

No ke Kākā'ōlelo ma ka Mo'olelo Hawai'i Kahiko a i ka MH 1860

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‘ŌLELO HŌ‘ULU‘ULU / SUMMARY

Nānā ‘ia ma nei ‘atikala¹ nā mana‘o like ‘ole o *kākā'ōlelo* ma nā puke a me nā kolamu nūpepa i kākau ‘ia e kānaka ma mua o ka MH 1861. Ma mua na‘e o ia noelo ‘ana, ho‘ohālikelike ‘ia ka wehewehe ‘ana o ia hua‘ōlelo ma nā puke wehewehe hua‘ōlelo like ‘ole, kahi i laha loa ai ka mana‘o, ua like ‘o *kākā'ōlelo* me ka mana‘o ‘ōlelo Pelekānia ‘o *orator* me oratory. Akā na‘e, ‘a‘ole paha ma laila ka mana‘o nui no nā mea kākau Hawai‘i mua loa.

Hō‘ike ‘ia nā la‘ana he nui mai loko mai o kā Davida Malo *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*,² o nā puke paipala, a me nā kolamu nūpepa i pa‘i ‘ia ma mua o ka MH 1861 (ka makahiki i pa‘i mua ‘ia ai *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* a me *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*). Ma waho na‘e o ka mana‘o ma‘amau ma laila, ‘o ia ho‘i, pili ke *kākā'ōlelo* i ka ‘ōlelo a‘oa‘o no‘eau, ua ‘ō‘ili mua mai ma ia mau kolamu ka mana‘o i hele a laha loa ma hope mai, ‘o ia ho‘i, he pili nō ke *kākā'ōlelo* i ka mākaukau ma ka ha‘i‘ōlelo.

This article³ examines the various meanings of the term *kākā'ōlelo* as encountered in books and articles written or edited by Hawaiians prior to the year 1861. Before considering this evidence, the lexical definitions found in the standard dictionaries are compared in which there is a consensus that the word carries a meaning similar to orator or oratory. This sense, however, is not borne out when we see how the word is generally used by the earliest Hawaiian writers.

Following the examination of the lexical definitions, all examples of the word as used by Hawaiian writers are carefully examined, including those from Davida Malo's *Mo'olelo Hawai'i*, the Hawaiian translation of the Bible (whose word choice was decided by Hawaiian advisors), and articles printed in the Hawaiian-language newspapers prior to 1861, i.e., up until the appearance of *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika* and *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*. While the first two sources, and most of the third, understand *kākā'ōlelo* as an advisor to royalty, it is in some of the newspaper articles that we first begin to see the connection with skilled oratory.

NĀ MANA‘O HO‘OLAUNA

He ‘atikala mua kēia o ka pū‘ulu noi‘i e nānā ‘ia ai ke *kākā'ōlelo* o Hawai‘i mai o kikilo mai i mea e pa‘a mai ai he ‘ike laulā no ia ‘oihana ma nā palena o ka hiki. ‘O ia *kākā'ōlelo* ka mea e kaulana nei i kēia wā he “orator/oratory” (Pukui me Elbert 1986:119); ‘a‘ole nō na‘e pēlā ke ahuwale o ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo i loko o ia ‘oihana mai kahiko mai. He

lāli‘i nō ka ‘oihana kākā‘ōlelo i loko o nā hana ho‘okele aupuni, a e like me ke au ‘ana o ka manawa i mua, pēlā e ‘oi a‘e ai ke ahuwale ma nā palapala kahiko, he mea ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i⁴ no‘eau pū ke kākā‘ōlelo. ‘O kahi nō paha e ‘oko‘a ai kēia noi‘i ‘ana—ke ana ‘ia paha ma ka noi‘i ‘ana i ka *lāuga* a ka Sāmoa a me ka *whaikōrero*⁵ ho‘i a ka Māori o Aotearoa—pākela a keu ke emi ‘ane ‘ole o ka ‘ike hāiki e waiho mai ana no ke kūlana kākā‘ōlelo o ke aloali‘i. (Nānā ‘ia ke aloali‘i kahiko, ‘oi ai, no laila mai ka manana ‘ana o ka ‘oihana kākā‘ōlelo i loko o ka ‘ike me ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.) ‘O ka nui aku o kēia noi‘i a‘u, he ho‘opilipili pū i kēlā ‘ike māiki kēia ‘ike māiki o ke au ‘ana o ka manawa i mua. I mea ho‘i kēia e ‘oi a‘e ai he makili ‘ana a‘e o ka ‘ike no loko mai o nā la‘ana pō‘aiapili mo‘olelo kahiko i ‘ike ‘ia ai ke kākā‘ōlelo i loko.⁶ ‘Oiai pēlā, e pāhola ‘ia auane‘i kēia noi‘i ma ke ‘ano he pū‘ulu ‘atikala kōko‘okolu penei:

1. No ke kākā‘ōlelo a i ka MH 1860 e like me ka mea e kilo ‘ia i loko o nā puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, kā Davida Malo *Mo‘olelo Hawai‘i*, ka unuhina Paipala Hemolele, a pēia ho‘i ma nā nūpepa Hawai‘i kahiko ma mua mai ho‘i o ka MH 1860
2. No ke kākā‘ōlelo ma waena o ka MH 1861–1930 e like me ka mea e kilo ‘ia i loko o ka mo‘olelo o Hawai‘i o ia wā, ka ha‘i‘ōlelo kālaiaupuni, a me ka ha‘ia‘o ‘euanelio
3. No ke kākā‘ōlelo e like me ka mea e ‘ike ‘ia ai ka mākau ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i i loko o ke au ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i hou o kēia wā mai loko mai o ke kilo ‘ana i ka ‘oihana ho‘opāpā a me nā ha‘awina ‘uhane o ka *lāuga* a ka Sāmoa me ka *whaikōrero* a ka Māori o Aotearoa

NĀ MANA‘O MA NĀ PUKE WEHEWEHE

Ua like ‘ole ka helu ‘ana i ka mana‘o o ke kākā‘ōlelo he *orator/oratory* ma nā puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Ma ka papa hua‘ōlelo a ka mikanele Lorrin Andrews (1836:62), wehewehe ‘ia ke kākā‘ōlelo penei, “a counsellor, a lawgiver, a scribe, one skilled in language.” ‘O ia wehewehena mua kai kokoke loa i ka mea i ‘ike ‘ia i loko o nā la‘ana nūpepa kahiko e pili ana i ke kākā‘ōlelo: he mea a‘oa‘o i ke ali‘i, me ke ahuwale ‘ole nō na‘e o ka ‘ao‘ao ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i i loko. ‘Oiai ua hiki ke lololua ka mana‘o ‘o “one skilled in language”—he mea ‘ike i ka ‘ōlelo kahiko e pili pū ana me ka mo‘olelo kahiko; a i ‘ole, he mea ho‘ohana maoli i ka no‘eau o ka ‘ōlelo ma ka ha‘i‘ōlelo ‘ana—‘o ka mea ko‘iko‘i e pili pū ana me kā Andrews, ‘o ia ka MH 1836. He ‘umikumamāono wale nō makahiki ia ma hope mai o ka pae mua ‘ana o ka mikanele mua ma Hawai‘i nei, a ‘oi ai ua ho‘omaka nō ke kāhuli ‘ana o ka lāhui i loko o ka ho‘omana Kalikiano, koe nō na‘e ma ke kālaiaupuni. Pehea lā i loa‘a ai i ua Andrews nei ia wehewehe ‘ana no ke kākā‘ōlelo, he mahu‘i nō na‘e ia no ka pili ‘i‘o nō paha o ke kālena ha‘i‘ōlelo, ‘o ia kekahi hi‘ohi‘ona nui i loko o ka ‘oihana kākā‘ōlelo.

Ma kā Emerson me Bishop nō na‘e (1845:107), helu ‘ia ka *oration* “he olelo i haiia imua o ka ahakanaka”; ka *orator*, “he mea akamai i ka olelo, he kakaolelo”; a me ka *oratory*, ‘o ia “ka oihana olelo i ka aha-kanaka.” Loa‘a ihola i ka mana‘o o Emerson me Bishop mā, he mea ha‘i‘ōlelo ke kākā‘ōlelo i mua o ka ‘aha kākā ma ke ‘ano ha‘ako‘iko‘i ku‘una paha, a ma ke ‘ano mikanele pū paha o ke ‘ano ha‘i ‘euanelio, ‘a‘ole nō na‘e ho‘i mōakāka le‘a. Pīna‘i ana ma kā Andrews o ka MH 1865 (1974:247; na‘u

ka ho'ohiō): "A counsellor; an adviser; a lawgiver; a scribe; one skilled in language; kekahi poe kanaka akamai i ke *kakaolelo*, certain men skillful in judgment"; pēia pū ka loli 'ole o ia mana'o ma ka puka hou 'ana o kā Andrews puke wehewehe ma lalo o ka ho'oponopono 'ana na H. H. Parker (1922:248).

Ma kekahi kūka'i leka uila 'ana nō na'e me ke Kauka Kapali Lyon (20 Mei 2011) i ho'omana'o 'ia ai wau no ka 'olelo wehe na W. D. Alexander (Andrews 1974:14) o ka MH 1865, kahi ho'i i komo ai he 'ike no ke kākā'olelo penei:

Besides the language of every day life, there was a style appropriate to oratory, and another to religion and poetry. This latter is known to but few natives of the present generation, and is fast disappearing. The same thing is taking place in New Zealand and Tahiti.

He kuhi nō ka'u i ka nalo pū 'ana o ka 'olelo kākā'olelo, 'oi ai i ko'u 'ike, he hoa kuilima nō ho'i ia 'ano 'olelo me ka 'olelo mele/hō'omana e pili pū ana. Inā pēlā ihola ia 'oi ai' o no ka 'olelo mele/hō'omana, 'o ka nalo pū ihola nō paha ia o ia mau kaila a 'elua.

'O ka mea ho'ohilikau nō na'e, 'a'ole nō maopopo loa pehea i loa'a ai ia mana'o "oratory" iā Alexander. Inā paha ua 'ike maoli 'o ia no ia welo ha'i'olelo i loko o nā kūpuna 'ike hope loa o ia au; a i 'ole paha, ua ho'opili wale 'o ia i kona 'ike iho no ia mea he "oratory" (he mea ha'i'olelo a he mea ha'i 'euanelio nō paha o ka hale pule) i loko o kona kākau 'ana no ka nalo o ka 'olelo mele/hō'omana Hawai'i? Inā na'e he welo kākā'olelo 'i'o nō o ke 'ano ha'i'olelo ha'ako'iko'i, ma hea kona koe 'ana? He aha 'i'o nō kona 'ano he Hawai'i? 'O kahi mea hilu a'e nō ho'i o kā Andrews (1974:250; 1922:251; na'u ka ho'ohiō), ua ki'i 'ia kā Davida Malo (pa'i 'ia auane'i, 18:51') wehewehe 'ana no ke kālaimoku penei, "One whose advice is valued in managing a people; o ka mea akamai i ke kakaolelo no ke aupuni, he kalaimoku ia." Ma kā Hitchcock (1887:145), 'o ka "haiolelo" kai helu 'ia ma kahi o kākā'olelo no ia mea he *oration*, *oratorical*, a me *oratory*. Ma kā Pukui me Elbert nō na'e (1957:111; 1971:111; 1986:119; aia ke kahaapo kihikihi ma ke kūmole), ma laila i ho'opili hou 'ia ai 'o kākā'olelo me *oratory*: "orator, person skilled in use of language; counselor, advisor; storyteller; oratory; to orate. *Lit.*, to fence [with] words."

E like ho'i me ka mea i hō'ike 'ia ma luna, a e 'ike piha hou 'ia aku ana ho'i ma lalo nei, 'a'ole nō i ahuwale ka hi'ohi'ona ha'i'olelo ha'ako'iko'i i loko o ka 'oihana kākā'olelo ma nā la'ana nūpepa a mo'okalaleo kahiko ma mua ho'i o ka MH 1860. 'A'ole loa wau e hō'ole aku nei i nā 'ike i pa'a mua maila ma ka palapala no ke kākā'olelo (i ahuwale 'ole ho'i kona hi'ohi'ona ha'i'olelo ha'ako'iko'i), 'o ka wā nō na'e ho'i i mōakāka ai ia hi'ohi'ona ha'i'olelo o ke kākā'olelo, aia no loko o ka wā kāhuli o Hawai'i nei i loko o ka ho'omana Kalikiano me ke kālaiaupuni hou o ke 'ano 'aha 'olelo kau kōnāwai a ko waho. (Aia i loko o ka lua o ka pukana o kēia pū'ulu 'atikala nei no ke kākā'olelo e kūkā 'ia ai kēia kumuhana.) Ua pili nō na'e paha pēia ma luna o ke kuana'ike kahiko o ke kākā'olelo 'ana i pa'a 'ole ma ka nui ma ke kākau 'ana a ka po'e kahiko ma mua o ka MH 1860. Eia hou, ma ke 'ano kā'oko'a, 'a'ole pū nō i 'ike ahuwale 'ia ia 'ao'ao mīkololohua nui 'ana o ka 'olelo Hawai'i kākau o ka wā 'akahi a ho'omaka i ia mea he kākau (1834–60 ma ka laulā).⁸ E like me ka holomua o ke au o ka manawa i mua, pēia ho'i ka mīkololohua a'e (ma ke 'ano nui laulā) o ka 'olelo Hawai'i kākau, e like ho'i me ka mea i 'ike 'ia ma ka 'olelo puana'i na N. B. Emerson e pili ana iā Davida Malo penei:

Malo is said to have been a man of eloquence and power as a speaker. There is little evidence of his possession of these qualities as a writer, and one is led to seek for an explanation of this fact.⁹

He pili nō paha kēia puana‘ī na Emerson i ke ‘ano ‘ōlelo o kā Malo kākau ‘ana i kāna mo‘olelo Hawai‘i kahiko, ‘oiiai, ua ‘ike ‘ia nō ke ‘ano mīkololohua ‘ana o kāna leka iā Kīna‘u II me Mataiao Kekūanā‘o‘a (1837) a me kekahi o kāna mau kanikau—kekahi no ke Ali‘i Ka‘ahumanu (*Ka Lama Hawaii*, 8 ‘Aukake 1834) a kekahi aku no kā Malo wahine (*Ka Nonanona*, 18 Malaki 1845).

Eia ma lalo nei he pakuhi hō‘ulu‘ulu no ke kākā‘ōlelo i loko o nā papa hua‘ōlelo / puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i penei:

Pakuhi 1. No ke kākā‘ōlelo i loko o ka papa hua‘ōlelo / puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i

PAPA HUA‘ŌLELO / PUKE WEHEWEHE	MEA KĀKAU	WEHEWEHENA NO KE KĀKĀ‘ŌLELO
<i>A Vocabulary of Words in the Hawaiian Language</i>	Lorrin Andrews (1836)	“A counsellor, a lawgiver, a scribe, one skilled in language.”
<i>He Hoakakaolelo no na Huaolelo Beritania, i Mea Kokua i na Kanaka Hawaii e Ao ana ia Olelo</i>	John Smith Emerson me Artemas Bishop (1845)	<i>oration</i> ~ “he olelo i haiia imua o ka ahakanaka” <i>orator</i> ~ “he mea akamai i ka olelo, he kakaolelo” <i>oratory</i> ~ “ka oihana olelo i ka aha-kanaka”
<i>A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language to which is Appended an English-Hawaiian Vocabulary and a Chronological Table of Remarkable Events</i>	Lorrin Andrews (1865/1974)	“A counsellor; an adviser; a law-giver; a scribe; one skilled in language; kekahi poe kanaka akamai i ke <i>kakaolelo</i> , certain men skillful in judgment.”
<i>An English-Hawaiian Dictionary; with Various Useful Tables: Prepared for the Use of Hawaiian-English Schools</i>	Harvey Rexford Hitchcock (1887)	<i>oration</i> ~ “hai-olelo” <i>oratorical</i> ~ “hai-olelo” <i>oratory</i> ~ “ka hai-olelo”
<i>A Dictionary of the Hawaiian Language</i>	Lorrin Andrews (1922, Henry H. Parker)	“A counsellor; an adviser; a law-giver; a scribe; one skilled in language; kekahi poe kanaka akamai i ke <i>kakaolelo</i> , certain men skillful in judgment.”
<i>Hawaiian-English Dictionary</i>	Mary Kawena Pukui me Samuel Hoyt Elbert (1957)	“Orator, person skilled in use of language; counselor, advisor; storyteller; oratory; to orate. <i>Lit.</i> , to fence [with] words.”
<i>Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian</i>	Mary Kawena Pukui me Samuel Hoyt Elbert (1971)	“Orator, person skilled in use of language; counselor, advisor; storyteller; oratory; to orate. <i>Lit.</i> , to fence [with] words.”
<i>Hawaiian Dictionary: Hawaiian-English, English-Hawaiian (Revised and Enlarged Edition)</i>	Mary Kawena Pukui me Samuel Hoyt Elbert (1986)	“Orator, person skilled in use of language; counselor, advisor; storyteller; oratory; to orate. <i>Lit.</i> , to fence [with] words.”

NO KĀ DAVIDA MALO¹¹

Aia ma loko o kā Malo *Mo'olelo Hawaii* i kekahi mahu i ko'iko'i e pili ana i ke kākā'ōlelo (Malo pa'i 'ia auane'i, 18:8, 51; 21:27).¹² Eia ma lalo nei nā paukū nona ia 'ike me ona mau paukū kākō'o (*ibid.*, 18:55, 74–75; 21:25–26; ma ke kūmole mai nō nā kahaapo kihikihi), kai kīpo'o 'ia, e mōakāka hou ai:

MOKUNA XVIII: NO NĀ ALI'I A ME NĀ KĀNAKA. . . .

8. 'O ia nō ka mea e mau ai ka noho ali'i 'ana o nā ali'i, a e mau ai ho'i ke kūmo'o ali'i, 'a'ole e pau i ka hōkai 'ia. He mea aloha nui 'ia nā ali'i noho pono a hana pono; he mea mālama 'ia ko lākou mo'o'ōlelo a me nā mo'okū'auhau e ka po'e no'ono'o a akamai i kākā'ōlelo. . . .

51. 'O ka mea pule i kā ke ali'i heiau, he kahuna pule ia. 'O ka mea kuhikuhi heiau, he kuhikuhipu'uone ia. 'O ka mea nānā lani, he kilo lani nō ia. 'O ka mea akamai i ke kaua, he ka'a kaua ia. 'O ka mea akamai i ke kākā'ōlelo no ke aupuni, he kālaimoku ia. 'O ka po'e 'ai 'āina, he kono[hi]ki ia. . . .

55. 'O ka po'e akamai i ka 'ōlelo a me ka hana maoli, he no'eau ia, he no'iau kahi inoa. He nui nā mea i kapa 'ia ma kahi ali'i, 'a'ole e pau i ka ho'ākāka 'ia. Pēlā ke 'ano i ko nā ali'i noho 'ana a me kānaka i noho pū me nā ali'i. . . .

74. Ua kapa 'ia ka po'e kālaimoku ma kēia mau inoa 'ekolu: 'o ke kanaka ho'okahi ali'i 'ai moku i noho ai 'o ia, he kanaka ia "no Lanika'e"; inā 'elua ali'i 'ai moku i noho ai, he kanaka ia "no Pohokano"; inā 'ekolu ali'i 'ai moku i noho ai, he kanaka "no Makou." 'O ia ka po'e akamai loa: ua kapa 'ia lākou he maiau, he po'e akamai i kālaimoku, no ka mea, ua nui nā ali'i [i] noho ai, a 'ike i ka mea i hewa [ai] kekahi ali'i a me ka mea i pono ai kahi ali'i.

75. No laila i maopopo ai i ka po'e kālaimoku ka mea a kekahi ali'i i hana ai a ho'ohewa 'ia ma ia mea, a me ke ali'i i hana i kekahi mea a ho'opono 'ia ma ia mea. Inā i ho'oha'aha'a nā ali'i ma lalo o maka'āinana, 'o ia ka pono loa.

MOKUNA XXI: NO NĀ HEWA ME NĀ PONO. . . .

25. Eia kekahi mea i ho'opono 'ia, 'o ke kahuna pule i nā akua ki'i. Ua mana'o nui 'ia, he mea mana nā kāhuna. Ke noi aku i ke akua ki'i i nā mea [a] lākou e noi ai, e hā'awi mai nō ke akua iā lākou [i] ia mau mea.

26. 'O ka po'e kilo lani kekahi mea i ho'opono 'ia no ke kuhikuhi 'ana i ka lā he'e ma ke kaua 'ana; 'o ke kuhikuhipu'uone kekahi i ho'opono 'ia no ke kuhikuhi i ka heiau pono e he'e ai ka hoa kaua.

27. 'O ka po'e kākā'ōlelo kekahi i ho'opono 'ia no ke alaka'i pono 'ana i ke ali'i; 'o ka po'e koa kekahi i ho'opono 'ia no ka ikaika i ke kaua 'ana, me ka ho'opio 'ana i nā hoa kaua.

Ma kēia mau ho'opuka 'ana e hō'oi'a'i'o 'ia ai ke kūlana mea nui nō o ke kākā'ōlelo i loko o ke aloali'i. Ho'ohui 'ia ke kākā'ōlelo ma nā kūlana mea nui hou aku o ke aloali'i: he kahuna pule, he kuhikuhipu'uone, he kilolani, he ka'a kaua, a he kākā'ōlelo ho'i. Mōakāka nō ko ke kākā'ōlelo kūlana, he pili a'oa'o a hoa kūkā no ke ali'i ma nā mea e

ho‘okele ‘ia ai ke aupuni, e like me ka mea i unuhi ‘ia e Emerson (Malo 1951, 75:27)—he *counsellor* ke kākā‘ōlelo ma kā Malo mo‘olelo penei:

The *kaka-olelo*, or counsellors who advised the *alii* in matters of government, were a class much thought of; so also were the warriors who formed the strength of the army in time of battle and helped to rout the enemy.

Ma muli nō paha ia o ko ke kākā‘ōlelo pa‘a noelo ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo hanauna me nā mo‘okū‘auhau o nā ‘ohana ali‘i e lawelawe ai, pēlā ho‘i e hiki ai ke a‘oa‘o pono aku i ke ali‘i ma nā ku‘ia kupu a‘e me nā hihia aupuni e ho‘oponopono ‘ia. Pēlā pū nō ho‘i paha e kūkulu ai a e ho‘opilipili pū aku ai ke kākā‘ōlelo i kāna mau ‘ōlelo a‘oa‘o no ka ho‘ouka kaua me ka ‘ole; a inā nō e holo i ke kākā‘ōlelo kahi me ke ‘ano o ka ho‘ouka kaua ‘ana, ma muli ho‘i ia o ka mea i ho‘omana‘o ‘ia ma nā mo‘olelo ku‘una o kikilo mai. ‘Elua nō na‘e a‘oa‘o hilu loa o kā Malo kākau ‘ana: (1) hō‘ike ‘ia ke kūlana a‘oa‘o o ke kākā‘ōlelo, ‘a‘ohe na‘e hō‘ike pono ‘ia ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo; a (2) kapa ‘ia ke kākā‘ōlelo akamai he “kālaimoku.”

Ma ko Malo (pa‘i ‘ia auane‘i, 38:2) ho‘opili ‘ana i ke kino o ke aupuni me ke kino o ke kanaka, helu ‘ia nō ke ali‘i nui ke po‘o, ‘o ke kahuna o ke ki‘i ka lima ‘ākau, a ‘o ke kanaka kālaimoku ka lima hema. A no laila, ma nā ‘ōuli o ka lani na ke kahuna me ka ho‘omana‘o pū ‘ana i nā mo‘olelo kahiko o ka ‘āina na ke kālaimoku, ‘o ia ka mea e alaka‘i ‘ia ai ke ali‘i nui o ke aupuni. “Pēlā nō ke kālaimoku, alaka‘i nō i ke ali‘i nui ma ke kaua, me ka mālama i nā mea o kona aupuni me ka maka‘āinana o kona aupuni iho” (*ibid.*, 38:4). He ‘elua nō na‘e a‘oa‘o o ia mālama aupuni ‘ana na ke kālaimoku, “o ka mālama i nā ali‘i kekahi, ‘o ka mālama i nā maka‘āinana kekahi. . . . Ma ka ho‘oponopono mua i kēia mau mea ‘elua, pēlā nō ia e ho‘oponopono ai” (*ibid.*, 38:27). Pa‘a iholā i ke kālaimoku ka ‘ike pehea penei:

‘Elua kumu nui a ka po‘e kālaimoku; ‘o ko lākou a‘o ma nā ‘ōlelo akamai a ka po‘e kālaimoku kahiko, a ‘o ko lākou noho mau me ia ali‘i ‘ai moku a make aku, noho hou aku a make aku. A ‘ike pono i ke ‘ano o kēlā ali‘i ‘ai moku[,] kēia ali‘i ‘ai moku, me ko lākou lohe mai i ke ‘ano o nā ali‘i ‘ai moku kahiko. (*ibid.*, 38:97)

‘O kēlā mau ‘ōlelo ili o ka wā kahiko mai a i ke kālaimoku (kākā‘ōlelo) e waiho ana—me ka hiki pū ho‘i ke hua‘i he ‘ōlelo kūpono e like me ka mea e pono ai ka pō‘aiapili a pilikia paha e kū aku ana—‘o ia ka mea e no‘eau ai ke a‘oa‘o ‘ana o ke kālaimoku i ke ali‘i nui, a pono ai ho‘i ke kū ‘ana o ke ali‘i nui i ka moku (*ibid.*, 38:98–105). Inā pēlā, ‘o ia ho‘okele ‘ana i ka “‘oihana ali‘i ‘ai moku” ka mea e “kākā‘ōlelo” ai.

‘Oiai hō‘ike maila ‘o Malo (*ibid.*, 38:27–86) no kauwahi papa hana o nā ‘ano like ‘ole e komo ai ke ali‘i nui, ‘o nā kuleana ho‘oponopono i ia mau papa hana ke kuleana ho‘okō o ke kālaimoku penei:

- Ka hō‘oia ‘ana i ka mo‘okū‘auhau o kēlā me kēia e pili pū ana me ke ali‘i i mea e pa‘amau ai ke kūlana a me nā kākō‘o i ke ali‘i nui a puni
- Ka māhelehele ‘ana i ka ‘āina no kēlā me kēia ali‘i i mau ke kūpa‘a pū ‘ana, a ulu ‘ole ai ho‘i ke kipi ‘ana
- Ke alaka‘i ‘ana i ka huaka‘i ka‘apuni a ke ali‘i ma ka ‘āina me ke kai
- Ka ho‘omalū ‘ana i nā ho‘okupu a maka‘āinana no nā ‘āina mai o nā maka‘āinana me nā ali‘i, me ka hō‘oia pū ‘ana i nā hale papa‘a e mālama ‘ia ai

- Ka ho'okele 'ana i nā 'aha ho'olaule'a e komo ai ke ali'i nui
- Ka hō'ōia 'ana i ka pa'a pono o ke ola kino o kānaka i mākaukau no ka wā e ho'ouka kua ai ma ke kauoha honua 'ana mai nō a ke ali'i

Ma kēia mau ho'oponopono 'ana me ka ho'okele 'ana i ia mau papa hana, ma laila nō paha e komo ai ke kākā'ōlelo 'ana o ke 'ano ha'i'ōlelo ha'ako'iko'i. 'O ia ho'i, ma ka ho'oholo 'ana i ka pono o ke ali'i nui ma ia mau papa hana i waena o ko ke aupuni, 'o ia paha kekahi pō'aiapili e kākā'ōlelo ai ma ka ha'i'ōlelo 'ana. Ke no'ono'o a'e, a kū a'e ke kālaimoku a 'ōlelo ma ka 'ao'ao o ke ali'i nui, he 'ōlelo nō ma kekahi 'ano kūlana, 'a'ole ho'i he 'ōlelo wale.¹³ Kapa pū 'ia ke kālaimoku he kākā'ōlelo, 'oiai, 'a'ole 'o ia he mea pa'a wale nō i ka 'ike mo'olelo o ka wā kahiko, pono pū nō na'e e 'oaka kona waha i ke a'oa'o i ke ali'i nui, i nā ali'i ma lalo ona, i ko ke aupuni 'oko'a. A he kaila nō paha e ho'oholo 'ia ai ia a'oa'o 'ana, ia kuahaua 'ana: ma ka mikolololehua o ka ho'okā'au 'ana paha e kākā'ōlelo ai a pili pono ka 'ōlelo i ke kūlana me ka 'ōiwi la'a kapu o ke ali'i nui. (E 'ike 'ia ma 'ō a ma 'ane'i o nā pāpā'ōlelo o kā Desha [(1920–24) 1996], kā Fornander [1916–20], kā Ho'oulumāhiehie [(1905–6) 2006], kā Ho'oulumāhiehieika'onimālieap ualilialanaikawai [(1909–10) 2009], kā Kamakau [1996], a me kā Peleiohōlani [n.d.] i mau la'ana o ia 'ano kaila 'ōlelo me ka ho'omohala mana'o a ke kahuna.)

'O kekahi 'ao'ao hilu a'e o ke kālaimoku, 'a'ole wale nō 'o kona 'ike no'eau ma ka 'oihana ho'ouka kua, 'o kona kapa pono'i pū 'ia nō na'e kekahi he "ka'a kua" (Malo pa'i 'ia auane'i, 38:79–82). He mea hoihoi kēia kaulapa 'ana, 'oiai, ua helu ka'awale 'ia ke kūlana ka'a kua, ka'awale pū aku ke kākā'ōlelo, ka'awale pū aku ke kahuna, a pēlā aku nō e like me kā Malo i helu ai ma luna. (Pēia ho'i ka nui o ia 'ano helu ka'aka'awale 'ana i nā kūlana kahuna ma ka nūpepa kahiko e kilo hou 'ia ma kekahi pukana o kēia pū'ulu 'atikala nei). 'O ka helu ka'awale nō na'e i ke kākā'ōlelo, a laila, hui pū i loko o ke kālaimoku i ka wā e ho'okele ai i ka pono o ke aupuni, pēia pū paha e kaulapa ai a he ka'a kua i ka wā e a'oa'o ai no ka 'oihana ho'ouka kua iho nō.¹⁴ Pehea lā ka pa'a o ke kūlana ma luna o ke kanaka, a pehea lā ka loliloli paha o nā kūlana o ke kanaka e like me ka wā o ka makahiki me ka pō'aiapili e komo aku ai? 'O ia ho'i, i ka wā e pono ai ke kahuna 'ike loa i ka mo'olelo kahiko me ka ho'opono pū i ke kū'auhau o kēlā me kēia, he kākā'ōlelo (a he kū'auhau nō paha o ke 'ano kaulapa); a i ka wā e ho'okele ai i ke aupuni ma lalo o ke kauoha a ke ali'i nui, kaulapa aku nō a he kālaimoku; a i ka wā e lawelawe ai i ka 'oihana ho'ouka kua, kaulapa hou aku nō a he ka'a kua. Pehea lā ka 'i'o me ka 'ole o ko'u ho'omohala 'ana pēlā, hō'ōia mai nō na'e 'o Malo (*ibid.*, 38:91) no ke kālaimoku, "'O ka po'e kālaimoku, alaka'i nui i ke ali'i nui ma kēia hana 'o ke kua."

E like pū me ka mea i helu 'ia a'ela ma luna, 'o ia pū nō ka mea nāna e alaka'i ana i ka pono o ke ali'i nui ma nā 'ano a pau o kona noho 'ana; a komo pū nō ke alaka'i 'ana aku i ka nui aupuni pēlā ma ka mea e kō ai ka pono o ke ali'i nui. Aia ho'i i loko o kā Hooulumāhiehie (*Ka Na'i Aupuni*, 11 Ianuali 1906) he hō'ōia no ke kaulapa o ke kūlana kākā'ōlelo, kilo aupuni, me ke kālaimoku penei:

E hoomaopopoia hoi ma keia wahi, o Keawemauhili, oia ke kakaolelo a me ke kilo aupuni nui a Kiwalao. . . .

Ua oleloia, mamua ae o ko Kalaniopuu make ana, ua kauoha oia i kona hoahanau a kanaka kalaimoku hoi, oia o Keawemauhili e hoihoi ia kona mau iwi ma . . . Honaunau.

Hō‘ike pū maila ‘o Hooulumahiehie (*Ka Na‘i Aupuni*, 2 Iulai 1906) penei:

I ko laua [Keaweheulu mā lāua me Kamanawa] nei ikeia ana mai, ua hoikeya aku la ka lohe ia Keoua no ko laua nei hiki ana’ku ma ke ano he mau elele mai a Kamehameha aku.

O Kaieiea hoi, ko Keoua kakaolelo a pu-kaua nui, oia kai olelo ae ia Keoua, e pepehi ia o Keaweheulu a me Kamanawa; a wahi a ua Kaieiea nei i olelo aku ai ia Keoua: “Ke make laua nei, make keya mau kakaolelo a mau kalaimoku noeau o ko hoa paio; a he lilo wale mai no ko ke Aupuni a pau o Hawaii nei malalo ou, e kuu Lani.[”]

‘O kekahi hi‘ohi‘ona hoihoi no ke kālaimoku, ‘o ia ke ‘ano o kona ‘imi malū ‘ana i ka ‘ike e pono ai kona ali‘i nui (Malo pa‘i ‘ia auane‘i, 38:76–78), e ho‘opalai aku ana i “ka noho hanohano a me ka noho ki‘eki‘e, ‘a‘ole makemake i ka waiwai nui me ka ‘āina nui” (*ibid.*, 38:92–93). He mea nō paha ia ‘ano lawena e hiki ai i ke kālaimoku ke pili pono i ka ‘oia‘i‘o o ka nohona e mālama ‘ia ai ke ali‘i nui a me ko ke aupuni, me ka lilo ‘ole ho‘i i loko o ke kuko pōmaika‘i e waiwai wale iho ai.

Ma ka ‘imi ‘ana i ke kūkā malū, ma laila kekahi mana‘o hoihoi, ‘oia, ‘akahi nō a kākau mai ‘o Malo no “nā” kālaimoku (‘o “ke” kālaimoku a hiki i kēia, ‘oia, ua hiki pū nō ke kuhi ‘ia ke kino helu nui o ke ka‘i helu kahi ‘o “ke” ma kauwahi pō‘aiapili). I ka wā e hui pū ai ke/nā kālaimoku me ke ali‘i nui, ua kapa ‘ia kēia hui ‘ana he ‘aha kūkā malū; pau, ‘aha ‘olelo ke ali‘i nui me nā ali‘i ‘ē a‘e a pau ma lalo ona. ‘O ka ‘aha kūkā malū na‘e, he wā ia e a‘oa‘o ai ke kālaimoku i ke ali‘i nui e ‘ike ‘ia ai ke au no‘ono‘o o kona po‘e ali‘i kākō‘o ma lalo ona. Inā paha ua like nā mana‘o o nā ali‘i me ko ka ‘aha kūkā malū, he hō‘ailona nō paha ia no ka maka‘ala pū ‘ana o nā ali‘i kākō‘o i ka pono nui o ke aupuni me ka mō‘ī; inā ua ‘oko‘a nā mana‘o e kū‘ē‘ē ana paha me ko ka ‘aha kūkā malū, he mea ia e maka‘ala ai ke ali‘i nui i ka mana‘o kipi i waena o nā ali‘i kū‘ē‘ē paha. Ma kēia kākau ‘ana a Malo (*ibid.*, 38:75–78) e ‘ike ‘ia ai kekahi ‘ano ka‘awale ‘ana o ka ‘aha kūkā malū me ka ‘aha ‘olelo. Eia ma lalo nei he mau la‘ana kākō‘o na Kamakau me Desha e ho‘ākāka hou mai ana no ke komo pū ‘ana o ke kākā‘olelo i loko o ia pō‘ai kūkā malū (he wā kapu ho‘i no nā ali‘i me nā kāhuna wae wale nō), he “‘aha ‘olelo,” he “‘aha ‘ula,” a he “kūkā malū,” me ka “‘aha kūkā ‘aha ‘ula” penei:

- Kamakau 2001:212:18: I ka wā kahiko o ke aupuni, ‘a‘ole e hiki wale aku nā ali‘i, a me ka po‘e kaukuali‘i a me ka po‘e ho‘okāpuhi o ka mō‘ī a me nā ali‘i i loko o ka ‘aha ‘olelo, ua kapu loa. ‘O ka pono a me ka hewa i laila, ‘o ke ola a me ka make, ‘o ka mō‘ī a me nā kuhina, a ‘o nā ali‘i nui i ‘ae ‘ia, ‘o lākou wale nō. A inā e makemake ka mō‘ī a me nā ali‘i i ka po‘e kākā‘olelo me ka po‘e kālai‘āina, a me kekahi po‘e akeakamai e komo mai e kūkā pū no kekahi mea pohihihi, ua pono nō ia, he kuakahi ko lākou kūkā pū ‘ana i nā manawa a pau. Akā, ‘o ka mō‘ī wale nō ke ‘aha ‘olelo kūkākūkā malū me ka po‘e kākā‘olelo, kālai‘āina, kū‘auhau, ka po‘e kāhuna, a me ka po‘e akeakamai, a ‘o ka mea i holo i kēia po‘e akamai a me ka mō‘ī a laila, na ka mō‘ī e ha‘i aku i ka ‘olelo ha‘i i nā ali‘i, a ‘o nā ‘olelo huna, o ka mō‘ī, o kēia po‘e akamai, ua nalo ia ‘olelo, a ma ka ho‘okō ‘ana e ‘ike ‘ia ai i waho.
- Desha (1920–24) 1996: puke 2, 69: Ma kēia manawa i noho ai ua ‘aha ‘ula nei ‘o ia ho‘i ka ‘aha hui o nā ali‘i me nā kāhuna, nā kākā‘olelo, a me nā kilo kuhikuhipu‘uone, ua ho‘oholo ‘ia ihola ‘o Kame‘eiamoku me Kamanawa ke hele i Ka‘ū, a e hui ho‘i me Keōuakū‘ahu‘ula. ‘O ka mana‘o o kēia ho‘oholo ‘ana o ka ‘aha kūkā ‘aha ‘ula o nā ali‘i

me nā kāhuna, ‘o ia nō ka ‘ike o nā ali‘i ‘ai moku ‘elua, a e ho‘opau ‘ia ai paha ka noho kū‘ē‘ē ‘ana ma waena o lāua.

- Kamakau 1996:153:19: Ua koho aku nō ho‘i ‘o Kamehameha i kekahi po‘e akamai a no‘ono‘o ho‘i i ka ho‘onohono‘o ‘ana o ka mo‘olelo o nā kaua o ka wā kahiko, a i po‘e kākā‘ōlelo ho‘i no kona aupuni, ‘o ia ho‘i ‘o Kauakahiakahāola, Kai, Kapalaoa, a me Ka‘aloakauhi. ‘O lākou ihola ko Kamehameha po‘e hoa kūkā malū e ‘imi ai i kēlā a me kēia mea e pono ai ke aupuni. ‘O Kālaikuahulu kekahi ali‘i kākā‘ōlelo a kahuna ho‘i i komo i loko o kā Kamehameha kūkā malū ‘ana.¹⁵

He mea ho‘omoeā kēia na‘u o ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo (he mīkololohua nō ho‘i) e ho‘opuka ‘ia i mua o ke alo o ke ali‘i.¹⁶

Aia pū nō ho‘i kekahi la‘ana hilu a‘e i loko o kā Hooulumahiehe (*Ka Na‘i Aupuni*, 3 ‘Okakopa 1906) kākau ‘ana no ko Kamehameha ho‘ākoako ‘ana i kona “aha kakaolelo” penei:

I ke ao ana ae, hoakoako mai la oia [Kamehameha] i kona aha kuka, oia hoi kona aha kakaolelo, a hoike aku la oia imua o lakou i na hipuu lau [ua hiō ma ke kūmole] e hoike ana i ke ola, a o ka make paha o ka lawehala; a i ole, i ka hewa a ka me [sic: me ka] hewa ole o ua lawehala nei.

Pehea lā, ke no‘ono‘o a‘e, ia pō‘aiapili ‘aha kūkā malū a ‘aha ‘ōlelo ho‘i i honua e lohe ‘ia ai ka ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i a ke kākā‘ōlelo?

NO KA PUKE PAIPALA

Eia ma kēia māhele nei e hō‘ike‘ike ai he pakuhi no kahi i ‘ike ‘ia ai ke kākā‘ōlelo i loko o ka puke paipala Hawai‘i o ka MH 1839 me ka MH 1842. Ua ki‘i ‘ia e a‘u e ho‘okūkū i ka unuhi e waiho ana ma ka puke paipala Pelekānia (mana King James) e ‘ike ai i ke ‘ano i unuhi ‘ia ai a he kākā‘ōlelo ma nā mana ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Ua kōkua pū mai ke Kauka Jeffrey “Kapali” Lyon (he lae‘ula ma nā ‘ōlelo Hebera me ka ‘Aramaika, kūka‘i leka uila, 17 Kepakemapa 2014) ma ka ho‘okūkū ‘ana i ia ‘ike a‘u i ‘ohi ai a i loko o ka ‘ōlelo mole o ka paipala, ‘o ka ‘ōlelo Hebera nō ho‘i, ma ka mea e ‘ike le‘a ‘ia ai ka mana‘o kumu i unuhi ‘ia ai a he kākā‘ōlelo ma ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i.

Pakuhi 2. No ke “kakaolelo” i loko o ka Baibala Hemolele o ka MH 1839/1842

Baibala Hemolele 1839/1842	Pelekānia (King James)	Ho‘okūkū ‘ōlelo Hebera
Samuela II 18:16; ‘Oihanaali‘i I 18:15	recorder	ריכזם (<i>mazkār</i>)—he kākau‘ōlelo. He pa‘i hewa kēia. ‘O kākau‘ōlelo nō ka mana‘o o ia hua‘ōlelo Hebera. (E nānā iā Nā Ali‘i I 4:3, Nā Ali‘i II 18:18, a me nā wahi ‘ē a‘e i loa‘a ai ‘o <i>mazkār</i> .)
Samuela II 15:12 ‘Oihanaali‘i II 25:16 Ezera 4:5	counsellor king’s counsellor counsellor	עזרי (עזר <i>‘ētz</i> Heb.) / עזר (עזר <i>‘ētz</i> Aram.)—he mea a‘oa‘o. Ezera 7:14 (Aram.); Ezera 7:15

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Pakuhi 2. *Continued*

Baibala Hemolele 1839/1842	Pelekānia (King James)	Ho‘okūkū ‘Ōlelo Hebera
Ezera 7:14–15, 28 Ezera 8:25 Ioba 3:14 Ioba 12:17 Isaia 1:26 Isaia 3:3 Isaia 19:11 Isaia 41:28 Mika 4:9 Nahuma 1:11	counsellors counsellors counsellors counsellors counsellors counsellor counsellors counsellor counsellor counsellor	(Aram.) Mika 4:9 (“kou [i.e., ka ‘āina ‘o Iuda] kakaolelo”)
Isaia 11:2; 16:3; 40:13	counsellor (spirit of counsel); counsel (take counsel, executive judgement); counsellors	הַצֵּעַ (‘ <i>etzā</i>)—ka ‘ōlelo a‘oa‘o a ka mea a‘oa‘o akamai.
Halelū 108:8	lawgiver	מִקְרָקָה (<i>meḥoqēq</i>)—ke ko‘o o ke ali‘i. Ua maopopo hewa kēia paukū i ka mea unuhi, iā Bingham nō paha. Me he mea lā, ua kuhi hewa ‘o ia, ‘o <i>mea</i> <i>kau kānāwai</i> ka mana‘o o ka hua‘ōlelo Hebera. E nānā iā Halelū 108:7–8 ma ka New Revised Standard Version kahi i unuhi ‘ia kēia hua‘ōlelo, ‘o ia ‘o <i>scepter</i> .
Daniela 3:2–3	counsellors	אֲרִיִּיִּיִּיִּי (‘ <i>tīphtāyyē</i> Aram.)—ka mea a‘oa‘o i ka mō‘ī.
Daniela 6:7	counsellors	אֲרִיִּיִּיִּיִּיִּי (‘ <i>haddāvrayyā</i> Aram.)—nā hoa pili loa o ka mō‘ī [‘a‘ole akāka loa ka mana‘o].
Mataio 1:11; 22:35 Luka 10:25, 27 Luka 11:46, 52–53 Luka 14:3 Tito 3:13	lawyer lawyer (Master, Jesus) lawyers / scribes lawyers lawyer	νομικός (<i>nomikos</i>)—loea ma ke kānāwai. Luka 10:27 (ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς . . . pane maila ia [‘a‘ole i unuhi ‘ia ‘onomikos]) Tito 3:13 (1839: kakaolelo; 1842: loio)
Nā ‘Oihana 19:35 (luna kakaolelo) Korineto I 1:20	town clerk scribe	γραμματεὺς (<i>grammateus</i>)—loea ma ke kānāwai.
Luka 23:50 ‘Oihana Ali‘i I 27:32–33	counsellor counsellor / scribe / king’s counsellor	βουλευτής (<i>bouleutēs</i>)—mea a‘oa‘o. 1839–42 קְעִי (‘ <i>yō‘ētz</i>)—mea a‘oa‘o. No‘u iho, no ka huikau i ka loa‘a ‘ana o <i>kākau</i> <i>‘ōlelo</i> me <i>kākā‘ōlelo</i> ma ka paukū ho‘okahi, ua ho‘ololi ‘ia ‘o <i>kākā‘ōlelo</i> (1839), ‘o ia ‘o <i>kuhina</i> (1842). 1839: A o Ionatana hoi kekahi makuakane o Davida, he kakauolelo

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Pakuhi 2. *Continued*

Baibala Hemolele 1839/1842	Pelekānia (King James)	Ho‘okūkū ‘Ōlelo Hebera
		(yō‘etz = mea a‘oa‘o) oia, a he kanaka naauao, a he kakaolelo (<i>sōphēr</i> = kākau‘ōlelo). 1842: A o Ionatana hoi kekahi makuakane o Davida, he kuhina (yō‘etz = mea a‘oa‘o) oia, he kanaka naauao, he kakaolelo (<i>sōphēr</i> = kākau‘ōlelo).

‘O ka nui “kakaolelo” i kilo ‘ia ma nā puke paipala Hawai‘i kahiko, he mea a‘oa‘o a he mea ‘ike loa ma nā kānāwai ho‘omana. ‘Oiai penei, ‘a‘ole nō ahuwale ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i i loko o kēia mau la‘ana nei.

NO KA NŪPEPA HAWAI‘I KAHIKO A I KA MH 1860

‘O ka mea hilu nui i loko o ka waihona nūpepa Hawai‘i kahiko a i ka MH 1860, he ho‘okahi wale nō wehewehe pōkole loa ‘ana i ke ‘ano o ke kākā‘ōlelo e mana‘o ‘ia ai he mea pū ia o ka ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i na George L. Kapeau ma kāna kōlamulamu ‘o “No ka Wehewehe Ana” (*Ka Hae Hawaii*, 12 Malaki 1856) penei:

“E Hawaii o Keawe! E Maui o Kama!! E Oahu o Kauhewa!!! E Kauai o Mano!!!!”

O ka hai olelo ana o Kamehameha IV, ua hai oia ma na huaolelo ano nui wale no; o ka olelo ia a ka poe kakaolelo a me na kuauhau, a he olelo ao, no ka poe elemakule.

‘Oiai he ‘elima nō māhele wehewehe nui o kā Kapeau kolamu nūpepa nei, minamina ho‘i ka pili ‘ole o ke koena aku o ia mau wehewehena i ka ha‘i‘ōlelo. Ho‘omana‘o ‘ia ho‘i ka noho ali‘i aupuni ‘ana o Kamehameha I; a ili i luna o Kamehameha II, III, a i ka mea nāna ka ‘ōlelo e kau a‘ela i luna, ‘o Kamehameha IV nō ho‘i. ‘O kēia nō paha ke kuhia nui ho‘okahi i pili pono i ka ‘ao‘ao ha‘i‘ōlelo o ke kākā‘ōlelo. Aloha wale ka ho‘omau ‘ole ‘ana o ua Kapeau nei ma ka wehewehe hou ‘ana aku no ke ‘ano ‘ōlelo a ka po‘e kākā‘ōlelo.

Aia ho‘i ma ka pāku‘ina 1 o lalo nei he ‘umikumamākolū nō puka ‘ana o kākā‘ōlelo ma ka nūpepa kahiko a i ka MH 1860. ‘Oiai ho‘i pēlā, ua helu pākahikahi ihola wau i ia mau pukana a pau me ka ho‘ākāka pū ‘ana he mana‘o nui e pili pū ana. Ua ‘ike ‘ia nō ho‘i ke kākā‘ōlelo ma ‘ehā ‘ano pō‘aiapili nui:

1. Ma ka mea e pili ana i ke aloali‘i kahiko, he ‘ekolu nō puka ‘ana—he ho‘olaha no ka make ‘ana o ke Kākā‘ōlelo ‘Auwae, ka makua kāne hanauna ho‘i nāna i a‘oa‘o iā Davida Malo ma kona mau ‘ike no ke aloali‘i; he koho ‘ana na ke Ali‘i Kamehameha i kona po‘e akamai i ke kākā‘ōlelo me ke ka‘a kua i mau hoa ‘ōlelo nona; a he kākā‘ōlelo kai komo i loko o ke mele i haku ‘ia no ka Haku o Hawai‘i.

2. Ma ka mea e pili ana i ko nā ‘āina ‘ē, he ‘elua nō puka ‘ana—he ho‘olaha no ka hala ‘ana o ka “Loio Kuhina Wiliama Wereta,” (Hon. William Wirt), ke kākā‘ōlelo nui o ‘Amelika Hui Pū ‘Ia; a he ho‘olaha pū no ka hala ‘ana o ko Palani luna koa nui o “Lafaete” (Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette) i ‘ike ‘ia ai ‘o ia he “kaulanaolelo naauao” a he “kakaolelo akamai.”
3. Ma ka mea e pili ana i ka ha‘awina Kalikiano, he ‘eono nō puka ‘ana—he mau mo‘olelo pōkole e ‘ike ‘ia ai ka ha‘awina Kalikiano o loko e ho‘onani ‘ia ai ke Akua o ke au hou o Hawai‘i nei.
4. A ma ka mea e pili ana i ka ‘oihana kālai‘āina o ke ‘ano kuana‘ike no waho mai, he ‘elua nō puka ‘ana—he pū‘ulu ‘atikala kēia i mea e waiwai ai ka ‘ike o kākā‘ōlelo ma ke kālai‘āina. (He pili nō ko kēia māhele me ka māhele no ka ha‘awina Kalikiano, ‘oiai, na ke Akua mai kēia ‘ike e waiwai ai ka noho ‘ana o kākā‘ōlelo.) No nā la‘ana o lalo nei o ka pāku‘ina, ‘oiai ua hiki ke ‘ike ‘ia he pili o ke kākā‘ōlelo me ke akamai ma ka ‘ōlelo ‘ana (he a‘oa‘o paha, he ho‘okele aupuni paha), ‘a‘ole na‘e i ahuwale le‘a a hiki i kēia ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i i loko.

‘ŌLELO PANINA

He ‘atikala ho‘omaka kēia o ka pū‘ulu ‘atikala kōko‘okolu e pili ana i kaua mea he *kākā‘ōlelo* ma ka mo‘olelo Hawai‘i kahiko. Ma kēia kākāu ‘ana, ua kilo ‘ia ke kākā‘ōlelo ma nā papa hua‘ōlelo me nā puke wehewehe ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, a pēia ho‘i ma ka mo‘olelo Hawai‘i kahiko a i ka MH 1860, i mea e ho‘okolo ai i ke kumu nona mai ke kākā‘ōlelo ma kona ‘ano he *orator/oratory*. E like ho‘i me ka mea i ‘ike ‘ia ma ka pakuhi 1 o luna nei, ‘a‘ole nō i lōkahi ikaika nā mana‘o wehewehe a pau ma luna o ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i o ke kākā‘ōlelo a hiki i kā Pukui me Elbert o kēia au e holo nei (1957, 1971, 1986). ‘O ua mau papa hua‘ōlelo/puke wehewehe nei ka mea e ‘ike hikiwawe ai i nā mana‘o nui i wehewehe ‘ia ai ke kākā‘ōlelo ma ka holomua ‘ana o ka ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i i loko o ke ao kākāu.

Pau, ua kilo ‘ia ke kākā‘ōlelo i loko o ka mo‘olelo kahiko—kā Davida Malo mo‘olelo kahiko, nā pa‘ina Paipala Hemolele o ka MH 1839/1842, a pēia ho‘i ma ka nūpepa Hawai‘i kahiko. Ma kā Malo i ‘ike ‘ia ai ka mea nui o ke kākā‘ōlelo ma kona helu pū ‘ia me nā kūlana kahuna hanohano ‘ē a‘e (he kahuna pule, he kuhikuhipu‘uone, he kilolani, he ka‘a kaua, he kākā‘ōlelo), oki loa ke kaulapa ‘ana i loko pū o ke kūlana ho‘okele aupuni ‘o ke kālaimoku. I loko nō na‘e o ko Malo helu ‘ana i ke kākā‘ōlelo ma kona mau kuleana like ‘ole he nui wale, ‘a‘ole nō ahuwale ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i i loko (‘oiai, ua ho‘omoeā ‘ia nō e a‘u he mau pō‘aiapili e kākā‘ōlelo ai ke kākā‘ōlelo ma ke ‘ano ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i).

E pili ana ho‘i i nā pa‘ina Paipala Hemolele (1839/1842), ua ho‘okolo ‘ia nā paukū nona mai ke kākā‘ōlelo i loko o ka mana paipala ‘ōlelo Pelekānia, a noelo hou aku i loko o ka mana paipala ‘ōlelo Hebera. I mea ho‘i kēia e ‘ike mua ai i ke kahua ‘ōlelo paipala i unuhi ‘ia ai a he kākā‘ōlelo ma ka mana paipala ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i. Ma ka nui aku, ua ‘ike ‘ia ke kākā‘ōlelo he *recorder, counsellor (king’s counsellor, spirit of counsel), lawyer/law-giver, scribe*, a he *town clerk*, mau nō na‘e ho‘i ke ahuwale ‘ole o ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i.

E pili ana ho‘i i nā nūpepa Hawai‘i kahiko, a ma waho aku o kā Kapeau ‘atikala e ho‘ākāka aku ana i ke ‘ano o ka ha‘i‘ōlelo a ke Ali‘i Nui Kamehameha IV (e nānā hou

i ka māhele o luna no ka nūpepa Hawai‘i kahiko; *Ka Hae Hawaii*, 12 Malaki 1856), ‘a‘ole nō i ‘ike ahuwale ‘ia ka hi‘ohi‘ona ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i i loko. Ua hiki nō ho‘i ke ho‘omoeā aku i ke ‘ano e kākā‘ōlelo aku ai ma nā hana ho‘okele aupuni (no ‘Auwae, Wereta, Lafaete), a pēia ho‘i ma nā pō‘aiapili e kākā‘ōlelo ai ma nā mana‘o nui o ke aupuni o ke Akua o ka lani, ‘a‘ole nō na‘e i akāka mai ke kūlana ha‘i‘ōlelo pēlā.

E ho‘omau ‘ia.

Pāku‘ina 1. No ke “kakaolelo” i loko o ka nūpepa Hawai‘i kahiko a i ka MH 1860

He kākā‘ōlelo ma ke aloali‘i kahiko:

Pakuhi 4.¹⁷

<i>Ka Lama Hawaii</i>	17 Kekemapa 1834	He ho‘olaha no ka hala ‘ana o ke alii‘i iā ia ‘o Wailuku, ‘o Noa ‘Auwae. He mea ko‘iko‘i kēia ‘ike ‘ia o ke kākā‘ōlelo ‘ana o ua ‘Auwae nei, ‘oiāi, ‘o ua ‘Auwae nei nō ka makua kāne hanauna nāna i a‘oa‘o aku iā Davida Malo ma kona mau ‘ike no ke aloali‘i. “Ua maopopo i na‘lii a me kanaka a pau o keia pae aina, ua make ke kanaka noonoo, naauao, akamai, a me ka ikaika i kana hana ana. Mamua, i ka wa o Kamehameha, ua ao ia i ke <u>kakaolelo</u> , a he kuauhau oia mamua, a mahope mai a hiki i ka wa o kona make ana, nui kona ikaika ma ka imi ana i na mea e pono ai ke aupuni.”
<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>	27 ‘Okakopa 1858	Ma loko o ka “Moolelo Hawaii: Ke Au ia Kamehameha mai ka Makahiki 1794 a i ka Makahiki 1831. No Ko Kamehameha Hoo-ponopono ana i Kona Aupuni a me Kona Noho Alii ana” (Helu 28). Helu ‘ia ho‘i ke kākā‘ōlelo, ‘o ia kekahi i ho‘ākoakoa ‘ia e Kamehameha penei, “Penei ka hana ana o kona aupuni, hookahi no alii nui maluna o ka aina, o Kamehameha, a o kona mau kuhina a me na alii a pau malalo iho ona; a ua koho aku o Kamehameha i kekahi poe kanaka akamai i ke <u>kakaolelo</u> , a me ke kaakaua, i mau hoa olelo nona.”
<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>	25 Iulai 1860	Aia ma “He Mele no ka Haku Hawaii” ke kākā‘ōlelo penei: He Inoa keia nou e Kalanikauikeaouli, A Iolani no kou makuakane A Emma--lani no kou makuahine Ua paa i ka pau o manu, O ka mana ia o ke <u>Kakaolelo</u> , Kulia mai ke Kahuna iluna i ka Heiau He ‘Lii no Waiauia, He <u>Kakaolelo</u> no Lanikaula, He Kaula Mana

He kākā‘ōlelo ma ka ‘āina ‘ē:

Pakuhi 5.

<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	18 Pepeluali 1835	He ho‘olaha no ka hala ‘ana o ko Ferani lunakoa nui ‘o Lafaete (Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette). “He kaulanaolelo naauao loa ia. He <u>kakaolelo</u> akamai. He lunakaua koa loa. He mea ku e ia Bonepate a me na’lii hooluhihewa i kanaka. He mea ia i aloha i kanaka i hooluhihewaia ma na aina a pau.”
<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	12 Nowemapa 1834	He ho‘olaha no ka hala ‘ana o ka Loio Kuhina William Wirt (aia ke kahaapo ‘ānu‘unu‘u ma ke kūmole). “Wiliama Wereta, ke <u>kakaolelo</u> nui {Hon. W. Wirt} no Amerika Huipuia. Ua make ia. Ua kaulana kona akamai, a ua mahaloia kona pololei.”

He kākā‘ōlelo Kalikiano:

Pakuhi 6.

<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	16 Kepakemapa 1835	He ‘atikala ‘o “Ka Episetole a Paulo i Ko Roma” o ka māhele “Ai o ka La” no ka ‘ike ‘ekalesia o ke Akua e like me kā Paulo (Mokuna 11:30–36; 12:1–13). Ma ka māhele “He mau Ninau,” aia ma ka nīnau 34: “Maopopo anei ia kakou ke ano a pau o kona manao? Ua lilo anei he kanaka i <u>kakaolelo</u> , i kuhina paha, i hoakukakuka no ke Akua?”
<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	22 Nowemapa 1837	Na Davida Malo ‘o “No ka Hiki ana mai o Ko ke Akua Aupuni.” E pili ana ho‘i i ka lālani pule o ka Pule Alaka‘i a ka Haku, “E hoanoia kou inoa; e hiki mai kou aupuni,” he ‘atikala kēia e ‘a‘a ana i ka mea heluhelu e nānā i ka hiki ‘ana o ke aupuni o Kamehameha i mea e hō‘oia‘i‘o ai i ka hiki ‘i‘o ‘ana mai o ke aupuni o ke Akua. Ma kēia me kēia na‘i ‘ana o Kamehameha, ho‘onoho ‘o ia i kahu ‘āina nona, he ali‘i ‘ai moku ho‘i, i kuhina nona. “Alaila, koho aku oia i mau <u>kakaolelo</u> , i mau kilo, a i poe koa, a i mau luna, imi oia i poe akamai, a i poe maiaua, i poe noonoo, o lakou no kona poe hoa e imi pu ai i ka pono o kona aupuni, a pau keia mau mea i ka hanaia.”
<i>Ke Kumu Hawaii</i>	21 Nowemapa 1838	No Lahainaluna mai kēia ‘atikala ‘o “Ka Pinao Kuhihewa.” He mo‘olelo ho‘opono Kalikiano kēia, kahi i helu ‘ia ai kēlā me kēia ‘ano paukū paipala i mana‘o kākō‘o. Ua helu ‘ia ‘o Iesū Kristo he kākā‘ōlelo (<i>wonderful counsellor</i>).

Continued on next page

Pakuhi 6. *Continued*

<i>Ka Lama Hawaii</i>	1 Ianuari 1841	“Na Manao Hope o kekahi Poe Hoomaloka a me kekahi Poe Manaio”: “IOANE NISEBETA [John Nisbet] kekahi <u>kakaolelo</u> no Gelasego ma Sekotia ke [sic: he] kanaka hoomaloka ia. I ka makahiki 1681 i ka wa i puhii ai kekahi kahuna maikai, o Karegila [Donald Cargill] ka inoa, hoomaewaewa mai no ua <u>kakaolelo</u> la. He elemakule o Karegila a ua poohina, aka, aole i manao mai ke kakauolelo [sic: <u>kakaolelo</u>] i ka nui o kona mau makahiki, hoomaewaewa mai no.”
<i>Ka Elele</i>	2 Pepeluali 1849	“Na Hoike e Ikeia’i o na Olelo i Kapaia o ka Palapala Hemolele, o ka Olelo ia a ke Akua: Olelo IV—He Oiaio ka Moolelo Euanelio.” E noke ana kēia ‘atikala ma ka ho‘olaha ‘ana aku i ke ‘ano ho‘opunipuni ‘ole o ke Kauoha Hou i kākau ‘ia “e na Lunaolelo i ka wa i oleloia mai, aole he palapala hoopunipuni ia na na kanaka e i kakau ai i kekahi wa mahope. A ke hoike aku nei [ka mea kakau], he moolelo <i>oiaio</i> [ua hiō ma ke kūmole] no hoi ia.” He ‘eono ho‘i mana‘o nui kai hō‘ulu‘ulu ‘ia e ka mea kākau e hō‘oia ana i ka pono o ke Kauoha Hou, a ma ka mana‘o ‘ehā i puka ai kahi ‘ōlelo no ke kākā‘ōlelo penei, “O ke ano o ka poe i huli mua mai i ka aoao Kristiano kekahi mea e akaka ai kona oiaio. Me ka naau kue lakou i hoolohe mua ai i kana mau kauoha, hoomaopopo nae a hiki ole ke hoopale aku i kona oiaio; he poe akamai lakou a naauao, na hakumele, na <u>kakaolelo</u> , na akeakamai, na kanaka o kela hana keia hana mai ke kauwa a i ka poe i noho ma ke alo o ke alii. Kulou lakou imua o ka oiaio o ka euanelio a apo iho la, me ke kupaa a hoomanawanui i ka wahawahaiia mai, a hoinoia a hoomaauia mai a i ka make.”
<i>Ka Elele</i>	21 ‘Apelila 1849	“Na Hoike e Ikeia’i o na Olelo i Kapaia o ka Palapala Hemolele, o ka Olelo ia a ke Akua: Olelo VI—Ka Hokoia o na Olelo Wanana.” “Ua nana iho nei kakou i na wanana o ka Baibala, a ke holo nei kakou e hoomaopopo i ko lakou hokoia mai, i mea e paa ai ko kakou manaio.” E like me kona hoa ‘atikala nūpepa o luna pono nei, he mea kēia e noke ana i ka hō‘oia’i’o i nā wānana wae o ka puke paipala. Ua helu ‘ia ‘o Iesū Kristo he kākā‘ōlelo.

He kākā‘ōlelo o ka ha‘awina kālai‘āina hou:

Pakuhi 7.

<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>	8 Iulai 1857	“No ke Kalaiaina—No. 1: O ka Hoakaka ana.” He ‘atikala ho‘omau kēia no ka hā‘awi ‘ana mai o ke Akua i mea e waiwai ai kōnaka a pau, a no ia kumu ka mea nui o ke kālai‘āina. Kilo ‘ia ma kēia ‘atikala nei nā la‘ana kahiko ma ka mea e hō‘oia ana i ka pono kālai‘āina o ke au hou: “Nolaila, he mea nui ke kalaiaina. ua [sic] nui no ke ano o ia hua. O ka lepo kahi e mahiai ai ke kanaka, he aina ia. O ka moana, kahi e lawaia ai, he aina ia. O ka pakuai, he aina ia. O ke kalaiwaa, he aina ia. O ke kukulu hale, he aina ia. O kela mea keia mea e waiwai ai na kanaka he nui, ua kapaia ia mea, he aina. O ka hooponopono ana i na aina, i mea e waiwai ai, ua kapaia ia mea e na <u>kakaolelo</u> kahiko, o ke kalaiaina.”
<i>Ka Hae Hawaii</i>	25 Nowemapa 1857	“No ke Kalaiaina—Helu 20: No ka Mahele ana i ka Hana.” E like me ka hoa ‘atikala o luna pono nei, he ho‘omau kēia i ka noke i ka mea nui o ke kālai‘āina ma ka māhele ‘ana i ka hana o kēlā ‘ano kēia ‘ano penei: “He mea mau no ma na aina a pau, ke mahele i kekahi mau hana. Okoa ka hana a na kane, okoa ka hana a na wahine ma na aina a pau. Ina holo ka waa ma ka moana, okoa ka mea hookele, okoa ka poe hoe. Ina holo pu na kanaka i ka lawaia, okoa ka hana a kekahi, okoa ka hana a kekahi. Mai ka wa kahiko mai okoa ka hana a ke alii nui, okoa ka hana a na kiaaina, okoa ka hana a na konohiki, okoa ka hana a na makaainana. Mai ka wa kahiko mai, ua kaawale ka hana a ke kahunapule, kaawale ka hana a ke kahuna lapaau, ua kaawale ka hana a ke kahuna kalai, ua kaawale ka hana a ka poe <u>kaka olelo</u> , kaawale ka hana a ka poe kuauhau.”

Papa Hua'ōlelo

Pakuhi 8.

ha'ako'iko'i	Rhetorically complex (vocabulary, grammar, style, often highly poetic and metaphoric in content).
helu kahi	Singular (ma ka hahai 'ana i ka hua'ōlelo 'o <i>helu nui</i> .)
honua	Milieu; a place or situation particularly suitable to a particular language, form of language, or cultural practice.
kuana'ike	Perspective, point of view (MK).
kuhia	Reference, note, as in a book or research paper (MK).
lawena	Behavior; <i>lawena ho'oili mo'olelo</i> —customary way in which stories were passed on; <i>lawena 'ōlelo Hawai'i</i> — characteristic(s) of Hawaiian language.
la'ana	Example (MK).
mikolololehua	Fluid and flowery high register of language (e nānā hou aku iā MK)
mo'okalaleo	Literature or literary (MK).
ha'ako'iko'i	Rhetorically complex (vocabulary, grammar, style, often highly poetic and metaphoric in content).
helu kahi	Singular (ma ka hahai 'ana i ka hua'ōlelo 'o <i>helu nui</i> .)
honua	Milieu; a place or situation particularly suitable to a particular language, form of language, or cultural practice.
kuana'ike	Perspective, point of view (MK).
kuhia	Reference, note, as in a book or research paper (MK).
lawena	Behavior; <i>lawena ho'oili mo'olelo</i> —customary way in which stories were passed on; <i>lawena 'ōlelo Hawai'i</i> — characteristic(s) of Hawaiian language.
la'ana	Example (MK).
mikolololehua	Fluid and flowery high register of language (e nānā hou aku iā MK)
mo'okalaleo	Literature or literary (MK).

NOTES

1. 'O kēia ka makamua o 'ekolu 'atikala e pili ana i ke kākā'ōlelo Hawai'i. Ma nā 'atikala ma hope aku, e kilo 'ia ana nā hi'ohi'ona o ke kākā'ōlelo, 'o ia ho'i ka mākaukau ma ka ha'i'ōlelo Hawai'i.

2. No ka 'ōlelo o kā Davida Malo *Ka Moolelo Hawaii*, ua nānā 'ia 'o *The Mo'olelo Hawai'i of Davida Malo, Vol. II, Text and Translation*, e kapa pōkole 'ia ana 'o *Mo'olelo Hawai'i* ma kēia 'atikala nei.

3. This is the first in a series of three articles on Hawaiian oratory. The two subsequent articles will focus on the specific features that trace out traditional Hawaiian concepts of eloquent speechmaking.

4. E pili ana ho'i i ia mea he "ha'i'ōlelo ha'ako'iko'i," he 'elua a'u hua'ōlelo i mohala mai loko mai o ko'u wā noi'i me ka ho'ā'o me ke a'o i ka ha'i'ōlelo: he *ha'i'ōlelo ku'una* a ma hope

mai he *ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i*. Ma ko‘u ‘ike, ua hele nō a like ka mana‘o nui o ia mau hua‘ōlelo ‘elua, ‘o ia ho‘i, he kaila ha‘i‘ōlelo nona ke ‘ano ku‘una o ka ‘ōlelo, he ha‘ako‘iko‘i (he ‘ano ‘ōlelo i pili aku i ke kaila mele, ‘a‘ole he kamakama‘ilio o kēlā lā kēia lā). Ma ka hāiki nō na‘e, ua haku mua wau iā *ha‘i‘ōlelo ku‘una* i ke kapa ‘ana i ke kaila o ka ha‘i‘ōlelo a‘u e ho‘omohala ana a e a‘o ana ma nā makahiki ho‘omaka o ka‘u hana. I mea ho‘i kēia e ‘ike ‘ia ai ka ‘oko‘a o ka‘u kaila e ho‘oikaika ana mai ka ha‘i‘ōlelo ma‘amau o ka papa ho‘oka‘a‘ike Haole. A hala akula he mau makahiki, a komo aku nō i loko o ko‘u wā noi‘i a kākau pepa lae‘ula, ua haku akula wau iā *ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i* i hua‘ōlelo laulā no ka *oratory* o ke ‘ano ‘o‘ole‘a a ko‘iko‘i e like me ka‘u e ho‘omoeā a‘e ana no ke kākā‘ōlelo ‘ana.

5. ‘O ka *lāuga* ka ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i Sāmoa, ‘o ka *whaikōrero* ka ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i Māori o Aotearoa.

6. No loko mai kēia ‘atikala hō‘ano hou nei o ka mokuna 3 o ka‘u pepa puka lae‘ula iho nei (Perreira 2011). Ua hiki nō ho‘i ke kilo aku i nā mana‘o piha hou aku ma laila.

7. ‘Oiai aia nō ke ho‘oponopono ‘ia nei nā hi‘ohi‘ona hope o kēia pa‘ina hou na Langlas me Lyon i kā Malo, i pa‘a pono ‘ole ai ho‘i ka helu ‘ao‘ao a hiki i kēia, e kuhi ‘ia ka mokuna me ka paukū ma ke kahaapo penei: 18:51 (mokuna:paukū).

8. E nānā hou aku i kā ho‘omanawanui (2014), kā Nogelmeier (2010), me kā Silva (2004).

9. Ua akāka loa iā Emerson, ‘oko‘a ka pae ‘ōlelo o kā Malo ha‘i‘ōlelo, ‘oko‘a kā ia ala kākau. ‘A‘ole na‘e i maopopo iā ia ke kumu no ia ‘oko‘a. I ia manawa, ‘o ke mele, ‘o ke kākā‘ōlelo ma ke alo ali‘i, a me ka ha‘i‘ōlelo nā wahi kūpono e hō‘ike a‘e ai i kahi pae ‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i. ‘O ke kākau na‘e, he ho‘opili ia i ke kama‘ilio. Ua loli loa ia mana‘o ma hope o ko Malo hala ‘ana aku.

Ma ke kūka‘i leka uila ‘ana me Kapali Lyon (20 Mei 2011) i hō‘ike ‘ia mai ai no ia puana‘ī. Penei ho‘i kāna kuhia: The Emerson Collection, Box 2, Folder EMR 45, Huntington Library, San Marino, California. E nānā pū aku i ka ‘atikala ‘o “Make o Leihulu ma Kapalakiko” (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 27 Malaki 1914:2) no ke kapa ‘ia ‘ana o Malo he kākā‘ōlelo penei, “He kanaha-kumamaono na makahiki o Mrs. Leihulu Clark, ma kona manawa i make aku la, a oia ka moopuna pono i David Malo, ke kakaolelo kaulana o Hawaii nei i ke au i hala aku la.”

10. Aia nā kahaapo kihikihi o kēia pakuhi ma ke kūmole.

11. I mo‘olelo piliolana no ua Malo nei, e nānā i kā Arista (1998).

12. E nānā hou aku i kā Malo (1987:39:8, 44:51, 57:27; 1951:54:8, 59:51, 75:27).

13. Aia ho‘i i loko o kā Shore (1982:241–42) kākau ‘ana no ka *tulāfale* ‘he mea ha‘i‘ōlelo ha‘ako‘iko‘i Sāmoa’ a me ke *ali‘i* ‘he ali‘i Sāmoa’ ho‘omana‘o like ‘ia ke kūlana o ia *tulāfale* i mua o kona *ali‘i* penei: “Originally, the distinction may not have been so clearly formalized as it is now, and the *tulāfale* were simply the privileged attendants and ministers of the king or *tupu*. The relation of *tulāfale* to *ali‘i* is that of function to form, or the execution of authority to the origin or seat of that authority. The orator is a prime minister to the *ali‘i*, carrying into effect his orders.”

14. Ma kahi wehewehe ‘ana a *Kalimahāuna* no ke ‘ano hoa kūkā o ke kākā‘ōlelo, pēia ka ho‘ohui ‘ana i ke kākā‘ōlelo me ke ka‘a kua penei, “Penei ka hana ana o kona aupuni, hookahi alii nui maluna o ka aina, o Kamehameha, a o kona mau Kuhina a me na alii a pau malalo iho ona; a ua koho aku o Kamehameha i kekahi poe kanaka akamai i ke kakaolelo, a me ke Kaakaua, i mau hoa olelo nona” (*Kalimahāuna*, *Ka Hoku o ka Pakipika*, 27 Malaki 1862). No ka ho‘ohiō ‘ia o ka inoa ‘o *Kalimahāuna*, ho‘ohiō ‘ia pēlā e ‘ike ‘ia ai ka‘u kuhi i ka pela hō‘ano hou.

15. No ua Kālaikuahulu nei, e nānā hou aku i kā Kamakau (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 26 ‘Aukake 1865) a i kā ‘Ī‘ī (*Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 30 ‘Okakopa 1869). Eia ke kuhi aku nei i kā ‘Ī‘ī nei, ‘oiai, ‘o kēia kekahi o nā pukana ‘elua wale nō o ka hua‘ōlelo ‘o *kākā‘ōlelo* i loko o kā ‘Ī‘ī kākau ‘ana.

16. I la‘ana laulā, ‘oiai aia kēia ‘ano ‘ōlelo no‘eau a ho‘okā‘au nō ho‘i ma ‘ō a ma ‘ō o ka mo‘olelo Hawai‘i e ho‘omoeā ‘ia a‘e ai he ‘ōlelo kākā‘ōlelo, ke ho‘omana‘o nei au i kā Malo (pa‘i ‘ia auane‘i, 31:18) no ke ‘ano nane o ka ‘ōlelo a ke kaula i mua o ke ali‘i aupuni; i ke kaila ‘ōlelo na Keawemauhili no Kamehameha e ‘ō‘ū ‘ia ai ka maka o ka wauke oi ‘ōpio no kona ‘ike ‘ana i “ke kulana ame na ouli o Kamehameha ia wa, e hoke ana he koa a he hiapaiole aku ana

oia no Hawaii nei” (Hooulumahiehie, *Ka Na’i Aupuni*, 25 Kekemapa 1905); a no kā ke Kahuna Kaleopu’upu’u i ke Ali’i Kahekili no ka “wāhi ka mākāhā na ka i’a nō e pi’i” (Kamakau 1996:21). (Aia pū i loko kā Ho’oulumāhiehie [(1909–10) 2009:124–26] he la’ana ho’omīkolohua maika’i o ka ‘ōlelo kahuna “i ka ihu o ka pua’a” i mua o ke Ali’i Kaweloleimakua.) Ke ho’omoeā a’e nei he ‘ōlelo kākā’olelo ma loko o kēia ‘ano la’ana, ‘oiai, ua hiki nō ho’i ke ho’opuka ‘oko’a aku i ka mana’o me ka ma’alahi loa (‘ō’ū i ka maka o ka wauke oi ‘ōpio = e pepehi iā Kamehameha i kēia wā o kona kamali’i ana; wāhi ka mākāhā na ka i’a nō e pi’i = lanakila loa ana ko Kahekili ‘ao’ao ma ke kaua ‘ana). Ma muli nō na’e ho’i o ke ‘ano ‘ōlelo i mua o ke kapukapu o ke ali’i, hele nō ho’i a no’eau ke ‘ano o ka ‘ōlelo a ma ‘ō aku o ke ‘ano ‘ōlelo ma’amau o kauhale. (I wehewehena no loko mai o kā ‘Ī’i no ke ‘ano o ke aloali’i, e nānā i kāna “Hunahuna Moolelo Hawaii,” *Ka Nupepa Kuokoa*, 31 Iulai 1869.)

17. Na’u nō i kahalalo iā “kakaolelo” ma nā la’ana a pau e hikiwawe ai ka ‘ike ‘ia.

18. E nānā hou aku iā “Scotland’s Killing Times” (scotlandskillingtimes.com/wp/?cat=963).

19. ‘O ia ho’i ‘o *Māmaka Kaiao: A Modern Hawaiian Vocabulary* na ke Kōmike Hua’ōlelo, pa’i ‘ia e University of Hawai’i Press, 2003.

20. ‘O ia ho’i ‘o *Māmaka Kaiao: A Modern Hawaiian Vocabulary* na ke Kōmike Hua’ōlelo, pa’i ‘ia e University of Hawai’i Press, 2003.

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