Article

English Domination, Revitalization of the Hawaiian Language, and the Future of Minority Languages

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1. PROBLEM SETTING

In present-day society, the concept of English as a *lingua franca* or common language is widely spread around the globe. People choose to study English to acquire one of the most important tools for convenient communication. Cultural products ranging from food to popular culture, clothing, music, movies, other entertainments, and ways of thinking are spreading worldwide. That the United States (US) is the main source of this cultural and linguistic diffusion represents a "new form of English domination" compared with the previous patterns, whereby that country's dominance over certain areas and regions mainly took the form of military, political, and economic control. However, US hegemony has come to extend to the linguistic and cultural dimensions as an outgrowth of globalization. The current situation combines what Phillipson (1992) called "linguistic imperialism" and what Tomlinson (1991) referred to as "cultural imperialism." The Japanese linguist Yukio Tsuda (1990) more specifically grasped the situation as one of "English domination." Today, we can see English domination in many countries whether or not they have experienced colonization.

Now comprising one of the 50 US states, The Islands of Hawai'i are among the countries that experienced direct domination by the United States in the past. The Hawaiian Islands were previously united as an independent kingdom with its own traditional culture and language. However, people in Hawai'i now use English as one of their official languages, and western cultural practices and lifestyles have widely penetrated the society. Consequently, traditional Hawaiian

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culture and language face extinction. However, many elements that were thought to have vanished forever are undergoing resurgence under the Hawaiian Renaissance.

Herein, the author considers the situation in Hawai'i, examining how English domination was processed there and describing how the people of those islands have maintained their traditional culture and language. In elucidating the effects of English domination in Hawai'i, the author illuminates the relationship between (1) the Hawaiian language and the English language; (2) the Hawaiian traditional culture and cultures brought with the English language; and (3) how these languages and cultures coexist. A case study of how people in Hawai'i are trying to save their language and culture is used to represent an example of how minority language and cultures can continue to survive and flourish under the wave of English domination.

Specifically, in this study, the author investigates the current relationship of English dominance and the current Hawaiian Renaissance in order to illuminate how the Hawaiian language and culture coexist with English in present-day society. The author first presents a brief overview of the historical flows of the decline of Hawaiian language and culture under the effect of the islands' annexation and colonization by the United States, illustrating how Hawaiian people have interfaced their language and culture with English domination. Then, considering the present state and future of the Hawaiian language, the author introduces the current Hawaiian Renaissance movement. Finally, the author exemplifies the vitality of this movement with interview data collected in March 2017 and March 2018 from five interviewees, all of whom were then studying the Hawaiian language at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, as well with a brief discussion with a Hawaiian language teacher at the same institution. The author provides a qualitative analysis of the data to explore the types of earnest efforts that are being made to revitalize Hawaiian linguistic repertoires amidst English domination. Finally, based on the case study and qualitative analysis, the author presents concluding remarks concerning how other minority groups can preserve their languages and cultures for the future.

2. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF HAWAI'I

One of the Polynesian languages, the Hawaiian language directly derives from Marquesic of the Austronesian language family (Lyovin 1997). Along with English, Hawaiian is an official language of the state of Hawai'i. According to Ethnologue (2018), the Hawaiian language is mainly spoken in the islands of Hawai'i and Ni'ihau, although some people on the other Hawaiian Islands and other parts of the United States speak the language as well. The population of native Hawaiian language speakers who predominantly use the language in daily life numbers around 2,000, including 500 with Ni'ihau Island connections, another 500 people aged in their 70s or 80s, and others. In 1900, 37,000 people spoke Hawaiian as their mother tongue; however, the 2000 Census lists only 27,200 native speakers. The ethnic Hawaiian population comprised 336,000 in 1996, 237,000 of whom were living in Hawaii; In 1990, 99,000 ethnic Hawaiians lived on the United States mainland, including 24,300 in California. Although there were more than 500,000 pure Hawaiians in 1778, by 1984, ethnic Hawaiians included only 8,300 pure Hawaiians, 72,800 people who were between 50% and 99% Hawaiian, and 127,500 whose ancestry comprised less than 50% Hawaiian living in Hawaii.

The Native Hawaiian people traditionally based their culture on peculiar features of the natural environment, particularly the islands' volcanoes, unique and characteristic plants flourishing on volcanoes, and coral reefs located in the maritime areas; their lifestyles and social structures are deeply intertwined with the natural environment, including farming and fishing. The distinctive language of Hawai'i is closely related to this nature-based lifestyle, such as the names of various plants and fishhooks, with the result being a unique culture (Yamanaka 1993). Traditionally, vocabularies and expressions are imbued with thousands of meanings, and each word is inextricably linked with Hawaiian social norms and values.

In Hawaiian culture, specific or peculiar meanings and values are attached to certain times[i]. For example, discussing the concept of time in Hawaiian, Akimichi (1984) mentioned that the society's worldview and environmental

values are reflected in ways of time division and certain values associated with particular times. In general, human beings run their livelihoods by means of and according to perceptions of "time" inherent to their distinctive culture, which Akimichi (1984) termed as a "cultural clock." According to this cultural clock, people on the Hawaiian Islands separate each month into 30 days, each of which has a different name. The Hawaiian people worship the most important gods in Polynesian society, and 11 out of 30 days are considered sacred. Each month is divided into three *Anahulu*, which means a period of ten days. Each of the *Anahulu* is deeply related to fishing activity, which is regulated according to the lunar cycle: *Ho'onui*, refers to the "rising" moon; *Poepoe* is the "full" or "round" moon; and *Emi* denotes the "diminishing" moon. The first half of *Ho'onui*, which comprises the first 10 days, is a time of good *Lamalama*, which means torch fishing, and net fishing; the remainder is characterized by poor fishing. The second 10 days, *Poepoe*, are a period of fair to good fishing near the shore and in the deep sea. During *Emi*, the final 10 days, the first half is a time of poor fishing, whereas the second half is good for fishing at night and in the deep sea.

Schmitt and Cox (1992) also provided some examples of Hawaiian concepts of time and its passage: *wā* means a period of time, epoch, era, time, season, or age; *manawa* denotes time, season, or chronology; and *au* refers to the passage of time, period of time, age, or era. There were also words referring to the year: *makahiki* refers both to the year and an annual religious festival; *mahina* means the month and the moon; and *malama* also refers to the moon. These words were used prior to contact with Europeans; however, the Hawaiian language traditionally had no names for the days of the week because the Native Hawaiians did not utilize the concept of the week or consider a week as a unit of time. The concept of the week only came into use following European contact.

Shionoya (2007) pointed out that rain and wind are also important factors influencing Hawaiian people's daily lives, particularly agriculture and fishing, in which income depends heavily on natural phenomena. Rain strongly affected agriculture, and wind was an important factor for determining fishing yields, as people traditionally fished in canoes with sails. Residential conditions were also closely related to weather, as housing was mainly constructed from thatch.

People needed to prepare for rain and wind in order to protect their houses. Accordingly, Shionoya (2007) listed 217 words for rain and wind in Hawaiian, among which 16 words—including *ʻaʻala-honua*, *kīpuʻupuʻu*, *kuamū*, *kūkala-hale*, and *lauʻawa*—denote both elements whereby specific winds deliver specific patterns of rain. This farmers and fisherfolk could anticipate weather through a comprehensive understanding and consciousness of wind and rain, and terms that unify rain and wind reflect their interest and knowledge in these phenomena[ii].

3. LINGUISTIC IMPACT OF THE UNITED STATES

The Hawaiian world drastically changed in 1778 when Captain James Cook "discovered" the islands, as the nature-oriented lifestyles of the Native Hawaiians inevitably transformed into a more modern and civilized western livelihood (Nakajima 1993). With the import of western civilization and various kinds of weapons, King Kamehameha the 1st established the islands' first unified kingdom and transformed the previous political organization based on chiefdoms into a modern nation-state. Over the next forty years, as travelers from multiple European countries arrived in Hawaii for exploration or business purposes, Hawaiian began to take form as a written language, although it was largely restricted to isolated names and words. In 1820, American Protestant missionaries from New England brought Christianity into Hawaii and attempted to convert all Hawaiian people to that religion. The missionaries had to learn Hawaiian in order to publish the Bible in the target language, and by 1826, they had developed a Hawaiian alphabet system. Missionaries published various educational materials in Hawaiian and taught the local people to read and write the language (Schütz 1994). People had traditionally inherited their language orally, and teaching the language in written form destroyed this form of linguistic transmission. Thus, a core aspect of the Hawaiian traditional culture was broken-down.

Approximately a century following Cook's arrival, American Caucasian people forced King Kalakaua to promulgate a new constitution in 1887, and the

Hawaiian Kingdom rapidly began to shrink. In 1893, the Hawaiian Kingdom under the Queen Liliuokalani was overthrown. Although a certain number of people in the United States strongly opposed the annexation of Hawai'i, royal power was forfeited forever, and Hawai'i ultimately became the 50th US state in 1959 (Nakajima 1993; Yaguchi 2002). The annexation enormously affected both indigenous language and culture in Hawai'i:, as English became an official language alongside Hawaiian. Traditional Hawaiian culture also slightly declined with the imposition of the American way of life.

English proliferated in print as local newspapers began publishing both in Hawaiian and English, and the language also came to dominate the educational system. Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i prescribed the importance of English at that time:

> Act 57, sec. 30 of the 1896 Laws of the Republic of Hawai'i:
> The English Language shall be the medium and basis of instruction in all public and private schools, provided that where it is desired that another language shall be taught in addition to the English language, such instruction may be authorized by the Department, either by its rules, the curriculum of the school, or by direct order in any particular instance. Any schools that shall not conform to the provisions of this section shall not be recognized by the Department. (Matsubara 2000: 51, emphasis added by the author)

As can be seen, the government considered English to be the most important language. Reinecke (1969) summarized the historical process of education in Hawai'i during the mid-1800s to 1900, and Table 1 shows that the number of Hawaiian language schools was inversely proportional to the number of English language schools. In addition to the above-cited law, we should not neglect that Hawaiian parents were eager for their children to receive an English education to ensure their future opportunities (Nakajima 1993). Accordingly, the number of native speakers of Hawaiian dramatically had decreased by the late 1970s, when

90% of the language's 2,000 speakers were *Kūpuna* (native elderly people) over 70 years old. In addition to the English language policy, the number of speakers also declined due to the import of new diseases during travels to and from the islands (Matsubara 2000).

Consequently, as the status of English in Hawai'i ascended, that of the Hawaiian language became degraded, with corresponding changes in use. For example, the above-mentioned concept of time in Hawaiian changed. According to Schmitt and Cox (1992: 207), "the Hawaiian language *was* rich in words referring to the concept of time and its passage [emphasis added].".What this means is that whereas the Hawaiian people had previously understood the concept of time in relation to natural phenomena (e.g., words related to seasons, the noon, or religious festivals), such vocabulary was ultimately replaced by western, English words.

Nettle and Romaine (2000) gave an example of the decline of Hawaiian. Similar to its people, who intimately lived with and depended on the sea for their livelihood, languages in the Hawaiian Islands remain rich in words, proverbs, and metaphorical expressions related to marine life. However, ancient Hawaiian proverbs concerned with fish, fishermen, and fishing activities such as "Aia a kau ka i'a i ka wa'a, mana'o ke ola" ("one can think of life after the fish is in the canoe" have little or no meaning to the younger generations, who grew up eating canned fish bought from supermarkets. This means that Hawaiian expressions related to traditional ways of catching fish and other ways of living will eventually disappear. The above-described historical changes triggered the threat of the extinction of traditional Hawaiian language and culture (Yaguchi 2002; Warner 1999), which until recently seemed to have vanished forever.

4. A BRIEF INTRODUCTION OF THE HAWAIIAN RENAISSANCE

Six of the inhabited Hawaiian Islands were largely dominated by the United States, and the number of Hawaiian native speakers was reduced to under 0.1% of the state's population. However, the people of Ni'ihau Island remained largely isolated and have continued to use Hawaiian as their first language (Lyovin

1997). As Elbert and Pukui (1979: 23) pointed out, "Niihau is the only area in the world where Hawaiian is the first language and English is a foreign language." This shows that the Hawaiian language was never completely replaced under English domination.

Currently, people in Hawai'i are trying to recover the language and culture. The Hawaiian Renaissance is a remarkable movement that has been spreading throughout the Hawaiian Islands since the 1970s. The main purpose of the movement is to regain and revitalize traditional Hawaiian language and culture so that it can be bequeathed to future generations. As some scholars have proclaimed, "The darkest periods" of Hawai"i have vanished (Yamanaka 1993), "the age of Americanization" has ended (Nakajima 1993), and the era of "De-Americanization" and "Hawaianization" has ensued (Nettle & Romaine 2000). In order to achieve this aim, the renaissance launched several initiatives, including, among others, supporting Hawaiian language immersion programs, traditional Polynesian Hokule'a voyaging, traditional products by Hawaiian craftsmen and artists, and the revival of Hawaiian music (Kanahele 1979; Matsubara 2000; Warner 1999; Wong 1999). Some measures for recovering Hawaiian traditions include local radio stations featuring special programs about the Hawaiian language, TV stations broadcasting weekly Hawaiian language programs, and the resurgence of *hula* (Shionoya 2004; Shirota 2011; Yaguchi 2002).

There has been "a resurgence of interest among Native Hawaiians at a grassroots level in reacquiring their indigenous heritage language and culture for themselves and their children" (Warner 1999: 68). For example, in 1984, *Pūnana Leo*, a Hawaiian language preschool, began its program with approximately 800 ethnic Hawaiians aged two years old to high school. The state Department of Education Hawaiian language immersion program was established in 1987 to revitalize Native Hawaiian language and culture throughout the entire society (Matsubara 2004), and by 1998–1999, the *Kula Kaiapuni* ("school" (*kula*) + "ocean" (*kai*) + "to be surrounded by or immersed" [*apuni*]) included approximately 1,600 students. Currently, the University of Hawai'i offers two master's degrees and a PhD. in the Hawaiian language (Ethnologue 2018).

A cultural aspect of the Hawaiian Renaissance is reviving of hula. It is one of the most outstanding traditional cultures in Hawai'i, which is based on the poetry called *mele* (Shionoya 2004). Contents of *mele* are expressed in specific and various body movements of the *hula*, including hands and fingers, arms, the lower back, toes, and facial expressions. *Mele* and *hula* function as an important form of deliverance and a source of information through which people recount creation myths, the stories of gods, natural phenomena, sailing and fishing, farming, and royal connections in the Hawaiian Islands. *Hula* is one of the oldest cultural practices in Hawai'i, and people use the Hawaiian language when they perform these sacred dances (Shirota 2011). Thus, performing *hula* is a significant way to preserve traditional Hawaiian culture and language.

The elements of the Hawaiian Renaissance are increasingly expanding, and both tourists and residents can now encounter a variety of attempts for preserving Hawaiian culture and language.

5. METHOD

The author adopted an interpretive paradigm as the methodology of this study. The interpretive paradigm stresses the quality of data, and is therefore classified as a qualitative research method. Compared with quantitative surveys or questionnaires, an interview research is a more powerful approach to elicit narrative data; it allows researchers to investigate people's views in greater depth (Kvale 1996). The purpose of a qualitative research interview is "to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (Kvale 1983: 174). Social scientists tend to use this method for accumulating a detailed explanation of human behavior and beliefs within the contexts in which they occur (Rubin & Rubin 2005). Unlike quantitative data analysis, using non-numerical data seeks to "explore and describe the 'quality' and 'nature' of how people behave, experience and understand" (Alshenqeeti 2014: 39). Qualitative analysis seeks to build an overall snapshot, analyze words and expressions, and depict respondents' views and perspectives in detail, thereby enabling them to speak and express

themselves in their own voices, thoughts, and feelings (Berg 2007).

Although some general "tendencies" of how people think about the Hawaiian Renaissance and revitalization of the Hawaiian language may be gleaned herein, the main purpose of this study is not to generalize them nor find "only the truth" of the situation in the manner of quantitative research[iii]. Rather, the target of this study was to grasp how people actually think, feel, and act toward the revitalization of the Hawaiian language. Therefore, the author used interviews to investigate the current situation of the language revitalization in the Hawaiian Renaissance movement.

The author conducted interviews in March 2017 and March 2018. The collected data include a brief discussion with a Hawaiian language teacher at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa and interviews with five of his students. The author observed several Hawaiian classes and called for volunteers to discuss the current situation of Hawaiian language revitalization. Five Hawaiian language students who were considered part of the revitalization process voluntarily participated in this study. The author designed a semi-structured interview, which is a more flexible version of the structured interview that "allows depth to be achieved by providing the opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the interviewee's responses" (Rubin & Rubin 2005: 88). Researchers recommend using a basic checklist or set of questions when they undertake semi-structured interviews, which "allows for in-depth probing while permitting the interviewer to keep the interview within the parameters traced out by the aim of the study" (Berg 2007: 39). The preset list of questions developed for this study are listed below:

1. Why do you study Hawaiian?
2. How long have you been studying Hawaiian?
3. What's your goal, what's your aim of studying Hawaiian?
4. What do you think about English language or culture in Hawai'i?
5. What do you think about the recent movements of Hawaiian language or culture?
6. When do you use Hawaiian (as a language) outside of the classroom? Do you

have any chance to use the language outside of class?
7. How can the Hawaiian language or culture be saved?
8. What do you think will happen to the Hawaiian language or culture in the future?

Each interview lasted 30–60 minutes, and the resulting data were qualitatively analyzed in order to glean various types of efforts for revitalizing Hawaiian linguistic repertoires amidst English domination.

6. DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

6.1. Discussions with a Hawaiian language teacher

First, we present data from the author's discussion with a Hawaiian language teacher. The teacher is originally from O'ahu, and he is an expert in Hawaiian language revitalization. According to the teacher, during historical times, the Ali'i, meaning chief or ruling class, placed high value on English; however, they thought that the Hawaiian language would never be lost because there were so many speakers of the language. Eventually, English impacted many aspects of Hawaiian society, particularly ways of thinking, and Hawaiian was slowly replaced by "the big language" as people started to think in Western ways.

The teacher has been very actively involved in efforts to save the Hawaiian language and culture and pass them on to younger generations. For example, he has organized Hawaiian-only baseball activities and written newspaper articles in the Hawaiian language[iv]. He strongly believes that Hawaiian should be revitalized not only as "the language," but also in terms of the spirituality and mindset of native Hawaiian people. In his view, people need to learn Hawaiian in more natural ways, although he also focuses on vocabularies and how they are used in the Hawaiian language. Therefore, his students not only sit and write Hawaiian as a passive learning style, but are also actively involved in class activities.

When the author observed the teacher's Hawaiian class, students

passionately learned Hawaiian, and everyone was involved as "a part of" the class. The teacher did not simply provide the students with answers, but rather gave them an opportunity to answer the questions. Students tried to figure out the answers and helped each other. They not only learned Hawaiian in class, but also spoke it outside of the class. They tried to use Hawaiian as much as possible and did not want to miss any opportunities to speak the language.

6.2. Respondent A

In this section, the author presents interview data from respondent A from Kīhei, Maui[v]. A's response to Question 1 was:

> ... my grandpa didn't speak Hawaiian to my mom, my mom didn't speak Hawaiian to me, and now, if I decided not to learn Hawaiian, then I would continue the generational genocide of the Hawaiian language. I continue the process, and I start to think to myself, when does it stop? If I don't go back to school to learn Hawaiian, then it will continue. My kids won't speak Hawaiian, their kids won't speak Hawaiian, and then I will be participating in what settler colonialism wants and is trying to impose on us, right? I'm a participant if I don't make a move to learn Hawaiian, and not be so shamed cause that shame is the same shame that was passed down.

A expressed that not learning the language would contribute to "the generational genocide" of Hawaiian. A's parents and grandparents decided not to study Hawaiian because it was "shameful" to learn and speak the language in their time; however, this shame is very different from the "shame" with which A was concerned. In A's parents and grandparents time, it was shameful to speak Hawaiian due to the United States' hegemony; as A stated, that was "what settler colonialism wants is trying to impose on us." In contrast, in A's view, it would be shameful if Hawaiian people lost the ability to speak their mother tongue and

transmit it to the next generation. A expressed the desire for their child to be able to command the Hawaiian language, as elucidated in their response to Question 3:

> I can speak Hawaiian to my future kids, and teach them to have an understanding of cause— if language is a carrier of culture and we don't have the language, my kids won't really be firm in their own cultural identity, and that's something that I wanted to stop, like to be able to speak Hawaiian with my kids and to have them understand and know that they can speak their mother tongue and not feel that shame, and be able to transmit that further down so it doesn't, so language can continue to grow.

Above, A's description of language as "a carrier of culture" and references to "cultural identity" are indicative of a perception of language as a core factor in their identity, which A also wants their children to have. Based on this perspective, A expressed the belief that learning Hawaiian not only maintains cultural identity, but also connects Hawaiians across generations and ensures the language's future growth. A proclaimed their view that "my goal may not be done in my generation, but in the next generation."

Question 7 asked how the Hawaiian language or culture can be saved. According to A:

> Make Hawaiians as a novelty, as a rare thing. Pass this novelty into next generation. Develop something for Hawaiian language, like an immersion program. Integrate technology, like apps in his phone in Hawaiian. Just move forward. For kids, to keep them interested, for us, for us to keep us interested. How cool it will be if you read Shakespeare in Hawaiian! Watch a lot in Hawaiian. Stimulate the younger generation to find relevancy with Hawaiian language.

A proposed that the Hawaiian language should be presented as "a novelty" or "a rare thing" and expressed the hope that one-day "everyone envies that he/she is able to speak Hawaiian." In order to achieve that goal, A suggested that both children and adults need to have an interest in the language: "For kids, to keep them interested, for us, for us to keep us interested." Although A lamented that "we are struggling how to perpetuate the language," they also expressed optimism that people can "turn everything around. Not just in school, but every little thing in everyday life." Thus, we can see that A is looking toward the future.

6.3. Respondent B

Respondent B was from Wahiawā, O'ahu. To address Question 5, B and the author had the following conversation about the Hawaiian Renaissance movement[vi]:

> R: Well, first thought that comes to mind is why it's even needed; it should never have happened; and well, I think it's a good thing, it's progressive, ... it's a good thing. We need [this] happening at this moment at this time; you know it should've been fine to speak Hawaiian since day one. ... so, the movements that we have had are, I think, are good, beneficial.
> A: Can you give me some examples of the movements?
> R: Ok, so like, the Pūnana Leo little program, I think that is amazing, that's awesome. So, we have children going into elementary speaking Hawaiian; ah, now I think we have high school, so they can go from elementary to high school speaking Hawaiian and getting familiar and then they can take [it] into the community and teach [those of] us who don't know yet. ...
> A: You mean education?
> R: Yeah education, yeah. Allowing education in [the] Hawaiian language, so the kids are taught while speaking Hawaiian

> rather than speaking English like a regular public school. ...

B reported that they had first questioned the need for the Renaissance movement; it seemed "unnatural." However, B expressed support for the revitalization efforts, particularly the Pūnana Leo program, which is one of the most well-known educational attempts in Hawai'i. B described "allowing education in [the] Hawaiian language" as very good thing, as "the kids are taught while speaking Hawaiian rather than speaking English." Thus, for B, it is important that children grow up with their mother tongue; this is a more "natural" setting that is "beneficial" for them.

B provided two of the most remarkable interview findings, the first of which was part of their response to Question 7:

> The way to revitalize a language I think is in the traditional cultural works. So, for example, when you fish, you are using Hawaiian words and languages that are attributed to fishing because they're different from making maps, different from farming. So, if you're doing the work and using the Hawaiian words and Hawaiian language, you keep that form of that part of the language intact, and if you go farming and use the words for farming, diverting water stuff like that, use those terms, you keep that part of the language. ... So, you breakdown everything using the Hawaiian words and Hawaiian language, and it'll be solved. So, you teach it, teach it, teach it, it will stay. So, in the work is the culture, in the work is the language, is what I wanna try to say.

B suggested that traditional cultural work is one of the keys to revitalizing a language and provided some examples: people can use Hawaiian words for fishing when and farming while engaged in those activities. B expressed the view that each traditional cultural work activity has unique expressions and word selections, and "if you're doing the work and using the Hawaiian words and

Hawaiian language, you keep that form of that part of the language intact." Therefore, "in the work is the culture, in the work is the language," and varieties of the Hawaiian language will remain if people keep teaching them.

The other remarkable statement was made in response to Question 8:

> It seems we are starting to build a stronger foundation. I don't think we're striving for excellence right now, but we can only go so far, and [the] bigger the foundation we build, the higher we can, go as a structure, ya? So, the bigger and deeper we put our roots, the bigger the tree. So right now, we're just kind of building the roots right now. I don't, cause you don't hear Hawaiian language just everywhere yet; maybe when I am [an] old man, you'll hear [it] all around, which would be awesome. But, as of right now, we're just building the foundation. I don't see us, really, stretching that far, and, becoming an everyday language, like you speak at the bank—cause that's the main thing is, if you go to the bank, what language are you speaking? What? When you go to the state government, what language are you speaking with, the office people? Is it English or is it Hawaiian? When it becomes, when the banker becomes, speaks Hawaiian, I can speak Hawaiian at the bank. That's a, that's a big change right there [*with emphasis*]. Cause now, I'm doing business [*with emphasis*] in [the] Hawaiian language rather than English. That's a big change. That [*with emphasis*] would be great thing. So, just building the foundation, but once we get a banker that speaks Hawaiian, and we get an office manager at the state level speaking Hawaiian, and you can conduct the business in Hawaiian, very good.

B repeatedly mentioned that people have only recently begun "building the foundation." B also highlighted the current situation of the Hawaiian language,

noting that it is rarely spoken in formal or official interactions in the bank or the state government; rather, many people use English as a communication language instead of their "land language." However, B expressed optimism for the future, as "the bigger and deeper we put our roots, the bigger the tree." Although "you don't hear Hawaiian language just everywhere yet," B communicated the hope that "maybe when I am old man, you'll hear all around," and "once we get a banker that speaks Hawaiian, and we get an office manager at the state level speaking Hawaiian, and you can conduct the business in Hawaiian, [that will be] very good".

6.4. Respondent C

Interviewee C was from Hāna, Maui. Similar to respondent A, C also had children, and we can identify some similarities between their responses. For example, C pointed out the relationship between colonization and language education in their response to Question 1:

> You know a lot of what I hear and they [the parents] talk about is wasn't it important, or my mom and their mom and their dad told them, and [speaking Hawaiian] probably wasn't a thing that is gonna make a lot of money. And so, yeah, and he was present in the household, my grandparents raised me a lot too, so I would hear it here and there, but that wasn't something that they told me to strive for, and ... yeah ... I think had a lot of to do with the colonization possibly. ... the fact that they quit learn their own language in schools, and you know when down generationally, so here we are today.

Like A, C described their parents' experience of "generational shame" of speaking Hawaiian due to the legacy of colonization and school education. However, C reported that their parents specifically warned that speaking Hawaiian would preclude them from earning a great deal of money. C was told

that learning Hawaiian is not something to "strive for"; however, C apparently wanted to change the situation:

> Well, I think one of my first Hawaiian teachers asked me why is it important to speak Hawaiian; most of us didn't have an answer. ... And, of course, I didn't either. And you have to learn what the words meant, and a connection between culture and my past and genealogies, and [it] became little more important every time I got to know something more about it, so for me, that becomes a responsibility because, you know, I want my children to learn about their, where they come from and their culture, and I think the language is not only a good start, but it's something that [will] keep them continuing on and learning these things.

These excerpts provide insight into C's ideas on language and culture. As C has learned more and more Hawaiian, they have discovered certain connections between language, culture, and genealogies. According to C, the more they learn the language, the more they feel a responsibility for maintaining those connections. C expressed the view that it was not only their responsibility to maintain the links between the language, culture and genealogies, but also their children. As C asserted, "I want my children to learn ... where they come from and their culture, and I think the language is not only a good start, but it's something that keep them continuing on and learning these things".

C also mentioned the notion of "responsibility" in their response to Question 4:

> They started with the Indians; North America came across all way, came across took Hawai'i, you know, and now they making [it] a global thing. [...] So, you know, and they're still occupying, here in Hawai'i. I don't know if that's a good thing for [the] Hawaiian language [...] we're occupied and we need to be like ...

> to me, I want to be in charge of our own destiny here, ya? Where we wanna move forward, so, I think make some responsibility earlier, and those are our responsibilities and not America's responsibilities. So ... In Hawai'i, Hawaiians' voices should be a little louder, and America's voices, cause they don't have a responsibility to us, they have responsibilities to their own thing, but not, not here.

C suggested that the history of colonization by the United States continued into the present day, such that the United States is "still occupying ... Hawai'i." C's reference to the United States as "they" represents a perception of cultural distance. According to C, people in Hawai'i have a responsibility to maintain their native language; it is not "their" (America's) responsibility, but rather "our" (Hawaiians') responsibility to decide the future. Accordingly, C asserted that "I want to be in charge of our destiny" and "Hawaiians voices should be a little louder, and America's voices [should be smaller]".

Like respondent B, C also highlighted the importance of education for keeping the Hawaiian language alive for younger generations. C similarly specifically mentioned Hawaiian language immersion schools in their response to Question 5:

> Our Pūnana Leo schools, started in the early 80s, 79, 80, something like that, 84. So, 1984 to 2017, and everybody knows what these Hawaiian schools are, and developed and, and now they have what, K to 12, Nāwahī, and Ānuenue, and so it seems to me some great strides and improving the access for Hawaiians to learn their own language—and some recent things in a state is about, I forget what it was, but, Hawaiian language day or something like that, and reissuing some other laws in Hawaiian or something like that. Give me a lot for improvement, you know and, that's another part of responsibility too. Who's gonna do that? Right? Teachers here

> can do it all, and students of Hawaiian things in general can do it all, so we gotta kinda work together to move forward.

Similar to B, C also refers to Pūnana Leo school; however, C refers to it as "our" school. We can see how C expresses a desire to safeguard the Hawaiian people. In addition to Pūnana Leo, C also referred to Nāwahī and Ānuenue, both of which are Hawaiian language immersion schools that educate children from a very young age. C expressed the view that Hawaiian immersion education is a significant step toward preserving Hawaiian language and culture: "it seems to me some great strides and improving the access for Hawaiians to learn their own language." In addition to language education schools, C identified "Hawaiian language day" or "reissuing ... laws in Hawaiian" as "another part of [the] responsibility" for people in Hawaii to recover their language. As C stated, "Teachers here can do it all, and students of Hawaiian things in general can do it all, so we got a kinda work together to move forward"; in other words, it is not up to outsiders; rather, people in Hawaii themselves must work to achieve the goal of linguistic and cultural revitalization. Similarly, in their response to Question 7, C argued that "It [Hawaiian] has to have used for it [revitalization of the language]. And, like I said, their [Hawaiian people's] responsibility has to be desired by the people who use it."

C also stressed the necessity of having strong relationships with the elders or previous generations as well as ancestral generations as a means to maintain the Hawaiian language.

> I think that attached to the movements on the 60s and 70s, and things that have been done even apply to that to, you know, all our ancestors who wrote in the newspapers and kinda like go through all those times of not being able to speak their own language in their own lands, and so... This revitalization of the language now is just kinda a consequence of what happened before.

C pointed out that although the ancestors wrote newspapers in Hawaiian, they were not allowed to speak "their own language" in "their own lands." C expressed the perception of a certain connection between the past and the present day when saying that the "revitalization of the language now is just ... a consequence of what it happened before." In other words, the current movement of Hawaiian language revitalization has not emerged all of a sudden, but rather is connected with what the ancestors did in the past.

As exemplified in their response to Question 7, C had a multifaceted perspective on the future of the Hawaiian language. C identified various methods to preserve Hawaiian:

> I don't think there is one answer for this question, it's a multiple kinda answer thing, you know. We gonna continue our education of our people, we gonna raise the children in Hawaiian speaking households, we gonna value different things, we gonna do more things in Hawaiian mindset. [...] you know, we gonna mix the old and the new; we need to learn English as well as Hawaiian, you know. We cannot just be one thing, we gonna be multifaceted as Hawaiian people who model Hawaiians now, you know, and take the lessons from, you know, past generations, and, you know, that's another thing that's should be mandatory, ya?

Some of the points overlap with other respondents' comments; however, others are unique. C identified several methods to maintain Hawaiian language use, including "continue our education of our people"; "raise the children in Hawaiian speaking households"; "value different things"; "do more things in Hawaiian mindset." In relation to the history of Hawaiians, C expressed the need to "mix the old and the new," "be multifaceted as Hawaiian people who model Hawaiians," and "take the lessons from past generations." Similar to the other respondents, C conveyed that not only the current generations of adults are important; the younger generations are the key to preserve the Hawaiian

language for the future. Unlike the other respondents; however, C also highlighted the value of the elderly generation. C's responses conveyed a strong feeling of connections across generations; whether one is young or old, these links must be maintained.

6.5. Respondent D

Respondent D was from Halawa, O'ahu. Similar to respondent C, D appeared to value connections with the past generations and highlighted the importance of family genealogy. As D stated in response to Question 2:

> ...when my grandfather passed away, the genealogy of our family was transferred over to my dad, and a lot of the documents in the genealogy were written in Hawaiian. So, he...they kind of encouraged me to learn the language to help him translate some of the documents, and my dad's, so my grandparents, my dad's grandparents could speak Hawaiian, and so Hawaiian was sometimes used at the house, but my parents couldn't speak fluently. So, since I was since I was a kid, I've heard Hawaiian, but I wasn't able to speak it. So, when I got older and I took my first Hawaiian language class, I found out that I enjoyed it, so I continued on.

D reported that their primary impetus for studying the Hawaiian language was to help translate genealogy documents. In this case, learning Hawaiian was not only D's own will; this interviewee's efforts had also received parental encouragement. Due to historical reasons, the parents could not speak Hawaiian fluently; however, D's grandparents sometimes used the language. Thus, although D had a chance to hear Hawaiian at home; there were limited opportunities to speak it. D was enjoying studying the language.

D reported that a large number of students were eagerly to extend their Hawaiian studies beyond the classroom because they felt a certain kind of

"responsibility":

> I think for a lot of students now, we make a conscious effort to use it outside of the classroom, even most of them were [speaking it] together or what we know [with] someone else can speak Hawaiian. I think now, a lot of the students, the younger generation, they understand that this is something—a responsibility that we have to carry on. ... what I mean by responsibility is that we understand that the generation before us, they took all the responsibility of bringing— of retaining and saving all of the whatever bits of pieces of the Hawaiian language that we left and helping it to grow, and now when it comes for our for my generation, it's now our responsibility to make sure that the seeds—they've been planted, and now we have to keep watering it, and if we don't water it, it's gonna die.

Like respondent C, D also expressed the view that preserving the Hawaiian language is the local people's responsibility. Moreover, according to D, "a lot of the students" and "the younger generation" perceive that maintaining Hawaiian is "a responsibility that we have to carry on," as demonstrated in their making a "conscious effort to use it outside of the classroom".

Also similar to C, D referred to the concept of "responsibility" in relation to the past generations, who D described as having previously held all the responsibility to bring, retain, and save all of the bits and pieces of Hawaiian. D asserted that it was now time the their own and younger generations "to make sure that the seeds they've been planted and now we have to keep watering it, and if we don't water it, it's gonna die." D metaphorically speaks about the Hawaiian language as an organic, living entity, which reinforces the depth of their resolution to inherit and preserve it to for transmission to future generation.

In their response to Question 8, D repeatedly emphasized the importance of the younger generation for keeping Hawaiian alive for the future:

> Well the, I think well for me the biggest...the biggest factor would be the younger generation, as [they are] only way that the language and culture can continue to survive, because if the younger generation, if they don't take interest in language or the culture, then it's gonna die with us.

Similar to respondent A, D stressed the relationship between language and culture, explaining that the younger generation is "the biggest factor" for the survival of Hawaiian language and culture: "if they don't take interest in language or the culture, then it's gonna die with us." Both A and D stated that the younger generations would have a key role in the revival and preservation of Hawaiian language and culture; thus, it was imperative to make them interested and actively involve them in accomplishing that goal.

6.6. Respondent E

Unlike the other respondents, E identified themselves as half-Okinawan and half-Mexican; however, she reported that her partner was Hawaiian. E was learning Hawaiian due to her desire for her child to communicate and bond with his father's family and claim it as his mother tongue. In the following conversation between E and the author (A) in response to Question 4, E explained:

> E: ...my personal goal is to...speak Hawaiian with my family and for him [E's child] to grow up knowing [the] Hawaiian language you know, yeah, to be able to express himself in both you know Hawaiian and English, and whatever you know maybe he'll learn another language,
> A: uh-huh. Is that the only reason why you talk to him in Hawaiian?
> E: Um...(4 seconds pause)...yeah, if we go deeper I guess, well

> his father is Hawaiian, you know, so, there are people on their side that, grew up speaking Hawaiian, but that those generations were so long ago and you know I guess like, I feel like, that's my duty as his [parent], you know, like that even though I'm not Hawaiian like, ...that, to, for him to grow up knowing, that his mother tongue is a very important, thing you know, so it ties him back to, his ancestors, and his family that's from here.

Thus, E in fact had two main reasons for learning Hawaiian, the first of which was her desire for her child "to grow up knowing [the] Hawaiian language ... to be able to express himself in both ... Hawaiian and English." However, the other reason is related to kinship and heritage. Similar to the other respondents, E also thinks that the mother tongue is an important element for preserving strong bonds with those of past generations, who "grew up speaking Hawaiian, but those generations were so long ago." As E expressed, it was now up to her to raise the child with his mother tongue. Although E is not Hawaiian, she stressed that it was "my duty as his [parent] ... for him to grow up knowing [Hawaiian]." Thus, in E's view, if her child has knowledge of Hawaiian, then "it ties him back to, his ancestors, and his family that's from here." E emphasized the importance of maintaining links between the future, the present, and the past (the ancestors), and she clearly identified the function of language as a critical "intermediator" that makes the connection possible.

E agreed with D and the teacher that people need to use Hawaiian outside the classroom. In her response to Question 6, she described the current situation of the Hawaiian language and culture:

> ...now it's just like, still, people are fighting so hard to try and bring back Hawaii into like the, you know Hawaiian culture and language into, it's there I mean, now there's more presence; whereas before it was hard just to get people to join the movement, now there's definitely a number of people who

> wanna— who are in it and doing it, I think, now it's just a matter of making it recognized by everybody else in Hawaii, so I think we're in a different phase of that Renaissance now.

E described the revitalization of Hawaiian language and culture as an ongoing, increasingly successful struggle; people could more easily join the Hawaiian Renaissance movement compared with the past, and more people were involved with the movement. As E explained, "before, it was hard just to get people to join the movement, now there's definitely a number of people who wanna who are in it and doing it." In her view, the revitalization movement had emerged from the initial challenges of building active involvement and entered a new phase of achieving wider recognition: "now it's just a matter of making it recognized by everybody else, in Hawaii".

Like the other respondents, E argued that preserving the Hawaiian language itself was not sufficient. According to her, language should not "stand alone," but should also be connected to "a certain type of way of thinking" and various other forms of culture:

> I think another concern of—especially for a language ... my concern is trying to preserve like, the thinking, the Hawaiian thinking, not just the language itself, but like how the language reflects a certain type of way of thinking ... I [am] still trying to figure that out because I can only do, well immediately, just when I teach Hawaiian language, I try to also teach culture, like, you know, to me, I feel like they can't even—they're not even two different things, it is just you want to learn language and you're also going to learn about the culture. You know you're gonna learn about, like, what people do, how they live, how they conduct themselves, cause that is also [emphasis] part of learning Hawaiian language...

Thus, like the other participants, E highlighted the significance of language

and culture as important factors for Hawai'i's revitalization. As E explained, "my concern is trying to preserve ... the Hawaiian thinking, not just the language itself, but like how the language reflects a certain type of way of thinking." E linked the Hawaiian language with "a certain type of way of thinking." This perspective is also demonstrated by E's emphasis on incorporating culture into teaching Hawaiian; language and culture are "not even two different things"; therefore, when one is learning a language, "you're also going to learn about the culture." Similar to the other respondents, E stressed that language and culture were mutually and inextricably linked. E defined culture encompassing "what people do," "how they live," and "how they conduct themselves" and stressed that these cultural elements are all part of learning Hawaiian.

In her response to Question 7, E identified ways that people could be stimulated to become interested in the Hawaiian language. Whereas respondent A suggested that making "Hawaiians as a novelty, as a rare thing," E expressed a different point of view:

> ...people want know [*emphasis*] they're starting to see like we wanna make things in Hawaiian, you know, that everyone speaks so I heard somebody say like, you know, if you...by creating like more create more links with other disciplines [in the] Hawaiian language, you're making more pathway, like career pathways, you know, and for people to speak Hawaiian and do other disciplines, so that's what I think is a, has to be a part of, we can do a lot [*emphasis*] by working from the university out, you know, making it like "oh, it doesn't sound weird to say like, you know, I'm a Hawaiian, you know, Hawaiian architect or something," you know, and that's an actual, like field or like major, so, and then that way, those people who out—they have jobs, you know, and then they're making their own things—more students, or like "hey, I need, I want that degree because that's the one that we need to have here in Hawai'i." So that's like, to me, I think maybe the

> practical application of how we can save it, you know, is by making it, making people see that they need it...

Thus, E proposed make Hawaiian as a daily language that everyone speaks in more natural settings and highlighted the need for more practical ways to stimulate the interest of younger generations, such as "by creating ... create more links with other disciplines [in the] Hawaiian language." As E elaborated, it is important to make "more pathway[s], like career pathways ... for people to speak Hawaiian" in other disciplines." In other words, it was important to expand applications of Hawaiian speech beyond classroom lectures to real world settings such as workplaces in order to maintain its value, motivate the younger generations to use it, and thereby keep the language alive in the society: "the practical application of how we can save it ... is by making it, making people see that they need it."

E finally expressed her perspective on the future of the Hawaiian language in her response to Question 8. Her comments deeply relate to traditional Hawaiian values concerning their environment:

> ...we can jump on the sustainability, you know, movement because that's [a] very Hawaiian to, is to take care of your place because it's the only place that we have, and that, you know, this place also the cultural part is that it...it takes care of us. If you can teach that to people—like that Hawaiian way of thinking that land is not just somewhere you exist, but it also nourishes you, and you nourish it and it's a reciprocal relationship, then, that's—you know, I think you have to tie it to what people know, right, you can't like build it off of a concept that most people don't grow up with...

Thus, in addition to language preservation, the Hawaiian Renaissance movement, or what E called "the sustainability movement" involves efforts "to take care of your place," which she defined as a "very Hawaiian" thing. E

described Hawai'i as "the only place that we have" and stressed that "this place also the cultural part." As she explained, the "Hawaiian way of thinking" emphasizes "that land is not just somewhere you exist, but it also nourishes you, and you nourish it and it's a reciprocal relationship." The land lets people to exist and nourishes them; people nourish the land. This deep connection between language, culture, and land is what E perceived as the authentic Hawaiian worldview and sought to recover, revitalize, and transmit to the next generation.

7. CONCLUSION: The Future of Minority Languages

Confronted with radical historical changes, traditional Hawaiian language and culture faced extinction due to English domination; however, they never completely disappeared under its influence. With the emergence of the Hawaiian Renaissance in the 1970s and 1980s, people began to become conscious of the need to revive their traditions and embrace their ancestry. All of their efforts of the last four decades are coming to fruition in the form of increasingly widespread interest in preserving the Hawaiian language for future generations.

Any language can be considered as an activity or system of communication between human beings; however, languages are not self-sustaining entities. A language can only exist where there is a community to speak and transmit it (Nettle and Romaine 2000). There must be at least one speaker of a language in order for it to be maintained and transmitted to the future generation. In other words, if there is no remaining speakers in the community, then the language will disappear. As Nettle and Romaine (2000: 5) pointed out, "where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger. When languages lose their speakers, they die."

Often, it is English hegemony that has put other languages in precarious positions. In this paper, we have considered the current situation of English domination as a global issue. English is a dangerous threat to many minority languages. Small languages tend to be spoken by a small number of geographically restricted communities, whereas English speakers are widespread and numerous. Moreover, the influence of English domination

extends beyond languages to engulf the cultures of minority groups, and this dual hegemony eventually triggers the loss of traditional knowledge. We assume that a pattern of behavior in a community functions as a part of its culture; any extinction of the way people act is a loss to their culture.

Under linguistic hegemony, many minority language speakers come to view their native language as inferior and abandon their mother tongue due to its perceived uselessness and inconvenience in a globalized world. This may not reflect their true views, but rather is often triggered by an invisible force, such as the worldwide trend of assimilating and adapting to major languages. As Nettle and Romaine (2000: 57) explained, "colonial governments and missionaries commonly used their beliefs about the inferiority of indigenous languages to justify replacing them with European languages such as French or English." Consequently, enormous mutations of language and culture will be invoked by exponential changes in language and culture. As Whorf (1956b: 263) expressed, "a change in language can transform our appreciation of the Cosmos." More critically, Whorf (1956a: 244) warned that:

> ...to restrict thinking to the patterns merely of English, and especially to those patterns which represent the acme of plainness in English, is to lose a power of thought which, once lost, can never be regained. ... those who envision a future world speaking only one tongue, ... hold a misguided ideal and would do the evolution of the human mind the greatest disservice.

How can we think about minority languages or cultures then? The author's analysis of the interview data collected in Hawai'i highlights several significant points concerning the preservation and revitalization of endangered languages: (1) "It is not what we think, but how we act"; (2) "Be active rather than passive"; and (3) "Never stop, keep moving." With regard to the first point, the Hawaiian Renaissance demonstrates the critical need for people engage in action in order to exercise their responsibility for the preservation of their own language, culture,

and land. Regarding the second point, being active is one of the keys to moving forward. Passing the culture accumulated over past generations on to the next generation is necessary to maintain and manage language and maintain social bonds, which relates to the last point. All of interviewees emphasized the critical importance of the younger generations in the survival of Hawaiian language and culture. Stimulation, inclusion, and education for the younger generations are significant; therefore, never stop, keep moving, and always look toward the future.

People need to recognize the problem of preserving their language and culture in the face of English domination and treat this threat seriously before they disappear forever. Taking this case study in Hawai'i as an example, we can glean several suggestions for maintaining or protecting minority, small, or endangered languages and cultures against English domination. This case study can help us to draw a path for the continued existence of minority languages under the worldwide impact of English. Among effective ways to retain the sustainability of endangered, moribund, or "extincting" language (a language undergoing the ongoing process of extinction, the interviewees highlighted the need to: (1) use traditional languages in a daily life; (2) make inherited cultures a habit for the people who own them; and (3) elicit government support in the form of subsidizing civic actions or movements.

This study suggests that the situation in Hawai'i is representative one of the world's most important issues: the sustainability of language and culture versus their eradication under the umbrella English domination. Future research can investigate and collect additional examples among the other Hawaiian Islands or in other areas or countries under the influence of English domination. It is our task as scholars to observe minor, small, or even moribund languages and cultures from the outside, illuminate their importance, and demonstrate how they can be maintained or preserved for the future. We can approach these cases inductively, looking at to derive hypotheses regarding ways to preserve traditional languages and cultures. In this manner, we will be able to more comprehensively grasp the situation of English domination over minor or endangered languages and cultures and work toward ensuring their survival.

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[i] Also see Schmitt and Cox (1992) for the Hawaiian concept of time. They pointed out that Hawaiian has various terminologies for different times of the day.

[ii] Similarly, 21 of the 217 Hawaiian rain and wind terms related to plants. Such terms do treat rain or wind as singular phenomena but rather as parts of nature as a whole; the terms contain and reflect both rain or wind and the place where the rain falls or the wind blows (Shionoya 2007).

[iii] See Kvale & Brinkmann (2009) for more details.

[iv] The teacher discussed some of his efforts. See Wong (2009) for more details.

[v] Hereafter, each respondent is denoted with a letter from A to E. Question numbers 1 to 8 correspond to the questions listed in section 5. The author added underscores to show important points to relating to this study.

[vi] Here, "R" stands for "Respondent" (Interviewee) and "A" stands for "Author" (Interviewer).