

**HAWAIIAN LANGUAGE NORMALIZATION:  
AN ANALYSIS OF L2 HAWAIIAN SPEAKER NARRATIVES**

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**ABSTRACT**

This study analyzes the degree to which the Hawaiian language has become normalized in a range of domains beyond language learning contexts for L2 Hawaiian speakers. First, two in-depth interviews were conducted with two graduate students in the Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UHM). The interviews were then analyzed using narrative analysis and were organized thematically according to where students report that they use Hawaiian language in and outside of the UHM campus. The narrative data were then used to create a questionnaire to survey 32 students who are self-identified proficient speakers of Hawaiian at UHM about where they use Hawaiian and for what purpose they use Hawaiian in different places and spaces in their lives. The data provide more insight into language normalization by showing where L2 Hawaiian speakers are using Hawaiian in their lives. The findings also provide valuable implications for the ongoing revitalization of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i and give a clearer picture of L2 language use.

**INTRODUCTION**

“E ola mau ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i” is a Hawaiian proverb or ‘ōlelo no‘eau that translates to “the Hawaiian language lives on” (Pukui, 1983). This ‘ōlelo no‘eau has been a sort of slogan for the revitalization efforts of the Hawaiian language. It is one of the most popular sayings among second language learners and speakers about their mission to kōkua or help the Hawaiian language grow stronger. Learning the Hawaiian language is challenging since there are not many native speakers of the language. An additional difficulty in learning Hawaiian is that it is currently not spoken in many domains of life, and therefore learners may not have many opportunities to practice language outside of the classroom unless they go out and seek out

Hawaiian language events and participate in activities that are inherently Hawaiian (i.e., hula, working in a lo‘i, events sponsored by the School of Hawaiian Knowledge at UHM, etc). Due to the lack of native speaker interaction and the lack of opportunities to utilize the language outside of the language classroom, Hawaiian classrooms are a crucial part of the Hawaiian language revitalization process. The teachers and professors of Hawaiian language have dedicated their professional careers to supporting the overall revitalization of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i<sup>1</sup> by becoming language educators. These Kumu ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i create a classroom environment that focuses on teaching students Hawaiian culture and Hawaiian worldview through the instruction of Hawaiian language.

In a conversation about English for specific purposes (ESP), I was asked what the purpose of Hawaiian language is at this point in Hawai‘i’s language revitalization movement and whether or not the teachers of Hawaiian language are teaching Hawaiian for no obvious purpose (HNOP). As startled as I was by this question I realized it is a valid inquiry for someone to ask about the indigenous language of Hawai‘i, a state where the primary language is English and where there are seemingly very few places where Hawaiian is the medium of communication. The typical goal for learning a language is to utilize it outside of the classroom context for communicative purposes. In an indigenous language context, the goals for language learning are different because they are more about reclamation of language and culture (Bishop, Berryman, & Richardson, 2002; King, 2001; McCarty, 2014). Like other indigenous languages, many learners of Hawaiian consider themselves heritage language learners of Hawaiian. Learning Hawaiian is about making a political statement through the learners’ choice to learn and speak their native language instead of being monolingual in English. Therefore, it is important to document where these learners are using Hawaiian language to see how widespread the language is becoming.

This study is important because Hawaiian language should not only be constrained by attaching it to traditional lifestyles or to the past, but also fostered by placing it squarely in the current moment and making it a part of everyday life as an important next step. Hawaiians today still participate in many ‘traditional’ practices such as hula, mālama ‘āina activities, lā‘au lapa‘au, and many other activities that are seemingly traditional in their very nature. Although Hawaiians and local people are still participating in traditional practices, they are incorporating

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, I refer to Hawaiian language as ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i with capital letters and when I refer to language or speaking in general, I use the word ‘ōlelo with lower case letters

those traditions into their contemporary lives and this means that people do not necessarily have to give up their cultural continuity in order to live modern lives. In other words, learners of Hawaiian language have opportunities to expand the domains of their language use beyond the classroom into some domains that are traditionally Hawaiian (i.e., the lo‘i kalo or the hula hālau) or expand into completely contemporary domains—it all just depends on the kinds of activities that they include in their lifestyles. Presently, there are places where it is a known fact that Hawaiian language is the medium of communication such as on the island of Ni‘ihau, at Hawaiian church services in Kawaiaha‘o Church, and in the Hawaiian immersion communities such as Ke Kula ‘O Nāwahīokalani‘ōpu‘u in Hilo. The next step that should be considered is the normalization of the Hawaiian language via the expansion of the domains in which it is currently utilized by people.

In this study I first analyze the interview narratives of proficient speakers of Hawaiian language and investigate the places and spaces where they use Hawaiian language as well as the people who they communicate to in Hawaiian. I then use my thematic organization and analyses of narratives to create a survey for students at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa who self-identify as proficient Hawaiian language learners about the places and spaces where they use Hawaiian as the medium of communication. I will also examine the ideologies expressed in students’ reasons for deciding to study Hawaiian language and how this plays a significant role in how willing they are to push the boundaries of ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i into new domains and subsequently advocate for Hawaiian language in traditional and modern spaces.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

### *Indigenous Language Normalization*

The concept of *normalization* refers to the expansion of minority and indigenous languages across sociolinguistic domains. In the research literature, normalization has been discussed in relation to technology as the medium or platform of the normalization process. More specifically, the way in which having television programs in indigenous and or minority languages can normalize the language among the people. Television broadcasting channels in minority languages for a linguistic minority were found to be well received in Wales, Scotland, and Finland by speakers of minority languages, learners of minority languages, and those who

were interested in learning about minority languages (Amezaga, Arana, Narbaiza, & Azpillaga, 2013). Moriarty (2009) researched Irish language television channels in depth and found that having an Irish language channel on TV did aid in normalization of the language. However, the biggest factor in normalization of Irish was the positive attitude to the language in everyday society, which was evaluated by a questionnaire that sought information on language practices to gain insight on the attitudes and use of the Irish television programming. Language normalization can be helped by the support of the media such as television channels, which have the important function of “changing the ideological and functional value attached to lesser-used minority languages” (2009, p. 147).

Carrying on with the theme of technology and normalization, the social media platform Twitter has been analyzed as a space for indigenous language normalization. Social media is a very far-reaching domain with the unique capability of bringing people from all places together on one platform to communicate freely. Māori is the indigenous language of New Zealand and is presently being successfully revitalized due to many combined efforts all across the country. As far as the use of Twitter in Māori language, it was found that there are a very large number of tweets posted in Māori and that the number of tweets seems to increase when there is a purpose for tweeters to become more active such as Māori Language Week, the *kapa haka* or traditional Māori performance (Keegan, Mato, & Ruru, 2015). Simply stated, tweeters seem to choose to post in Māori language about Māori things and Māori events instead of expressing those ideas in English.

In regards to scholarly writings about Hawaiian language normalization, there is definitely a gap in the literature as far as the mention of the word “normalization.” However, Wilson and Kamanā (2008) discuss the idea of what they refer to as a “genealogically developed perspective” of Hawaiian language (p. 162). This concept explains that there were many significant changes occurring in precontact and postcontact Hawai‘i and despite those changes Hawaiian culture and language were still being integrated into the lives of the people in those times (Wilson & Kamanā, 2008). A clear example of this is the concept of Christianity being brought to Hawai‘i and adopted by the Hawaiian people. Precontact Hawai‘i believed in thousands of Hawaiian gods and all of these gods were inherently Hawaiian in their very essence. This all changed when the chiefs of Hawai‘i abolished the traditional polytheistic religion and subsequent practices and Christianity was adopted. Although Christianity is not

inherently a Hawaiian belief system or a Hawaiian way of looking at creation, Hawaiians still adopted Christianity and in a very distinctively Hawaiian manner.

To this day Hawaiians on the island of Ni‘ihau live their lives by following the teachings of Ke Akua or God, but in a very Hawaiian manner that is much different than Christianity on the continental United States. One example of this difference would be the use of Hawaiian language prayers and songs used as ritual in Hawaiian Christianity. This is a clear example of how things that are imported from other cultures and contexts can be genealogically developed and integrated into the lives of Hawaiian people in a Hawaiian manner. This example of genealogically developed perspective is a key idea in Hawaiian language normalization because it shows how Hawaiian language can become a normal part of domains that are not originally “Hawaiian” in their very nature. The creation of Hawaiian spaces on domains such as social media can be an example of how Hawaiian language speakers are living presently in the modern day and creating ways to integrate Hawaiian into their modern lifestyles.

### ***Hawaiian Language History***

Like many indigenous languages, Hawaiian has been going through language revitalization efforts due to the near loss of the language after the colonization of Hawai‘i. According to an early census of Hawai‘i in 1831, the total population was estimated to be 130,313 people and everyone spoke Hawaiian (Schmitt, 1977). Wilson (1998) reports that Hawaiian was spoken by Hawaiians and non-Hawaiians alike during the Hawaiian Kingdom era and that the Anglo-American ethnic group in Hawai‘i became concerned that their children did not have English-speaking playmates, so they established their own English-medium boarding school in 1842. As the political and economic power of the Anglo-American minority increased so did the power of the English-medium schools, which resulted in the spread of ideologies where it was seen as ‘unsophisticated’ to be monolingual in Hawaiian and, following the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, the Provisional Government enforced a ban on Hawaiian-medium schools (Wilson & Kamanā, 2009). These thoughts of Hawaiian unsophistication “spread across North America, [but] they also became dominant themes in Kanaka Maoli [Native Hawaiian] narratives” (Kahumoku, 2003, p. 160). The ban on Hawaiian language in schools resulted in students speaking Hawaiian only to their elders and resorting to Hawai‘i Creole (known more popularly as Pidgin) to speak with peers and in English schools. Due to the decimation of the

Hawaiian people caused by foreign diseases and the increasing number of plantation families and children in Hawai‘i led to a greater role for Pidgin in Hawai‘i. Like Hawaiian, Pidgin also carried the stigma of a language spoken only by people who were unsophisticated. According to Wilson and Kamanā (2009), by the 1940s-1960s, the youth of that generation sometimes heard elders speaking Hawaiian but did not know any of the language besides a few words and phrases.

A contradictory situation was created when the Constitutional Convention of 1978 made Hawaiian an official language of Hawai‘i in 1978, but there were still laws banning Hawaiian language instruction in schools and Hawaiian medium education (Snyder-Frey, 2013). According to Warner (1999), Hawaiian medium education began in 1984 to help revitalize the Hawaiian language through immersion preschools called the Pūnana Leo and shortly after that, the State of Hawai‘i Department of Education enacted the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program in 1987, which supported the creation of Pre K-12 Hawaiian language immersion schools called Kula Kaiapuni. After nearly a century of Hawaiian language absence in education, Hawaiian-medium education in the State of Hawai‘i has caused a significant increase in Hawaiian language speakers that can be seen in the present day.

The revitalization efforts of scholars and the Hawaiian community did not stop at the Pre K-12 level, but continued to include higher education. According to the ‘Aha Pūnana Leo website, in 1922 the Hawaiian language was first taught at the University of Hawai‘i as a ‘foreign’ language and continued to develop very slowly (2017). In 1972, there were several hundred students enrolled in the four-year Hawaiian language degree program. In that same year, students protested to have a four-year program in Hawaiian language at the newest UH campus in Hilo, Hawai‘i. By the 1980s, the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo had become the sites where many future students would become fluent Hawaiian speakers and perpetuate the Hawaiian language and culture today. According to a statistical report done by the Hawai‘i State Data Center, there are now 18,610 speakers of Hawaiian language in the state of Hawai‘i (2016).

### ***Learning Hawaiian as Kuleana [Right, Responsibility]***

In the era of revitalization, many people express that their passion for learning Hawaiian has come from their sense of kuleana or their responsibility. These feelings come from the students’ sense of duty to their culture and heritage and feelings that by them learning Hawaiian language,

they are perpetuating culture. In Hawaiian culture, it is a duty to not only take care of their responsibilities, but to ‘auamo, or carry their responsibilities. ‘Auamo is the Hawaiian word for the pole or stick used for carrying burdens across the shoulders and is also used as a verb to carry burdens on a person’s shoulders. The use of the word ‘auamo is the perfect demonstration of a Hawaiian worldview of what it means to truly carry out responsibilities by placing them on your shoulders and pushing past the pain and fatigue to get the task done. McGregor (2014) presents a modern ‘ōlelo no‘eau, “e ‘auamo i ke kuleana, kūkulu waiwai,” which translates to “carry responsibilities and collectively build wealth.” This ‘ōlelo no‘eau is meant to refer to the foundations of kuleana in land stewardship and how “waiwai” or “wealth” in a Hawaiian sense does not refer to monetary wealth but wealth of natural resources. This proverb can be applied to refer to the wealth of knowledge that kānaka are building by carrying their kuleana of learning their language. Although the idea of carrying burdens may seem like a very physical task, a responsibility as crucial as learning ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i is one that should be metaphorically carried on the shoulders of learners.

Many scholars have added to the literature about learners’ kuleana to Hawaiian language and how these feelings of traditional attachment to language seem to define the efforts of students in the present day. In interviews with L2 speakers, it has been found that students strongly connect their choice to study and actively learn Hawaiian language with primordial attachments (Snyder-Frey, 2013). In this context, primordial attachments may include reclamation of culture and language as well as reconnecting with a Native Hawaiian mo‘okū‘auhau or genealogy, which goes back to the Hawaiian cosmogonic genealogy known as the Kumulipo (Kame‘eleihiwa, 2009). These attachments are communicated as students reporting that they want to study and help revitalize Hawaiian language because it is their responsibility to do so and their right to do so as well (Warner, 1999). However, no one has documented what it is that people are currently doing with Hawaiian language outside of the learning context.

Language normalization can be considered the “next step” in indigenous language revitalization after there has been interest in learning the language for primarily primordial reasons. In Hawaiian language revitalization specifically, there has been much discussion of learning language as a kuleana or responsibility (Snyder-Frey, 2013; Warner, 1999). These traditional attachments to Hawaiian language were necessary in the beginning of revitalization for people to become inspired and now that there are an increasing number of speakers there are

opportunities to push past the boundaries of primordial attachments to expand the use of Hawaiian outside of things that may be expected.

### *Current Hawaiian Language Normalization*

In order to describe the current state of Hawaiian normalization outside of the scholarly literature, I researched any observable normalization on the internet and in the ‘real world’ that currently helps to promote this agenda of Hawaiian language normalization. Although L2 speakers may not hear of every organization and every opportunity to use Hawaiian, it is still valuable to document the current places and people on and offline that facilitate Hawaiian language and culture in domains that may be somewhat unexpected.

A Hawai‘i-based company called Kū-A-Kanaka LLC recently formed, which does Hawaiian consulting, hosts Hawaiian-focused keynotes and workshops, professional development, and many more services. The company slogan for Kū-A-Kanaka is, “when natives thrive, everyone benefits,” and they list revitalizing Hawaiian language and culture as one of their main missions (2016). For example, they recently broadcasted a Facebook live stream of a cooking session. During this broadcast they state their mission as trying to get people to cook using Hawaiian food, ingredients, and cooking methods. During the broadcast they aimed to use as much ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i as possible and they state that their mission is to host Kanaka Kitchen cooking classes in Hawai‘i where people can cook and ‘ōlelo all day. The mission of Kū-A-Kanaka can help learners to get a taste of what can be experienced with actual native speakers in every day life cooking situations. This idea of “cooking in Hawaiian” offers a unique opportunity for people who are interested in language and cooking to do both instead of simply choosing one.

Presently, there are television broadcasts entirely in Hawaiian language that are aired by ‘Ōiwi TV, an organization that prides itself in hiring native Hawaiians and perpetuating Hawaiian culture. These television broadcasts are in affiliation with the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa and the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo where Hawaiian language students are given the opportunities to film interviews and Hawaiian dramas and submit them for TV programming. UH Hilo’s Hawaiian language segment is also uploaded on the ‘Ōiwi TV website for people to access if they are unable to catch it on TV. Also, there are Hawaiian language lessons once a week on the ‘Ōiwi TV channel taught by a professor at Kapi‘olani Community College that give people the opportunity to pick up basic Hawaiian sentences and words weekly.



In addition, there are also places that are considered to be “Hawaiian spaces” and places where people can gather, even though the people at the location do not necessarily speak Hawaiian. A new Hawaiian gathering place recently opened at the Varsity Building not far from the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa campus. This is a very advantageous location for Ka Waiwai, since there are many Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies students who can easily go to their building before and after classes. The Waiwai Collective website states that this is, “a contemporary Hawaiians place where community, culture, and commerce intersect” (2018). This company plays Hawaiian music and supports local by selling Hawaiian food grown by local farmers, and it is described as a Hawaiian atmosphere. Hawaiian and local families go to Ka Waiwai just to enjoy the atmosphere. Ka Waiwai is also known to collaborate with Hawaiian musicians and nonprofits to be the venue for Hawaiian music releases and other events of that nature.

One of the most exciting organizations pushing for Hawaiian language normalization is called Kanaeokana. This is an organization dedicated to the creation of more places and spaces for Hawaiian language, and they work directly with the Office of Hawaiian Education and Kamehameha Schools to create opportunities for language outside of school. In July 2018, Kanaeokana spearheaded a groundbreaking event called Ke Kāniwala Aupuni Hawai‘i [Hawaiian Carnival Night]. At this event there were, “over 5,100 mākua, keiki, and mo‘opuna, speakers and non-speakers alike, [who] got to see what it would be like for ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i to be the everyday language” (Kanaeokana, 2018). They recruited hundreds of volunteers to go to the carnival to speak and greet people in Hawaiian and encourage ‘ōlelo everywhere. Kanaeokana also worked on another groundbreaking project with Duolingo, one of the most popular language learning apps, to add Hawaiian language to their course offerings and make it easier and more accessible for everyone to learn.

On an even larger scale, there are current efforts in the Hawai‘i state legislature to pilot a project for Hawaiian language medium general education coursework at the college level. This bill is described as a Hawaiian Language Instruction Implementation Plan put forth by the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo. More specifically this bill “expands the Hawaiian Language College’s functions and authorizes Hawaiian language medium general education coursework pilot project” (Hawai‘i State Legislature, 2017). They are currently fighting to have UH general education courses to be made possible in Hawaiian for students who enter the college as

proficient speakers and for those who become proficient through their college courses. This is possible due to UH Hilo's close work with Ke Kula 'o Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u, which is a Hawaiian immersion school where many of their graduates aspire to teach. Currently, there is a lot of resistance to this bill because of the lack of "feasibility." UH Mānoa president David Lassner voiced resistance to this bill because he believes that there are not enough Hawaiian language proficient faculty members to teach all of the core subjects across all UH system schools at this time.

### ***Purpose of the Study***

The present study will fill the gaps in the existing research by providing more specific information about what L2 Hawaiian speakers use 'Ōlelo Hawai'i for on a day-to-day basis. The primary purpose of this study is to identify the expanding domains of Hawaiian language in Hawai'i among proficient speakers of Hawaiian in the Kamakakūokalani School of Hawaiian Knowledge at UH Mānoa and to analyze their ideologies about language learning and the importance of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i in their life. Keeping these purposes in mind, the following research questions were developed:

1. Why do students decide to study 'Ōlelo Hawai'i at the college level?
2. Where are students using 'Ōlelo Hawai'i and for what purposes?
3. Are the uses of 'Ōlelo Hawai'i different for in-person language use as opposed to online language use?

In order to answer these research questions, I first held face-to-face interviews with students and asked them to tell their narratives about Hawaiian language use. I then developed a questionnaire with different types of questions to elicit answers to these questions from the L2 speakers.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### ***Interview Data Collection***

In order to investigate L2 Hawaiian language speakers' expanding use of Hawaiian in and outside of school contexts, I decided to use interviews to collect their narratives that might illustrate cases of Hawaiian language normalization. Within these interviews, I planned to

conduct an active interview (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004) so that I could use my common experiences in learning Hawaiian as a second language to encourage the interviewees to tell more of their stories. Active interviews are interviews seen as a social encounter where knowledge is constructed and created from the actions undertaken to obtain it (Holstein & Gubrium, 2004). By being an active interviewer, my narratives about my own personal experiences being a learner of Hawaiian helped to make others more comfortable with sharing their experiences. Also during these interviews, I was a very active participant, frequently commenting on or affirming whatever the interviewees would say so that they would feel more inclined to keep talking. It has found that interviews can be likened to “interpersonal dramas” that have a continuously developing plot. In this case as the active interviewer, I helped to shape the drama that was unfolding in the interview.

**Participants.** For the present study, I interviewed two graduate students at the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa. The first interviewee is Nainoa, a graduate student at UH Mānoa in the Kawaihuelani School of Hawaiian language. He is 26 years old and originally grew up in California where he was involved in hula, which is what ultimately peaked his interest to come to Hawai‘i and study the language and culture. He is of Hawaiian ancestry and that factor is what really drove him to study on O‘ahu. The second interviewee is Lei, a 24 year old graduate student in the Kamakakūokalani School of Hawaiian Studies. She is of Hawaiian ancestry and grew up on Hawai‘i Island in Hilo. She began learning Hawaiian in high school and decided to continue learning in college and eventually decided to commit to majoring in Hawaiian studies.

### ***Survey Data Collection***

Following the narrative analysis, I created a questionnaire based on the themes that emerged out of the interview data. Each theme informed several questions in order to collect the most amount of data about student language use as possible. The questionnaire is 22 questions long and there are many different types of questions including demographic questions, multiple-choice, short-answer, and Likert-scale questions (see Appendix A). This survey was inputted onto Google Forms for easier distribution to the students in the Hawai‘i inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge. I piloted the survey on a small sample of three people and took the constructive feedback to simplify and improve the survey before sending it out to an entire

department. It was helpful to receive feedback to ensure that my questions were specific, answerable, relevant, and clear in this survey project (Brown, 2001).

I sent the Google Form survey out to the Hawai‘inuiākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge explaining that my target audience are L2 learners of Hawaiian who are proficient in the language. Proficiency in the parameters of this project is defined as successful completion of Hawaiian 301 or any other class above that level. I sent an email to the Educational Specialist in the Dean’s office and asked if the survey and explanation of survey email could be sent out to the department. The email was sent out to the department, and I received approximately 20 surveys. In order to gather more survey data, I also sent emails directly to Hawaiian language professors that I personally know asking if they can send the link to their students, and this is how I was able to gather 32 surveys. This type of sampling is a sample of convenience since I did not randomly select students.

### *Narrative Data Analysis*

In order to investigate the ways in which L2 speakers are expanding the domains of use for Hawaiian language, I used narrative analysis to analyze the interviews. By collecting L2 speaker narratives, I could find out more about their use of Hawaiian in many different domains in a very detailed and descriptive way. Narrative analysis is the method of analyzing a specific aspect or many aspects of storytelling practice (DeFina & Georgakopoulou, 2012). The method of narrative analysis is effective in this study because I am able to not only document the domains in which speakers are currently using Hawaiian but also how they feel when they are in situations of normalization. Therefore I can assess not only how normalized Hawaiian is for them, but I can also determine how comfortable students are with being the agents of normalization. This is important to analyze in regards to revitalization and thinking about why speakers of Hawaiian language do not communicate in ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i in certain domains even when they are capable of doing so. For this reason, I will be analyzing level of comfort with being the agents to “push the boundaries” of Hawaiian language use.

In addition to the level of comfort that L2 speakers have with normalizing Hawaiian, I will also be analyzing the way that students position themselves and others in their stories, which will help me to better understand where L2 speakers view themselves and their role in relation to others in the process of normalization. I will analyze the ways that the interviewees use

positioning in their stories by looking at three levels of positioning: positioning within the storied world, positioning with the storytelling world, and positioning amidst Discourses (Bamberg, 1997). Within the aforementioned three levels of positioning, I am looking for specific information for each of the levels in this study. In regards to the storied world, I care about the constructed dialogue and the way that characters are portrayed in stories through the voices used. For the storytelling world, I care about character portrayal as well as how the narrator's express their confidence with language use, which is important since I want to analyze the real world situations where students use Hawaiian and what kinds of characters can either influence their decisions to be agents of normalization or discourage their efforts. The last type of positioning I will be analyzing is level three or positioning amidst Discourses that have been established because of historical and political developments in addition to the themes raised in the literature on Hawaiian language revitalization. It has already been established that learners of Hawaiian commit to learning language for very heartfelt reasons, which has been expressed as kuleana and a sense of duty to aid in revitalization.

Another analytical tool I will be using for these interview data is the analysis of the overall structure of the narratives. According to Labov and Waletzky (1997), narratives include an orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and sometimes a coda as well. In this structural framework of narratives, the orientation is the introduction to the narrative and participants and the complication or complicating action is when the narrative tells what happens next. The coda is referencing the present and explaining what happened then, and finally evaluation is meta dialogue from the speaker throughout the narrative that evaluates the events taking place (1997). This analysis will focus on the ways that interviewees structure their narratives as far as setting the scene for their stories as well as looking at their evaluation of their experiences. This analysis is not aiming to fully break down every aspect of the narrative structure but rather explain how students rationalize their experiences with Hawaiian outside of the classroom through the analysis of how they choose to structure their narratives. This will give insight to the portions of the narrative that they felt inclined to tell in detail and will be telling when interviewees choose to omit certain details for various reasons.

One of the most important goals of this study was to find out what domains of life the Hawaiian language has expanded to as according to second language speaker narratives. In order to get this information, I asked the interviewees to tell me what they use Hawaiian language for

in the college setting and outside the confinements of the classroom. I also asked questions about how students feel when they are in settings outside of school where Hawaiian language is normalized. By asking the interviewees how they feel about their experiences with language, I am able to identify the way that they position themselves and others in their narratives. The following excerpts are organized thematically by purposes for use of Hawaiian in different domains. Each interview was between 30 minutes to an hour where students told their stories and experiences about language. This was a lot of recorded data for me to manage, and in order to identify the themes and organize the narratives thematically, I listened to the interview recordings and took notes about what students were talking about in their narratives. From my notes, I noticed similar themes occurring in the narratives, and I transcribed the relevant sections of each narrative for the purpose of analysis.

*Hawaiian language for school and work purposes.* In Excerpt 1, I asked Nainoa when he uses Hawaiian language as the primary means of communication. He details his experience in and outside of class and also using Hawaiian for communication at his on-campus job.

***Excerpt 1: Interview with Nainoa***

1 N: Um well, for one in class. All my classes for the past probably three years since like 300—  
2 302 or something have all been completely in Hawaiian so.... definitely in classes... and  
3 now at work cuz I work for the *mānaleo* [native speaker] room and there's only Hawaiian in  
4 there and even when I worked in the Deans office um my coworker and my boss could  
5 speak at least a little bit of Hawaiian so we—Hawaiian was heard so I mean I use it  
6 everyday, in class and at work. And sometimes with friends outside of class like when we  
7 go to grab lunch or me and my other friends go and grab food usually but when we get lost  
8 in conversation it switches back to English

9 K: Yeah

10 N: But I mean, theres always still a little Hawaiian hahaha

The most unsurprising domain of Hawaiian normalization is in the classroom as Nainoa explains in (1) and (2) and he clearly realizes that he has little need to explain further beyond the fact that Hawaiian happens in class. He feels no inclination to provide more details to me about using Hawaiian at school because he knows that I am aware, as an L2 learner myself, that the domain of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa has already been achieved. He also has an on-campus job which affords him the opportunity to speak Hawaiian while he works in the native speaker or *mānaleo* room. Interestingly enough, he also worked in the Dean's office as he

mentions in (4) and although that would not be a typical place to hear and speak Hawaiian, he did experience some degree of normalization when he was working there. He briefly mentions getting food with his friends in (7) but acknowledges that he and his friends do not always have full conversations in Hawaiian and more often than not the conversations switch to Pidgin and English with Hawaiian words every now and then, which implies that having a conversation in Hawaiian requires conscious attention to sustain the L2 medium conversation.

In order to elicit this response from Lei, I asked her when she uses Hawaiian in her life and she mentioned school first since it is very unsurprising in her Hawaiian studies classes (as seen in Excerpt 1). Hawaiian studies classes are usually conducted in English and the requirements for the classes are in English as well (i.e., written work). She then begins to detail her experience being a retail worker at Manaola Hawaii, which is a Hawaiian clothing brand made by a Hawaiian company that specifically markets their clothes as “culturally conscious clothing”. For these students there is an interconnected nature of school and work and it seems that to some degree language education feeds employment outside of UHM, as seen in in Excerpt 2.

***Excerpt 2: Interview with Lei***

- 11 L: Some of my classes are in Hawaiian and some are in English at school, not all Hawaiian  
12 Studies classes are fully conducted in Hawaiian like the language courses  
13 K: Oh okay that makes sense  
14 L: But um, at work like actually at work I work for a clothing store and it’s actually a  
15 Hawaiian clothing store with a Hawaiian designer and it’s one of those pretty popular  
16 brands, Manaola  
17 K: Oh you work at Manaola?  
18 L: Yeah so at Manaola a lot of people over there kinda sorta speak Hawaiian and there’s  
19 actually a few people from Kawaihuelani that work there and they can full on speak  
20 Hawaiian when a customer comes in and speaks Hawaiian they can totally do it, so I speak  
21 Hawaiian with them  
22 K: How about the other workers?  
23 L: Um the other workers they like sort of speak some degree of Hawaiian and so I speak  
24 English but throw Hawaiian words inside you know? Like “oh how much was that *pāpale*  
25 [hat]?” and I feel like the brand we work for actually helps people learn more Hawaiian  
26 words too so everyone can sort of get around over there with the little bit that they know

In Excerpt 2, I have underlined the evaluative language that Lei uses in (19) and (20) to describe Hawaiian language use at her job. Lei explains in (12) that her Hawaiian Studies (HWST) classes are not all conducted in Hawaiian, so sometimes Hawaiian language is not

normalized in her classroom. Unlike Nainoa, she does not work on campus and works in retail as she states in (15). This is an interesting location for normalization because, although it is considered a “Hawaiian brand” most of the advertising is in English so it is not an expected place of normalization. This is even more interesting to think about because Manaola is located in Ala Moana shopping center, which is full of tourists and languages like English and Japanese. This company still seems to be normalizing Hawaiian in a place where it is exceedingly challenging to do so; however it is true that Hawaiian does have a commercial appeal. In (20), she states that some of the customers speak Hawaiian when they enter the store, which caused her to notice that some of her coworkers were Hawaiian language speakers. Even when portraying the characters in her work narrative, as seen in (23-26), the non-Hawaiian speaking coworkers are still expressed as people who are somewhat contributing to this normalization since she is able to speak some degree of Hawaiian with them. In (24), Lei uses constructed dialogue to give an example of what kind of partial Hawaiian language could be used by non-speakers in her work place.

*Hawaiian language for native speaker interaction.* After sharing his school and work narrative in Excerpt 1, I asked Nainoa what else he uses Hawaiian language for and where else does he see Hawaiian language used as the medium of communication in his life. He details a trip to Kaua‘i and interactions with native speakers from Ni‘ihau. He also mentions Hui Aloha ‘Āina Tuahine in (36), which is a group of university of Hawai‘i students of Hawaiian language and studies that work to raise funds to bring mānaleo to UHM and create opportunities for students to have native speaker engagement (see Excerpt 3).

***Excerpt 3: Interview with Nainoa***

27 N: Ummm.. lets see... well when we go to Kaua‘i....

28 K: Can you tell me more about Kaua‘i?

29 N: Well me—me and some friends first—maybe like three years ago? Four years ago maybe?

30 K: Mhm

31 N: We got invited to spend Thanksgiving on Kaua‘i with one of the Ni‘ihau family... one of

32 the kumu, she invited us and I kinda forget how we first went

33 K: Hmm

34 N: So it was like one of my friends, he—he got really close with the family on Kaua‘i and he

35 built this...relationship over time and I was good friends with him and so I think thats how

36 we got to go... I think he originally wanted it to be a trip for the Hui Aloha ‘Āina Tuahine

37 to go spend Thanksgiving



38 K: Oh

39 N: And no one was down like, not even me and my other friend were down to go like  
40 “mmmmmm no we have family stuff and dah dah dah dah” you know and I think like the  
41 last—like the weekend before I just said OK we’ll go with you just us three and then we  
42 went and spent Thanksgiving with them.. I think it was like four days.. and it was probably  
43 like the best experience ever cuz I mean you get to experience Hawaiian like not *pili* to  
44 school at all like it was from the time you wake up and you open your eyes and you hear  
45 them like making breakfast in Hawaiian and then til you go to sleep you can hear them  
46 praying before they go to sleep in Hawaiian so from that relationship about four or three  
47 years ago we go back probably every other month or every other other month

48 K: Uh huh

49 N: Multiple times a year, Im going next week

50 K: Oh wow

51 N: And we’re there, we hear Hawaiian in the car, we hear Hawaiian at dinner, we hear  
52 Hawaiian when we’re just driving around, so I mean that’s just that’s definitely the outside  
53 Hawaiian that we hear

54 K: And on top of that that’s more Ni‘ihau Hawaiian right?

55 N: Yeah it’s Ni‘ihau Hawaiian

56 K: How did you feel the first time you went?

57 N: Intimidated, at that time I was intimidated (laughs)

Nainoa had the very uncommon opportunity to visit native speakers who live on the island of Kaua‘i because of the connections of his friend mentioned in (34). Beginning in line (39) he begins the orientation section of his narrative where he portrays himself and his friends as characters who were very hesitant about going on this trip in the first place. This speaks to the lack of normalization of this activity because people who get invited by Kumu are seen as “welcome” and “able” to go, but in spite of this honor he expresses that “no one” was able to feel comfortable enough to go and gave many excuses seen in (40). In (43), he details the resolution of his narrative- that this experience was amazing for him because he got to be surrounded by Hawaiian all day long for four days straight, so it ended up being a success story. He offers many examples of the types of things that the native speakers would do in Hawaiian in lines (45) and (46) and again in (51) and (52), which demonstrates how in his own life he does not “do” an entire day in Hawaiian. His anxiety about this trip was surely also due to the fact that the type of Hawaiian used at this house in Kaua‘i is a Ni‘ihau Hawaiian dialect. So, not only did the normalized state of Hawaiian in the space intimidate him as a learner, but also the type of Hawaiian being normalized was another ‘hurdle’ for him to jump over. In (57), he positions himself in his story as the intimidated student who was out of his comfort zone in an environment of total Hawaiian language use.

*Hawaiian language for mālama ‘āina.* In Excerpt 4, I had asked Lei if she had any specific stories about a time where she felt uncomfortable using Hawaiian in a normalized space. This is how she began to tell her funny story about her trip to the *lo‘i* and how she made a few mistakes and felt embarrassed.

**Excerpt 4: Interview with Lei**

- 58 L: You know, I swear every time I go to a *lo‘i* like for community service for my scholarships  
59 or whatever, like out at Punalu‘u or in Kahana or wherever I might be... I always end up  
60 speaking Hawaiian to the people who work there. I think plenty of those people who work  
61 in the *lo‘i* maybe might have come from the Hawaiian studies program here [UHM] so  
62 they ‘ōlelo when theyre at work... but yeah its really funny because I went out there once  
63 to go help out and actually to help teach some elementary school kids and I heard one of  
64 the workers talking to a *kaiapuni* student in Hawaiian so I started speaking to him in  
65 Hawaiian and... yeah it went well for most of the day (laughs)  
66 K: What happened?  
67 L: Well um, I was under the tent teaching the kids this song its a song about *kalo* its like that  
68 *huki i ke kalo* song, you know that one?  
69 K: Yeah I do, thats a fun one  
70 L: Right? So I was teaching that song to the kids and at the last verse it says “*‘ai i ke kalo,*  
71 *mā‘ona mai*” but I swear I thought the word was *mā‘ono* because you know *‘ono* means  
72 delicious so I really thought that was the word and (laughs) one of the worker guys came  
73 up behind the kids where I could see him and he got my attention and was like “hey.. the  
74 word is *mā‘ona*” and I was so embarrassed! (laughs)  
75 K: (laughs)  
76 L: I mean it is really funny to think about now cuz I was so confident in what I was teaching  
77 but I totally messed it up when I was trying to be so good using my *‘ōlelo* outside of school

Mālama ‘Āina is seen as an important Hawaiian value and lifestyle, directly translating to ‘taking care of the land’. Hawaiian language and studies majors participating in mālama ‘āina activities makes a lot of sense given their clear affiliation with the language and with cultural activities. Therefore, this excerpt can be considered unsurprising to those who are somewhat familiar with activities that are considered Hawaiian. According to Lei in (60), she ends up speaking Hawaiian every time she goes to a *lo‘i*, which is somewhat often. In this story she sets the orientation of her narrative out on the land teaching students and speaking Hawaiian in (63) and (64). In this orientation she establishes certain kinds of characters, the workers who are seen as very proficient since they are successfully communicating with immersion students, and also the immersion students whose proficiency is not even questioned and is assumed to be very high level. In this narrative, Lei pulls me (the audience) into her story by asking me if I had shared

knowledge of a certain Hawaiian song so that she would not have to provide more orientation in her story (68). She goes on to tell me about the mistake she made by confusing the word for full or satisfied, which is *mā‘ona* with the word *mā‘ono* [that has no relevant meaning]. She thought that since *mā‘ona* represented fullness from food and drink, and the word *‘ono* describes the deliciousness of food she ended up creating her own word *mā‘ono* by mistake and did not realize it. She positions the lo‘i worker character as the expert in (74) when he is correcting her vocabulary and she then portrays herself as the embarrassed novice. Interestingly in (77), she describes herself as “trying to be good” in relation to using the language all day, which I am analyzing here as wanting to be a good steward of the language. This is an attachment of morality to Hawaiian language use and an example of someone who is striving to ‘auamo their kuleana.

**Hawaiian language for “talking story.”** At this stage in the interview, I asked Nainoa if he could think of a specific time where he felt embarrassed in a situation of Hawaiian normalization. He told me that there are definitely many stories but the one that he could think of immediately is this one about his misunderstanding of passive and past tense usage of a particle in Hawaiian. He also mentions a friend who corrected him and to give more context for better understanding, this friend is more proficient than Nainoa and an example student that many students frequently ask for grammar help.

*Excerpt 5: Interview with Nainoa*

- 78 N: Yeah... and a lot of times youre like more intimidated by your peers like even if youre on  
 79 the same *pae* [level] with someone and in the same class... someone might be like waaay  
 80 ahead of you because maybe they just got it faster or they went to *kaiapuni* [immersion] or  
 81 something  
 82 K: Oh yeah... did you have a specific time where you felt nervous or intimidated?  
 83 N: I think I probably had multiple to be honest because Ive never—I was never really dakine  
 84 shy kine to like not want to ‘ōlelo  
 85 K: Yeah  
 86 N: and if it was wrong I would just say it... but I remember for the longest time....probably  
 87 until like an embarrassing time... like really embarrassing til like 401 or 402 I thought ‘*ia*  
 88 was past tense... like in my head I thought it was past tense so you know like it is “to be  
 89 done” or whatever and if I said like oh *ua ‘ai ‘ia*... or.. i mean that makes sense “it was  
 90 eaten” but I didnt know that you could be like *ke ‘ai ‘ia nei* [it is being eaten] or *e ‘ai ‘ia*  
 91 *ana* [it will be eaten]  
 92 K: Ohhh yeah

93 N: So I would always say things wrong and then my friend.. he was the one who was like

94 “brother... let me teach you how to do this ‘*ia* pattern” (laughs)

95 K: (laughs)

96 N: “--cuz you dont know how to do it” but he didnt do it like it was an ‘*ino* [bad] thing--

97 K: Right

98 N: --but it was like let me just help you cuz obviously you dont know what to do so that was

99 definitely one of the times yeah like I was just so sure what it meant

Above, Nainoa tells a story about when he was embarrassed by his lack of language knowledge. Interestingly, in (78-81), he leaves himself out of his general statements of being intimidated by peers by saying “you’re” as a general statement for “everyone is intimidated” but after being asked for a specific story he then begins to position himself as a character in the story. In lines (87-91), Nainoa tells about his grammar mistakes due to a misunderstanding of the difference between past tense and passive voice in Hawaiian. In his story, he is the mistake-ridden learner who is embarrassed by how long he had been making the same mistakes. The other character is his friend who is portrayed in (94) as the expert who, although was on the same level as Nainoa, had a grasp of a concept that Nainoa did not.

In (96), he clarifies that although his friend corrected him, he did not do it in a mean or bad way. The fact that his friend was kind and non-judgmental towards his mistakes in language use can align with the level 3 positioning for Hawaiian language learning. This just goes to show that participants are committed to Hawaiian, Nainoa’s friend being kind, Lei “being good” in Excerpt 4, and Nainoa being “not shy” are all level 3 positioning. They are positioning themselves as people who are taking on a *kuleana* that is bigger than themselves as an individual, it is more about revitalization and trying to strengthen the language and culture. Hawaiian language learning is not about personal pride or personal weakness, it is about the community, the people, the government, and many other factors.

***Hawaiian language for social media.*** In this portion of the interview (see Excerpt 6), I asked Nainoa to specifically think about social media and if he had seen any normalization on social media sites that he uses. I asked this question to see if the literature about technology and minority language normalization could apply to Hawaiian language as it applies to other languages such as Māori (Keegan, Mato, & Ruru, 2015).

**Excerpt 6: Interview with Nainoa**

100 N: I only have Instagram and it's not really that social (laughs) but I KNOW that people use  
101 Hawaiian on Facebook because I get the screenshots of the shade (laughs), but I know  
102 there's actually like a-- 'ōlelo Hawai'i group where people can like put their *mana 'o*  
103 [ideas]—well i know theres a group where people can ask questions or if they have  
104 questions about like *pilina 'olelo* [grammar] they can post something in there  
105 K: Ohh  
106 N: Yeah so I see all the screenshots but I mean it is a good place because it builds like a  
107 community of... socialness? Social i dont know.. anything  
108 K: Is that an open group where anyone can join?  
109 N: You have to- you have to request and I dont know who's in charge  
110 K: Is it someone from here [UHM]?  
111 N: No its just an 'Ōlelo Hawaii group  
112 K: Oh wow  
113 N: It doesnt have really anything to do with university so its good because you get some  
114 Niihau people in there, there's people from Hilo, there's people from *Ke Kula*  
115 *Ho 'ona 'auao* [College of Education], there's our people [UHM Kawaihuelani]  
116 K: Oh wow, yeah  
117 N: There's even some kaiapuni kids in there and I know they're young because I see memes  
118 going around and I know its not the college people hahaha  
119 K: Hahaha yeah  
120 N: Haha their memes are all about life of a kaiapuni kid or something, silly things but  
121 relevant to their lives, so i know it ['ōlelo] lives there so i mean thats good because you  
122 can connect, and you know, *hāpai mana 'o* [raise ideas] and just talk story

In this narrative, Nainoa details a Facebook group that is the 'Ōlelo Hawai'i group where people can post in Hawaiian language for many different reasons. It is important to note that in regards to social media and Facebook especially, normalization is the easiest on these virtual spaces. People have the ability to come together on one group and interact and create a Hawaiian language space online despite the fact that they come from different geographical places, language learning backgrounds, and being different ages as well. He began to positively evaluate this online community in (106-107) because it is a place where many different people from all different backgrounds can come together and speak Hawaiian. In (113-118), he talks about the range of people who are in this online “community” from students at Hilo, Mānoa, people from Ni'ihau, and kids who are in *kaiapuni* [immersion schools]. His evaluation of the range of people in the group is a positive evaluation meaning he supports the expansion of 'ōlelo beyond UHM. In (117), Nainoa says “there's *even* kaiapuni kids” meaning that this is evidence of the authenticity of the space and then details an interesting use of Hawaiian in (120). He recounts how the younger immersion school kids create 'ōlelo Hawai'i memes that detail the struggles of

being a kaiapuni kid in Hawaiian language, which is a strong example of normalization since Hawaiian language memes are not seen everywhere but they are in this Facebook group.

Just as in Excerpt 6, I asked Lei the same question about whether or not she sees Hawaiian normalization on social media. She quickly speaks about Facebook since she perceives that to be unsurprising to me, and she goes right to talking about what she has seen on Twitter in regards to Hawaiian language tweets.

***Excerpt 7: Interview with Lei***

123 L: I think you already know this one cuz you've probably seen, but um in addition to being a  
124 part of the Facebook Hawaiian language group and interacting with other speakers on  
125 there and seeing events for Hawaiian language and stuff, I also see a lot of Hawaiian on  
126 Twitter

127 K: Oh definitely, you're right I have seen that

128 L: Yeah like plenty people like to go on twitter and post anykine stuff but I noticed when  
129 they wanna post something that might not be...like... the nicest thing to say (laughs) they  
130 post it in Hawaiian or like partially in Hawaiian

131 K: (laughs) do you do that too?

132 L: I'm definitely guilty of doing that but also I like to post in Hawaiian on there for other  
133 reasons too, like its to make a statement you know? I like my bio to be in Hawaiian and if  
134 I'm posting about things having to do with Hawaiian issues or events or anything like  
135 that, I usually prefer to speak on the topics using our language

Lei speaks about Hawaiian language use on Twitter by her friends and herself in this narrative. She starts off by pulling me (the audience) into her story by assuming that I've seen Hawaiian on Twitter in (123). She then details what her friends do on Twitter referring to them as "they" (129) and how Hawaiian language is used to hide meaning from people who do not speak Hawaiian. She says that people do this in order to post things that "might not be the nicest thing to say" and then in (132) she positions herself as someone who is "guilty" of using Hawaiian language on Twitter for the same purpose. By analyzing these things, I argue that "throwing shade" on Twitter is an act of normalization of the language, though L2 speakers do not want to endorse this as an act of normalization since Twitter can be very hateful. It is a pragmatically safe choice to throw shade on Twitter in Hawaiian since it limits the audience who may understand it. Her other use of Hawaiian on Twitter is to "make a statement" (133), which she elaborates as her way of speaking on any current Hawaiian issues or current events that happen. I analyze that Lei making a statement is really an important symbolic element of

Hawaiian language use on twitter, that learning Hawaiian can be more of a political statement by learners. Especially learners who consider themselves heritage language learners, which Lei does consider herself as such.

In order to further illustrate the Hawaiian language “shade throwing” and “political statements” mentioned above I have collected and de-identified tweets that model these purposes in Figure 1 and Figure 2 below.

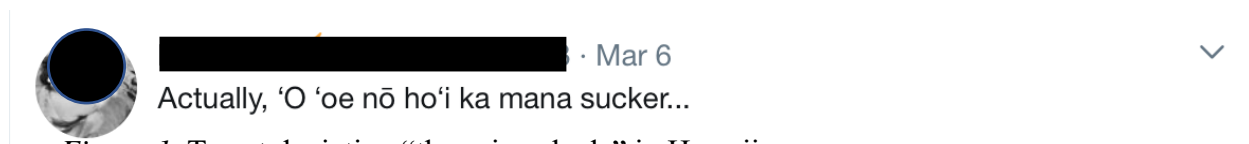


Figure 1. Tweet depicting “throwing shade” in Hawaiian

In the above tweet, the person is saying “Actually, you indeed are the power sucker” to reference someone in a negative way, also known as ‘subtweeting.’ There are a few English words in this tweet but it is still unintelligible to those who do not know Hawaiian language therefore limiting the audience. The word “mana” is a spiritual power possessed by people, plants, and ‘āina (land) in Hawaiian culture and it takes a measure of Hawaiian cultural knowledge to fully understand how someone can take another’s mana away from them.



Figure 2. Tweet depicting a Hawaiian political statement

The tweet shown in Figure 2 literally means “we are good with the rocks” and is a reference to the politically-charged song *Kaulana Nā Pua* that speaks of the illegal overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawai‘i. This line of the song is expressing the idea that Hawaiians would literally rather eat rocks than be “bought” by those responsible for the illegal overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This tweet requires Hawaiian language knowledge as well as Hawaiian history knowledge for comprehensibility.

### ***Constructing the Survey***

From the interviews, I identified five different themes in my narrative analysis and organized

the excerpts accordingly. These themes were different purposes for Hawaiian language learning and are as follows: Hawaiian for school and work purposes, Hawaiian for native speaker interaction, Hawaiian for mālama ‘āina, Hawaiian for ‘talking story,” and Hawaiian for social media. I operationalized these themes in the data by first splitting Hawaiian language use that happens in person from Hawaiian language use that happens online. I created ten Likert-scale questions, five asking about Hawaiian use in person and five asking about Hawaiian use online. The Likert-scale items were meant to measure the frequency of Hawaiian language use for different purposes and students could choose on a scale from one (rarely) to four (very frequently) about their frequency of use for the stated purposes

### ***Survey Data Collection***

The respondents for this survey were undergraduate and graduate students in the Hawai‘inuākea School of Hawaiian Knowledge at UH Mānoa. Respondents were selected based on their self-proclaimed status as a proficient speaker of Hawaiian and willingness to do an online survey. In this study there were 32 surveys submitted for analysis. Of the 32 respondents, 13 were male (40.6% of total surveyed population) and 19 were female (59.4% of total surveyed population) and the ages of respondents ranged from 21 years old to 38 ( $M = 24.4$  years). In total, 17 respondents reported being Hawaiian Language majors, nine respondents reported being Hawaiian Studies majors, and six of the respondents reported being double majors in Hawaiian Studies and Language. When asked about their ethnicities, 27 respondents reported being part Hawaiian and five respondents did not respond or were not Hawaiian.

## **SURVEY RESULTS**

In this section I present the quantitative and qualitative results of student responses on the questionnaire. The quantitative results include data gathered from Likert-scale questions and demographic information, which have been compiled into figures and tables in this section and analyzed for reliability. The qualitative results include analysis of open-ended questionnaire responses by thematic organization that explain students’ self-reported reasons for learning Hawaiian.



**Quantitative Survey Results**

On the questionnaire, students were asked to self-select the domains where they normally use Hawaiian language in any given week. Figure 3 shows the results of this question and the most reported domains for Hawaiian language use were school, social media, and Hawaiian language events. It makes sense that these three places would be selected as the most popular places for Hawaiian language because the respondents are college students who take classes in Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies, which would explain them choosing school and choosing Hawaiian language events since they may be required to attend those events for class credit. Also, the respondents in this study are fairly young and are very active on social media and that is a feasible explanation for it being a widely used domain for Hawaiian language.

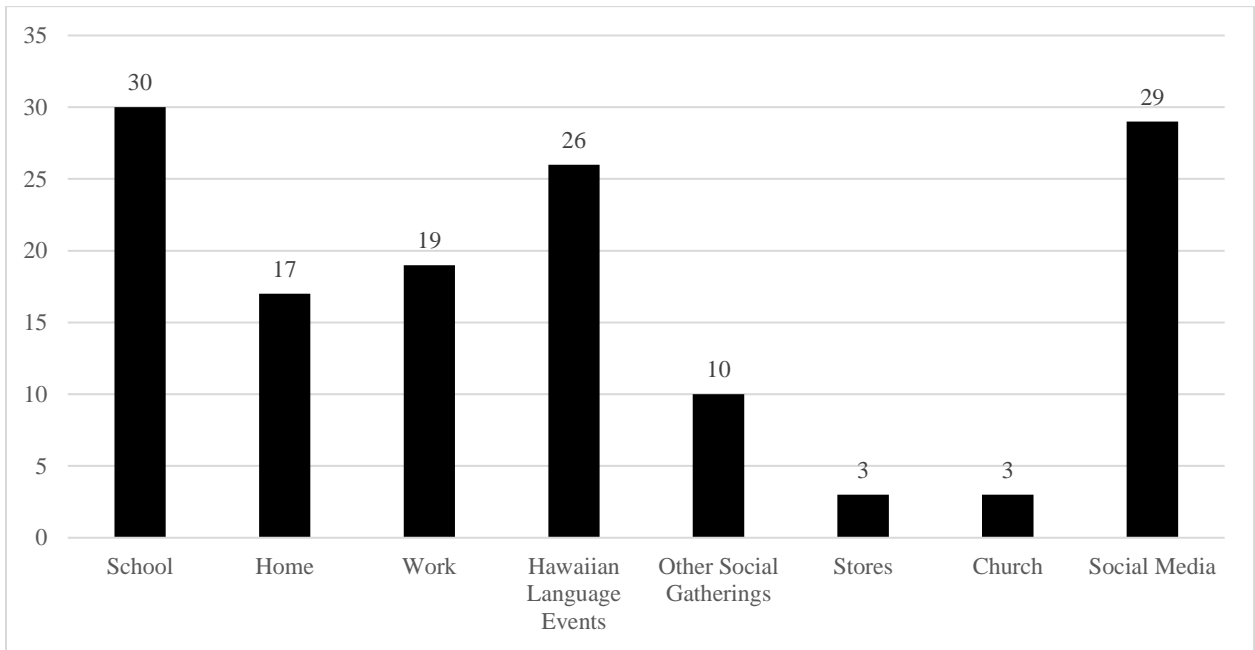


Figure 3. Respondents Self-Reported Domains of Hawaiian Language Use (N = 32)

Table 1 shows the reported frequency of Hawaiian use when in person and students were asked to choose a frequency of face-to-face Hawaiian language use pertaining to five purposes. The first purpose was using Hawaiian language in person for school and homework. Unsurprisingly, about 87.5% of respondents reported that they frequently or very frequently use Hawaiian for school and homework purposes since they are all current students in Hawaiian majors. Similarly, using Hawaiian to “talk story” in person was reported as a frequent or very

frequent use of Hawaiian by 78.2% of respondents. I added “hide the meaning of conversation” as a use of Hawaiian due to the mention of “throwing shade” using Hawaiian in the narrative analysis and 78.1% of students reported that they do use Hawaiian frequently or very frequently to hide the meaning of their conversations from people who are non-speakers of Hawaiian. Interaction with native speakers was a little more widespread with 37.5% of the respondents choosing never or sometimes to describe the frequency of their native speaker interactions, which is usually a very rare interaction for L2 Hawaiian speakers. However, Hawaiian language students at UHM are in a very unique context where they have access to a mānaleo<sup>2</sup> and are required to visit the on-campus native speaker but some may have more frequent visitation requirements than others. For the last in person ‘ōlelo use question it was based on using Hawaiian to accomplish a task such as mālama ‘āina, which was brought up in the narratives. The majority of respondents were bunched in the middle of the Likert scale with 65.7% of respondents choosing either sometimes or frequently for this purpose of language use.

Table 1  
*Frequency of Hawaiian Use In Person*

Purpose	1 Never	2 Sometimes	3 Frequently	4 Very Frequently	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
School and Homework	6.3%	6.3%	34.4%	53.1%	3.34	0.85
“Talk story” and catch up with others	0.0%	21.9%	43.8%	34.4%	3.13	0.74
Hide the meaning of conversation	12.5%	9.4%	28.1%	50.0%	3.16	1.03
Interact with native speakers	12.5%	25%	28.1%	34.4%	2.84	1.03
Accomplish a Hawaiian culture based task	15.6%	43.8%	21.9%	18.8%	2.44	0.97

Cronbach alpha ( $\alpha$ ) = .33

<sup>2</sup> A mānaleo is a native speaker of Hawaiian language. Majority of the native speakers of Hawaiian reside on the island of Ni‘ihau.

Table 2 reports ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i use online and the frequency of different uses and purposes. As with the in-person ‘ōlelo Likert questions, the first purpose to be measured was concerning using ‘ōlelo to talk about school and homework online, for which students fell in the middle. A total of 81.2% of students chose sometimes or frequently and only 9.4% of students said they talked about school and homework online very frequently, which is much different than the data for in-person language use. For “talking story” with others, 59.6% of students reported never using Hawaiian for this purpose or sometimes using Hawaiian for this purpose, which is also much less than reported for in-person language use. When asked about the frequency of using ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i to hide the meaning of online posts from non speakers, 68.8% of students said they frequently or very frequently post things in Hawaiian with this purpose in mind. This supports the interview data that students indeed use Hawaiian to hide meaning or “throw shade” at others cryptically online. For interaction in online groups 71.9% of students reported being apart of groups such as the ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i group on Facebook (mentioned in Excerpt 6). Lastly, 65.6% of students reported using Hawaiian very frequently to post about Hawaiian issues and events that are currently happening.

Table 2  
*Frequency of Hawaiian Use Online*

Purpose	1 Never	2 Sometimes	3 Frequently	4 Very Frequently	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
School and Homework	9.4%	40.6%	40.6%	9.4%	2.50	0.79
“Talk story” and catch up with others	15.6%	43.8%	37.5%	3.1%	2.28	0.76
Hide the meaning of online post	18.6%	12.5%	37.5%	31.3%	2.81	1.07
Interact in online “groups”	18.6%	9.4%	28.1%	43.8%	2.97	1.13
Post about Hawaiian issues and events	3.1%	12.5%	18.6%	65.6%	3.47	0.83

Cronbach alpha ( $\alpha$ ) = .59

Figure 4 shows a side-by-side bargraph comparison of “frequently” and “very frequently” combined ratings of Hawaiian language use for the described purposes. The first three uses of Hawaiian language that are listed on the figure are school and homework, “talk story,” and hide meaning of conversation and these categories have data for both in-person language use as well as online language use. The next two purposes of language use are for native speaker interaction and accomplishing a task, which was only measured for in-person language use. The last two language use purposes on the graph are to interact in online “groups” and to post about Hawaiian issues, which were both only measured for online language use. This figure clearly shows the difference in frequency of language use for different purposes depending on whether language is being used face-to-face or online.

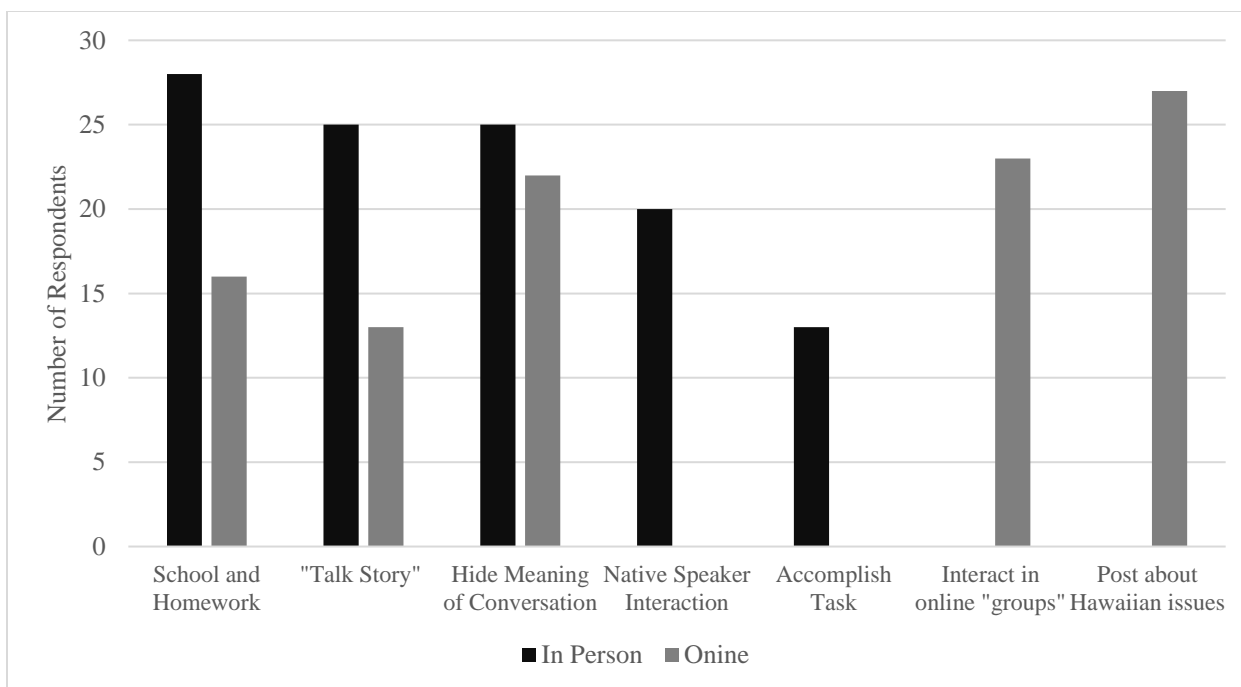


Figure 4. “Frequently” and “Very Frequently” Respondent Ratings (In-Person vs. Online)

The purposes of Hawaiian language use are reportedly different for learners depending on whether they are speaking in Hawaiian face-to-face or whether they are utilizing Hawaiian online. In person language use ranks higher for talking about school and homework, “talking story,” and for hiding the meaning of conversations from others. All of these purposes do make more sense for in-person language use. All respondents are current students at UHM so when they do see their Hawaiian speaking classmates at school it makes sense that they talk about school and homework. It is also true that “talking story” may be more of a function for face-to-face language use as opposed to online language use where conversations are dependent on timely responses, which may not always be possible. Hiding the meaning of conversations from others is slightly more common in person and this is due to the role of a second language allowing people to hide their conversations from people around them.

It is important that the online domain of Hawaiian language use was investigated in this study because of how widespread online communication is in people’s lives. The results shown in the survey data support the idea that online environments are very important for Hawaiian language use. In other words, online contexts are central and basic sociolinguistic domains for people, especially young adults and their normalcy for online communication (Barton & Lee, 2012; Dovchin, 2015). According to the learners, Hawaiian language is quite normalized in

online spaces since it has to compete with English in that domain. Students self-report high frequency of online Hawaiian use for posting about Hawaiian issues and events, interacting in online Facebook groups with other speakers, and hiding the meaning of their posts from those who do not understand Hawaiian.

As seen in Table 1 and Table 2, the Cronbach Alpha ( $\alpha$ ) for reliability was extremely low in this study. The in-person language use reliability in Table 1 is  $\alpha = .33$ , and this is probably due to the fact that each of these Likert-scale questions are attempting to measure different information for different purposes of language use. Likewise, the online language use reliability estimate in Table 2 is  $\alpha = .59$ , which is higher than in-person language use reliability rating but still very low. I decided to analyze all ten Likert-scale questionnaire items together to estimate their reliability as a set, and the result was  $\alpha = .81$ , which shows that these questions are much more reliable as a larger set. All of these questions were to investigate the frequency of language use and the purposes of language, which were not all related, and that may have resulted in relatively low Cronbach alpha estimates.

### ***Qualitative Survey Results***

The questionnaire included two open-ended questions that were meant to investigate research question 1 of this study. Research question 1 inquires, “why do students decide to study Hawaiian language at the college level?” The open-ended questions were analyzed and organized thematically according to respondent answers and the different ideologies that they express in their responses. Brown (2014) stresses the importance of transferability of data and states that the most common way to achieve transferability is to use thick description of results. In order to make my qualitative results transferable in this study, I will explain the categories that I have created, and I will also include examples of respondent answers so that the reader may make their own judgements about the categories.

The respondent answers for RQ1 aligned with much of the literature that examined kuleana as a primary reason why people learn Hawaiian as a heritage language. Based on the data gathered in the surveys, I argue that kuleana can be broken down into more specific categories because students talk about their kuleana to their lāhui (*nation*), their kūpuna (*elders*), and their keiki (*children*).

***No ka lāhui Hawai'i (For the Hawaiian nation).*** This theme was identified by students reporting that their reasons for studying the language were much bigger than themselves and their own ambition. Responses in this category referred to the Hawaiian nation, culture, and language as reasons why they decided to learn language. Below are examples of these responses:

“Perpetuate the use of our language.”

“E ho‘ōla i ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i (*To revitalize Hawaiian language*).”

“To learn my culture and bring back the language.”

“I want to teach, give others the opportunity to get their language back and help revitalize”

***No nā kūpuna (For the elders/ancestors).*** Respondents in this category referred to their own grandparents and other elders as reasons why they chose to pursue Hawaiian language. This was categorized as those who referred to the break in transmission of Hawaiian language in their own families as motivation in language learning. Examples of ancestral links for language learning follow:

“No one in my family speaks Hawaiian because my grandma wasn’t taught Hawaiian so she wouldn’t be punished in school. I just felt like I wanted to speak the language of my ancestors.”

“It wasn’t my decision [to learn Hawaiian]. My kūpuna chose my path for me.”

“To reconnect with my ancestors and bring the language to my family.”

***No nā keiki (For the children).*** Students also report that it is their kuleana to learn Hawaiian for the next generation. Some respondents referred to their family members who are currently in Hawaiian immersion schools and that serving as a reason to learn language. Many others refer to the aspiration of Hawaiian language transmission to their children as a kuleana, for example:

“I didn’t get to grow up with Hawaiian language, I’m learning it so my kids can.”

“I wanted to learn Hawaiian to function as a source of communication for my nieces/nephews/family members who were learning or speaks Hawaiian and don’t always have someone to speak with.”

“E a‘o aku i ka‘u mau keiki (*to teach my children*).”

***Ulu ka hoi (Growing of interest).*** Aside from the three specific categories of kuleana, there was also a less common fourth category for those that did not explicitly write about their responsibility to learn Hawaiian, but rather that they decided to learn Hawaiian out of general

interest that began in school or from residing in Hawai‘i. The following are examples of the fourth category:

“I took it [Hawaiian Language] as just a college requirement and realized how much I liked it. Now I’m in grad school.”

“I liked Hawaiian studies and hands on learning stuff and language came with that.”

“I chose to learn Hawaiian due to a general interest in Hawai‘i as a place and I wanted to be able to learn more about this place.”

## DISCUSSION

Overall, this study examined Hawaiian language normalization by investigating the domains where L2 speakers use Hawaiian as well as their purposes for using Hawaiian language in and outside of the classroom. This study had three main research questions:

1. Why do students decide to study Hawaiian language at the college level?
2. Where are students using Hawaiian language and for what purposes?
3. Are the uses of Hawaiian language different for in-person language use as opposed to online language use?

The first research question (RQ1) was shown in the interviews and in the qualitative data analysis. The reasons why students decide to learn Hawaiian largely align with the literature about L2 learners feeling that it is their kuleana or responsibility to reclaim their language and culture (Snyder-Frey, 2013; Warner, 1999). Student respondents in this study expressed this in their interviews by referring to the learning of Hawaiian language as something bigger than themselves and their own ambitions—it is more about the community, the people, the government, and many other forces. I also discovered from the questionnaires that students are very specific about who they have a kuleana to in learning Hawaiian. Learners largely expressed a kuleana to the lāhui (*nation*), the kūpuna (*elders*), and to the keiki (*children*). Respondents expressed their need to ‘auamo their kuleana in order to help revitalize the Hawaiian language for the Hawaiian nation or to bring Hawaiian back to their families where there was a break in transmission from their elders or they learn Hawaiian with the promise of teaching it to their current and future children. These findings clearly show that the majority of L2 learners strongly attach their decision to learn ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i as much more than simply language learning.



In this study, I also addressed RQ2, which asked where students are using Hawaiian and for what purposes. Figure 3 depicts the places where students reported that they normally use Hawaiian language in any given week. The most common places for Hawaiian language use were school, home, work, Hawaiian language events, other social gatherings, and social media. These findings are significant because they indicate that there are Hawaiian speakers in these places that L2 Hawaiian learners are able to interact with in the target language. The category of “other social gatherings” encompassed family gatherings and explains the increasingly common use of Hawaiian between family members as more people learn the language. Additionally, this study explored the purposes of Hawaiian language use in and outside of school. These purposes were derived from the thematic organization of the interviews, where five themes emerged: Hawaiian for school and work purposes, Hawaiian for native speaker interaction, Hawaiian language for mālama ‘āina, Hawaiian for talking story, and Hawaiian for social media.

In-person language use and online language use proved to be different, which was RQ3. Table 1 and Table 2 show the results of the frequency of Hawaiian language use for in-person language use context as well as an online language use context. Figure 4 shows the comparison of combined high frequency ratings for each context side-by-side. This study found that in-person context was more frequent for the purposes of talking about school, “talking story,” and hiding the meaning of conversations from non-speakers. The online context was ranked as a very frequent space for interacting in online groups (such as Facebook groups) with other Hawaiian speakers, as well as a very frequent context for posting about Hawaiian issues and events. In the interviews, students reported using the internet to make political statements in Hawaiian, such as the example shown in Figure 2. In-person language use had some respondents reporting that they use Hawaiian language to accomplish a task such as Hawaiian culture based tasks like mālama ‘āina activities mentioned in the interview data.

It is important to consider that the people interviewed and surveyed in this project were people who are committed to Hawaiian use in the places that they go, and that they tend to go to similar spaces that are common for people who are part of a Hawaiian language lifestyle. It is clear that there are many domains that were not mentioned as places where students see Hawaiian being normalized or even want to see Hawaiian normalized in the future. During the interviews, I asked the students if they would like to see Hawaiian normalized in all domains of their life and their answers, surprisingly, were no. Their explanation of this was that if Hawaiian

language was forced to be in all domains of life, this would sacrifice the quality of the Hawaiian language that would be heard in the expanding domains. One learner gave the example of a restaurant server being forced to speak Hawaiian and only learning a few lines for the purpose of their job but not investing in really knowing the language. This is seen as a negative thing by learners who believe it would be better to get people who are dedicated to learning Hawaiian into more domains of life. This would be an interesting next step for this research: to discover L2 learners' thoughts about Hawaiian language being in every domain of life.

## **CONCLUSIONS**

In conclusion, this study aimed to investigate the concept of language normalization among L2 Hawaiian speaking college students at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. This study is limited by the small size of the sample in comparison to the actual number of Hawaiian language learners at UHM. Additionally, this study is not generalizable to a larger population of Hawaiian language learners due to the sample only being the college student population. In order for there to be a true understanding of the expansion of Hawaiian language domains, there needs to be data gathered from all groups of Hawaiian language speakers throughout the UH system of schools as well as Hawaiian immersion schools and possibly charter schools as well. This study is limited because it did not further investigate the concept of how comfortable learners are with speaking Hawaiian in new domains, which was a main idea in the interviews. The survey could be expanded to investigate this concept of comfortability in normalization, which would be a helpful addition to the data and help explain students' willingness to speak Hawaiian in places that are less familiar to them.

There are many future avenues for this research on Hawaiian language normalization. A study of this kind on a larger scale would give a better idea of the current state of Hawaiian language normalization across the state of Hawai'i. Normalization is an important addition to the literature on Hawaiian language and Hawaiian language revitalization, and a larger sample may uncover new domains that were not found in this study. Beyond surveying the expanding domains of language use, examining the ideologies of learners that pertain to language learning is also an important avenue for research. Further examining this idea of kuleana and 'auamo kuleana among heritage learners should be looked at in detail in relation to their willingness to be

agents of normalization in their communities and in their families. Advocacy for Hawaiian language among learners is also a form of normalization that could be investigated.

It is clear that, at this point, the expansion of domains and normalization of Hawaiian is really a political movement for learners. The choice to speak Hawaiian in certain spaces, whether surprising or unsurprising, can be seen as the learners advocating for Hawaiian in other spaces. In this study, I have analyzed where learners currently are pushing the boundaries of Hawaiian and for what purposes, as well as their reasons for studying Hawaiian language. It is also important to note that many non-profits, businesses, and organizations are dedicated to seeing Hawaiian move into more domains of life and learners could be made aware of these places and spaces to be opportunities for them to ‘ōlelo. In this way, L2 Hawaiian language learners will continue to aid in the revitalization of Hawai‘i’s indigenous language and continue proclaiming in the words of the kūpuna, “E ola mau ka ‘Ōlelo Hawai‘i!”

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## APPENDIX A

### Hawaiian Normalization Survey

Google form that can be found here: <https://goo.gl/forms/031FejklkNaIZQYh1>

**1. What is your gender?**

- a. Male
- b. Female
- c. Other \_\_\_\_\_

**2. How old are you?**

- a. \_\_\_\_\_ years old

**3. What are your ethnicities? (example: Hawaiian, Japanese, etc.)**

\_\_\_\_\_ short answer response

**4. What is your major?**

- a. Hawaiian Language
- b. Hawaiian Studies
- c. Other (please specify)

**5. Where were you born? (example: Wahiawa, O‘ahu)**

\_\_\_\_\_ short answer response

**6. Where do you currently live? (example : Waimea, Hawai‘i)**

\_\_\_\_\_ short answer response

**7. What high school did you graduate from?**

\_\_\_\_\_ short answer response

**8. What is the highest level of Hawaiian language that you have completed?**

- a. HAW 301
- b. HAW 302
- c. HAW 401
- d. HAW 402 and above

**9. Why did you decide to learn Hawaiian language?**

\_\_\_\_\_ long answer response

**10. In any given week, how many days do you use Hawaiian language?**

- a. 1 day/week
- b. 2 days/week
- c. 3 days/week
- d. 4 days/week
- e. 5 days/week
- f. 6 days/week
- g. 7 days/week

**11. In any given week, who are the people you normally use Hawaiian to communicate with? (please select all that apply)**

- a. Friends (in person)
- b. Social Media Friends (Facebook friends, etc.)

- c. Family
- d. Teachers
- e. Classmates
- f. Advisors
- g. Coworkers
- h. Other \_\_\_\_\_

**12. In any given week, where do you normally use Hawaiian language?**

- a. School
- b. Home
- c. Work
- d. Hawaiian Language Events (Lā Mele, Lā Launa Pū)
- e. Other social gatherings
- f. Stores
- g. Church
- h. Social Media (Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, etc.)
- i. Other (please specify)

**In the next section, please choose how often you use Hawaiian language for the stated purposes.**

*You may choose on a scale of 1(Rarely) 2(Sometimes) 3(Frequently) 4(Very Frequently)*

**13. When talking in person, I use Hawaiian language to talk about school and homework**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4                      Very Frequently

**14. When talking in person, I use Hawaiian language to talk story and catch up with others**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4                      Very Frequently

**15. When talking in person, I use Hawaiian language to hide the meaning of my conversations from people around who do not speak Hawaiian**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4                      Very Frequently

**16. When talking in person, I use Hawaiian language to interact with native speakers (example: 'Anakē Lolena)**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4                      Very Frequently

**17. When talking in person, I use Hawaiian language to accomplish a task (example: working in a lo'i, etc.)**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4                      Very Frequently

**18. When I am online (Facebook, Instagram, etc.), I use Hawaiian language to talk about school and homework**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4                      Very Frequently

**19. When I am online (Facebook, Instagram, etc.) I use Hawaiian language to talk story and catch up with others**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4                      Very Frequently



**20. When I am online (Facebook, Instagram, etc.) I use Hawaiian language to hide the meaning of my posts from people who do not speak Hawaiian**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4      Very Frequently

**21. When I am online (Facebook, Instagram, etc.) I use Hawaiian language to interact with people in Hawaiian language "groups" (example: 'Ōlelo Hawai'i group on Facebook)**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4      Very Frequently

**22. When I am online (Facebook, Instagram, etc.) I use Hawaiian language to post about Hawaiian issues and events**

Rarely      1                      2                      3                      4      Very Frequently

**23. What do you plan to do with Hawaiian language after you graduate?**

\_\_\_\_\_ long answer response \_\_\_\_\_