EDITOR'S FORUM

DEVELOPING A STANDARDIZED HAWAIIAN ORTHOGRAPHY[1]

by William H. Wilson

The Hawai'i Constitutional Convention of 1978 designated the Hawaiian language an official language of the State of Hawai'i along with English.[2] This very positive initial step towards reestablishing the prestige of the Hawaiian language carries with it the promise for more concrete actions in the same spirit in the future. One of the most important of these is to establish a standard Hawaiian orthography.

The problems of establishing such a standard have been recognized since the mid-1820s when a group of Protestant missionaries met to finalize a standardized alphabet to be used by their mission in writing the Hawaiian language. Until this time, there had been considerable confusion regarding the spelling of Hawaiian words, especially those containing the consonants now symbolized with the letters *k, l,* and *w* (Harvey 1968).

Although it is popularly believed that these missionaries solved all the problems of writing Hawaiian, they did not. They simply established a set of letters. They never fully addressed the problems of word division, capitalization, and punctuation, all important parts of writing a language. Word division problems in particular are causing much confusion among modern users of Hawaiian.

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[2]Amendment 31 established the official languages of Hawai'i in Section 4 of Article XV (formerly XIII) as follows: "English and Hawaiian shall be the official languages of Hawai'i except that Hawaiian shall be required for public acts and transactions only as provided by law." Also pertinent is the revised Section 4 of Article X establishing a Hawaiian Education Program also passed in the 1978 Constitutional Convention. The adopted Amendment 20 reads as follows: "The State shall promote the study of Hawaiian culture, history and language. The State shall provide for a Hawaiian education program consisting of language, culture and history in the public schools. The use of community expertise shall be encouraged as a suitable and essential means in furtherance of the Hawaiian education program."

The missionary alphabet of twelve letters, while very ingenious, was never completely perfected. Problems faced by the missionaries involving when to use the *w* and a set of supplementary "foreign letters" (e.g., *s, f, r,* etc.) remain with us today. Furthermore, the missionaries never completely adopted their alphabet to the glottal stop and differences of vowel length which are such an important part of the spoken Hawaiian language. The glottal stop (now often marked with a single open quote ‘) and vowel length (now often marked with a macron ¯) are phonemic in Hawaiian. That is, they are sounds that distinguish meaning.[3] There are many words in Hawaiian that have different pronunciations and meanings and yet are spelled identically in the missionary alphabet as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Some Words Distinguished Solely By a Glottal Stop or Vowel Length

Missionary Spelling	Modern Spelling	English
kala	*kala*	a kind of fish
	kālā	money
kai	*kai*	sea
	ka‘i	march
	kāī	a kind of taro
pau	*pau*	ended, over
	pa‘u	soot
	pa	damp
	pa	a kind of riding skirt
au	*au*	current
	āu	your
	‘au	swim
	a‘u	marlin

Reading the missionary orthography is like reading an English writing system devised by a foreigner in which certain important sound differ-

[3]A good introduction to modern Hawaiian orthographic symbols and proper Hawaiian pronunciation is *The Hawaiian Language: Its Spelling and Pronunciation* by Silva and Kamanā. This book is accompanied by a cassette tape illustrating the various features of proper Hawaiian pronunciation such as use of the glottal stop and contains exercises in distinguishing these features.

ences (such as *l* versus *r*, *g* versus *k*, and *f* versus *p*) are not distinguished by separate symbols. It requires a person to guess which word is meant based on the context of the sentence. Unfortunately, there is no way that the pronunciation of certain rare words and proper names in old documents can be guessed accurately. The pronunciation of a number of these terms has become lost forever because of the deficiencies of the old twelve-letter alphabet.

The various deficiencies of the missionary writing system mentioned above are reflected in the great variability in spelling found in Hawaiian language texts, publications in the Hawaiian language, and scholarly works dealing with the Hawaiian language and culture. Furthermore, individual Hawaiian language teachers often differ from each other in their spelling practices and even from themselves from semester to semester.

The lack of a recognized standard for the spelling of Hawaiian words affects not only those who use the language extensively as part of their daily lives, but also the general English-speaking public. Visual representation of Hawaiian terms is extremely common in Hawai'i, in media ranging from books, bracelets, record covers, and street signs to maps, leaflets, newspaper articles, and telephone directories. Without a recognized standard orthography, the attitude towards the spelling of Hawaiian terms has been much more lax than that accorded the spelling of English or foreign languages. Even such models of public language use as the daily Honolulu newspapers frequently print misspellings of the sort illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2. Some Commonly Misspelled Hawaiian Words

Incorrect	**Correct**	**English**
poki	*poke*	a way of preparing raw fish
maili	*maile*	a popular type of *lei*
mahi-mahi	*mahimahi*	a type of fish
mu 'u mu 'u	*mu 'umu 'u*	a type of dress
lau lau	*laulau*	a type of Hawaiian food
Keone	*Keoni*	the Hawaiian equivalent of John
hao	*hau*	a type of tree

The rather negligent attitude of the newspapers is reflected in the general community as well where spelling of Hawaiian terms has become so slipshod that even the long-established use of the basic twelve letters is falling into disuse. For example, recently a shellfish spelled ***wī*** in the Hawaiian dictionary was spelled "vee" in a local market and a fish named *uouoa* was labeled "woowoo." More shocking is the spelling found in the

Foxfire-type publications produced by the language arts classes in local high schools where Hawaiian words are frequently misspelled (e.g. "hook-ey" for *huki* 'pull' in *Moolelo,* Vol. II No. 2, Fall 1977, p. 14).

With the present lax attitude concerning the use of the basic twelve letters, it is not surprising that symbols for the glottal stop and vowel length are used unsystematically and without understanding of their functions. One frequently finds, for instance, organizations like a hypothetical *Hui o Hilo,* "Association of Hilo" where *o* 'of' is spelled *o'* or *o*ʻ. This may look "more Hawaiian" to some people because it includes a symbol for the *ʻokina* or *ʻuʻina* (glottal stop) but such spellings show ignorance of the fact that Hawaiian words never end in a consonant, and the *ʻokina* is a consonant. The spelling of *o* 'of' in this way is based on English traditions rather than Hawaiian ones (compare cup o' soup, will-o'-the-wisp, and O'Connor).

The major media offer little direction to the public in the marking of vowel length and the *ʻokina.* In the newspapers, the *ʻokina* is sometimes indicated properly with a single open quote mark (ʻ) as it is in the Hawaiian dictionary. More frequently an apostrophe (') is used, and most commonly, the *ʻokina* is completely ignored.[4] Local newspapers are also guilty of haphazardly inserting the *ʻokina* where it does not belong.

The situation is even worse for the contrast between plain and long vowels. Judging from local newspapers, it would be difficult for an outsider to discover that the written Hawaiian language employs a symbol for long vowels at all. Newspapers have yet to modify their typesetting facilities to accommodate the *kahakō* or macron (¯) used to mark long vowels in Hawaiian (and several other languages spoken in Hawaiʻi, including Japanese and Samoan.) However, a *kahakō,* has, on occasion, been added in special cases in the newspapers using existing facilities. For example, a *kahakō* has appeared in *Shōgun,* the title of a novel about Japan, but none in *Hōkūleʻa,* the name of the Hawaiian voyaging canoe which was much discussed in the newspapers. This is an indication of the lax attitude of local models of language use toward Hawaiian in contrast to foreign languages. Table 3 is a list of some common Hawaiian proper names spelled with the *ʻokina* and *kahakō* which are spelled without them in the local newspapers.

[4]An exception to this generalization is *The Garden Island,* published in Līhuʻe, Kauaʻi. The editor of this newspaper, Jean E. Holmes, has been very conscientious about including the *ʻokina* in all words where it belongs.

Table 3. Some Common Proper Names Spelled with the ʻOkina and Kahakō

Hawaiʻi	Kaʻū	Kaʻahumanu
Kahoʻolawe	Halemaʻumaʻu	Kalākaua
Lānaʻi	Haleakalā	Kapiʻolani
Molokaʻi	Kalamaʻula	Liliʻuokalani
Oʻahu	Wahiawā	Kaʻiulani
Kauaʻi	Lāʻie	Hawaiʻi Ponoʻī
Niʻihau	Līhuʻe	ʻIolani

Recently, the state and county governments have become concerned about the correct spelling of Hawaiian names and words. The City and County of Honolulu, for example, has amended its street name ordinance to include "appropriate diacritical marks" in all new street signs erected after 3 July 1979.[5] There remains, however, no officially recognized authority for appropriate use of symbols for the glottal stop and vowel length. It is customary in the English speaking world to look to the dictionary as the ultimate authority on standard usage, especially in the area of spelling. This attitude has carried over in the view held by the majority of Hawaiʻi's residents regarding the *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Pukui-Elbert 1971). However, the editorial policy of Elbert in particular, who is responsible for orthographic conventions in the dictionary, is quite different from the popular notion.

Elbert endorses the "descriptive approach" where ideally one reports the entire range of usage of a language without making judgments prescribing one over another. The descriptive approach encourages frequent reanalysis, as can be seen in the different spelling conventions used not only in different editions of the Pukui-Elbert dictionary, but also in other publications of Elbert's dealing with the Hawaiian language as illustrated in Table 4.

[5]See Bill No. 46 (1979) Ordinance No. 79-54 amending Chapter 22 of the Revised Ordinance of Honolulu 1969. This chapter also requires that in the City of Honolulu: "Street names selected shall consist of Hawaiian names, words or phrases and shall be selected with a view to the appropriateness of the name to historic, cultural, scenic and topographical features of the area."

Table 4. Differences in Spelling of Selected Terms from Elbert's Publications

	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.
stand	*ku*	*ku*	*kū*	*kū*	*kū*
one	*ho*	*ho'okahi*	*ho'okahi*	*ho'okahi*	*ho'okahi*
until	*a*	*ā*	*a*	*a*	*ā*
the (plural)	*na*	*na*	*nā*	*nā*	*nā*
and as a	*a me mehe*	*a me mehe*	*ame mehe*	*a me mehe*	*ā me me he*
for (A-form)	*na*	*na*	*nā*	*na*	*na*
for (O-form)	*no*	*no*	*nō*	*no*	*no*
indeed the of	*no*	*no*	*nō*	*nō*	*nō*
(O-form) vocative	*ko*	*ko*	*kō*	*ko*	*kō*
particle	*e*	*e*	*e*	*e*	*ē*

A. *The Hawaiian-English Dictionary,* 1957
B. *Conversational Hawaiian,* 1961
C. *Nā Mele O Hawai'i Nei,* 1970
D. *The Pocket Hawaiian Dictionary,* 1975
E. *Hawaiian Grammar,* 1979

Elbert's attitudes have also influenced other researchers, resulting in a large number of different orthographic conventions being used in the spelling of Hawaiian. Elbert has been a pioneer in the important effort to systematically record all phonemic glottal stops and long vowels in Hawaiian, using a model based on the better recorded Polynesian languages of the South Pacific such as Tongan, Samoan, and New Zealand Māori. His work has resulted in a remarkable change in public attitude concerning the proper spelling of Hawaiian terms, but as he has stated himself, "he is a reporter, and in his role of lexicographer he never takes the part of teacher, missionary, innovator, or purist." (Pukui-Elbert 1965:xi) The Pukui-Elbert dictionary must therefore be viewed, not as an authoritative, prescriptive guide to Hawaiian spelling, but as an individual linguist's analysis of the phonology and morphology of the language at a

given point in time. The Hawai'i community wishing to use the Hawaiian, language as a mode of written communication, rather than as an object of scientific study, must look elsewhere to find prescriptive standards of Hawaiian language use.

In a number of European countries, there are nationally recognized academies or boards that monitor the orthography of their languages along with other matters pertaining to proper usage and language planning. Such groups have started to appear in the Pacific as well. In the Kingdom of Tonga, official meetings on Tongan orthography were held by the Privy Council as early as 1943. An Academy of the Tahitian language was established in Pape'ete on 2 July 1974. Closer to home, the Linguistics Department of the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa has worked closely with the governments of the various districts of the Trust Territory of the Pacific in establishing committees to standardize the orthographies of Micronesian languages in the 1970s.

The closest thing that Hawai'i has to a board of the above sort is the orthography committee of the 'Ahahui 'Olelo Hawai'i, a Hawaiian language organization that counts most Hawaiian language teachers among its members. This group held periodic meetings during 1978 to decide on some spelling guidelines for members to use in their classrooms and continues to operate on a less regular basis today. The emphasis in the 1978 meetings was on the spelling of grammatical words such as prepositions, verb markers, and possessives. These words are of extremely common occurrence and some of the most readily observed differences in spelling could be found in grammatical words. Some time was also spent discussing punctuation, capitalization, proper names, and compound words, but these topics were covered less thoroughly and remain to be discussed in more detail.

Although the spelling guidelines of the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i represent the most comprehensive and thorough list of prescriptive rules for the spelling of the Hawaiian language agreed upon by any body of Hawaiian language scholars, they are incomplete at present. Furthermore, they lack official recognition outside the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i and its membership. A true standard orthography of the Hawaiian language requires recognition of a broader sort. The 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i Orthography Committee remains, however, a prototype of the sort of official board needed for the entire state and certainly many of the same highly qualified individuals currently serving on this committee would serve on a board having broader powers. The creation of such a board might best be realized through the governor's office, the legislature, or the Office of Hawaiian Affairs.

Political considerations aside, it was stated earlier that there are a number of specific practical problems that must be solved before a standardized Hawaiian orthography can be established. These problems and different approaches used in dealing with them are addressed in the remainder of this article.

Five major approaches have been used in developing Hawaiian spelling systems. Three of them, the phonetic approach, the phonological approach, and the historical approach deal mainly with the arrangement of symbols for sounds while the other two, the Anglophile approach and the nativistic approach, have to do with word divisions.

The phonetic approach requires that a word be spelled exactly as it is pronounced. This principle appears sound until one realizes that the same word is often pronounced slightly differently by the same individual under different circumstances. An example from American English is the word *you* of *Did you eat?,* pronounced depending on speed, "yoo" *(did yoo eet?),* "yah" *(did yah eet?),* and "j" *(di-j-eet?).* There are similar situations in Hawaiian as with the word *laila* 'there' pronounced *"laila," "leila,"* and *"lila"* depending on the rate of speed at which it is pronounced. The phonetic approach has been rejected by almost everyone, including the missionaries, who abandoned it when they decided that the letter *k* would be used for a sound sometimes pronounced *k* and sometimes *t* without a difference in meaning.

The second approach for determining the representation of sounds, the phonological approach, is the most widely accepted means of deciding the spelling of Hawaiian words. The phonological approach is similar to the phonetic approach except that one does not spell words exactly as they are pronounced "by the mouth" but as they are pronounced "in the mind." Differences between "pronunciations in the mind" and "pronunciation by the mouth" are explained as predictable by customary changes usually described as phonological rules.

That is, in the case of the word for "there" mentioned earlier with three pronunciations *laila, leila,* and *lila* depending on the speed of speech, *laila,* the one produced during the most careful speech, is the one that people are generally conscious of and the one that is spelled. It is, in fact, possible to predict from speech tempo, which pronunciation, *laila, leila,* or *lila,* will be used. Similarly for some Hawaiian speakers, the sound *k* is frequently not used after *i,* being replaced in this position by *t,* while *t* occurs nowhere else in their vocabulary. In the phonological approach, one assumes a basic sound *k,* and predicts that *k* becomes *t* after *i* for these speakers.

The phonological approach to Hawaiian spelling is not only the most sensible and practical one, it is also the most traditional approach. Hawaiian speakers have always spelled words in their most careful form and avoided spellings characteristic of rapid informal conversation. Many speakers are, in fact, unaware that when speaking rapidly their pronunciation of certain words changes in the manner shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Basic and Colloquial Pronunciations Compared

Basic Pronunciaton (Spelled Form)	**English**	**Colloquial Pronunciation** (Never Spelled)
maikaʻi	good	*meikaʻi, maikeʻi, meikeʻi*
Hawaiʻi	an island name	*Hawaʻi*
puaʻa	pig	*puʻa*
laila	there	*leila, lila*
māʻona	full (of food)	*mā*
inā	if	*inē, nā, nē*

Some of the differences in spellings used by different individuals and groups have to do with different viewpoints of predictable variation in pronunciation.[6] An example of this is the possessive often translated as

[6]Differences in spelling may also be due to different investigators hearing different distinctions, or from different meanings attached to the same symbol. The ʻAhahui ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi Orthography Committee has a number of small differences of these sorts with Elbert. Note, for example:

Pukui-Elbert Dictionary 1957	**ʻAhahui ʻŌlelo, Hawaiʻi 1978**	**English**
hoʻoūna	*ho ʻouna*	send
Kalīkimaka	*Kalikimaka*	Christmas
ʻaīwa	*ʻaiwa*	nine
puīa	*pūia*	sweet-smelling
p	*puaaloalo*	hibiscus

A number of such differences are due to the fact that while Elbert uses the *kahakō* for two (and possibly more-see note 8) purposes, the ʻAhahui ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi uses the *kahakō* to mark only long vowels. Elbert has used the *kahakō* as "a sign indicating both stress (or accent) and length" (Elbert-Pukui 1979:14) and has also claimed that "double vowels" fuse into a single long vowel" (Elbert-Pukui 1979:15) marked with a *kahakō*. Elbert's analysis seems to be changing, however. He notes that two like vowels may fuse as a single short vowel (Elbert-Pukui 1979:22, 37). He (Elbert-Pukui 1979:16-18) has also found a way of marking off stress groups with periods rather than by using a *kahakō* (e.g., Pukui-Elbert 1957 *kanaīwa*, Elbert-Pukui 1979 *kana. iwa* 'ninety').

"of," spelled *ā* by some and *a* by others. Both pronunciations occur, with the long form before stressed syllables and the short form before unstressed syllables. In this case, the choice of one over the other as the basic pronunciation is a difficult and somewhat arbitrary one. Current linguistic theory has a convention of picking the form occurring in the "least marked environment" as basic. (see Langacker 1972:239 and Schane 1973: 112-121). That is, the form which occurs in a position which is the most specialized is the derived form. In this case, a stressed position is more specialized than an unstressed position, so the form occurring before an unstressed syllable (i.e., *a)* would be chosen as basic. Again, the variant long form is predictable.

A third approach, the historical approach, bases spelling of Hawaiian words on ancestral forms. Linguists have reconstructed an ancestor language of Hawaiian called Proto-Polynesian with among its phonemes **k* and **m* which correspond to the Hawaiian sounds ‘ and *m.* For example, Proto-Polynesian **manu* 'bird,' **ika* 'fish,' and **kakala* 'fragrant,' correspond to Hawaiian *manu* 'bird,' *i‘a* 'fish,' and *‘a‘ala* 'fragrant.' If one spelled Hawaiian with ‘ and *m* wherever Proto-Polynesian had **k* and **m* respectively, one would be representing the language by the historical approach. Although this approach works fairly well, it leads to inaccuracies. A historically accurate spelling of the Hawaiian word for sweet potato would be *‘umala* (PPN **kumala)* but this word is *‘uala* in Hawaiian. Similarly, the historical approach would lead us to write the Hawaiian marker of completed action or state as *‘ua* rather than *ua* as tapes show it to be actually pronounced. In Proto-Polynesian this word was **kua.* Table 6 shows that the historical approach is not a reliable method of determining the spelling of Hawaiian words.

Table 6. Unexpected Hawaiian Developments from Proto-Polynesian

Proto-Polynesian Form	Expected Form in Hawaiian	Actual Form in Hawaiian	English
**kumala*	*‘umala*	*‘uala*	sweet potato
**kaloama*	*‘aloama*	*‘oama*	young *weke* fish
**taokete*	*kao‘eke*	*kaiko‘eke*	brother-in-law
**ai*	*ai*	*wai*	who
**tokelau*	*ko‘elau*	*ko‘olau*	windward
**tavake*	*kawa‘e*	*koa‘e*	a kind of bird
**lano*	*lano*	*nalo*	fly
**ta‘etuli*	*kaekuli*	*kokuli*	earwax

Elbert has applied a historical approach in his treatment of "foreign letters" in the *Hawaiian-English Dictionary* (Pukui-Elbert 1965:xix) where all Hawaiian words of nonnative origin are spelled with native consonants according to a set formula (see also Elbert-Pukui 1979:13). This analysis is based on the historical fact that previous to Western contact, Hawaiian had no phonemes *s, f, g,* etc. It is no longer true that "foreign letters" are unpronounceable for Hawaiian speakers and that they are always replaced with native ones in speech. There are, for example, a number of commonly used Hawaiian words pronounced consistently with *s* (e.g. *'ekalesia* 'church organization,' *Iesu* 'Jesus,' and *hosana* 'hosanna') rather than with *k* as listed in the Pukui-Elbert dictionary. The sound *s* has become so firmly incorporated into the Hawaiian phonological system that new words have been spontaneously created with this phoneme (e.g., *sila,* 1978 Ni'ihau slang for a teller of tall tales; *so'e,* Hawai'i Island slang for an effeminate male). To deny the position of *s* as a true modern Hawaiian phoneme is akin to purging the English alphabet of *v,* a nonnative phoneme incorporated in to English from French and other foreign sources.[7] Table 7 contrasts some Hawaiian words consistently pronounced with *s* with some consistently pronounced with *k.* Note that some of the *k*-words derive from English *s*-words.

Table 7. The Contrast Between S and K in Hawaiian

K-words	English	s-words	English
kilu	steel (Eng. *steel)*	*sila*	seal (Eng. *seal)*
ko'e	worm (PPN **toke)*	*so'e*	effeminate male (?)
kopa	soap (Eng. *soap)*	*hosana*	hosanna (Eng. *hosanna)*
kekake	donkey (Eng. *jackass)*	*nahesa*	snake (Heb. *nâchâsh)*
Kamuela	Samuel (Eng. *Samuel)*	*Iesu*	Jesus (Grk. Iesous)
penikala	pencil (Eng. *pencil)*	*'ekalesia*	church organization (Grk. ēkklēsia)

(Eng. English, PPN Proto-Polynesian, Heb. Hebrew, Grk. Greek)

[7]Old English originally had only the phoneme /f/ which, however, was pronounced /v/ rather than /f/ in certain specified environments. A carryover from this original situation is the existence of singular/plural pairs like *leaf/leaves* in modem English. With the introduction of words from other languages where /v/ was pronounced outside of the originally specific environments, /f/ and /v/ became separate phonemes in English. English distinctions between the pairs /s/ and /z/, and / / (e.g., the *th* in *bath*) and /c/ (e.g., the *th* in *bathe*) are also largely the result of outside influences as is the adoption of the phoneme /z/

Elbert has also applied a sort of historical approach in determining his use of the letter *w* after *o* and *u* within Hawaiian words, There has never been any problem over the spelling of words containing an initial *w,* or a *w* after the vowels *a, e,* and *i.* However, a number of Hawaiian words spelled with a *w* after an *o* or *u* are also frequently spelled without a *w* in older Hawaiian writings (e.g., *kowali/koali* 'morning-glory plant,' *uwila/uila* 'lightning'). These spelling differences do not reflect any pronunciation differences, and choosing one spelling over the other in such pairs is an important step toward creating a uniform spelling system.

Elbert (1979:12-13) proposes that *w* be spelled after an *o* or *u only when the* w *can be shown to be the initial sound in a recognizable base* which makes up part of a compound word. Elbert's examples of such a situation are *kūwili* 'move restlessly' (compare *wili* 'twist') and *ʻuwīʻuwī* 'squeak' (compare *wī* 'squeal'). This proposal is a historical one in that it requires a theory of the history of the formation of these words.

The central problem of writing a *w* after *o* and *u* is really one involving pronunciation. That is, it is a phonological problem, rather than a historical one. At the beginning of a word and after the vowels *a, e,* and *i,* the letter *w* is pronounced variously like English *v* (International Phonetic Alphabet *v*), a soft English *v* (IPA *v*), Spanish *b/v* (IPA *ß*), and English *w* (IPA *w*) by different speakers of Hawaiian. In some words *w* can be pronounced all four ways after *o* or *u* (e.g., Elbert's example *kūwili*), while in others the *w* can only be pronounced as *w* in this position (e.g., Elbert's example of *ʻuwīʻuwī*).

It is this second group of words like *ʻuwīʻuwī* (and not those like *kūwili*) that the *w* is frequently omitted in older Hawaiian writings. In actuality, the *w* here is not a significant consonant, but is an unavoidable byproduct of gliding from an *o* or *u* to a following vowel. Writing this *w*-glide in such words can be confusing, especially for students who have been taught to pronounce all *w-s* in Hawaiian with a soft *v*-sound. Deleting *w-s* after *o* and *u* which cannot be pronounced *v,* effectively eliminates the confusion and this is the solution adopted by the ʻAhahui ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi Orthography Committee for use in Hawaiian language classrooms. Table 8 illustrates some of the words that students of Hawaiian

(e.g., the *g* in beige) (Hook 1975:113, 155). A number of Polynesian languages have developed new phonemes through contact with other languages. Modern Tongan has a phoneme /s/. Before contact with English /s/ was only a conditioned variant of /t/ in Tongan. Rennellese borrowed /l/ and /ɣ/ (written *gh*) from the language of an unknown Melanesian people very early in its history. Some Tuamotuan dialects have borrowed the glottal stop from Tahitian.

sometimes incorrectly pronounced with a *v* when reading the variant spellings in which the *w*-glide was spelled out. *W*-glides are crossed out in these words since they are not written in most Hawaiian language classrooms today.

Table 8. The W-Glide and True W-Consonant Contrasted after O and U

W-Glide (never pronounced v, *v,* or *ß)*		**True W-Consonant** (pronounced v, *v, ß,* or w)	
auẇe	a common exclamation	*ʻāweoweo*	a type of red fish
lauẇaʻe	a type of fern	*puʻuwai*	heart
ʻuẇehe	a *hula* step	*lapuwale*	worthless
koẇali	morning-glory vine	*kawowo*	sprout
pōẇā	rob	*olowī*	long and narrow
ʻuẇīʻuẇī	squeak	*kūwili*	move restlessly

The fourth approach to establishing spelling rules for Hawaiian, the Anglophile approach, developed from attempts to resolve one special problem, word divisions. Word divisions were considered only briefly by the missionary innovators of the Hawaiian spelling system, and this area still remains the biggest problem in the creation of a standard Hawaiian orthography. An approach commonly taken in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century was to follow English word division practices, hence the name, Anglophile. While the Anglophile approach seems to make things simple on the surface, it instead creates numerous difficulties. Essentially, it requires anyone writing Hawaiian to know English as well and to be aware of English translations when using Hawaiian. An example is the English term or, usually expressed in Hawaiian by a phrase *a i ʻole* meaning literally, *and if not.* The phrase *a i ʻole* is written as one word by some since the English translation or is one word.

One can get an idea of the problems the Anglophile approach causes in Hawaiian word division by looking at what would happen if English expressions translating single Hawaiian words were written as single words. By analogy with Hawaiian *naʻu,* there would be the English words, "belongingtome," "forme," and "madebyme," and by analogy with *pēlā* there would be "inthatway" and "likethat."

Although strong forms of the Anglophile approach have lost proponents, it is still common to find some persistent spellings based on

English in the writing of modern users of the Hawaiian language. Some of the most common of these are listed in Table 9.

Table 9. Anglophile versus Nativistic Spelling of Some Hawaiian Terms

English Translation	Anglophile Spelling	Nativistic Spelling	Literal Hawaiian Meaning
or	*ai'ole*	*a i 'ole*	and if not
him	*iāia*	*iā ia*	object-marker him
upon, above	*maluna*	*ma luna*	on top
what	*heaha*	*he aha*	a what
because	*nokamea*	*no ka mea*	due-to the matter
yesterday	*inehinei*	*i nehinei*	on yesterday
all	*apau*	*a pau*	until completely-included

The nativistic approach to word divisions is to devise spelling criteria according to internal patterns of the Hawaiian language. With grammatical terms, this approach usually advocates more word divisions than the Anglophile approach as shown above. There are cases, however, where a nativistic approach advocates spelling as a single word rather than segmentation. One of these is in the spelling of proper names. Traditionally in Hawaiian, proper names are written as single words. This reflects an internal pattern of the language in which names, although often composed of more than one word, are treated as single units and so marked grammatically by certain proper name markers such as *'o,* the proper name subject marker. An American tradition of segmenting "native" names according to their derivation has often been followed in scholarly works (e.g., Ka-lā-kaua, the name of a king, literally the-day-of-war).

This practice is beneficial from a scholarly viewpoint, much as derivations listed after English words in the dictionary are, but it can pose difficulties when carried over into everyday use of names. The derivations of many names are unknown and such names would hypothetically be incapable of being spelled. With many other names, pronunciation changes often hundreds of years old make them quite different from the phrases from which they were originally derived. Compare *Mōkapu,* a place on O'ahu with its source *moku kapu* 'sacred district' and *Kaunakakai,* a place

on Moloka'i with its source *kauna kahakai* 'beach landing.' (Pukui-Elbert-Mookini 1974: 153-154, 95).[8]

The most serious problem in segmenting proper names is disputes over derivation. An example of such a dispute is the name of a place in North Kona which is pronounced *Ka'ūpūlehu* by all, but which some propose as deriving from *ka 'ulu pūlehu* 'the roasted breadfruit' (Pukui-Elbert-Mookini 1974:96) and others from *ka'u pūlehu* 'my roasted food (Joseph Maka'ai--native of Ka'ūpūlehu 1980). Of the two suggested segmentations *Ka-'ū-pūlehu* and *Ka'ū-pūlehu*, which should be adopted? The nativist would adopt neither. In the nativistic approach, *Ka'ūpūlehu* means neither 'the roasted breadfruit' nor 'my roasted food' but a particular area in North Kona as shown by its use with the proper name subject marker *'o* and also by the fact that many native speakers of Hawaiian familiar with the place and its name have no idea as to how the name should be segmented. There are, in fact, many possible derivations of old Hawaiian place names like Ka'ūpūlehu as shown in Table 10 below.

Table 10. Possible Derivations of the Name Ka'ūpūlehu*

ka 'ulu pūlehu	the roasted breadfruit
ka'u pūlehu	my roasted (one)
Ka pūlehu	roasted Ka'ū (a district name)
ka ū pūlehu	the roasted breast
ka 'upu lehu	the recollection (of) ashes
ka 'ū pū lehu	the groan blowing ashes
kau pule hua	place prayers (for) fruits

*Note that only the third possibility has the same pronunciation as the actual name of the place, and every possibility has a different pronunciation.

As stated earlier, the nativistic approach has been followed traditionally in the spelling of proper names in Hawai'i and the few cases where a

[8]In spelling single vowel reduced morphemes in proper names such as *mō* from *moku* 'district,' Elbert has established a convention of consistently using a *kahakō* without regard to pronunciation. There are, however, examples of reduced morphemes in proper names that are pronounced short. For example, the *o* of the chiefs name Keoua (Elbert's *Ke-ō-ua*) is a reduction of the word *ao* 'cloud' but is always pronounced short. Elbert's use of the *kahakō* here serves a derivational function rather than a phonological one. This usage of the *kahakō* and all other usages of the *kahakō* for purposes other than marking phonologically long vowels have been rejected by the 'Ahahui 'Ōlelo Hawai'i based on a principle of 'one symbol-one function' (see note 4).

more Anglophile approach has been used usually involve recently coined names such as *ʻAina Haina* and *Hawaiʻi Kai* on Oʻahu. Exceptions to this statement can be found, however, such as the traditional names *Mauna Loa* and *Mauna Kea* on the island of Hawaiʻi, now commonly spelled as two words although there are older documents where they are spelled as single words. Compare these with *Maunaloa* on Molokaʻi and *Maunakea* as a street and family name derived from the Hawaiʻi place name.[9]

The nativistic approach does not offer easy answers to all word division problems. One of the most difficult areas for the ʻAhahui ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi Orthography Committee has been to establish criteria for spelling compound words using a nativistic approach. The basic problem is to distinguish compounds in which two or more words are fused together to create a new term, from phrases where one word is simply modifying the other. An illustration from English is the contrast between the compound *blackbird,* a specific type of bird, and *black bird,* any bird that is black. In some languages, there are obvious clues in the spoken language that distinguish a modifier from part of a compound. In German, modifiers take special endings which are not found with parts of a compound. In Fijian, a marker *ni* is often inserted between the parts of a compound, and in English stress distinguishes compounds from phrases (Compare the pronunciations of *blackbird* and *black bird).* In Hawaiian, there are no such obvious spoken clues to distinguish compounds from phrases and there has been considerable difficulty in deciding on a criteria for spelling terms such as *hale pule/halepule* 'church,' (lit. pray house) and *maile lau liʻi/maile lauliʻi/mailelauliʻi,* a type of vine, (lit. small leaf *maile*). Table 11 gives some examples of the many terms for which word division remains a problem in Hawaiian.

In the Pukui-Elbert dictionary, some of these problem terms are written with hyphens, but there is not much consistency to the usage (e.g., *leho-ʻōkala* [lit. rough cowry] and *leho puʻupuʻu* [lit. bumpy cowry] are given as variant names for the same shell but a hyphen is used in only one of them). The ʻAhahui ʻŌlelo Hawaiʻi Orthography Committee discouraged the use of hyphens by its membership, not only in proper names, but also in compounds, since they are not traditional and do little more than imply a specious derivation. For example, consistent use of the hyphen would suggest separating all individual parts of compound words

[9]Note, however, that it is traditional and also quite sensible to write a word which modifies a name separated from that name. Examples are *Kalihi Waena* 'Central Kalihi,' *Kīlauea Iki* 'Little Kīlauea,' *Lāʻie Wai* 'Wet Lāʻie,' *Kīnaʻu Lio* 'Kīnaʻu the horse' (lit. Horse Kīnaʻu), *Kīnaʻu Puka Pā* 'Kīnaʻu the gate' (lit. Gate Kīnaʻu), *Kīnaʻu Aliʻi* 'Kīnaʻu the chiefess' (lit. Chief Kīnaʻu).

Table 11. Some Problem Terms for Word Division

Spelled as One Word	Divided into Components	Meaning of Components	English Translation
halepule	*hale pule*	pray house	church
ʻelepanikai	*ʻelepani kai*	sea elephant	walrus
ʻualakahiki	*ʻuala kahiki*	foreign sweet potato	Irish potato
manualoha	*manu aloha*	greeting bird	parrot
ʻōhi	*ʻōhiʻa ʻai*	edible ʻōhiʻa	mountain apple
ʻakaʻakailau	*ʻakaʻakai lau*	leaf onion	green onion
ʻaiakanēnē	*ʻai a ka nēnē*	food of the nēnē	a type of plant
wahinenohomauna	*wahine noho mauna*	mountain living woman	a type of fern
lolewāwae	*lole wāwae*	leg clothes	pants
lauhala	*lau hala*	*hala* leaf	leaf of the *hala* tree
makuakāne	*makua kāne*	male parent	father
mo	*moʻopuna kāne*	male grandchild	grandson
mailelauliʻi	*maile lau liʻi*	small leaf *maile*	a type of vine

giving such unusual spellings as *komo-hana* 'west' (lit. entering), *make-wai* 'thirst' (lit. die-water), and *ʻō-maʻi-maʻi* 'somewhat sick' (lit. somewhat-sick-sick). Furthermore, such segmentation of compound words is subject to the same sort of difficulties with conflicting derivations as faced with proper names. For example is *ʻohana* 'family' a compound, and does it derive from *ʻōhā-na* 'taro shoot *-na* suffix' (since the family resembles a spreading taro plant), *ō-hana* 'continuation-work' (since the family is the basic economic unit in Hawaiian culture), or some other source?

Although segmentation problems remain the most troublesome areas in current efforts of individuals and groups to establish a uniform Hawaiian spelling system, the least investigated area at present is that of punctuation and capitalization. There are no major stumbling blocks readily apparent in this area, for punctuation and capitalization practices are frequently idiosyncratic. Compare the German practice of capitalizing all nouns, and the English practice of capitalizing primarily proper nouns. Similarly, in Spanish, a question has special punctuation initially as well as finally, while in English only the final position is punctuated distinctly.

The idiosyncratic nature of capitalization and punctuation practices in different languages serves to make the point that the most important aspect of a standardized orthography in any language is not that it be entirely logical or scientific, but that it be all encompassing and accepted as the recognized medium in which ideas are presented visually for that language. There are many standardized orthographies, those of English and Chinese being prime examples, that are illogical and difficult to use, but they cover every aspect of how their individual languages should be written and are accepted by speakers of the languages.

A standardized Hawaiian orthography will necessarily be a compromise of different people's analyses and emotional reactions. Once accepted, it will become a stable medium rather than a matter subject to individual reanalysis. Such a medium will encourage persons to do more writing *in* Hawaiian and less *about* it in English. For a standardized orthography is a positive statement that a language is to be an integral part of today's world.

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