə vi: ənə kəʾʌinə

that is a sign (of) famine for the land.

7. Maopopo 'ole iho la i nā kamali'i, ke kumu

maopopo ʾolehola ʾina·kʌməliʾi kᵃ ku·m

The children did not understand the reason

8. e wi ai ka 'āina no ka lele ana o nā lupe.

eʹviːʾʌikəʌinː noka'lelɛənaʹoʹna·'lupe‖

for the land having famine because of the flying of the kites.

9. Ninau aku la; 'a'ohe loa'a mai ka wehewehe e ho'akaka ke

nɪˈnɑwˑˈkuˌlɑ| [11] ˈʔɑˈʔoheˈloˈɑ mɑi kɑˈvɛhɛ vɛhɛɛˈhoˈʔɑˑkɑkˌɑkɑ

(They) asked; (but they) didn't get the clear explanation

10. pono ana e maopopo ai i nā keiki ke kumu e wī ai

ˈpoˈnɑˈʔɑnɑ eˈmɑˑoˈpoˌpoˌʊˈɑi| iˈnɑˑˈkeiki|keˈkumu eˈvˑˈɑiˑ

so that the children could understand the reason for having famine

11. i ka 'āina lele ana o nā lupe.

kɑˈʔɑinɑ| ˈleˈleˈɑnɑ ˀoˈnɑˑluˌpe||

in the land (if) the kites flew.

---

11. Note phoneme loss and change in stress.

About the name "Popoki"

1. Ā pōia no ninau hou mai la ka po'e i ka inoa,

a·'pei'ə no|'ninau'hou mei|ə kə'po'ɛ i'kai noə|

People repeatedly ask like this (about) the name,

2. pe hea la i kapa 'ia ai ka popoki - he "popoki",

pe'heəlai'kapə 'iji ka'po:poki| he'po·"poki||

how the cat was named a "popoki",

3. ko'u mana'o, mai "Pōki" mai, i loa'a ai ka inoa

'ko'u mə'na'o|mai "po·ki mai|| i'lo'ə wai 'kai noə

my idea (is) from "Poki",[12] the name was obtained

12. "Pōki" was the name of a dog belonging to Kamehameha I. Boki, governor of O'ahu, was said to be named by him from the English word "boss". The dog was so famous that the name "Pōki" was extended to include all dogs in early legends. It appears frequently in folklore concerning ghost dogs. This little tale was elicited by a request for any explanation of the name "popoki" for cat.

4. ka "popoki" ka ho'okūkū ana "Pōki".

kə ˈpoˑpoki kəˈhoˈoˈkuˑˈkuˑʌnəˈˈpoˑkiˀ

"popoki" (in) comparison (with) "Poki".

5. He 'ilio 'o ia ---- ā ka popoki.

heˈˀiˈliˌjo ˈoˈiˌjəˀ aˈkəˈˈpoˑˈpoki

He was a dog, ---- (and it went) to the cat.

6. No ho'i, 'ua like pū no 'o ia me ka 'ilio.

noˈhoˈiˀ ˈˀuəˈɪkə[13] ˈpuˑ noˈˀojə makəˈˀiˈlioˀ

In fact, he was very much like the dog.

7. Ehā ona wāwae, he huelo, pepeiao.

ˈɛˈhaˑʁnə[14] ˈwaˑˈwaeˈˈ eˑhuʷˈeloˀ ˈpɛˈpɛ iˈjaˑoˀ

His feet (are) four, a tail, ears.

13. Assimilation /e/ to[ə] - /'ua like pū/ ['uə ɪkə puˑ] .
14. [ʁ] - unrounded, centralized [o] .

8. No laila, ā ke ho'okūkū ana 'ua like no 'o iā

no'leila 'a.kə ho'o'ku.ku.'anə 'uə'likə nº 'o'iə

So by comparison he is the same (as if he were) from

9. mai ka 'ohana 'ilio mai. No laila loa'a mai ka inoa

mai kə "o.hnnə 'i'lio mai| no'leilə 'lo.ə mai'kai'noº

the dog family. Therefore the name for the cat came

10. o ka popoki mai iā "pōki" mai. Pololei paha kēia,

o kə'po.poki'mai jə'po.ki"mai|| ??????[15] 'polo'lei pnhə'ke'iə||

from "Poki". This (is) perhaps true,

11. 'a'ohe paha, he ho'akaka wale ana no kēia.

'ə'o'he"pa:| he ho''ə.knkə'wnlɛ'nnə'no.ke'iə||

maybe not, this is an explanation anyway.

15. ?????? - laughter.

Informant Tū.

Age: about 78 or 79

Background:

This informant was born and reared on the Hana-lei side of Kaua'i and later lived at Kipu and Līhu'e. He has always been influential in the activities of the Hawaiian church group, and through this, maintains constant association with Hawaiian-speaking people.

Extent of Hawaiian

Hawaiian was the language of his childhood and community and was used in the home until the death of his wife some years ago.

Manner of speaking:

His speech is characterized by less lip rounding than was observed in other informants, with a consequent tendency to use central vowels. His voice had a pharyngeal quality with limited pitch variation, much less than in other Hawaiian informants; very much less, for example, than in usual English speech. His glottal stops were distinct.

Securing the text:

The text was taken from The Legend of Kawelo and Other Hawaiian Folk Tales, by Green and Pukui, page 4.[16] The English translation is by the writer. The informant read the selection by sentences, then repeated fragments of

16. Collected and translated by Laura C. S. Green and Mary Kawena Pukui (Honolulu, 1936).

each sentence at a normal tempo, except when certain parts, which offered transcription difficulties, required a slower speed.

1. Ke au o Manō-ka-lani-pō e noho ali'i ana

ke'ɐu e ma'no·kɐ'lɐni'po·\ e'noho a'li·i'i'ɐnɐ

During the reign of Manō-ka-lani-pō[17]

2. no ka mokupuni kailalo o Kaua'i, e ho'opūmehana 'ia ana

'ho·'kɐ·'mokɯ'puni kɐ'i|i|ɐ·[18] e'kou^{w}ɐ'i\ e'ho·°'pu·me'hɐnɐ·'i'ɐnɐ

on the island of Kaua'i, his heart was warmed

3. ho'i kona poli e ka u'i Ka-wai-kini,

'ho·i'kɐnɐ'poli\ ekɐ"u·i kɐ'wɐikini‖

by the beautiful Ka-wai-kini,

---

17. Manō-ka-lani-pō 'Sacred Shark of Creation' was one of Kaua'i's kings whose reign was in the first half of the 15th century. His name is unique, in that it is affixed to the island which was his kingdom, and often occurs thus in chants and songs: "Kaua'i, Manō-ka-lani-pō". For its occurrence in the Ulu genealogy, see Fornander The Polynesian Race; Vol. I, p. 195.
18. An error in the original text '-lala' for 'lalo' may have caused confusion in reading. /kailalo/ - 'sea below'.

4. ka mea nona ka ho'oheno, e ō nei ā hiki i kēia wā:

ka'meə'nonə ka'ho·o'hɛnɛ|'e'ó nei"a·'hiki i'keiʲə'wa·‖

the one for whom the expression of affection continues
until this time:

5. "Nele 'oe e 'ike i ka piko wai 'olu o ka Wai-kini,

'hɛlɛ'ʾoe e ʾikɛji 'ka'piko'wai ʾolu o'ka·'wɪ'kini‖

"Go gaze at the crown of cool waters of Wai-kini,

6. 'Ike 'oe ka nani o Kanę-huna-moku i 'Ula-ka'a,

ʾike'ʾoe ka'nʌni o'kʌnɪ'huna'moku i'ʾulᵘ'kʌ'ə ‖

You will see the beauty of (the mysterious islands)
Kane-huna-moku of 'Ulu-ka'a,

7. ka mokupuni i pōhai ia e nā 'ono like 'ole o ke ao nei."

ka'moku'puni i'po·"hɪ 'iʲə e"na·'ʾono|'like^'ʾole^ o ke'a· onei‖

the islands filled with the various delights of this earth."

8. I loko o ko lāua noho ali'i ana no Kaua'i,

i'loko·'ko·la·ua 'noho"a·li·'i'ʌna'ne·'kʌu"ʷʌ·'i|

While these two were the ruling chiefs of Kaua'i,

9. 'ua ho'opōmaika'i 'ia mai la lāua me ka hua ali'i 'ōhaha

'·ua'ho·'o'po·'mʌi"kʌ·'i·'·ija 'mʌi'la·'la·ua 'mekə'huə"a·'li·'i'·'"ōhaha

they two were blest by a healthy royal offspring

10. mai ko lāua pūhaka a'e; he keikikāne, 'o ia ho'i,

mei 'ko·'la·ua 'pu·'hʌkə'ə'e| he'kei ki'ka·ne'·oi·'ə'ho·'i

from their loins; a son,

11. o Mai-hunā-ali'i-iki-o-ka-poko.

o'mʌi'hu"na·'li·'i·'·iki oka°'poko|

Mai-hunā-ali'i-iki-o-ka-poko.

12. 'O ka inoa o kona kahu hanai o Holoholo-kū.

ˈo kaˈinoa o ˈkonaˈkahuˈhanai | oˈholoˈholoˈʻkuː |

His foster father's name was Holoholo-kū.

13. Nana ka pana e kaulana nei, ā hiki i kēia wā e ō nei:

ˈnana kaˈpana eˈkauˈlana nei | ˈaˈˈhiˈkiːˈkeˈiˈa ˈwaˈˈeˈoˈnei ||

Belonging to him is the celebrated place now famous,
continuing until this day:

14. "Hanau ke ali'i i loko o Holoholo-kū, - he ali'i nui.

haˈnaˆukeaˈliˈiˈi iˈlokoˈo ˈholoˈholoˈʻkuː || heaˈliˈiˈiˈnuʷi |

"The chief born at Holoholo-kū is a high chief.

15. Hanau ke kanaka i loko o Holoholo-kū, he ali'i no.

haˈhaˆukekaˈnaka iˈlokoˈoˈholoˈholoˈʻkuː || heaˈliˈiˈiˈnoˈ ||

The commoner born at Holoholo-kū, he is also a chief.

16. hanau ke ali'i nui mā waho a'e o Holoholo-kū

hə'nəˆu kə'li:i'nuwi'ma·'wnho"a'e o'holo'holo"ku: |

the high chief born outside of Holoholo-kū

17. - - 'a'ohe ali'i, he kanaka ia!"

'ə'a'ohə'li'i | hekə'nʌka'·iˌə ||

is not a chief, he is a commoner."

18. 'Ua pa'a 'ia 'olelo ā hiki i kēia wā.

'uə'pʌ'ə 'iˌə'o'elo"ə·hiki i'ke·iˌə"wə· ||

This saying is observed to this day.

Informant Kū

Age: about 50 years.

Background:

Informant Kū grew up and still lives on the Hana-lei side of Kaua'i where many of the remaining Hawaiian families live today. His education is above average. He had several years of schooling in Honolulu at the Normal School and later at a business school. His work is clerical. These wider contacts have not resulted in a separation from his ancestral background. He is recognized among the Hawaiians for his keen interest in the language and in the legends of that region. He is also recognized for being related to a famous dancer and chanter, who is now in her nineties and who has been a source of some of his stories.

Extent of Hawaiian:

Hawaiian was the language spoken in the home during his youth. He now seems equally conversant in Hawaiian and in English.

Manner of speaking:

His speech is marked by great pitch variation. His story telling is interpretative and convincing. The [n] is consistently dentalized, and the [k] and [h] strongly aspirate in such words as [ka̍hiko] line 1, and [hi'ina] line 8, 20.

Securing the text:

The legend was told in fragments, rather slowly and carefully. The transcription was read back for accuracy, first in the same fragments, and then in complete sentences to check on sounds and stress in connected discourse.

Notes on the text:

The style may be traditional or individual in part. The description of Hi'i-aka as "the woman swaying by the sea of Makua", line 18, and the expression of sisterly love in Pele's speech, lines 32, 33, seem particularly poetic.

Note the varying pronunciations of "Kama-pua'a":

line 1	[kʌmə pu'a·]	line 12	['kʌmə'pu·ə]
line 2	['ka·'ma· pu'a]	line 22	['kʌmə'pu·ə]
line 7	[kama'pu·'a]	line 23	[kʌmə'pu'a]

In none of these does the speaker use the full form for the last morpheme. See under Morphophonemics, page 24, for description of contractions.

In line 1, the length of the first vowel in ['ka·'hiko] may be for emphasis - "very, very old". In line 33, [a'lo·'ha] , the length of the vowels shows intensification.

Note the [w] and [v] usage:

[w] is used in the words: ke waiho, manawa, wā, wawe, wale.

[v] is used in the words: ka awawa, ke lawe, 'o wau, Hawai'i, ka wahine.

This is discussed in the Appendix on the /w/ phoneme. The selection of allophone here does not seem dependent

on environment. Perhaps he may be considered as having a "mixed" dialect as a result of his Hono-lulu contacts.

1. O kēia Kama-pua'a he mo'olelo kahiko loa; kēia

o'kɛ:ia kʌmɜpuá· hɛ'mo'o'lelo 'ka·'hi ko'loɜ | 'hɛ:iɜ

This Kama-pua'a is a very very old legend; this (is)

2. mai nā kūpuna mai. 'O Kama-pùa'a, he kupua 'o ia

mai 'na·'ku·pu·nɜmɜi || 'o'ka·'ma·pu'a | hɛ'kupuɜ 'o·ija

from (my) ancestors. Kama-pua'a, he was a sorcerer

3. e hiki ana e ho'olilo i kona 'ano mai ke kanaka ā pua'a.

e'hiki nn̩ɜ e'ho'o'lilo i'ko·na'an̩° mei kɛ kɜ'nakɜ a:'pua'a ||

able to change his shape from man to pig.

4. I kekahi manawa lilo 'o ia i pua'a. I kona wā

i kɛ'kahi mɜ'nɐwɜ lilo 'o'ija i'pu·a'a || i'konɜ'wɐ·

Sometimes he changed to a pig. When (he)

5. e lilo ai i pua'a, hana 'o ia i nā hana kūpainaha.

ɛ'lilowʌi i'puaʔa | 'hʌnᵃ 'o'iʃa i'na·hʌnʌ"ku pʌi'nʌhᵒ ||

would turn into a pig, he did marvelous things.

6. Hiki iā ia ke hele mai kekahi mauna ā i kekahi mauna

'hiki i'ʃiiʃa ke'hɛlɛ mʌi ke'kahi 'mʌunʌ"a· ke'kahi 'mʌunʌ ||

He was able to go from one mountain to another mountain

7. mā ke kiko'o wāwae. Lohe iho nei 'o Kama-pua'a

'mʌ·ke'ki·ko'o 'ʍa·ʍae || 'lohe iho nei 'o'kʌmʌ'pu·'ʌ·

in one step. Kama-pua'a heard

8. i ka nani like 'ole o ka wahine Hi'i-aka, ke kaikaina

i kʌ'nʌni'like'ole o kʌ vʌ'hinᵉ hi'i'ʌkʌ | kekei'keinʌ

of the unmatchable beauty of the woman, Hi'i-aka, the younger sister

9. o Pele, a ho'ohihi iho nei kona mana'o e lilo mai

o'pele / 'a·'ho'o'xixi 'ihonei 'kona ma'na'o e'lilomai

of Pele, and his heart desired to have

10. 'o Hi'i-aka i ipo aloha nana. I ka wa i lohe ai 'o Pele,

'o'hi'i'aka 'i·po'a'loha'nana ‖ i'ka'wa· i'lohe'ai 'o'pele ‖

Hi'i-aka for his beloved sweetheart. When Pele heard,

11. pi'i a'e la kona inaina. A kauoha aku la 'o Pele

'pi'i 'a'ela 'kona i'naina ‖ 'a·ka·'wa'oha a'ku·la o'pele

her anger rose. Pele ordered

12. ia Kama-pua'a: "E mau ana 'oe ma ke kino pua'a;

ija·'kama'pu·a / e'mau'ana 'oe 'ma·ke'kino pu'a ‖

Kama-pua'a: "You will go on in your pig form;

13. 'a'ole 'oe e ho'i hou mai ana mā ke kino kanaka."

'ʔa'olɛ 'oe e'ho'i hou'maijana'ma·ka'kino[19] ka'naka ‖

you will never again return to (your) human form."

14. No'ono'o iho la 'o Kama-pua'a, 'a'ole 'o ia e hō'ike hou

'no'o'no'o i'hola 'o'kama'pu'a· | 'a'olɛ 'owija e'ho'ike'hou

Kama-pua'a thought never would he again show

15. ana i kona kino kanaka.

ana i'ko·na'kinoka'naka ‖

his human form.

16. Iā Pele ka ipo o ka lā ōpiopio,

i'ja·'pulɛ'kaipo oka'la·'o·pi°pi° |

While Pele (had been) the beloved of his youthful days,

19. Note assimilation [ma·ka kino] -/ma ke kino/

17. Ā e ho'omau ana 'o ia i ka noho aloha ana me Hi'i-aka,

a·e ho'o mau ana 'owija i ka noho a·lo·ha·'ana me hi'i'aka

he continued in love with Hi'i-aka,

18. ka wahine ha'alewa i ke kai o Makua i Hā'ena.[20]

ka wahine ha'alewa i ke̩ke̩ai o makua i ha·'ena ‖[21]

the woman swaying by the sea of Makua at Hā'ena.

19. Ka wahine Hi'i-aka he 'ali'i 'o ia no nā akua hula.

ka wahine hi'i'aka he'a·li'i 'owija 'noña·'a·kua hula

The woman Hi'i-aka was the chief of the gods of hula.

20. Ā o kona nani mā ka hula, 'a'ole lua e like ʻai me Hi'i-aka!

'a·'a ko·na nani maka hula 'a'ole lua like je̩i me hi'i'aka ‖

And her beauty in the hula, no other compared to Hi'i-aka!

20. Hā'ena - place name on Kaua'i, 'breath of fire', referring to Pele.
21. The solid dot below indicates voicing of [k̩].

21. Ā muli 'o ia nani lua 'ole mā ka hula,

ˈmaˑmuli ˈoˈᵛijə ˈnani luaˈˈoɬɛ maka ˈhula|

Because of this incomparable beauty in hula,

22. 'ua ho'i hou mai 'o Kama-pua'a e mihi iā Hi'i-aka.

ˈuəˈhoˈi hou ˈmai ˈoˈkʌməˈpuˑə ɛˈmihi iˈ̃aˑhiˈˈiˈʌkə‖

Kama-pua'a again returned to yearning for Hi'i-aka.

23. Ā 'ua āe aku 'o Hi'i-aka i ka noi a Kama-pua'a,

ˈaˑˈuəˈaˑɛ aku ˈohiˈˈiˈʌkə i kaˈ́noi ˈá kʌməˈ́puˈa|

When Hi'i-aka agreed to Kama-pua'a's request,

24. hō'ike a'e la 'o Kama-pua'a i kona mana mā ka 'ai ana

ˈhoˑˈikeˈaˈɛ|ə ˈoˈkʌməˈ́puaˑ iˈ́koˑnə ˈmʌnə mʌkaˈ́ˈʌiʲʌnə

Kama-pua'a showed his mana by eating

25. i ka mai'a ā pau loa mā ka awawa o Pōhaku-ao i Nā Pali.

i ka ˈmʌiˈəˈˈaˑˈpʌu ˈloa ˈmaˑˈˈkai ˈva və o ˈpoˑhaku ʷˈáo iˈnaˑˈpʌlí ‖

all the bananas in the valley of Pohaku-ao on Na Pali.

26. Iā Kama-pua'a e 'ai ana i ka mai'a,

iˈjaˑkʌməˈpuaˑ eˈˈʔiˈjʌnə ikəˈmʌiˈə |

While Kama-pua'a was eating the bananas,

27. 'ike mai la 'o Hi'i-aka me Pele i ka mana o Kama-pua'a;

ˈʔikeˈmʌi le ˈʔo hiˈʔiˈʔʌkə meˈpɛlɛ ikəˈmʌnə o kʌməˈpuaˑ |

Hi'i-aka and Pele realized (the power of) Kama-pua'a's mana;

28. no'ono'o iho la laua 'o wai la o lāua ke lawe iā Kama-pua'a

ˈnoˈˈnoˈo iˈhoˈa ˈlaˑuə ˈóˈwʌi la oˈlaˑuə keˈlaʋe iˈjaˑkʌməˈpuaˑ

they wondered who of them was to have Kama-pua'a

29. i kāne. 'Olelo mai la o Pele iā Hi'i-aka, "'O 'oe,

i'ka·ne‖ 'ō'lelo mai la o'pele i'ja·hi'i'aka 'o'oe|

as husband. Pele spoke to Hi'i-aka, "You,

30. e ku'u kaikaina, ke lawe iā Kama-pua'a i kāne nau,

e'ku'u kai'kaina| ke'lawe i'ja·kama'pua· i'ka·ne'nau|

my younger sister, take Kama-pua'a as your husband,

31. ā 'o wau ho'i, e ho'i au i Hale-Ma'uma'u, ko'u home nani

'a·'o'wau'ho'i| e'ho'i jau i'hale 'ma'u'ma'u|ko'u"home'nani

and I, I will go back to Hale-Ma'uma'u, my beautiful home

32. mā ka 'āina o Hawai'i. Ā na ka puka ana o ka lā

'ma·ka'a·ina o ha'wai'i ‖ a'na·ka'puka'ana o ka'la·

on the island of Hawai'i. By means of the rising sun

33. mā ka hikina e ho'ohui hou iā kākou, me ke aloha poina 'ole.

ma'ka·hi'kina·| eho·o'hui'hou ija'ka·kou| me'kei'a'lo·'ha·puina'ole|

from the east, we are reunited, with unforgettable love.

34. I ka ha'ina o ka mo'olelo o Kama-pua'a,

ika'ha'ina·o ka'mo·o'lelo o kama'pua·|

In the telling of the legend of Kama-pua'a,

35. 'ua āe hou 'ia 'o ia, e hiki iā ia ke ho'olilo i kona 'ano

'ua a·ehou 'ija 'ow'ija|ehiki i'jnija keho·o'lilo i'kona'ano

it was again permitted him to be able to change his form

36. mā ke kanaka ā mā ke 'ano pua'a e like me kona makemake.

'ma·kekanaka'a·'ma·ke'ano pua'a elike me'kona'makemake‖

from human to pig form according to his desire.

37. Ī hiki kēia manawa, ke waiho nei kēia awawa,

ʻa·hiki·ʻke·ʻiə mə́nawa| ke waiho nei ʻke·ʻi"a:vavə [22]

Even to this time, this valley still remains here,

38. me ka maiʻa a Kama-puaʻa i ʻai ai,

meka'mʌi'ə a·kʌmə'púa· i'ʻʌijʌi|

and the bananas having been eaten by Kama-puaʻa,

39. o ke kumu lāʻau a me (ke) kano wale no. ʻAʻole naʻe ʻo ka maiʻa,

oke'kumu'la·'ʌu'a·me'kano wale no· ||'a'ole'na·'e oka'mʌi'ə|

(there are) only trees and stocks. (There are) still no bananas,

40. no ka mea ʻua pau ka maiʻa i ka ʻai ʻia e Kama-puaʻa.

'meka'meə 'ʌə"pʌu ka'mʌi'ə ika"'ʌi 'ijə e'kʌmə'pua· ||

because the bananas were finished, having been eaten by Kama-puaʻa.

22. Note elision of two contiguous like vowels and resultant length of /a/.

Informant N

Age: 83

Background:

This spry little Hawaiian man has spent his entire life in the Wai-mea district on Kaua'i. He was reared in Hawaiian community life there, with probably no formal schooling. In spite of his age, he is physically active and clear minded, although his thoughts tended to wander during the interview. He could remember some experiences in his youth vividly; for example, a trip at the age of 12 to see a hula "uniki", a sacred celebration, at the Pa Lohi'au, at Hā'ena, Kaua'i. He could recall the instruments used, the number of the dancers and the types of dance. He could also recall fragments of old chants his mother knew. The recollection of old days brought forth the exclamation "maita'i! maita'i!" (good! good!) - showing the use of the [t] allophone of /k/.

Extent of Hawaiian in use:

The informant's habitual language with married daughters and sons-in-law in the home is Hawaiian. His English usage is limited to a smattering of "pidgin", possibly because he has never worked on the plantations, but always on his own land.

Manner of speaking:

At first he spoke haltingly with long pauses between utterances. He stated his ideas simply and declaratively,

with not much amplification unless prompted. His Hawaiian was extremely rapid except when he was asked to repeat slowly. There was much gusto and excitement in his manner, while giving certain parts, as in lines 13 - 16, first selection, and in lines 4 - 10, second selection.

Securing the text:

The writer took down the text from conversation, asking for numerous repetitions in order to make phonetic transcription. An utterance would be given at rapid conversational tempo, then repeated in fragments. The writer read back the text from the transcription to check pronunciation. A middle-aged daughter assisted in explaining and encouraging responses in Hawaiian where the writer's command of that language was inadequate.

Notes on the text:

The style of the opening sentences of both selections shows some of the characteristics of "pidgin". In the first one, articles are omitted: line 2, /kēlā manawa Wai-mea/. and line 4, /hele Hono-lulu/. In the second selection, line 1, he omitted /he/ in /(he) po'e kanaka/. After he got into the narrative, his style became quite normal and no longer abbreviated.

In line 3, of the first selection, he used /'a'ale/ for the "standard" form of /'a'ole/.

In regard to the pronunciation of /w/, he uses [w] consistently. The one exception is in line 5, selection 1, where the transcription of [v] in /lawa i'a/ is uncertain; in line 6 the same phoneme was heard as [w] .

Recollections of Early Days on Kaua'i

1. Ka hiki ana mai o Kapene Kuke i Hawai'i nei, nui no

ka'hikiana'mai o'ka·pene'kuke i hawai'i 'nei | nui 'no

At the coming of Captain Cook to Hawai'i, (there were) very many

2. kanaka Hawai'i i kela manawa, Wai-mea. I keia manawa, 'a'ole

'ka-naka hawai'i·'ke'la· ma'nawa'wai'mea || i'ke·i'ia ma'nawa | 'a'ale

Hawaiians Wai-mea at that time. At this time, not

3. nui na kanaka Hawai'i ma Wai-mea, li'ili'i loa, 'a'ole nui.[23]

nui 'na·'ka·naka hawai'i 'ma·'wai'mea | 'li·'i'li·'i'loa | 'a'a'o'nui |

many Hawaiians at Wai-mea, very few, not many.

23. The assimilated form of /'a'ale/ ('a'ole) is commonly heard, although considered non-standard by some.

4. Ka hapa nui a nā Hawai'i pau i ke make. Kekahi hele Hono-lulu.

ka ʻhapa nui aʺna ha ʻwai ʻi ʻpau i ka ʻmake | ke ʻkahi ʻhele ʻhono ʻlulu ‖

The majority of the Hawaiians have died. Some have gone (to) Hono-lulu.

5. Nui ka mea 'ai: kanu, kalo, ke i'a. Nui ka po'e lawa i'a.

nui ka ʻmea ʻai | ʻkanu | ʻkalo | keʺʲi ʻa ‖ nui ka ʻpo ʻe lavaʺʲi ʻe [24]

(There was) much food: plants, taro, fish. (There were) many fishermen.

6. Kekahi manawa hele lawa i'a i ka Muli-wai.

ke ʻkahi manawa ʻhele lawaʺʲi ʻa e ka ʻmuli ʻwai ‖

Sometimes the fishermen went to the Muli-wai.

7. Hele hōpu pua'a, nui nā pua'a mā ke kuahiwi.

ʻhele ʻho pu ʻpu a ʻa | nui ʻna ʻpua ʻa ʻma ke kuʲhi wi ‖

(They) went to catch pig, (there were) many pigs in the mountain(s).

24. Assimilation to [po'i] possibly, or to i in i'a, or both.

8. I nā wā kahiko, 'ua ho'onani lākou i nā lei mokihana[25]

i'na·'wa·'ka·hiko |'ua ho·o'nani'la·kou i'na·'lei 'moki'hana

In the old times, they decorated themselves only with mokihana leis

9. ā me maile[26] wale no. Lei hala[27] me ka lauwa'e[28]

'a·mi'maile 'wale no·‖ 'lei'hala mi ka 'lau"wa'e

and maile. Also leis of hala and lauwa'e

10. mā ka manawa o nā malihini e ho'i ai kekahi la.

maka ma'nawa o'na·'malihini 'e'ho'i ai kekahi 'la·‖

at the time the visitors returned on certain day(s).

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25. Mokihana - (Pelea anisata) referring to the berries of the mokihana tree, which is found only in the mountainous regions of Kaua'i. The berries emit a strong, spicy odour of anise. Mokihana berries interwoven with maile leaves is the traditional lei of Kaua'i.
26. Maile - (Alyxia olivaeformis) a vine with fragrant green leaves.
27. Hala - the pandanus tree, the orange seed pods of which are strung as leis.
28. Lauwa'e - a variety of fern, very fragrant, and used for decorative purposes.

11. Makemake lākou i nā lei mokihana me ka maile,

ˈmɔkeˌmɔkeˈlaˑkou iˈnaˑlei ˈmokiˈhanɔ mɛkaˈmaileǁ

They like(d) the mokihana and maile leis,

12. pēlā me ka lei hala me ka lauwaʻe.

ˈpeˑlaˑmeˌkaˈleiˈhalaˌmɛkaˈlauˈwaʻeǁ

likewise the hala lei with lauwaʻe.

13. ʻUa holo mā nā lio, i nā kuahiwi ā lawe mai mākou

ʻuaˈholoˈmaˑnaˑlioˌ iˈnaˑkuaˈhiwiˈaˑˈlaweˌmaiˈmaˑkou

We went on horseback to the mountains and brought down

14. i ka maile me ka mokihana. Iwakālua mile ka mamao paha,

ikaˈmaileˌmɛkaˈmokiˈhanɔǁ iwaˈkaˑluaˈmileˌkaˌmɔˈmaoˈpɔhaˌ

the maile and mokihana. The distance (was) 20 miles perhaps,

15. ka'awale ho'i. Hele mau wau i ke kuahiwi

ˈkaʻawaleˈhoʻi ‖ ˈhele ˈmauˈwau ikeˈkuahiwi

away. I went constantly into the mountain(s)

16. e ki'i i nā hua mokihana ā me nā maile.

eˈkiʻiːˈnaˑ huə ˈmokiˈhanəˈáˑ meˈnaˑˈmaile ‖

to fetch the mokihana berries and the maile.

Relating to the Menehunes

1. Kēia po'e menehune, po'e kanaka li'ili'i lākou.

ˈkeːˈiːjə poʻeˈmeneˈhune ‖ ˈpoʻeˈkaːnakaˈliʻiliʻi ˈlaːkou ‖

These menehune (were) small men.

2. Hana lākou i kahawai o Po'e-Kaua'i i ka pō.

ˈhanəˈlaːkou iˈkəˈhaˈwai o pai kauˈwaiʻiː ka poː ‖

They built the water course of Po'e-Kaua'i at night.

3. Lawe mai lākou i ka pōhaku mai luna mai o Mokihana[29] i ka pō.

ʻlaweˌmɐi ʻlaːkoʊ i ka ˈpoː hɐkuˈmɐi ʻlunɐˈmɐi o ʻmokiˈhɐnɐ i kɐˈpoː

They brought stone from above Mokihana at night.

4. ʻUa hana lākou i kēlā auwai hoʻokahi pō wale no,

ʻuɐˈhɐnɐˈlaːkoʊ iˈkeːˈlaːuwaɪ hoʻoˈkɐhiˈˈpoː waleˈ hoː

They made that aqueduct (in) only one night,

5. ā hiki ka pau ana a kēlā auwai o ke Peʻe-Kauaʻi.

ʻaːhiki kaˈpɐuˈwɐnɐ aˈkeːˈlaːuwaɪ okeəˈpeʻe kɐuˈwɐiʻi

until that aqueduct of Peʻe-Kauaʻi was finished.

6. ʻUa hapai lākou i ka pōhaku mai Mokihana mai.

ʻuɐˈhɐˈpɐiˈlaːkoʊ i kaˈpoːhakuˈmɐiˈmokiˈhɐnɐˈmɐi

They carried the stone from Mokihana.

29. A place name in this instance.

7. 'Ua kū laina lākou ho'okahi mā mua, ha'awi pākahi

ʻuaʺkuˑlʌinəˊlaˑkou hoʻoˊkʌhi maˊnuəˌ haˊaˑwi ˊpaˑkʌhi

They stood in a line, one before the other, handing each piece

8. iā lākou ā pau loa. Kēia po'e menehune 'ua noho lākou

iˊjaˊlaˑkouˊaˑpauloəˌˌ ˊkeˑijə poʻeˊmɛnɛˈhunɛˌ ʻuwaˊnohoʻlaˑkou

on, until they were all finished. These menehune, they lived

9. mā uka mā ke kuahiwi o Koke'e mā Ka-nalo-huluhulu.

ˊmaˑukəˊnaˑkekuaˊhiwi o koˊkeʻe mʌkəˊnaloˊhuˡuˊhuˡu ˌˌ

in the uplands in the mountains of Koke'e at Ka-nalo-huluhulu.

10. 'Ua wala'au lākou me ka leo nui ā puoho ka manu o ka Wai-nui

ʻuaˑwalaʺˌauˊlaˑkouˊmei kaˊleoˊnuiˊaˑ puˊwohoˑ kaˊmʌnu okəˊvai-nui

They shouted with a big voice and startled the bird(s) at Wai-nui[30]

30. Wai-nui - place name on O'ahu.

11. mā O'ahu. 'A'ole lākou lawa i ka 'ai ana i ka i'a maoli.

ma oˈahu‖ ʔaːʔoleˈlaːkouˈlʌwəikəˈʔniɟʌnə ikeˈʔiˈʔəˈmaːoli‖

on O'ahu. They hadn't enough ordinary fish to eat.

12. 'Ua 'ai lākou i 'opae hune. Kēlā manawa kamali'i,

ʔuəˈʔaiˈlaːkou eˈʔoːˈpae huneˈ‖ˈkeːlaː məˈnʌwəˈkamaˈliːʔ

They ate small shrimp. At that time of childhood,

13. 'ua 'ike wau i kēlā 'opae hune o Mānā.

ʔuəˈʔikeˈwnu iˈkeːlaːˈʔoːˈpaeˈhune oˈmaːnaː‖

I knew those small shrimp at Mānā.

Informant H

Age: about 72

Background:

This informant is a Hawaiian woman who was born and reared in a Hawaiian village in Kona, Hawai'i. She moved to Kaua'i while a young woman and married a Hawaiian man there. Information about life on Kaua'i is given in the text. The home mentioned is in a verdant and isolated valley. She has some contact with her children, grandchildren, and with church members, and makes occasional trips to Hono-lulu.

Extent of Hawaiian spoken:

Hawaiian was the home language until the death of the husband. She now speaks it only to older friends of the same race. Her grandchildren do not speak it. She is completely fluent.

Manner of speaking:

Her speech was characterized by very clear articulation combined with exceptional charm and responsiveness.

Securing the text:

The same manner of working was used as with Informant N. The speech was conversational. There was little difficulty in understanding her. She assumed the role of teacher in giving the text to the writer. When the transcription was read back for checking, she gave careful correction.

Notes on the text:

The portion of the text chosen to insert in this study shows a simple and lucid narrative style, natural and at ease without self-consciousness.

Note the pronunciation of /kaikamāhine/ in lines 5 and 7, [kei-].

Also notice the use in counting of both the older form /kumamā/ in line 13, and the present-day form /kūma/ in line 3.

1. 'Ua lō'ihi no ko'u noho ana mā kēia wahi.

ˈʔuaˈloːˑihi ˈnoːˈkoˈuˈnoʰoˈanəˈmaːˈkeːˈiʲəˈwʌhi ‖

For a very long time I have lived at this place.

2. 'Ua hiki mai wau i kēia wahi i ka makahiki

ˈʔuaˈhiki mʌi ʋʌu iˈkeːˈiʲəˈwʌhi ikaˈmʌkəˈhiki

I came here to this place in the year

3. 'umi kūma iwa haneli me eono. 'Ua malē no ho'i au

ˈʔumiˈkumaˈʔiʋəhˈanɛˌliˈmeːˈonº ‖ ˈʔuəˈmaliˈnoːˈhoˈiˈjʌu

nineteen hundred and six. In fact I married

4. i ka'u kāne no kēia 'āina. 'Ua loa'a mai 'ia māua

iˈkaːˈuˈkaːneˈnoːˈkeːˈjaˈaːinəˌˈʔuəˈloːˈᵊmʌiˈjaˈmaːua

my husband of this island. To the two of us were given

5. nā keiki; he 'umi: elima keikikāne ā me kaikamāhine[31]

ˈna·ˈkeiki \ heˈˀumi \ ˈelɪməkeikiˈkaˑnᵉaˑ mekeikiˈmaˑhine

children; they (were) ten: five boys and five girls.

6. he elima. 'Ua make aku ehā. Koe mai he eono keiki,

heˑˈlɪmə \ ˈuəˈmake akuˈehaˑ \ ˈkoᵉ mai heˑˈonᵒˈkeiki

Four died. Remaining (were) six children,

7. elua keikikāne ā me kaikamāhine ehā. Ka inoa o kēia wahi,

ˈeluəkeikiˈkaˑneˈaˑ mekeikiˈmaˑhineˈhaˑ \ ᵒˈknɪnoᵃᵒˈkeːijəˈwɪhi

two boys and four girls. The name of this place, (is)

8. o Maulua, i Kaua'i, kokoke mai i Lihu'e. Kuleana[32] kēia wahi.

oməuˈluə i kɪuˈʷɪˀi \ kᵒˈkokᵉ maiˑ liˈhuˈe \ ˈkulᵉˈjɪnəˈkeːiəˈwɪhi \

Maulua, on Kaua'i, near to Lihu'e here. This place (is a) kuleana.

---

31. There is an alternate form /keikimāhine/, found even in old newspapers, arising possibly by folk etymology, compare /keiki/ 'child'.

9. 'Ua loa'a mai kēia wahi, mai iā Hanale mai ā i kō'u,

'ua loa'a mai ke'ija'wahi | mai ja'ha'nale'i mai'a i'ko'u |

This place was given from Henry to me,

10. o 'makuahine o 'ka'u 'kāne, ā mai iā ia mai a i kana mau

'makuahine oka'u'ka'ne | 'a'maijnija mai 'a'i'ka'na mau

(from) the mother of my husband and from her to her

11. keiki mai ekolu. Mā mua o kona make ana o ka'u kāne,

'keiki mai 'kolu || 'ma'mua o 'kona 'make'ana o'ka'u'ka'ne |

three children. After his death of my husband,

12. 'ua ho'oili mai 'o ia i kona kuleana iā'u, i kana wahine.

'ua ho'o'wilimai 'o'ija i'kana'kule'ana 'ija'u | i'kana 'vahi ne ||

he turned over his kuleana to me, his wife.

13. Kanahā kumamā hā makahiki o'u i noho ai i keia 'āina

kʌnəˈhaˑkuˈmaˑmaˈhaˑˈmʌkəˈhikiˌ/ˈoˑuˌiˈńohᵒwʌiˑˈkeˑijˌˈˈaˑina

Forty and four years I have lived on this island

14. o Kaua'i nei. O Kaua'i nei kona 'āina hanau.

oˈkʌuˑʌˈiˌneiˌ‖ oˌkʌuˈńˑiˌneiˌˈkoˑnᵃˈˌaˑinaˌhʌˈńʌu‖

of Kaua'i here. Kaua'i here (was) his land of birth.

15. A o wau nei, kana wahine, e no Kona mai au no Hawai'i.

ˈaˑ oˈvʌuˌneiˌ/ˈkʌnəˌvəˈhineˌ/ eˈnoˑˈkonaˌmʌiˈjuˌ/noˌhʌˈvʌiˑˈiˌ‖

And me here, his wife, of Kona am I, of Hawai'i.

Informant Ma

Age: 60 - 70

Background:

This informant was born and reared on the Lihu'e side of Kaua'i. He has maintained much that is Hawaiian in the family living. As a younger man, he had a close association in his work with William Hyde Rice, whose interest in and extensive knowledge of the language, legends and chants were an important influence.

Extent of Hawaiian:

Hawaiian is spoken daily in the home, although the younger children there reply in English. It is also used at the family prayer meetings and during the frequent informal singing and hula that are so much enjoyed. The informant is more fluent in Hawaiian than in English; his usage of the latter might be considered "sub-standard".

Manner of speaking:

His manner of speaking was informal, with much vigor and humor.

Securing the text:

The transcription was made in a manner similar to that used with Informants N, H, and Ku.

Notes on the text:

The style used in this story seems more conversational than that used by Informant Ku in the Kama-pua'a and Hi'i-aka legend.

There are three evidences of older pronunciations: the consistent use of [mʌu] for /mau/, which contrasts with [mou] commonly heard now; the strong aspiration of the /h/ in [ho'oʰhiʰhi] ; and the use of /kumamā/ in counting, in place of the present form /kūma/.

Vowel changes which reflect an established trend are found in [kei·l-/kaikamāhine/; and [mei] for /mai/, lines 9 and 18, although [mai] is used in line 12. This is discussed in morphophonemics pp. 24-26.

1. E pili iā Kama-pua'a me nā kaikamāhine,

e'pili'ja·'kʌməpuá· 'mɪná·'keiki"ma·'hine|

About Kama-pua'a and the girls,

2. 'o ia ho'i o Kūkui-lau-āhinahina ā me Kūkui-lau-āhanahana.

'ɔija'ho'i o'ku·kui"a·'hinə'hinə 'a· me'ku·kui"a·'hʌnə'hʌnə|

they were Kūkui-lau-āhinahina and Kūkui-lau-āhanahana.

3. I kekahi lā iā Kama-pua'a e noho ana mā kahi

i ke'kʌhi"la· ja·'kʌmapuá· e'noho'ʌnə'ma·'kʌhi

In those days Kama-pua'a would be sitting at the place,

4. o Ka Papa-kōnane. Ā iā ia e noho ana mā kahi

o'ka'papə"ko·nʌni||'a· ija"aija e'nohoənə'ma·'kʌhi

Ka Papa-kōnane. When he sat at the place,

33. Kōnane - a game resembling checkers or chess but more complicated than checkers. It was played with pebbles or sea-beans on a marked rock, here called /papa/ (surface).

5. o Ka Papa-kōnane, 'ike aku la ia i kēia mau kaikamāhine

o ka papa"ko·nani | 'ike a'ku·la·j'ia i'ke·i'ə mau keika"ma·hine

Ka Papa-kōnane, he saw these girls

6. e 'au'au ana, ā ho'ohihi a'e la ia i ua mau kaikamāhine la.

e'au'au'ana || "a·ho'o^hi^hi a'e'la·ja i'ua mau'keikimā'hini'la· |

bathing, and he wanted those aforementioned girls.

7. Ma kēia wahi i Hule'ia, lalo i kapu 'ia

'a·ija'ke·i'ə'wahi i'hulə"ija | 'lalo i'kapu 'ija

This spot is in Hule'ia, below is sacred .

8. o Kūkui-lau-āhanahana. Ma no kēia punāwai

o·'ku·kui'lau a·^hana^hana || 'a·ija'no·'ke·i'ə 'puna·'wai

to Kūkui-lau-āhanahana. In fact there is this spring of water

9. ke kū mai ā hiki kēia lā. Mā muli no o nā kapu,

ke'ku· mei ʔa·hi'ki;'kɛ·'ija'la· || 'ma·muli no·o"na·'kapu|

located (there) to this day. Because of these kapus,

10. pēlā i hiki 'ole ai iā Kama-pua'a ke hele ā hui pū me lāua.

'pe·'la· ihiki'ʔole'ʔai i'ja·'kama'pua'a ke'hele"a· hui'pu·me'la·ua ||

therefore Kama-pua'a was unable to go to meet with the two.

11. I nā lā ā pau e ho'i mau ana o Kama-pua'a

i'na"la: pau | e'ho'i mau'na o'kama'pu·a'a

Every day Kama-pua'a continued to return

12. nā kahi o Ka-Papa-kōnane e noho mai.

'ma·kahi o ka'papa'ko·nani e'noho 'mai ||

to sit at the place, Ka-Papa-kōnane.

13. Mā laila 'o ia e nānā mau ai i kēia kaikamāhine.

ˈmaˑleilɜ ˈoʷiɜ eˈnaˈnaˑ mʌuwʌiˈkeˑˈɵˈkeikeʺmaˑhine‖

There he would look at these girls.

14. O kō lāua manawa e hele ai e 'au'au o ka hola 'umi ā

oˈkoˑˈlaˑuɜ maˈnʌwɜ eˈhɛlɛjʌi eˈˌnuˈˌʌu oˈkaˈholɜˈˌumiʺiɜˑ

The time the two would come to bathe (was)ten to

15. 'umi kumamā kahi o ke awakea. Mā muli o ka makemake loa

ˈˌumi kuʺmaˑmaˈkʌhi okeˈɐwaˈkeɜ‖ ˈmaˈmuli oˈkaˈmʌkeˆˈmʌkeˆloɜ

eleven o'clock in the forenoon. Because of the great desire

16. o Kama-pua'a e hui me kēia mau kaikamāhine, i kekahi lā

oˈkʌmaˈpuᵊ eˈhui meiˈkeˑiɜ mʌuˈkeikiʺmahine‖ iˈkeˈkʌhiʺla.

of Kama-pua'a to meet these girls, one day

17. iho 'oko'a 'o ia i lalo. I iā ia iho ana i lalo,

'iho·'ko'ə 'o'wiə iˈlalo ‖ 'i·jˈa·iə'ihoʌnəiˈla·lo |

he actually went down. While he was going down,

18. hiki mai la ka 'elele mā kahi o Ka Papa-kōnane.

'hiki'mei la 'ka'ɛlɛlɛ 'ma·'kʌhi o'ka'papa"ko·nʌni |

a messenger came to the place, Ka Papa-kōnane.

19. 'A'ole o Kama mā laila ia manawa.

'ə'ole o kʌmə'ma·lila iˈja manʌwə ‖

Kama (was) not there this time.

20. Ho'omaka ka 'elele e huli ai iā ia i nānā aku ai i lalo,

'ho'o'mʌkə'kə'ɛlɛlɛ'e·'hulijʌi"ja·iə iˈna·'na·ə'kuwni·'la·lo |

The messenger began searching for him, looked below,

21. 'ike aku la ia --- e hele ana 'o ia kona wā i iho aku ai.

ˈʔikɛˈakuˈlaˑˈiʔa‖ eˈhɛlɛanaˈʔoˈiʔa konaˈwaˑˈihoʷakuˈwni‖

he saw (Kama-pua'a) ---he was going, his time of going down.

22. Ī loa'a o Kama ā ninau aku iā Kama-pua'a,

ˈaˑloˈaˑʔa okamaˈaˑˈninuˈaku iˈjaˑˈkama|

When he reached Kama and asked Kama-pua'a,

23. "E hele ana 'oe i hea?" Pane o Kama, "E'hele ana au

ˈeˑˈhɛlɛ anaˈʔoᵉ iˈhea| ˈpaneˆ okama| eˈhɛlɛaʺnaˑu

"Where are you going?" Kama answered,"I am going

24. e nānā kēia mau kaikamāhine." Pane mai ka 'elele,

eˈnaˈnaˑkeˑˈiʔa mauˈkeikaʺmaˑhine‖ ˈpanimaiˈkaˈʔɛlɛlɛ|

to see these girls." The messenger answered,

25. "'A'ole hiki iā 'oe ke hele ā hui me lāua, mā muli no

ˈʔaʔole hikiˈjaˑʔoe keˈhɛlɛˈaˑˈɦui meiˈlaˑɥʷəˈmaˑmuliˈnoˑ

"You cannot go to meet them, because

26. o ke kapu. Ā ma'ane'i 'ua makemake 'ia 'oe e ho'i."

oke'kʌpᵘ‖ 'aˑ'mʌ'ə'neʔi 'uə'mʌke'mʌke iʔə''oe'ɛˑ'hoʔi‖

of the kapu. And right here it is desirable (that) you go back."

27. No laila, mā muli o kona loa'a 'ē ana i ka 'elele,

ˈhoˑleilə|ˈmaˑmuli okonə loˈaˑʔə''eˑənə i kaˈʔɛlɛˈlɛ|

Therefore, because of his being reached beforehand by the messenger,

28. 'ua ko 'ole kona makemake.

ˈʔuwəˈkoˑʔole konəˈmʌkiˈmʌki‖

his desire was not fulfilled.

29. Pili i Ka Papa-kōnane, e 'ike 'ia no ia

ˈpiliˑkaˈpɑpɑˈˈkoˑnɑniˌeˈˌikeˈˌiəˈnoˑwiəˌ

About Ka Papa-konane, it (can) actually be seen

30. mā ke alanui e pi'i ala ā hiki i ka puka pā

ˈmɑˑkeˈɑlənuiˌeˈpiˈˈiˈˈjʌlɜˈˈɑˑhikɪ ikɑˈpukɜˈˈpɑˑ

by the road that goes up to the gate

31. o Ke-Mano, mā Kīpū.

oˈkeˑˈˈmɑˈmoˑˈmɑˈkiˑˈpuːll

(to) Ke-Mano, at Kīpū.

Informant Ki

Age: 19

Background:

This informant was born and reared on the island of Ni'ihau. Her father moved to Ni'ihau from Kona, Hawai'i, some twenty years ago. Her mother is a native of Ni'ihau. Ki's first experience away from home was at the age of thirteen, when she lived with an aunt at Kapa'a, Kaua'i, and attended seventh grade there. She then returned to her home island for about three years until she came to Kamehameha School for Girls, in Honolulu, to enter the eighth grade. Her sincere and touching story will give an appreciation of her background.

Ki is a very friendly, outgoing girl, extremely musical, devoutly religious, and emanates infectious good humor. She feels strong ties with her "own kind" on Ni'ihau, and distinguishes the people there from the Hawaiians "outside". Their life is one of complete satisfaction to her, and she is homesick away from them. Vacations which allow her to return home are anticipated with great eagerness.

Extent of Hawaiian:

Her first language is the Ni'ihau dialect of Hawaiian; her second, the Hawaiian as spoken elsewhere. English is definitely a third and a restricted means of communication. learning it during her year at Kapa'a gave her

great difficulty. She still has difficulty with constructions and vocabulary.

She says that there is an attempt made in the elementary school on Ni'ihau to teach some English and to have the children speak it, but that this is not successful. The children prefer to speak Hawaiian.

On Ni'ihau the influence of the English language is limited to school instruction (where it is like a foreign language) and to radio broadcasts, a comparatively recent introduction. The "haku" mentioned in the text and other members of his family always speak Hawaiian with the Ni'ihau people, and non-Hawaiian visitors are extremely rare. All personal and business correspondence is said to be in Hawaiian.

Manner of speaking:

From listening to Ki and to members of her family, it seems to the writer that the Ni'ihau dialect has two outstanding characteristics. One is the extreme rapidity of tempo. For example, Ki read the text at a speed of 170 words per minute or nearby, and this is not as rapid as her conversational tempo. Note that Kai's rate was 120 words per minute.

The other characteristic is the [t] allophone of the /k/ phoneme. Whether this is in free variation has not been determined; there may be a pattern in its use.[34]

34. More extensive research on the Ni'ihau dialect has been done by Dr. S. H. Elbert, whose data were gathered on Ni'ihau in September, 1950. His findings confirm the general use of the [k ~ t] allophones there.

Ki's speaking manner is vigorous and the pitch of her voice low. In her articulation, there are distinct glottal stops; strong aspiration on all [h] and some [k] sounds; an occasional voicing of the [k] and [t] , and almost consistent dentalization of [t̪, d̪, n̪] .

Getting the text:

A disk was made as the informant read a text previously prepared by her. Although she read from a script, she was not dependent on it, but altered the wording conversationally. She had used "k" and "t" in certain words in her writing, but when reading, she would interchange these two sounds. For example, a word spelled with a "t" would be pronounced "k" and vice versa. Because of the rapid tempo and the frequent loss of phonemes, making the phonetic transcription required weeks of intent listening.

Notes on the text:

(1) Use of [k ~ t] allophones:

The [t] allophone occurs 102 times; the [k] occurs 87 times. [t] occurred consistently in some words: /mākuakāne/ [mʌtuəta·ne] ; /mākuahine/ [mətuəhine] and /hiki/ [hiti] . [k] was used consistently in some words: /akā/ [aka:], /no ka mea/ [nokəmeə] and /like/ [like] .

[t] was used word initially but not utterance initially: /ko ʻōukou/ [to'outou] , /kana/ [tʌnə] , /kuahiwi/ [tuəhiwi] ; medially in: /hoʻokipa/[ho'otipə], /maka/ [mʌtə] , and in /alakaʻi/[ʌlə tʌ'i] .

[k] was also used initially: /kēia/ [ke·ɪə] , /ku'ai/ [ku'ʌi] , /kanaka/ [kʌnʌkə] ; medially in /lako/ [lako] , /haku/ [hʌku], and in /oko'a/ [oko'ə] .

Examples of interchangeable usage are:

/ke/	[ke ∞ Te]	Note specifically lines 58 and 59
/ka/	[ka ∞ ta]	Note specifically line 23: / ā me ka ka hele lani/ [a·me·ta·ka helɛ lʌni]
/ko'u/	[ko'u]	lines 8,13,37,47,52
	[To'u]	lines 30,35,36,38, 40, 41, 54
/ka'u/	[ka'u]	line 60
	[Ta'u]	line 63
/kēia/	[ke·ɪə]	line 4
	[Te·ɪə]	lines 6, 24,26,34
/kekahi/	[kətʌhi]	line 45
	[tetʌhi]	line 50
/aku/	[aku]	line 12, 18, 56
	[atu]	line 62
/makemake/	[mʌke mʌke]	line 61
	[mate mate]	line 2

(2) Note the frequency of unvoiced final sounds, or weakened sounds or syllables, due perhaps to rapid tempo. Examples of complete phoneme loss and/or change follow.

Line 3 /ko 'ōūkou/ [to'utu]

Line 8 /'a'ohe wahi mea e/ [a·ohi 'ohi me·e]

Line 13 /noho ana/ [no·ʌnə]

Line 31 /elua o'u tita/ [elua ʔu tita]

Line 38 /i ko mākou home/ [i to·ma·tu home]

Line 39 /ho'okahi lumi/ [ho'o tʌ·lu mi]

Line 48 /o ka noho ana/ [o ka no·ʷʌ na]

Line 64 /no e alaka'i/ [no·e ja·'kʌ'i]

(3) Assimilation is also characteristic of this speaker. Examples follow.

Line 5 /mā waho/ [maʷ ʷo ho]

Line 10 /'a'ohe wahi/ [ʔa'o hi ʷʌ hi]

Line 22 /i 'ike 'ole ai/ [i'i te'o le je i]

Line 26 /i kēia po'e/ [i te·i ʲa po'i]

Line 50 /wale kekahi/ [ʷʌ le te tʌ hi]

Line 55 /'olelo haole inā/ [ʔo le le ha·o lii na·]

Line 56 /Hawai'i wale no/ [ha ʷʌ i'i ʷʌ le no]

Line 57 /ho'oikaika nei au/ [ho'o i ke i ka·ne i jʌ ʷu]

(4) Examples of loan words in this text are:

/otomobila/	'automobile'	line 6
/tita/	'sister'	line 31
/home/	'home'	line 38
/lumi/	'room'	line 39
/kala/	'color'	line 23
/pepe/	'baby'	line 30
/pipi/	'beef cattle'	line 17

(5) The [ei] allophone of /ai/.

In this text, /ai/ is consistently [ʌi] rather than [ei] : /mā laila/ line 9,13,49,53,55,62

/mai/ line 5,24,25,33,47,51, 52,53,60

The two occurrances of [ei] for /ai/ : line 35,

/kaikaina/ and line 61, /mai/ are due to assimilation to nearby sounds. Thus it may be that the usage of [ei] for /ai/, common among other Hawaiians, has not been established on Ni'ihau.

(6) The /w/ phoneme.

In the following words, the /w/ was pronounced [w] :

/manawa/	line 40	/waho/	line 5, 7, 22
/wale/	line 7,10, 12, 18, 56	/ewalu/	line 29
/wahine/	line 26	/ka'awale/	line 50
/wau/	line 30, 42, 50, 52, 53		
/wāwae/	line 43		
/ha'awina/	line 57, 59		

The lax [v] is used only four times:

/kuahiwi/	line 44	/ha'awi/	line 60,61
/lawe/	line 30	/kalaiwa/	line 36

Its use in /ha'awi/ is surprising as [w] is found in /ha'awina/ line 57, 59. Other research[35] on the Ni'ihau dialect reported no examples of the use of lax [v] there. Ki's use of [v] in the examples given may be influenced by outside contacts.

35. See footnote, page 106.

1. Ni'ihau o Ka-hele-lani

ˈniˈiˈhau oˈkaˈheleˈlani

Ni'ihau of The Regal-Procession Shell[36]

2. E nā hoaloha ke no'ono'o nei au he makemake nui

ˈeˈnaˈho aloha / ˈteˈnoˈoˈnoˈo neiˈjau heˈmateˈmate ˈnui

Friends, I now think you very much wish

3. ko 'ōukou e lohe i nā mea a nā po'e o Ni'ihau e hana nei

toˈˈutu eˈlohe / iˈnaˈmeɔ "ai ˈna ˈpoˈe oˈniˈiˈhau / eˈhanaˈneiˈ

to hear things that the Ni'ihau people do

---

36. "The Regal-Procession" -/Ka-hele-lani/ is the name of a tiny shell (Lepthothyra, spp.) found on Ni'ihau where it is cherished and beloved. In the old songs, Ni'ihau is still referred to in this manner: "Ni'ihau O Ka-hele-lani".

4. i kēia mau manawa, no ka mea, he oko'a no ke 'ano

i'ke·i'ə mʌu mə'nawə|'no·kə'meə|heo'ko'a^{he} no tɛ''ʌno

in these times, because different indeed is our way of

5. o kó mākou noho ana mai nā po'e mā waho

otə'mə·tu'no·^{no} ʌnə| mə·'mʌi'nə·po'e mau'wɐho

living from the people here outside

6. o kēia mau po'e 'āina. E like a'e paha me nā ka'a otomobila,

o'te·i'ə'meu''po·ɛ''ə·'i·nə‖ e'liki ə'e'pʌhʌme'nə·'tʌ'ʌ'ótomóbila|

of these lands. Such as perhaps automobiles,

7. hale ku'ai ā ki'i'oni'oni, he nui wale mā waho nei,

'hale'ku''ʌi'ə·'ti''ɪ''oni''oni | he'nui'wɐlɪ'mə·'wɐho'nei‖

stores and moving pictures. There are many of these outside here,

8. aʻkā mā koʻu ʻāina ʻaʻohe wahi mea e like me kōlā. 20

aˈka·maˈkoˈuˈʔaːinəˈʔaˈohiˈohiˈmeːeˈlikeˈmeˈkeːˈlaː ||

but in my land, no things at all like that.

9. Akā he nui ka hauʻoli o nā kānaka mā laila. 17

aˈkaːheˈnuiˈka haʊˈʔoli oˈnaːˈkaːnʌkəˈmaˈʌilə |

However, great is the happiness of the people there.

10. He loaʻa wale ka iʻa, ʻaʻohe wahi ʻohana 17

heˈloʌˈəˈwaleˈtə"iːə | ʔəːʔohiˈwʌhi"ʔoːˈhʌnə

Fish is gotten free, (and) not a single family

11. i loaʻa ʻole ka lākou māla mahiʻai. Kanu mākou 19

ʔiːˈloʌˈəʔoleˈtəˈlaːkou"maː|əˈmʌhiʔʌi | ˈkʌnuˈmaːtou

does not have their garden patch to cultivate. We plant

12. i ka 'uwala, hala, he'ī, manakō, ā pēlā wale aku. 19

ita'uwala|'hala|'he'i·|manako·''a,pe·la·'walɛinaku||

sweet potatoes, pandanus, papaya, mango and so forth

13. I loko iho o ko'u na'au, he lako ka noho ana mā laila: 21

i'loko iaho'o'ko'u'na·'au | he'lako ko ta'no·ana|'ma·'laila||

To my thinking there is a plentitude for living there.

14. o nā mea i loa'a 'ole iā mākou, 'ua ho'olako 'ia 22

o'na·'mea i'lo·'o'oliaa'ma·to| 'u'ho·o'lako'ria

Things not procurable by us are provided

15. e ko mākou haku mā ke kino. 10

e'to·'ma·tou|haku|ma'ki'kino||

by our overseer for living.

16. O nā hana a mākuakāne ā me nā kamali'i kāne 19

o'na'hʌnə a'ma'ʈuə'ʈa'ni /'a'me'na'kə mə'li'i'ʈa'ne

The work of the fathers and boys

17. he mālama holoholōna, e like me ka pipi, lio 18

he'ma'lʌmə'holəho'lo'nʌ e 'like me kə'pi'pi'/'lio

is caring for the stock, such as (beef) cattle, horses,

18. ā pēlā wale aku. O nā mākuahine o ka lākou hana, 20

'ə'pe'lə'wʌlə'ʌku // o'na'ma'tuə'hini /'ota'lə'ko'hʌnə/

and so forth. The mothers' work

19. he mālama i ka home ā me nā mea li'ili'i 17

e'ma'lʌmə i'tə'ho'me /'ə'mə'hə'me'ə'li'i'li'i

is caring for the home and small things

20. e hiki ana iā lākou.

e·ˈhiˈkiˈjanaˈiˈjaˈlaˈkou‖

which come to them.

21. Ākia mā kēlā 'āina mā kahakai ka pūpū a ko'u mau maka

ˈaˈiˈa naˈkeˈlaˈˈaˈina maˈkaˈhaˈiˈkaˈpuˈpuˈaˈkoˈu ˈmouˈmaˈka

There are on the beaches of that land, shells (that) my eyes

22. i 'ike 'ole ai mā waho nei. 'Ua kahea 'ia kēia 'ano pūpū

ˈiˈteˈˈoliˈjeiˈˈmaˈ waho nei ˈuaˈkaˈheaˈˈiˈaˈteˈˈiaˈˈanaˈpuˈpu

have not seen outside. These kinds of shells are called

23. he momi, ā lilea, ā me ka ka-hele-lani. He u'i ke kala

heˈmomiˈˈaˈliˈleiaˈˈaˈmeˈkaˈkaˈheleˈlaniˈ[37]‖heˈuˈiˈteˈkala

"momi", "lilea" and the "ka-hele-lani". The color of these

37. Note the seemingly free variation of /ka/ where both morphemes appear contiguously. The first functions as an article, the second as part of the name. This is a

24. o kēia 'ano pūpū mai ka akala, 'ula'ula, 'ele'ele, 21

ʻoʻteːiːaʻʻanoʻpuːpuː maiːtaʻʻaːkaːlaː/ʻʻulaʻʻulaː/ʻʻeleʻʻeleː/

kinds of shells is beautiful: pink, red, black,

25. ā ōma'oma'o mai ka kai mai no. He nani ia i loa'a 'ole 22

ʻaʻʻoːmaʻoʻmaʻoː/ maiːkaʻtnaimaiʻnoː// heʻnaniːiʻaiːloʻaʻaːʻoleː

and green, from out of the sea. It is a beauty not gotten

26. ma'ane'i; o ka hana ia a nā wāhine, he 'ohi i kēia po'e 24

ʻmaʻaʻneʻiː/ oʻtaʻhanaːiaaʻnaʻwaːhineː/ heʻohi iʻteːiʻaʻpoʻeː

here; the work of the women is to gather these

27. pūpū a hana lei, i mea ho'onani no ko lākou hale, 19

ʻpuːpuː/aʻhanaʻleiː/ iːmeaʻhoʻoʻhaniʻnoːʻtoʻlaːkouʻhaleː/

shells and make leis, to beautify their houses

28. ā no ka pu'u. 5

ʻaʻhoʻtaʻpuʻu

and for the throat.

29. No'u iho, he ewalu ka nui o ko mākou 'ohana. 19

ʻnoʻuʻiʻhohɛʻeʻwaʌᵘ kaʻnui otoʻmaʻtouʻsoʻhʌnaǁ

Concerning mine, eight is the size of our family.

30. He elua pepe lawe hanai 'ia e ko'u mau mākua. 19

heʻsʌʻluaʻpeʻpeʻlaveʻhaʻnʌʲᵘʻsiaʌ/ɛʻtoʻuʻmauʻmaʻtuaǁ

Two babies were adopted to raise by my parents.

31. O wau ka mua o ko mākou 'ohana, elua o'u tita 19

oʻwʌuʻkaʻmuaʻoʻtoʻmaʻtoᵛʻsoʻhʌnaǁʻeluaʻuʻtiʲtaʌ/

And I am the first of our family, (I have) two sisters

32. ā he ho'okahi kaikunane. He elua no na'e 17

ˈaːheˈhoːoˈtʌhiˈkekuˈnaːne | heˈsˈeluɜˈhoːˈnaˈɛ

and one brother. There were two more indeed,

33. akā o ko mākou hanau mua 'ua ha'alele mai 'o ia 20

ˈaˈkaːoˈkoːˈmaːtoᵘ haˈnʌu ˈmuɜ | ʾuˈhaˈaˈleˈleᵉ mʌɪ ʾoˈiˈɜ

but our first-born forsook

34. i kōia ola ana. He hau'oli ka noho ana o ko mākou home. 23

iteˈiˈoˈlɜˈʌnɜ ‖ heˈhʌuˈoli teˈnohoˈʌnᵃ | oˈtoːˈmaːtouˈhome |

this life. Happy is the living in our home.

35. Ēia no ko'u mau kaikaina ke hele nei i ke kula 17

ˈeijɜˈnoːˈtoˈuˈmʌuˈtʌiˈteinɜ | teˈheˈleᵉˈnei itɛˈkuˈla

There my younger sisters are going to school

36. mā ko'u 'āina. O ko'u mākuakāne he kalaiwa ka'a kana hana 23

ˈmaˑtoˈuˈaːinaˀ‖ oˈteˈu maˈtuaˈtaˑne| heˈkalaːiˈvaˈkaˈaˈtanaˈhana‖

in my land. My father is a driver;

37. a o ko'u mākuahine he hana lei pūpū kana, 17

ˈaˑ ˈoˈkoˈu maˈtuaˈhineˀ heˈhanaˈleiˈpuˑpuˑtaˑnaˈ

and my mother, her work is making shell leis,

38. mālama i ko mākou home. He hale nui ko'u me ehā lumi moe, 22

"maˑlamaˈiˈtoˑmaˑkuˈhome‖ heˈhaleˈnuiˈtoˈu| meˈeˈhaˑlumiˈmoe|

(and) caring for our home. Mine is a large house with four bedrooms,

39. ho'okahi lumi ho'okipa, ā elua lumi pa'ina 19

hoˈoˈkaˈiˑlumiˈhoˈoˈkipaˀ ˈaˑ eˈluaˈlumi paˈˈiˑna‖

one living room and two kitchens.

40. He nui nā pela o loko o ko'u home ā me nā noho. /9

he nui na·pela eloto'o to'u home | a·me na·noho° ||

There are many beds in my home and chairs.

41. He elima lio o ko'u mākuakāne nona pono'ī, ā o ka'u hana 25

he'elima°lio | o to'u maTuata·ne no·na pono'i· | a· °to'u hana |

My father has five horses of his own, and (it is) my job

42. ia he hololio inā wau e ho'i i ka hale i ka ho'omaha nui; 25

'ija ehehololio ina·wau | eho'i | ita·hale | ita ho'°maha nui ||

to ride horseback when I return home during vacation,

43. hele i ka 'au'au kai, 'ohi pūpū, 'ai'ole hele wāwae 18

38

heli·ta·'au'autai | 'ohi pu·pu· | 'ai'ole hele wa·wai

go swimming, gather shells, or go on foot

38. Assimilation.

44. i kuahiwi i ka holoholo; 'o ia ka hau'oli: 18

i'kuə'hivi| itə'holo'holo‖ 'o'jə tə'hau'oli|

to the mountains for recreation; yes, indeed, great happiness:

45. hele pū me nā hoaloha ā me ka mākou mea 'ai kekahi. 20

'hɛlɛ'pu:me'nə·'ho·ə·lo^{ha} |'ə·me'to·'mə·tou meə'ɔi tə^{kə}'tʃhi‖

going with friends and also our food.

46. He elua haneli ā 'oi po'e o luna o kēlā 'āina. 19

he'e·lu^{ə}'hən·ɛlɛ'ə·''oi 'po·ɛ|'o·lun^{ə} 'o·te·lə^{a} 'ə·inə‖

On that land there are more than two hundred people.

47. I ko'u hele ana mai i Honolulu nei i ke kula, 19

i'ko·u'hɛlɛ'ənə 'mai ji'hono'lulu'nei| ike'kul^{a}|

When I came to Honolulu here to school,

48. he hau'oli no ho'i ke 'ano o ka noho ana mā ka hale kula 22

hɛ'hɐu'oli 'no·ho'i kɛ'ɐno o kɐ'no·wɐnɐ 'mɐ·kɐ'hɐle 'kulɐ

(I was) really happy with the kind of living at Kamehameha School.

49. O Kamehameha. Nui nā hana maika'i a nā hoaloha o'u mā laila: 25

o kɐ'mɛhɛ'mɛhɐ ‖ 'nui 'nɐ·'hɐnɐ 'mɐi'kɐ'i· | 'ɐ·'nɐ·'ho·ɐ | oh a o'u mɐ·'lɐilɐ

Many kind deeds were done for me by my friends there.

50. iā'u. He 'ano mehameha no ho'i wau i ka noho ka'awale 21

i'ɐ'u | hɛ'ɐno 'mɛ̂hɐ'mɛ̂hɐ 'ho·ho'i·'wɐu | i kɐ'no^ho | 'ɐ'ɐ'wɐli

In fact I was somewhat lonely in living separated

51. kekahi o ko'u 'ohana mai a'u mai, no ka mea, he mama'o loa 23

ʃɛ'ɐhi | o'to'u 'o·'hɐnɐ mɐi ʃɐ'umɐi | 'no·kɐ mɛɐ | hɛmɐ'mɐ·oloɐ

from my family, because they were very far

52. lākou mai a'u mai. 'Ua no'ono'o wau mā mua o ko'u hele ana 23

ˈlaːkou maiˈjnˈumʌi ‖ ˈuɔˈhoˈoˈnɔˈoˈwʌu|ˈmaːmuɜ oˈkoˈuˈheleˈʌnɜ

from me. Before my coming here to school I had thought

53. mai i ne'ine'i i ke kula e ho'i hou wau i laila 18

ˈmʌiː ˈiˈneˈɔˈiˈnei |ikeˈkulᵊ| heˈhoˈɪ houˈwʌu |iˈlʌilɜ|

I would return there again

54. e a'o ai i nā kamali'i o ku'u 'āina. 'A'ohe o mākou 21

eˈjnˈoˈwʌ |ˈai ˈiˈnaːˈkʌmnˈliˈɪ oˈtuˈuˈɔːinɜ|ˈɔˈɔˈohi oˈmaːtou

to teach the children of my country. We do not

55. 'olelo haole inā mākou e noho mā laila, akā he 'olelo 21

ˈɔˈleleˈhaːole iˈnaːˈmaːkou eˈnoʰoˈmaːlʌiˌᵊ ‖ˈɑːkaː|heˈɔˈleleᵊ

speak haole when we live there, but speak

56. Hawai'i wale no a po ka la, a pela aku no ia la aku. 21

hə́wəi'ɪ'wəlɛ́no· \a·po·ka'la· \'a·pe\a: kuno ija\'a·ku‖

Hawaiian from morning to night, all the time.

57. Ke ho'oikaika nei wau i loko o na ha'awina 17

ke ho'o'i'keika· nei\nəu \i'loko o'na·hə'ə'winə

I am now trying hard with the studies

58. ma'ane'i ma ka mea hiki. He 'oiai'o he pa'akiki 19

'mə'ə'ne'i \'ma·tə'me'hiti‖ he'oija" i'o\he'pə'ə ki"ki:\

here the (best I) can. It is true the work is hard

59. ka hana ana i na ha'awina, aka ma ke aloha o ke Akua 23

ka'hənə'ənə'i'na·hə'ə'winə\'a·'ka:'ma·kə'loha\o'kea'kuə

in the lessons, but with the love of the Lord,

60. 'ua ha'awi mai 'o ia iā'u i ka na'au ao e like me ka'u 24

ʻuʻhaʻawiʻmai ʻoija iʻʻnʻu ikaʻnaːnuwaᵒ|eʻlikemeʻkaʻu

He has given me the intelligence that I

61.. i makemake ai. 'Ua ha'awi mai 'o ia a na'u 18

iʻmakeᵉmakeʻjai ‖ ʻuahʻawimei ʻoija ʻaːʻnaʻu

wish. He gives me

62. e ho'ohana aku mā ka mea hiki. No laila ke ho'opau nei au 22

eʻhaʻoʻhanaˌ|ʻaːʻtuːʻmaːtaʻmeaʻhiti ‖ ʻnoːʻlailə teʻhoʻᵒʻpauːʻneiːʻwau

to do what (is) possible. Therefore I now close

63. i ku'u mau wahi mo'olelo ma'ane'i, ā mā ke aloha o ke Akua, 25

eʻtuːuːʻmauːʻwahiʻ ʻmoʻoʻlelo ʻmaːaʻneʻi |ʻaːʻmaːʻteaʻlohᵃ oʻkeaʻkuaˌ|

my little story here, and by the love of the Lord,

ā kia'i

64.. nana no e alaka'i ā iā'u i loko a nā mea a pau. 24

ˈna·naˌno·eˌjaˈ·kaˈ·iˌ | ˈa·tiˈ·ˈiˈ·u iˌloko aˈna·ˈmeaˈˈa: pau |

He will lead and guard me in all things.

65. Me ka mahalo... 5

ˈmeˌkaˈˈmaˈ·haˌ·lo ||

With gratitude...

APPENDIX

The /w/ Phoneme

The /w/ phoneme has two allophones, as stated on page 8. One is a lax bilabial [w] , and the other a lax labiodental [v] , which is not as strongly fricative as the [v] in English. Because of the variation in usage of these two allophones, further data were examined in order to discover the environment in which each allophone occurs.

Data were gathered from the following sources: (1) the preceding texts of the nine informants used in this study; (2) the speech of a minister on a weekly radio program[39]; and (3) the speech of thirteen additional informants. These speakers read a test passage so constructed that /w/ was used initially and medially, in stressed and unstressed positions, and contiguous to rounded and unrounded vowels. Thus the number of informants whose usage of [w ~ v] was studied totalled twenty two.

For the purpose of a conclusive study this number may be too few. Furthermore, with the exception of Ki and Kai, the informants were elderly people. Thus the material does not represent usage among young or middle aged groups. The indication that usage differs in different localities could be followed up by more extensive field work.

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39. "Ka-Leo-o-Hawai'i", a religious service, broadcast over Station KGU,- Sundays at 8.45 am.

The results of this study show three general patterns of usage:

(1) "W dialect". Some speakers used [w] consistently, except where /w/ occurred medially after unrounded front vowels, /i,e/ only. Examples: /'Ewa/ ['ɛwə] . /'iwa/ ['iwə] ; or occasionally where /w/ occurred medially after a central vowel and was followed by a higher unrounded vowel. Examples: /Kawena/ [kəwinə]. /lawe/ [ləwe] . Two of these informants were from Ni'ihau[40] ; three from Kaua'i, one from Mau'i, and one from Ka-wai-hae, Hawai'i.

(2) "W-V dialect". Other speakers used both [w] and [v] with relatively equal frequency. The choice of allophone depended on (1) position and (2) precedence of a rounded or unrounded vowel. Thus [w] was used initially, and after /u,o/, which usage follows the pattern discussed in the section on glides, pp. 13-15. [v] was used where /w/ occurred medially, following all the unrounded vowels, /i,e,a/. Note the choice of allophone dependent on the position of the /w/ as considered initial, or medial:

/wale no/ [wəleno] <u>but</u> /hele wale/ [hɛlɛvəlɛ]

/ia wā/ [iəwa·] <u>but</u> /ka 'awa/ [kə'əvə]

Six of these informants were from O'ahu, two from Hawai'i.

(3) "V dialect". A third group of speakers used the lax consistently except for an occasional [w] when /w/ occurred word initially in such expressions as /Wilikonia/ 'proper name'; or when /w/ occurred after the rounded /u/ and /o/. Examples:

/no wau/ [nowəu] /lapuwale/ [ləpuwəle]

which parallels the pattern observed in the [w] glide.

[40] See footnote, page 10.

four of these informants were from Hawai'i (two from the Ka'u district there), one informant was from O'ahu, and two from Maui..

It is interesting to note that, of 18 speakers who used the word /Hawai'i/, 14 chose the [w] allophone, [hə"wʌi'i] .

The following chart shows the choice of allophone found in each of the three dialects:

	word-initial	after i,e	after a	after u,o	Locale	
"W dialect"	w	v	w	w	Ni'ihau	3
					Kaua'i	3
					Maui	1
					Hawai'i	1
"W-V dialect"	w	v	v	w	O'ahu	6
					Hawai'i	2
"V dialect"	v	v	v	w	O'ahu	1
					Maui	2
					Hawai'i	4

Some tentative conclusions drawn from these findings are:

1. The lax [v] allophone differs in articulation from the English [v] and is sometimes difficult to distinguish from [w] .

2. The choice of allophone may vary according to the locality. Ni'ihau and Kaua'i informants prefer the "W dialect"; most of the "V dialect" speakers were from Hawai'i; and most of the mixed "W-V dialect" speakers were from O'ahu.

3. There is free variation in choice of allophone:

/wā/ [wa·] M, line 2, selection 1.

but [va·] line 5, selection 1.

	/wahi/	[wahi]	H, line 1, 2, 7
but		[vahi]	line 8
	/ha'awi/	[ha'awi]	Ki, line 60, 61
but	/ha'awina/	[ha'avina]	line 57, 59

4. [w ~ v] varies freely among different speakers; the patterns of allophone choice seems to indicate three dialects.

5. Where the variation is conditioned, the choice of allophone depends on word position, or the preceding vowel: see the chart above. Three dialects seem to exist on the basis of environment.

6. The effect of stress on choice of allophone has not been determined.

7. This controversial matter can be settled definitely only by very detailed recordings, such as are made in the dialect surveys on the mainland of the United States.

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