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'OHU'OHU 'O KAHAKULOA KU'U KULĀIWI

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
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IN

GEOGRAPHY

AUGUST 1999

By

Katrina-Ann Rose-Marie Kapā'anaokalāoikeola Oliveira

Thesis Committee:

Brian J. Murton, Chairperson

Mary G. McDonald

Sam L. No'eau Warner

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THESIS COMMITTEE

Sean J. Muehlen
Chairperson

Van L. Nien Huan

Mary S. McDonald

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved grandfather, Ned Kalawai'anui Nākoa, who passed away without knowing that a work of this nature would be written by his *mo'opuna*. His lifelong dedication to and love for Kahakuloa has inspired me to return to my *kulāiwi*, my native homeland, to learn more about my *kūpuna* and *'āina*.



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ABSTRACT

Place names have a rich history. Through the study of place names, one can learn a wealth of information about a place, its landscape, and its people. By using Kahakuloa, Maui as an example, I demonstrate the ways in which place names and language contribute to our understanding of the past.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgments.....	v
Abstract.....	vi
List of Figures.....	xi
Chapter 1: Interpreting a Hawaiian Place.....	2
Introduction	2
Place Names and Geography.....	5
What is “Place”?	5
Place Names in Geography.....	6
Place Names and Indigenous Peoples.....	11
A <i>Māori</i> Place Name Study.....	11
Studies of Place Names in Hawai‘i.....	11
Place Names and Language.....	18
Reclaiming Our Identity Through Place Names and the Politics of Language.....	18
The Power of Language	20
Language is Power.....	20
Place Names as Symbols of the Past and Indicators of the Future.....	22
Place Names as Extensions of Our <i>Kūpuna</i>	23
Conclusion.....	25
Chapter 2: From Present to Past: From Experience to the Records	26
Introduction	26
Kahakuloa Today.....	26
Traditional Lands: <i>Moku</i> and <i>Ahupua‘a</i>	32
The <i>Māhele</i> of 1848.....	37
The <i>Māhele</i> and Kahakuloa.....	43
Kahakuloa in the Mid-Nineteenth Century	54
Personal Introduction	54
Landuse and Landscape from the Records.....	55
Sacred Places	57

Kahakuloa in the Mid-Twentieth Century as Remembered by the Residents	61
<i>Akua Lele</i>	61
Electricity.....	62
Farming.....	62
' <i>Auwai</i>	63
Packing.....	63
Fishing	63
Fishing Methods	63
Crab.....	65
<i>Hihīwai</i>	65
<i>Limu</i>	66
' <i>Ōpae</i>	66
' <i>O'opu</i>	66
' <i>Opihi</i>	67
<i>Pipipi</i>	68
<i>Kapu Fish</i>	68
Food Preservation	68
Market.....	69
Prison.....	69
Rain	69
Recreational Activities	69
Road.....	70
Salt Gathering	70
Washing Clothes	70
Conclusion.....	71
Chapter 3: Places in the Names	72
Introduction	72
Place Names and Protocol.....	73
Protocol and Kahakuloa Place Names	73
Obstacles Associated with Place Name Translations.....	81

Place Name Categories.....	85
Categories of Kahakuloa Place Names	85
Place Names Associated with the Ocean (excluding sea animals)	86
Place Names Associated with People.....	89
Place Names Associated with Animals	89
Place Names Associated with Caves, Cliffs, and Other Geographic Features	91
Place Names Associated with Plants.....	94
Place Names Associated with Sacred Spaces	97
Miscellaneous Place Names.....	98
Place Names with No Known Translations.....	101
Summary of Place Name Translations.....	101
Distribution of Place Names.....	102
Kahakuloa in <i>Mo'olelo</i>.....	103
Introduction.....	103
Myth and Legend	103
Kahakuloa in <i>Mele</i>	106
Kupu Ekeeke Oili i ka Malie.....	107
Hulihia ke One o Kahakuloa	108
E Ho'i na Lehua o Kahakuloa.....	109
O Kaukini Kai Kahakuloa.....	109
Hana Ekeeke i ka Ipu a ka Makani	110
Oli Pa-u	113
Ike ia Kau-kini, He Lawaia Manu	116
Namahana-Ka Malu Io Iani, Maka o Kelii.....	117
Nani Lahaina i ka Ua Pa'upili	118
He Mele-Haluapo Wailuku.....	122
Ka Mele Makani a Kua-Paka'a.....	123
Pau ka Makemake ia Maleka.....	130
Pukaka na Lehua.....	135
Huli Kina'u.....	136

He Mele no Hōkūle‘a	137
Kahakuloa	139
Summary of Kahakuloa in <i>Mo‘olelo</i>	140
Conclusion	140
Chapter 4: Native Knowledge as a Lifelong Commitment	144
Introduction	144
Research and Indigenous Peoples	144
Place Names as Maps of the Past	145
Place Names and Oral Histories	146
The Role of Place Names and Language for the Future of Hawai‘i	148
Conclusion	149
Appendix	151
Bibliography	152

LIST OF FIGURES

1.	Relief Illustration of Kahakuloa Bay and Valley	1
2.	Photograph of Road to Kahakuloa	27
3.	Photograph of Kahakuloa Valley	29
4.	Photograph of <i>Lo'i</i>	30
5.	Illustration of the <i>Moku</i> of Maui	34
6.	Illustration of the <i>Ahupua'a</i> and <i>'Ili</i> of Kahakuloa.....	36
7.	Illustration of the <i>Māhele</i> Land Awards for Kahakuloa.....	46
8.	Native Register	47
9.	Native Testimony	48
10.	Foreign Testimony.....	50
11.	Land Commission Award	51
12.	Photograph of Kealahula	64
13.	Photograph of Waihonu.....	65
14.	Illustration of Valley Place Names.....	77
15.	List of Kahakuloa Place Names	78
16.	Illustration of Coast Place Names	87
17.	Photograph of Ka'ale'ale.....	88
18.	Photograph of Pu'u Koa'e	94
19.	Photograph of Wainaiio	96
20.	Photograph of Ned Kalawai'anui Nākoa's Cross Overlooking the Valley.....	150



Figure 1. Computer generated shaded relief illustration of Kahakuloa Bay and Valley.

CHAPTER 1 INTERPRETING A HAWAIIAN PLACE

INTRODUCTION

From names of continents to names of remote villages, place names are everywhere. Many people do not give place names a second thought. Yet, we encounter them on a daily basis via advertisements, newspapers, street signs, and maps. We refer to place names when giving directions, filling out documents which ask for our address, and telling someone where we are from. It is extremely rare for a day to go by in which a person does not refer to at least one place name.

Place names link people to their environment. Myths and familial bonds with particular places are established through the creation of place names.¹ These names (particularly those with historical, political, religious, or cultural ties) have a significant role to play in both deciphering and perpetuating a people's history.² According to Saul B. Cohen and Nurit Kliot, place names are integral to the process by which people attach meanings to place.³ Place names are a means by which people are able to claim a space as their own.

This thesis concerns Hawaiian place names in Hawai'i. In ancient times, Hawaiians lived in harmony with their environment. Hawaiians of the past had great respect for the land and sea. The land was considered to be the *kua'ana* or older sibling

¹ Wilson, P.D. 1990. *Aboriginal and Islander Place Names in Queensland*. A paper presented at the South Pacific Names Conference, Wellington, November 5-7, 1990, p. 2.

² Crocombe, R. 1991. Naming and Claiming in the South Pacific. *Journal of the Pacific Society*, pp. 1-19.

³ Cohen, S.B. and Kliot, N. 1992. Place-names in Israel's Ideological Struggle Over the Administered Territories. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, pp. 653-680.

of the indigenous people of Hawai'i.⁴ Because of the close relationship that Hawaiians shared with their environment, names were given to almost every stretch of land. Not only were islands, districts, and villages named but, so were fishponds, rivers, home lots, and individual taro gardens. Every place was considered to be significant to traditional Hawaiians and was therefore named. Place names were chosen to commemorate significant events, describe geographic features, identify resources available, and so forth.

Place names served a different function to ancient Hawaiians than they do to us today. In this day and age, place names are most often used to aid in spatially locating where someone or something is. To ancient Hawaiians who shared a close connection to their land and used oral traditions to record their history, place names not only marked locations but, also served as triggers for the memory while simultaneously recording information about their society.⁵ Thus place names are maps and genealogical records. If we go back and piece together the information that has been recorded through place names, we may be able to gain a better understanding of what Hawai'i and its people were like in traditional times. These clues in the form of place names are prized by cultural, historical, and political geographers.⁶

Place names can have a rich history. It is often possible to follow the “genealogy” of a place by noting the various names given to a place over time. In some cases, places are renamed entirely. In other cases, new but similar, spellings and

⁴ Kame'eleihiwa, L., 1992. *Native Land and Foreign Desires*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, p. 25.

⁵ Davis, T.A., O'Regan, T., and Wilson, J. 1990. *Nga Tohu Pumahara, The Survey Pegs of the Past*. Wellington: The New Zealand Geographic Board, p. 7.

⁶ Yoon, H.K. 1996. *Maori Mind, Maori Land*. Berne: Peter Lang, pp. 98-112.

pronunciations occur. Because place names change so readily, different myths and legends exist for explaining how and why a place was named.

Due to varying accounts of legends and myths associated with a place, deciphering the meaning of place names can be a huge task. To compound the problem, very few people have a mastery of the Hawaiian language, a quality necessary for translating place names properly. Ideally, a *mānaleo* or native speaker of Hawaiian residing in the place to be studied should be consulted when attempting to decipher the meaning of a place name. Such a person would not only have the ability to literally translate the place name, but more importantly would also be aware of the stories relating to the place name. In this day and age however, native speakers of the Hawaiian language are hard to come by. We must therefore, rely on *kūpuna*, ancestors and others knowledgeable about the place names of an area as well as old documents such as Hawaiian language newspapers, *mele* collections, and maps. We must return to the land and ask our *kūpuna* to recall their stories and pass them on to the younger generations.

In this thesis, I approach the study of Kahakuloa place names as a link to the past; a link between the people, their *‘āina* or land, and their *kūpuna*. Through the place names of Kahakuloa, Maui, I demonstrate how “wisdom sits in places” and how the *kūpuna* of long ago continue to speak to the present generation of land stewards through the power of language.⁷ I further illustrate how place names in conjunction with oral histories, archival records, archaeological surveys, *mele*, and *mo‘olelo* may be used in

⁷ Basso, K.H. 1996. *Wisdom Sits in Places*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. Although it has been said that this island is named after the *akua* or demigod, Māui, I spell the name of this island as “Maui” as it is pronounced today. In *Place Names of Hawaii*, it is acknowledged that the island is named after the *akua*, however it is spelled “Maui.” Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini, E. 1981. *Place Names of Hawaii*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, p. 148.

culturally appropriate ways to enable us to communicate with our *kūpuna* to better understand their lives and times by raising the questions: What do place names reveal about the *‘āina* and its people? How are place names extensions of our *kūpuna*? How are place names symbols of the past and indicators of the future? What is the role of place names and language for determining the future of Hawai‘i?

PLACE NAMES AND GEOGRAPHY

What is “Place”?

“Place” transcends the confines of a region. It is not limited to the locale where people live and events occur, rather place is a “repository of meaning.”⁸ Yi-fu Tuan contends that place embodies the experiences and ambitions of people.⁹ Place is therefore a reflection of the people living there. To Edward Relph, spaces are transformed into places through the process of naming. In this way, places are claimed and humanized, thereby enabling people to attach meaning to place.¹⁰ According to Kearns and Berg, “The naming of places is an integral aspect of the relationship between place and the politics of identity, and that, to this extent, naming is a form of norming.”¹¹ From the humanistic perspective, the study of place provides an opportunity for scholars to interpret the sentiment and spiritual attachment of people to their claimed place.¹²

⁸ Murton, B.J. 1979. Waituhi: A Place in Maori New Zealand. *New Zealand Geographer*, vol. 35, no. 1, p. 25.

⁹ Tuan, Y-F. 1974. *Topophilia*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, p. 213.

¹⁰ Relph, E. 1977. *Place and Placelessness*. London: Pion Limited, p. 16.

¹¹ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A. 1999. *Placing Names: Mapping, Speaking and the Contested Topographies of Place-Naming*. A paper presented at Annual Meetings, Association of American Geographers, Honolulu, March 24-28, 1999, p. 4.

¹² Murton, B.J., p. 25.

Place Names in Geography

Over the years, the study of place names has intrigued many geographers. Some geographers study place names to show the diffusion of people over space and time. Other geographers aim to support their political agenda by approaching place names as a way of appropriating space in colonial contexts, recapturing space as part of a decolonization process, or reflecting on current struggles of power. Still other geographers utilize place names as a key to “ethnic” settlement or as landscape linkages to the past. Although these scholars have shared a common bond as geographers, their approaches have been diverse.

One geographer, Wilbur Zelinsky, has used place names as a means of showing the diffusion of people throughout a locale based on the names given to individual places. Over twenty-five years after Zelinsky’s work was completed, Hong-key Yoon employed an approach similar to that of Zelinsky. Yoon contended that by researching the distribution of European and *Māori* place names in Aotearoa, one could gain cultural, historical, and geographical insights about a place.¹³ In Aotearoa for example, European names tend to be more prevalent in the main metropolitan centers such as Auckland and Wellington, while *Māori* names are more apt to be found in small local towns.¹⁴ Yoon concluded that the place names of Aotearoa afford a means for interpreting the cultural geography of Aotearoa. He further suggested that more scholars should conduct similar research on other regions in which an introduced culture has imposed itself on the indigenous population in order to learn more about the cultural geography of the chosen

¹³ Yoon, H.K., p. 99.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 101-102.

region.¹⁵ While Yoon's approach may be classified as a way of showing the diffusion of people, his work likewise illustrates the way in which colonizers are able to appropriate space for themselves at the expense of the indigenous peoples and their traditions. Place names which are given in honor of European founders and visitors and in memory of places and people in their homeland represent colonization in the form of appropriation of space.¹⁶

In colonial contexts, "space" is often not defined as "place" until it is given a name and is labeled on a map by the colonizer.¹⁷ Once a place is mapped, it is known and conquered.¹⁸ According to Paul Carter, it is through the process of naming that a space evolves into a place with a history.¹⁹ The work of Paul D. Wilson also clearly illustrates the role that place names play in appropriating space in a colonial context. In his paper, *Aboriginal and Islander Place Names in Queensland*, written for the South Pacific Place Names Conference in November 1990, Wilson alleges that when an outside group establishes itself and creates new place names, it commits "genocide toponymique" upon the landscape they are invading."²⁰

Many colonized indigenous peoples are striving to regain independence through self-determination. In the process of seeking sovereignty, indigenous peoples throughout the world are attempting to decolonize their minds. Geographers as well as indigenous peoples have used the study of place names as a way of recapturing space as a part of a decolonization process. In *The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-conquest of*

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 118.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 99.

¹⁷ Carter, P. 1987. *The Road to Botany Bay*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p. xx.

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 8-9.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. xxiv.

²⁰ Wilson, P.D., p. 1.

Hawai'i, Douglas Herman investigates the connection between place names and colonialism in Hawai'i. He explores the notion of "anti-conquest" as a means by which the colonizer promotes things Hawaiian while simultaneously usurping the power of Hawaiians.²¹ Through "anti-conquest," Hawaiian words like "aloha" and "mahalo" are used in advertisements promoting Hawai'i, yet at the same time, the Hawaiian language is looked down upon as a second rate language by the colonizer. Herman further demonstrates how language is used as a tool of domination.²² In a similar context, Lawrence Berg and Robin Kearns see place names as a means by which a society is able to legitimize its existence and affirm its hegemony.²³ Many indigenous peoples are currently attempting to rename and reclaim places for themselves by bestowing native names on places.²⁴ For people who view the study of place names as a part of a decolonization process, place names have a role to play in the politics of culture and identity.²⁵ By renaming place names, people are empowered to reclaim the landscape as well as to de-Westernize it.²⁶ As Berg and Kearns assert, "The politics of naming places in this instance is both a politics of space (deciding who names and controls space) and a spatialised politics (whereby the spatial defines who has legitimacy to speak)."²⁷ In this way, place names are viewed as a means by which the social construction of place is accomplished.²⁸

²¹ Herman, R.D.K. 1999. *The Aloha State: Place Names and the Anti-conquest of Hawai'i*. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, vol. 89, no. 1, p. 76.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²³ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A. 1996. Naming as Norming: Race, Gender and the Identity Politics of Naming Places in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, p. 1.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁵ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A., *Placing Names*, p. 7.

²⁶ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A., Naming as Norming, p. 13.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Ron Crocombe visualizes place names as a reflection of the current struggles of power. Crocombe contends that naming is an on-going process which links people to their environment. Those who name a place have a claim to that place.²⁹ Crocombe emphasizes the importance of place names in preserving a nation's history for future generations. He also encourages other scholars throughout the Pacific to take part in this type of research in order to compile information which may someday aid in linking the various peoples of Oceania together through place names.³⁰

Saul B. Cohen and Nurit Kliot have approached the study of place names as a key to "ethnic" settlement.³¹ These geographers have placed a great deal of emphasis on the idea that place names are symbols. They argue that place names are symbolic expressions of the beliefs of a people and therefore aid a people in both legitimizing their sociocultural presence and attaching meaning to one's environment. Because place names serve as national symbols, place names are accepted as elements of the political landscape.³²

While geographers have undoubtedly employed different approaches when studying place names, their works do share a common thread. Whether their approach has centered around the diffusion of people or recapturing spaces as a part of a decolonization process, each person has ultimately touched on the idea that place names link people to the past.

²⁹ Crocombe, R., pp. 1-2.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

³¹ Cohen, S.B. and Kliot, N., p. 653.

³² Ibid., pp. 654-655.

Each study has expanded our understanding of place names and has challenged us to look at place names in new and exciting ways. However, as Zelinsky states, “The sober actuality is that, to date, it has barely advanced beyond its pioneering phase. The efforts of the pioneers have focused largely on collecting, classifying, and seeking origins for names, with only occasional probes of the connections to the encompassing totality of human phenomena. This situation is perplexing inasmuch as the uniquely human practice of naming things falls within that core package of capabilities that sets us apart from the rest of the organic world.”³³

In this thesis, I incorporate many of the approaches of previous place name geographers. Studying the patterns of distribution of place names as Zelinsky did for example, gives me a sense of where the people resided in Kahakuloa. This in turn, provides me with clues as to how they lived in traditional times based on their social and spatial politics.

While I am interested in the ways in which other geographers have approached the study of place names, their studies have also encouraged me to explore alternative ways of studying place names. As a Native Hawaiian, it is important for me to explore the ways in which Hawaiians and other indigenous peoples have also used place names as a means of bridging the past with the present.

³³ Zelinsky, W. 1997. *The Cultural Geography of the United States*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, p. 465.

PLACE NAMES AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

A Māori Place Name Study

Te Aue Davis, Tipene O'Regan, and John Wilson focus on place names as landscape linkages to the past in, *Nga Tohu Pumahara: The Survey Pegs of the Past*. These authors contend that *Pakeha* or European names generally mark a specific place and individual historic events while Māori names on the other hand, are closely related to other place names. Only by understanding the ties shared between various Māori places and names can one truly understand the meanings of individual place names and the collective story that they tell.³⁴

To indigenous peoples who record their history via oral traditions, place names serve as survey pegs which trigger the memory and recall the events, history, and traditions of a place. These survey pegs aid in jarring the memory of people so that their history may be passed down from one generation to the next. Through the continued use of place names, indigenous people are able to internalize their history.³⁵

Studies of Place Names in Hawai'i

A number of Hawaiian scholars have heightened our understanding of Hawaiian place names. With due respect to the Hawaiian scholars who have preceded me, it is first necessary to discuss the contributions that these scholars have made before discussing how I intend to approach the study of Hawaiian place names.

³⁴ Davis, T.A., O'Regan, T., and Wilson, J., p. 5.

³⁵ Ibid.

Mary Kawena Pukui was a renowned Hawaiian scholar active in the perpetuation of the Hawaiian language and culture. Pukui is considered by many to be the greatest Hawaiian scholar of our time.³⁶ Pukui traveled the islands, speaking to many native speakers of the Hawaiian language about a wide range of topics, including place names. Because of her foresight, many of her interviews with native speakers can still be accessed today at the Bishop Museum. Additionally, she has published several books which contain place name information.

‘Ōlelo No‘eau is her compilation of Hawaiian proverbs and poetical sayings.³⁷ The 2,941 proverbs and sayings included in this book cover a wide spectrum of information. From proverbs and sayings about love to adoption to death to place names, all are included in this book. Pukui did a marvelous job of cataloguing Hawaiian proverbs and sayings for future generations by talking with other native Hawaiian language speakers. Without this book, much of the information that she compiled would have been forgotten.

Her *Place Names of Hawaii* is considered by many to be the most authoritative and comprehensive guide to Hawaiian place names in existence to date for many reasons.³⁸ Pukui co-authored this book along with Samuel Elbert and Esther Mookini. Unlike many other sources, *Place Names of Hawaii* was written by people with in-depth knowledge of the Hawaiian language. *Place Names of Hawaii* is an outstanding text complete with the proper Hawaiian orthography, location, and brief description for each place name. Maps are likewise included allowing the reader to visualize the location of

³⁶ Mary Kawena Pukui was born on April 20, 1895 and died on May 21, 1986.

³⁷ Pukui, M.K. 1993. *‘Ōlelo No‘eau*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

³⁸ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini, E.

each place. Furthermore, the appendix provides a chronological history of the study of Hawaiian place names as well as a structural analysis of the Hawaiian language.

Elsbeth P. Sterling was another important scholar in the field of Hawaiian place names. Sterling's compilation of Hawaiian place names have been made into two books, *Sites of Maui* and *Sites of Oahu*. In these two sources, Sterling includes legends, myths, and interesting facts about places found on these two islands.

Sites of Maui incorporates the works on the place names of Maui done by previous scholars such as Pukui, Handy, Alexander, Walker, and Elbert.³⁹ This book is the most comprehensive resource on Maui place names to date. The place names listed in this resource are divided into twelve *moku* (traditional land divisions) with each *moku* having its own map. Unlike most resources on this subject, the place names in this book are not listed in alphabetical order. Rather, within each division, place names appear in order of their location on the land. If one were to take a clockwise walk around the perimeter of the island of Maui, one would be able to follow the sequence of place names as they appear in this book. In this way, a scholar using this reference would not only learn about a particular place but the places surrounding that place, as well.

Sites of Oahu is an excellent reference on the place names of O'ahu.⁴⁰ While the work of Sterling and Summers is a significant contribution to the study of Hawaiian place names, both are greatly indebted to Pukui in this book. Over a hundred O'ahu place names are identified. Along with the names of the places, meanings, legends, myths, land descriptions, and history are given for each place name. What makes this

³⁹ Sterling, E.P. 1998. *Sites of Maui*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

⁴⁰ Sterling, E.P. and Summers, C.C. 1978. *Sites of Oahu*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

work invaluable is the vastness of this collection of place names. This work is probably the most comprehensive work on the place names of O'ahu in print today. The structure of this book is easy to follow as it is organized by the seven *moku* of O'ahu; 'Ewa, Wai'anae, Waialua, Wahiawā, Ko'olauloa, Ko'olaupoko, and Kona. Each *moku* is further divided into *ahupua'a*. Illustrations and maps are sparsely dispersed throughout the book. A major downfall however, of this book is that diacritical markings are only occasionally employed as much of the information from this book was obtained without markings by Sterling and Summers from a 1962 publication of the Bernice P. Bishop Museum. The only diacritical markings that were entered are those that were originally found in the 1962 material.

Rubellite Kawena Johnson is yet another Hawaiian scholar that has made great contributions to the study of Hawaiian place names. Johnson has not only compiled a list of Hawaiian place names, but has also endeavored to compare her Hawai'i place names with those names found elsewhere in the Pacific. In November 1990, Kawena Johnson attended the South Pacific Place Names Conference. There, she presented her paper, *Hawaiian Place Names and Their Relationships with the Pacific*.⁴¹ In this paper, Johnson provides numerous examples of Hawaiian place names which are closely related to place names found elsewhere in the Polynesian/Pacific region. From the material presented, it is quite evident that Polynesians and other Pacific islanders share a common heritage. Not only are the languages of Polynesians related but, so too is their tradition

⁴¹ Johnson, R.K. 1990. *Hawaiian Names and Their Relationships with the Pacific*. A paper presented at the South Pacific Names Conference, Wellington, November 5-7, 1990.

of naming places. Johnson identifies several categories that Polynesians/Pacific Islanders employ in the naming of their places.

I applaud the accomplishments and contributions that these scholars have made to the study of Hawaiian place names. It is my hope that my work will likewise advance our understanding of Hawaiian place names. In addition to the works of the aforementioned scholars, a number of other collections and compilations of place names exist. Some of these, such as Walker's *Archaeology Survey of the Island of Maui*,⁴² the *Hawai'i Register of Historic Places*,⁴³ Alexander's *Hawaiian Geographical Names*,⁴⁴ Hayes' *Hawaiian Place Names*,⁴⁵ Judd's *Hawaiian Place Names of Oahu*,⁴⁶ Boom's *Important Hawaiian Place Names*,⁴⁷ and Halliday's *Initial Inventory of Named Caves and Related Features and Cave-Related Place Names in Hawai'i*,⁴⁸ exemplify the "museumification" of place names or what Herman calls the "natural science" of indigenous languages, in which "samples of languages were collected, compared, catalogued, and filed away, just like plant, animal, and human specimens, thereby losing their significance as cultural repositories of geographic meaning, becoming artifacts instead."⁴⁹ A number of other studies go beyond this. They include Clark's book *Honolulu's Streets*, in which Thomas Clark examines the history of the street names of Honolulu in his book, paying particular attention to the various street names which have

⁴² Walker, W.M. 1981. *Archaeological Survey of the Island of Maui*. unpublished manuscript.

⁴³ State of Hawai'i. 1974. *Hawai'i Register of Historic Places*, vol. 2, Honolulu: Department of Land and Natural Resources.

⁴⁴ Alexander, W.D. 1903. *Hawaiian Geographic Names*. U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, Treasury Department Appendix No. 7-Report for 1902, Washington: Government Printing Office.

⁴⁵ Hayes, C. 1929. *Hawaiian Place Names*. Honolulu: Fort Shafter.

⁴⁶ Judd, C.S. 1936. *Hawaiian Place Names of Oahu*. Honolulu: publisher unknown.

⁴⁷ Boom, R. 1978. *Important Hawaiian Place Names*. Hilo: Bob Boom Books.

⁴⁸ Halliday, W. 1995. *Initial Inventory of Named Caves and Related Features and Cave-Related Place Names in Hawaii*. Hilo: Hawai'i Speleological Survey of the National Speleological Society.

⁴⁹ Herman, R.D.K., p. 79.

survived over the years. He also provides a brief history of how individual names were chosen and for whom they were named. In some cases, he also provides other names that were previously given to certain streets. Like street names, place names too have a history. As street names may change over time, the same is true of place names as well. Clark's work, while on street names rather than place names, does parallel the research that I am conducting in the sense that both types of names have a history and these names may change over time.

Roland Reeve's, *Kaho'olawe Place Names*, also goes beyond mere documentation.⁵⁰ Reeve provides crucial information about the history of the names that have been given to each place. He records the first mention of place names along with the source in which the information was received. Moreover, Reeve provides various translations offered for the place names as well as the location of the place. Reeve's description of how his sources were obtained allows the reader to judge the validity of the sources presented.

Unlike other books which merely catalogue place names, Inez Ashdown's, *Ke Alaloa o Maui*, provides numerous legends of Maui places along with bits of history.⁵¹ Additionally, she includes a number of maps of the island to assist the reader in identifying the places being mentioned. I find the incorporation of maps to be an advantage of this book, setting it apart from many of its counterparts.

⁵⁰ Reeve, R. 1993. *Kaho'olawe Place Names*. Wailuku: The Kaho'olawe Island Conveyance Commission.

⁵¹ Ashdown, I.M. 1971. *Ke Alaloa o Maui*. Wailuku: Kama'aina Historians, Inc.

Michael J. Kolb's, *Na Wahi Pana O Hamoa: The Renowned Places of Hamoa* is also in a league of its own.⁵² Kolb's work is a historical and archaeological survey of Hāmoa, an *ahupua'a* located on East Maui. This report, prepared for the Hāna Cultural Center provides a historical background of Hāmoa including specific information relating to: legendary accounts, traditional history, the Kingdom of Hawai'i, the Sugar Industry, and Cattle Ranching. The history of Hāmoa is then followed by archaeology survey and excavation results.

What makes *Nā Wahi Pana O Ko'olau Poko* unique from other books on Hawaiian place names is the visual approach taken by Anne Kapulani Landgraf. Her captivating black and white photographs allow the reader to visualize and in some cases recollect the place being mentioned. Landgraf's photographs set the parameters of the book and set it apart from its counterparts. The vast majority of Hawaiian place name books lack the use of still photography and therefore make it difficult for the reader to connect to the place visually. It is left to the reader's imagination to envision the place. Through her use of photography, Anne Kapulani Landgraf documents places as they exist today. In this sense, she is both a photographer and a historian. In this day and age of development, her work will be an important asset to future generations.

In reviewing the resources that exist on Hawaiian place names, I have come to realize that each source is valuable in its own right. In my opinion, a top notch reference book on Hawaiian place names would go beyond what already exists and would incorporate the positive aspects of all of these studies into one comprehensive resource.

⁵² Kolb, M.J. 1993. *Na Wahi Pana O Hamoa: The Renowned Places of Hamoa*. Hāna: Hāna Cultural Center.

Such a work would include: proper Hawaiian orthography, literal translations, *'ōlelo no'eau*, maps, photographs, legends, myths, narratives, and when possible, a chronological history of other names that places have previously been called. Moreover, it would delve into the next level of research which involves attempting to understand the values and beliefs of the people of the places that are discussed.

In order to accomplish this task, one must understand the *kūpuna* and the mother tongue of the people being studied. I therefore use this study as a means of reclaiming the names given by my *kūpuna*. By reclaiming these names and including proper Hawaiian orthography where possible, the words of my *kūpuna* will live on through the proper pronunciation of their place names by the present generation and those to come. Through the process of compiling and recording these place names for future generations, my people will be empowered to reclaim the names of the past while affirming their hegemony in the present.⁵³

PLACE NAMES AND LANGUAGE

Reclaiming Our Identity Through Place Names and the Politics of Language

“Language lies at the heart of all knowledge.”⁵⁴ In order to reclaim our place names, we must go back to our roots and gain a firm mastery of the mother tongue of this land. It is not enough to simply pronounce the place names. We must understand them. As Basso asserts, “If it is the meaning of things that we are after--the meaning of words, objects, events and the claims people make about themselves--language and culture must

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Dear, M. 1988. The Postmodern Challenge: Reconstructing Human Geography. *Transactions, Institute of British Geographers, New Series*, vol. 13, p. 266.

be studied hand in hand. Our knowledge of one can only enhance our knowledge of the other.”⁵⁵ Hawaiian place names are deeply embedded with *kaona*, layers of multiple meaning. In order to truly appreciate and value the words of our *kūpuna*, one must understand their words and their worldview, for Hawaiian texts are filled with subtleties in the form of *kaona*. These layers of multiple meaning must be understood and not simply taken at face value. It is only when we understand the words of our *kūpuna* at these deeper levels that the *mele* and *mo‘olelo* unfold and become coherent.

From the inception, I was fully aware that the success of this project was contingent upon my ability to understand the language of my *kūpuna*. Over the past year, I gathered bits of information relating to Kahakuloa. Bit by bit, I made tiny steps towards truly understanding the place. I initially felt as if I was putting together a puzzle. The problem was that at the time the only pieces that fit together were those on the periphery. It was not until I had nearly completed examining all of my sources that the pieces began interlocking to form a more complete picture. Suddenly, significant pieces of information that I had previously overlooked now revealed themselves and had meaning. In retrospect, I now know that the information had always been there, I just was not ready to see or understand it. I first needed to see the larger picture before the fine details could be made coherent. It was as if the pieces of the puzzle were meaningless alone. They only had meaning when pieced together with the larger puzzle. Without an understanding of the Hawaiian language, none of this would have been possible, as the most essential points I discovered about Kahakuloa were almost entirely written in Hawaiian.

⁵⁵ Basso, K.H., p. 70.

The Power of Language

The most important cultural function of the Hawaiian language is the power of the word.⁵⁶ According to Pukui, Hawaiians strongly believed in the power of the word. From this perspective, expressing a phrase like *kihe a maui ola* after one sneezed did not simply acknowledge that someone had just sneezed in your presence. Rather, the expression was so powerful that one would actually “sneeze and live long.” Hawaiians understood that upon sneezing one’s heart would stop. By uttering the phrase *kihe a maui ola* or simply *ola*, Hawaiians believed that the power of their word would enable the person to escape death. It was therefore important that a person choose his words wisely as a person’s choice of words could actually affect one’s destiny and identity.⁵⁷

Language is Power

Language is power. Bourdieu contends, “It is not space which defines language but language which defines space.”⁵⁸ According to Herman, “The key point to be made here is the role of language in establishing meaning, and how the assertion of meaning--hence order--is a tool of domination.”⁵⁹ In traditional Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian language was the legitimate and sole language of the ‘*āina*; it defined all space. Once foreigners made contact, a language power struggle ensued. English vied to become the dominant language. From the 1860’s-1890’s, English was the medium through which government and business affairs were conducted, thereby empowering missionaries and other foreigners fluent in English. The “upper classes,” primarily those of missionary descent,

⁵⁶ Pukui, M.K., Haertig, E.W., and Lee, C.A. 1972. *Nānā i ke Kumu*. Honolulu: Queen Lili‘uokalani Children’s Center, vol. I, p. 87.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 44.

⁵⁹ Hernan, R.D.K., p. 78.

sent their children to private schools, conducted entirely in English. In 1893, the Hawaiian Monarchy was illegally overthrown. The official government policy of that time was to replace Hawaiian with English as the dominant and legitimate language of Hawai'i. Hawaiians were permitted to use their native tongue in voting and in other forms of politics, however in direct opposition to foreign forces, most Hawaiians refused to participate in the newly established government and to exercise their rights to use Hawaiian in this arena. To further marginalize Hawaiians, in 1896 it became illegal for schools to be conducted in Hawaiian. After nearly one hundred years of prohibition, the 1978 Constitution of Hawai'i finally re-recognized the Hawaiian language as a legitimate language of the State and declared Hawaiian along with English as the two official languages of the State. Eight years later, the Legislature allowed for the use of Hawaiian as a medium of public instruction in special Department of Education programs.

For nearly one hundred years, the educational system in Hawai'i has had a large influence over the construction, legitimization, and imposition of English as the official language of Hawai'i.⁶⁰ The educational system has played an active role in subjugating the native people. Through the dominant language, the educational system has been able to mold their students into accepting the views and beliefs of those in power; effectively colonizing younger generations. As Bourdieu contends, "The educational system...no doubt directly helped to devalue popular modes of expression, dismissing them as 'slang' and 'gibberish'...and to impose recognition of the legitimate language."⁶¹ Bourdieu further suggests that many native peoples have aided in the demise of their language by

⁶⁰ Bourdieu, P., p. 48.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 49.

only speaking their native tongue in the privacy of their homes thereby abetting in the “destruction of their instruments of expression.”⁶²

The Hawaiian language has been the focus of an intense power struggle which has intensified over the years and continues to persist until today. Although the Hawaiian language is once again recognized as an official language of the State of Hawai‘i, Hawaiian does not hold the same status as English. English continues to dominate the media, schools, and government. Bank checks written in Hawaiian are not widely accepted. Street names are no longer required to be given Hawaiian names. Government documents are rarely written in Hawaiian. At the University of Hawai‘i, students wishing a Hawaiian version of their diploma must pay an additional fifteen dollars. Students who request a Hawaiian diploma in lieu of an English diploma are told that is not an option. They must pay for the Hawaiian diploma whether or not they opt for taking the English version. Until the Hawaiian language receives the respect that it is due, the Hawaiian people, their traditions, and culture will continue to be marginalized. Traditional Hawaiian place names will continue to be erased from the landscape only to be replaced with English names. Language creates place. Without our language, our means of expression, we lose our *mana* and our identity.

Place Names as Symbols of the Past and Indicators of the Future

Place names are symbols of the past and indicators of the future. By naming a place one is able to claim a space; by living in a place, one is able to humanize a place.⁶³ Through the process of claiming and humanizing places, places become encoded with

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Murton, B.J., p. 25.

information regarding the people who originally gave them meaning. Through place names it is possible to envision the landscape of that time complete with plants and wildlife. It is also possible to get a sense of the traditions, values, and spirituality of people who lived many generations ago.

While the place names of any given place provide us with clues about the past, place names are also indicators of the future. By examining the language that is selected for various place names, it is possible to detect what language is currently the dominant language of a place as well as what language will be dominant in the future. In traditional times, Hawaiian was the legitimate and dominant language of the land. With the effects of colonization, English has become the dominant, but never the legitimate language of Hawai'i. English place names are prevalent in many parts of Hawai'i indicating the level to which these places have been colonized. In places like Kahakuloa where all but a few traditional Hawaiian place names are used, the effects of colonization have been less severe as is reflected in their current lifestyle. The residents of Kahakuloa continue to maintain their close connection to the land and sea.⁶⁴

Place Names as Extensions of Our *Kūpuna*

Just as we have attachments to our *kūpuna*, humans have attachments to place. We are an extension of our *kūpuna*; they are an extension of us. We are an extension of the land; the land is an extension of us. Because traditional Hawaiians understood the connection between themselves, their *kūpuna*, and the *'āina*, the concepts of *aloha 'āina*

⁶⁴ In no way do I mean to suggest that Kahakuloa has escaped the jaws of the colonizer. The effects of colonization have been so rampant, that every person and every place in Hawai'i has been engulfed by the colonizer. However, in comparison to other communities throughout Hawai'i, places such as Kahakuloa which have retained many of their traditional place names, have been impacted by colonization to a lesser degree than places dominated by English place names.

and *mālama 'āina* extended beyond the physical presence of land to include their spiritual connection with their *kūpuna* and the *'āina*. After all, the *kūpuna* were buried in their ancestral *'āina*. It is from their *'āina* that they continue to maintain their connection to the *'āina* and to their succeeding generations of offspring. It is also from their ancestral *'āina* that the *kūpuna* of long ago continue speak to us via place names.⁶⁵ As 'footprints' of the past, place names allow us to tap into ancestral knowledge by serving as vehicles of ancestral authority.⁶⁶ Because place names are so closely tied to our *kūpuna* and the *'āina*, place names play a significant role in narrating our identity.⁶⁷ In traditional times and to a lesser extent today, when a person's name was recalled, so too was the name of the name of their *'āina*. It is therefore necessary for us to reclaim our place names and rename those places that have been given foreign names for the sake of our children's identity and so that the dislocation of families will cease to exist. After all, our place names define who we are. Without our place names we lose our identity. We lose our symbols, our 'survey pegs' to the past, and our means to legitimize our existence and hegemony in Hawai'i.⁶⁸ Traditional place names must be reclaimed and used on a daily basis. Controversial place names which are not considered to be glamorous by today's standards must not be erased from the landscape. Such action would effectively marginalize and aid in erasing Hawai'i's history. All place names are integral parts of our rich past. Each and every place name has a story to tell. If we allow less than romantic names to be erased, we allow our history and our identity to likewise

⁶⁵ Basso, K.H., p. 29.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁶⁷ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A., *Placing Names*, p. 14.

⁶⁸ Davis, T.A., O'Regan, T., and Wilson, J., p. 5.

be erased piece by piece with each and every place name. We allow the 'maps' of our *kūpuna* to be forgotten.

CONCLUSION

Place names contain a wealth of information. From narratives to photographs, countless approaches may be employed in the study of Hawaiian place names, each alluding to a different aspect of place. Unlike most of the studies examined above which primarily deal with the meanings, locations, and myths associated with a specific place, this study incorporates other elements of place. Through an analysis of place names, this thesis attempts to construct a historical geography of Kahakuloa. In chapter two of this thesis, I discuss what Kahakuloa was like from the past to the present based on the experiences of the Kahakuloa residents, my personal experiences, as well as the primary land documents of that era. In chapter three, I use maps to visually represent the distribution of place names in Kahakuloa. The place names of Kahakuloa along with their literal translations are discussed in detail along with the *mele* and *mo'olelo* surrounding the place names, people, and traditions of the valley. I conclude with chapter four, in which I discuss native knowledge as a lifelong commitment to the *kūpuna* and *'āina*.

As both a geographer and a Native Hawaiian, I incorporate both of these aspects of my life into my study of place names. In this way, I hope to contribute new knowledge of Hawai'i as a geographer coming from a Hawaiian world view thereby, composing a Hawaiian geography rather than just a geography of Hawai'i as many other scholars have previously done.

CHAPTER 2 FROM PRESENT TO PAST: FROM EXPERIENCE TO THE RECORDS

INTRODUCTION

Places are constantly changing. No matter where a place is located, whether it be situated in an industrial center or in a remote setting, change is inevitable. In order to truly gain a sense of a place, it is therefore necessary to understand how the place has evolved over time.

In this chapter, I portray Kahakuloa in the present based on the experiences of the residents of Kahakuloa as well as my own personal interactions and experiences with this special place. I then take a step back in time to discuss the traditional land divisions of Hawai'i and the changes in land tenure associated with the *Māhele*. Next, I utilize the records of the *Māhele* and delve into archaeological evidence to explore what these sources reveal about Kahakuloa in the mid-nineteenth century.

KAHAKULOA TODAY

Stop! "Twelve miles to Kahakuloa," reads the sign. I follow the arrow pointed towards West Maui. For a couple of miles, I take in the relaxing atmosphere of Waiehu. Soon after passing the sign, I come across a small old Chinese cemetery on the right side of the road. From the looks of it, no one has been buried there for some time.

A few seconds later, I become intrigued by the subdivisions which have been cleverly tucked away. Who would have known that so many homes are nestled in such a small and quiet town? There is even a Hawaiian Homes subdivision. What's more is that the oceanview from some of these homes is spectacular. I continue my drive

through the quiet town passing a park, school, macadamia nut farm, and bridge. That's it. Abruptly, the town ends and the road begins.

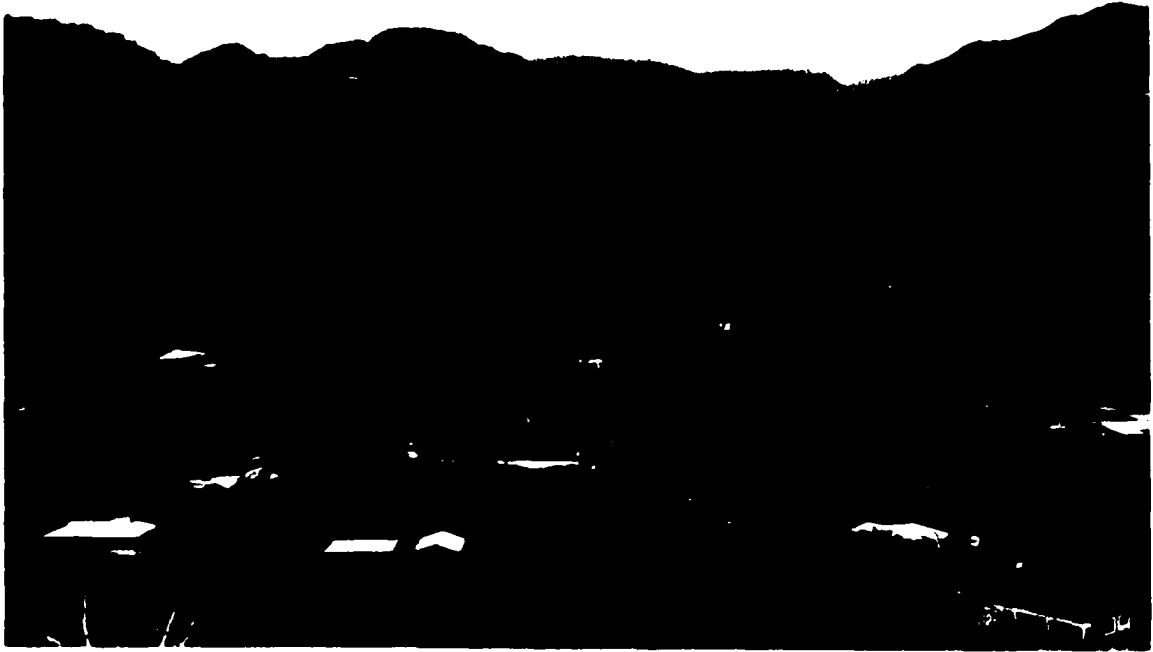
For the first few miles, with the exception of its winding turns, the road is no different than most any road one would encounter throughout Hawai'i. It is a paved, two-lane road complete with guard rails and a sensational view of the ocean and Central Maui. But, as the residents of Kahakuloa know, that changes all too soon. Right around the seven mile mark from the intersection of Ka'ahumanu Shopping Center and Waiehu Beach Road, the smooth road ends and the road to Kahakuloa begins. Not only is the drive to Kahakuloa very meandering, but it is quite dangerous as well. The sheer cliffs that border the road can create havoc when its boulders become loose and fall onto the road occasionally landing on vehicles below.



(Figure 2. Photograph of the road to Kahakuloa.)

On the ocean side of the road, there is a very steep drop of up to 500 hundred feet from the road to the valley floor. What was once a manicured two-lane road is now a primarily one-lane road which occasionally widens to two lanes with guard rails dispersed here and there. Motorists traveling in opposite directions must carefully maneuver pass one another. One slight mistake can send motorists plummeting hundreds of feet and landing on the lush valley floor below. As if the road was not dangerous enough, many of the bends in the road create blind spots for drivers. Some drivers opt for beeping their horns around dangerous one-lane hairpin turns to alert other motorists of their presence.

In spite of the many hazards that one must overcome to arrive safely in Kahakuloa and the miles of winding road, the journey is ultimately worth it. Just past Pu'u Koa'e at the last bend before Kahakuloa is a place known as Waihonu. From this vantage point, one can see the waves crashing against the cliffs and the entire *ahupua'a* of Kahakuloa running from the mountains to the sea.



(Figure 3. Photograph of Kahakuloa valley.)

One can also see the homes and gardens of the twenty or so families residing in the valley and along the coastline. The homes are scattered throughout the length of the *ahupua'a*. The majority of the homes are concentrated near the road and coastline. However, there are a number of houses which line either side of the stream deep into the valley. With the exception of one or two houses, nearly all of the houses are single story, single family houses which appear to have been built by the families themselves.

Nearly all of the families in the village are Native Hawaiian descendants of *kuleana* land recipients. The families are therefore largely interrelated. In recent times, a few individuals, primarily those of *haole* descent, have acquired their properties from

Hawaiians who have sold their share of their family land. But in spite of land sales, Kahakuloa remains a dominantly Hawaiian community.

One of the things that a first timer to the valley will immediately notice is that the landscape of the valley reflects an abundance of water. Kahakuloa is green and lush with vegetation. Not only can children often be seen cooling off in the stream, but due to the availability of water, wetland *kalo* is the primary crop still grown throughout the valley.



(Figure 4. Photograph of a *lo'i kalo* in Kahakuloa.)

The *lo'i*, flooded taro fields, are fed by irrigation ditches known as *'auwai* which water the *kalo*, taro. The water which is not absorbed by the *kalo*, gathers nutrients from the *lo'i* and returns to the original stream thereby enriching the stream and eventually the ocean.

Kahakuloa is a breathtaking place. While the surrounding areas of Kahakuloa are prone to strong, direct northeasterly winds, the lush green valley is quite sheltered from the winds. Its sheer cliffs are an awesome sight. The turbulent waves crashing along the rugged coastline and on the cliffs is incredible. The valley is verdant and tranquil. The rustling of the trees and the songs of birds can be heard throughout the valley. The sound of the running stream is soothing. Kahakuloa is a rare find.

Whenever I return to Kahakuloa, I am always taken by the beauty of this special place. I often reflect on how my *kūpuna* perceived this place. I truly believe that Kahakuloa was more than just a home and a land for my family to cultivate, it was also a means of connecting spiritually to those *kūpuna* who came before. At any given time, the current generation of land owners or, more appropriately, land stewards, have a sense of responsibility to the people who have passed on to care for the land in a way that is pleasing to those who once cared for and loved the land themselves. Although I will never have the opportunity to speak to my *kūpuna* to find out what life was like for them when they were caring for the land, one thing is for certain, Kahakuloa was and continues to be a very beloved place for my family.

Kahakuloa is of particular interest to me because it has been home to my family for many generations. Prior to the *Māhele*, my *kūpuna* were living in the valley and cultivating the land. As a result of the *Māhele* of 1848, Naone was awarded *kuleana* lands in Kahakuloa. Like most *kuleana* lands, Naone's land had a specific place name, Kuewaa.⁶⁹ When people heard the name Kuewaa, they would immediately associate the

⁶⁹ The true place name of the *kuleana* awarded to Naone and now owned by my family is unclear. On survey maps of 1896 and in the *Buke Māhele*, the place name is recorded as Kuewaa. However, in Walker's manuscript, Kuewa is the name given to a *heiau* on the said land. My family pronounces this

place with its owner, Naone and vice versa. From Naone, the property was passed down several generations. Eventually, my great-great grandmother, Kalio Kalawai'anui who was also known as Ka'ilioi Kalawai'anui Nākoa, became the steward of the land before passing on the property.⁷⁰ My great grandfather, David Kalawai'anui Nākoa then became the owner and steward of the land. From him, the land was passed down to my grandfather, Ned Kalawai'anui Nākoa. One day, a portion of the land will become that of my mother. She will in turn pass on the land to myself and my siblings.

Due to my strong familial ties to this place, it is not only appropriate, but necessary for me to understand and appreciate the history of this place. As a future steward of the land, I also feel a deep sense of responsibility to my *kūpuna* to preserve the traditional place names and oral traditions of Kahakuloa for the generations to come. I intend to pass this information on to my children and I certainly hope that others in the village will do likewise before the knowledge is forgotten forever.

TRADITIONAL LANDS: MOKU AND 'AHUPUA'A

In traditional times, it was the responsibility of the *kama'āina*, the people of the land to love and respect the land.⁷¹ In return, the land provided the material resources needed by the Hawaiian people for sustenance.⁷² It was believed that if Hawaiians practiced *aloha 'āina*, love for the land, the 'āina would in turn *aloha* the people. This

place name as Kuewa. However, it is possible that over the years, the last "a" has been omitted in speech as a shortened version of Kuewaa.

⁷⁰ It is said that my genealogy prior to Tūtū Ka'ilioi is forbidden knowledge or *kapu*. I am therefore uncertain how I am related to Naone, the original *kuleana* awardee of the property that is now in my grandfather's name.

⁷¹ Handy, E.S.C., Handy, E.G., and Pukui, M.K. 1972. *Native Planters*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, p. 42.

⁷² Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 25.

delicate balance between the people and the *'āina* was overseen by the *ali'i nui*. The *ali'i nui* were of the chiefly class.⁷³ It was the duty of the *ali'i nui* to regulate the *'āina* to ensure that the land would be capable of providing for the needs of the people.⁷⁴ Below the *ali'i nui* were the *ali'i 'aimoku* who ruled large districts of land. The *ali'i 'aimoku* in turn assigned various *konohiki*, usually of the lesser ranking *kaukau ali'i* class, to manage the *'āina* and to oversee the *maka'āinana*, those who worked the *'āina*.⁷⁵ The *maka'āinana* in turn fed and clothed the *ali'i nui* to acknowledge their gratefulness towards the *ali'i nui* for maintaining harmony between the people and the *'āina*. Through this system of interdependence, the entire society stood to lose if the needs of the *'āina* were not met.

Each island, or *mokupuni*, was divided into large districts, or *moku*. The island of Maui for example, was divided into twelve *moku*: Lahaina, Kā'anapali, Wailuku, Hāmākuapoko, Hāmākualoa, Ko'olau, Hāna, Kīpahulu, Kaupō, Kahikinui, Honua'ula, and Kula.⁷⁶

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

⁷⁶ Sterling, E.P., table of contents.

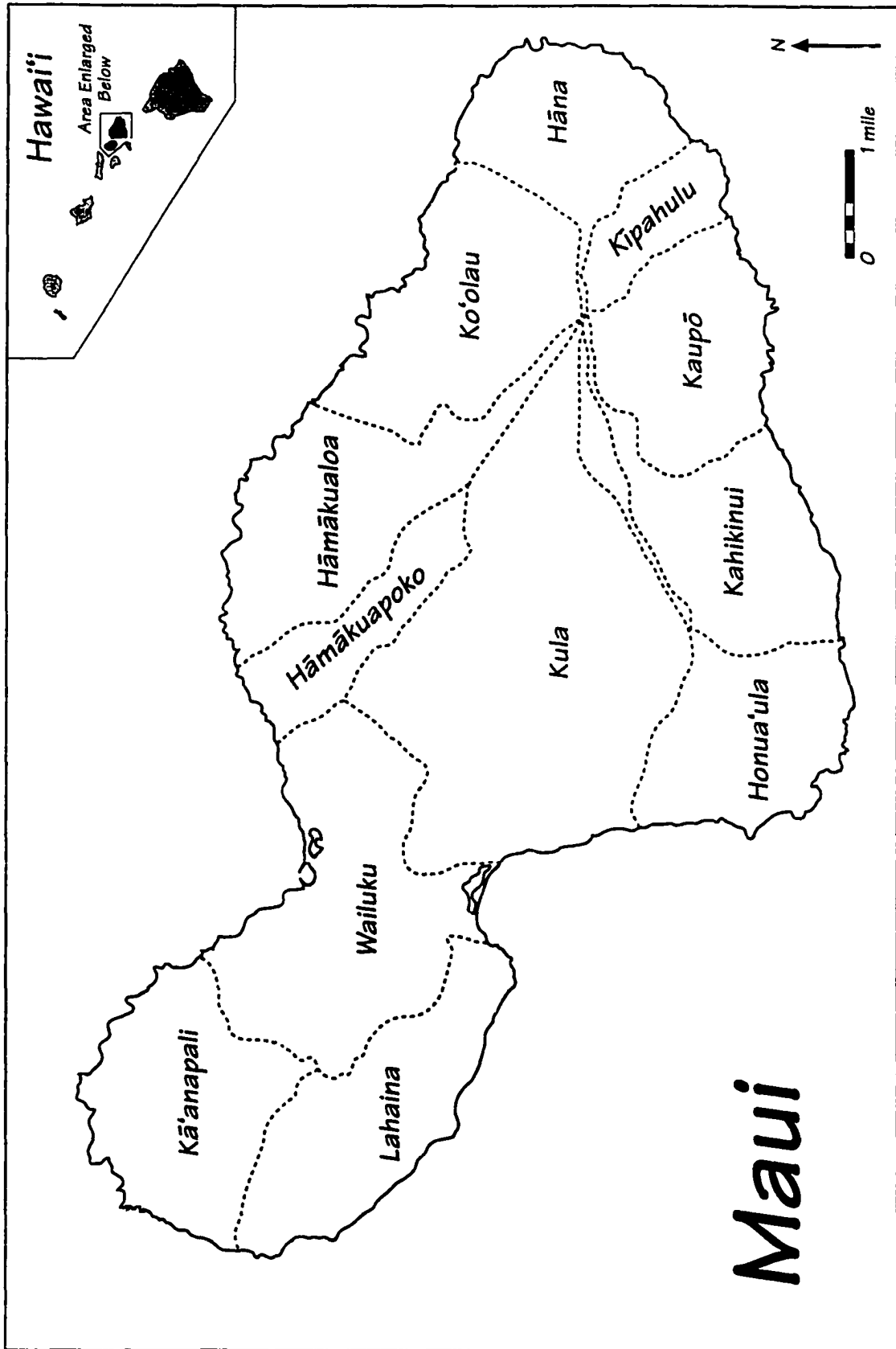


Figure 5. Illustration showing the moku of Maui.

The *moku* were then divided into *ahupua'a*. The island of Maui had approximately one hundred *ahupua'a*, with Kahakuloa being an *ahupua'a* in the *moku* of Kā'anapali. *Ahupua'a* typically characterized today as wedged-shaped land divisions usually extended from a mountain summit to the sea. The distribution of natural resources along with the size and topography of the island were key in determining the boundaries of the *ahupua'a*.⁷⁷ On the windward side of the islands, most of the valleys comprise individual *ahupua'a*.⁷⁸ Whenever possible, geographic landmarks such as mountain ridges and streams were used as boundaries. In addition to these geographical boundaries, each *ahupua'a* boundary was further marked by an altar of stones and carvings of pig heads. In this way, the land division, *ahupua'a*, or "pig altar" received its name.⁷⁹ In theory, this land system granted the residents of the *ahupua'a* access to all of the material resources within that *ahupua'a* necessary for one's livelihood.⁸⁰ In cases where resources were absent from an *ahupua'a*, residents traded with individuals of neighboring land divisions. However, for the most part, the families of an *ahupua'a* traded items with others residing in the same *ahupua'a*. The people upland traded their crops for fish from those residing near the sea. Thus, all of the material resources needed for one's sustenance could ideally be obtained from the *ahupua'a* regardless of where a person resided within the *ahupua'a*.⁸¹ While this process of subdividing the land was an ancient practice, these same land divisions are recognized today.⁸²

⁷⁷ Apple, R. and Apple, P. 1979. *Land, Lili'uokalani and Annexation*. Honolulu: Topgallant Publishing Co., Ltd., p. 5.

⁷⁸ Alexander, W.D. 1889. *A Brief Account of the Hawaiian Government Survey*. Honolulu: Bulletin Stream Print, p. 3.

⁷⁹ Handy, E.S.C., Emory, K.P., Bryan, E.H., Buck, P.H., Wise, J.H., and others. 1965. *Ancient Hawaiian Civilization*. Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, Inc., p. 83.

⁸⁰ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 27.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁸² Alexander, W.D., *A Brief Account*, p. 4.

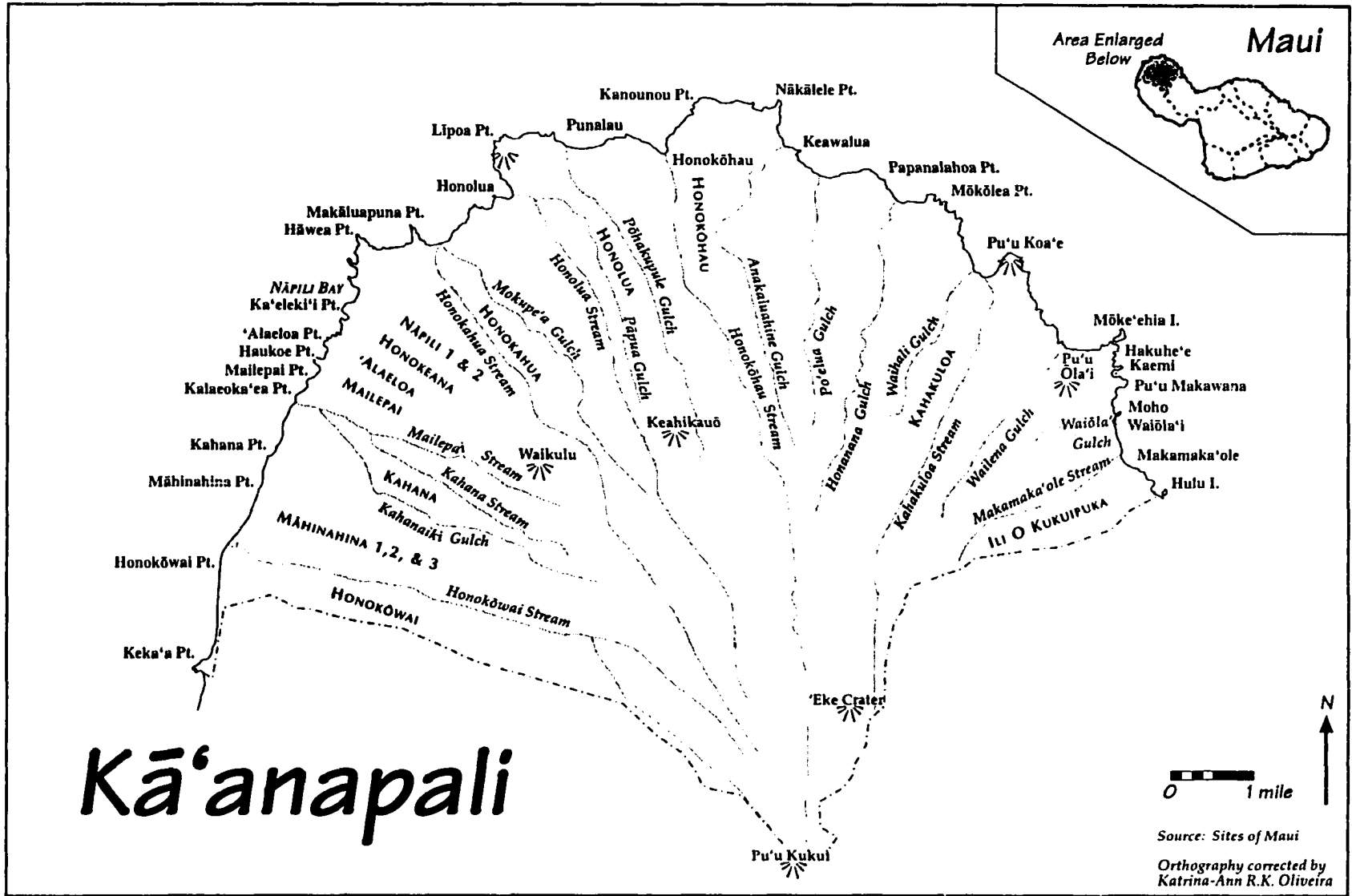


Figure 6. Illustration showing the ahupua'a and ili in the moku of Kā'anapali, Maui.

THE MĀHELE OF 1848

When Kamehameha united the eight major Hawaiian islands, he was given a new title, *mō'i*. As the *mō'i*, he was the highest *ali'i nui*. Whenever a new *mō'i* came into power, the *'āina* fell under the jurisdiction of the new *mō'i* who controlled all of the *'āina*.⁸³ The *mō'i* would redistribute, or *kālai* his *'āina* amongst himself, his supporters, and the general population.⁸⁴ In dividing his *'āina*, the *mō'i* went to great lengths to appease his supporters without giving up too much power to a few people lest they unite and overthrow the *mō'i*.⁸⁵ The *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* paid tribute to the *mō'i* for being benevolent.⁸⁶ The *'āina* was granted on a revocable basis and upon the death of an *ali'i aimoku*, the *'āina* reverted back to the *mō'i*.⁸⁷

During the time of Kamehameha, a major land tenure change occurred. Kamehameha granted four of his most devoted supporters, Ke'eaumoku, Kamanawa, Keaweaheulu, and Kame'eaimoku, the right to hereditary succession. In a normal context, the *'āina* would have reverted back to the *mō'i* upon the death of the individuals who were originally awarded the *'āina*. However, Kamehameha exclusively granted his four top supporters the right of land inheritance to ensure their allegiance to him. All others, including Kamehameha's own children were refused the right to hold land in perpetuity.⁸⁸

⁸³ Alexander, A.C. 1920. Land Titles and Surveys in Hawaii. *The Hawaiian Planters' Record*, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 68.

⁸⁴ Handy, E.S.C., Emory, K.P., Bryan, E.H., Buck, P.H., Wise, J.H., and others, p. 37.

⁸⁵ Alexander, A.C., p. 68.

⁸⁶ Handy, E.S.C., Emory, K.P., Bryan, E.H., Buck, P.H., Wise, J.H., and others, p. 35.

⁸⁷ Chinen, J.J. 1961. *Original Land Titles in Hawaii*. publisher unknown, p. 7.

⁸⁸ Kame'eleihiwa, L., pp. 58, 62.

Upon the death of Kamehameha in 1819, Liholiho became the new *mō'i* and Ka'ahumanu became the *Kuhina Nui* (Chief Counselor). Ka'ahumanu asserted her power by announcing that she would share the rule over the land with Liholiho, effectively stripping Liholiho of his powers.⁸⁹ To ensure the loyalty of the Maui and Hawai'i *ali'i nui*, Ka'ahumanu allowed the *ali'i nui* to retain the lands that had been granted to them by Kamehameha I and denied Liholiho the right to *kālai'āina*. Ka'ahumanu's actions usurped Liholiho's power. Without a *kālai'āina*, Liholiho soon found that the *ali'i* had no reason to pay tribute to him as he was not the source of their land base.⁹⁰ Like Kamehameha's decision to provide hereditary succession for an elite few, Liholiho's failure to *kālai'āina* constituted another important change in the land tenure system.

Following Liholiho, Kauikeaouli became *mō'i* at the age of twelve. Ka'ahumanu and Kalanimōkū served as his *kahu*, or guardians. These *kahu* believed that land inheritance rights for Hawaiians were necessary. They however, adamantly opposed the ownership of land by foreigners.⁹¹ Increasingly, as time passed on, Hawaiians relied on foreigners more and more in an attempt to blend their traditions with that of the Euro-American world. Reverend William Richards, foster father of Kauikeaouli and Kauikeaouli's sister, Nāhi'ena'ena, was one of the foreigners most trusted by Kauikeaouli.⁹² Because of Kauikeaouli's respect for Richards, Kauikeaouli sought the guidance of Richards regarding political economy.⁹³ As a result of Richards'

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 73.

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 74, 84.

⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 86-87, 92.

⁹² Ibid., p. 173.

⁹³ Kelly, M. Land Tenure in Hawaii. *Amerasia*, vol. 7, no. 2, pp. 59-60.

recommendation that the Hawaiian government establish a body of laws that would govern all people, the 1839 Declaration of Rights as well as the 1840 and 1842 constitutions were written.⁹⁴ Richards sought to persuade the *ali'i nui* to accept the foreign concept of capitalism with private ownership of land at its core. Richards failed to reveal that such action would significantly reduce the authority of all of the *ali'i nui* including the *mō'i*.⁹⁵ As foreigners gained power in government, they became even more eager to gain *'āina* for themselves. After ten years, the *ali'i nui* conceded to foreign pressures and began the process towards capitalism through private land ownership.⁹⁶

The *ali'i nui* had been struggling with major crises such as the rapid decline in the population of their race, pressure from *haole* over the privatization of land, and redefining what was acceptable for the Hawaiian society. In response to these crises, the Calvinist missionaries alleged that Hawaiians were a dying race because they were “lazy and lascivious” and what Hawaiians needed to solve their problems was privatization of land. The missionaries argued that by privatizing the ownership of land, the people would have something to do and would give up their sinful ways.⁹⁷

William Little Lee was another *haole* who added to the scheme of the missionaries when he became attorney general in 1847.⁹⁸ He stressed the need for private land ownership and agricultural development in Hawai'i.⁹⁹ According to Lee, “unless the people -- the real cultivators of the soil, can have an absolute and independent right in their lands -- unless they can be protected in those rights, and have what they

⁹⁴ Kame'eleihiwa, L., pp. 174-175.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁹⁷ Kame'eleihiwa, L., September 24, 1996. Hawaiian Studies 440 Lecture.

⁹⁸ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 213.

⁹⁹ Kelly, M., p. 63.

raise as their own, they will inevitably waste away, and ere long cease to exist as an independent nation...”¹⁰⁰

Many *ali'i nui* (such as Ka'ahumanu, Kaheheimālie, Kīna'u, Hoapili, Kekāuluohi, Kalanimōkū, and Boki) of Kamehameha's generation were opposed to foreign land tenure practices. However, with the pressures put before Kauikeaouli's generation, such as the Organic Acts written by Gerrit P. Judd and others providing foreigners who swore allegiance to the Kauikeaouli, the same status as Hawaiians, it is no wonder that the *mō'i* and *ali'i nui* who were unsure about the future of the kingdom decided to consent to the 1848 *Māhele* after much debate.¹⁰¹ They saw the *Māhele* as a means of ensuring that the Hawaiian people would have land to live on and to hold in perpetuity for future generations.

The word *māhele* means to share or divide. However, the idea of private land ownership was a foreign concept to Hawaiians. Under the guise of educating Hawaiians about land privatization and looking out for the best interests of the *mō'i* and his people, the Privy Council was established as Kauikeaouli's advisory body. Kauikeaouli appointed the following members to the Privy Council: John Young (a.k.a. Keoni Ana) (Minister of the Interior), Gerrit P. Judd (Minister of Finance), Robert Wyllie (Minister of Foreign Relations), William Richards (Minster of Public Instruction), and John Ricord (Attorney General).¹⁰² John Young was the only *hapa haole* or part-Hawaiian, part-*haole* Minister. Outside of the *ali'i*, all of Kauikeaouli's other appointees were *haole*. The Hawaiian *ali'i* involved in this process included the Prince Leleiōhoku (Governor of

¹⁰⁰ Kingdom of Hawai'i. Land Matters File. December 23, 1847. Letter from William Lee to Rev. J.S. Emerson, Hawai'i State Archives.

¹⁰¹ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 210.

¹⁰² Kelly, M., p. 60.

Hawai'i), Kānehōa (Governor of Maui), Kekūānao'a (Governor of O'ahu), Queen Kalama (Governor of Kaua'i), Princess Ruth Ke'elikōlani, Kanaina, 'I'i, Namau'u, Namakeha, Kanoa, Pākī, and Konia.¹⁰³ At the Privy Council, it appeared that Kauikeaouli was finally getting the *kālai'āina* he had longed for since becoming *mō'i* in 1833.¹⁰⁴ Through this process, he was able to first choose his *'āina*, then agree upon the *'āina* for the *ali'i nui* and *kaukau ali'i*, followed by setting aside some land for the government.¹⁰⁵ The *mō'i* and *ali'i nui* believed that the remaining land would be set aside for the *maka'āinana*. However, the claims needed to first be heard by the Land Commission. The *ali'i nui* therefore, gave up between 56 and 74 percent of their land by first relinquishing 50% to the *mō'i* plus an one-third commutation fee.¹⁰⁶

In May 1845, Judd suggested that the Privy Council create a commission to award land titles. On December 10, 1845, the Land Commission (a.k.a. Board of Commissioners to Quiet Land Titles) was established.¹⁰⁷ As Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa states, "The establishment of the Land Commission was seen [by the *ali'i nui*] as an attempt to reach some sort of fair compromise between foreign desires for secure title to *'Āina* and *Ali'i Nui* desire to retain control of the kingdom."¹⁰⁸ The Land Commission included William Richards (chairperson), John Ricord (Attorney General), James Young Kanehoa, John Papa 'I'i, and Zorobabela Ka'auwai.¹⁰⁹ In 1847, William Lee was appointed to the Land Commission and declared that the *'āina* should be divided into

¹⁰³ Kame'eleihiwa, L., October 1, 1996. *Hawaiian Studies 440 Lecture*.

¹⁰⁴ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 214.

¹⁰⁵ Alexander, A.C., p. 69.

¹⁰⁶ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 219.

¹⁰⁷ Kelly, M., p. 61.

¹⁰⁸ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 210.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 211.

equal thirds, one share each for the government, the *ali'i*, and the *maka'āinana*.¹¹⁰ In achieving this division, the Land Commission required the *maka'āinana* and later the *ali'i* to present evidence and testimony to their claims.¹¹¹ If land was awarded, a Land Commission Award was received by the grantee who had to pay a commutation fee to secure the land title.¹¹² Thereby, the one-third commutation fee in money or land was the government's share of the division.

The main problem with the *Māhele* was that two processes - the Privy Council and the Land Commission - were attempting to achieve a division of the land in direct opposition to one another. While the *ali'i* thought they were selecting their *'āina* and leaving the remainder for *maka'āinana* interest, the Land Commission was attempting to hear testimony and award *maka'āinana* and *ali'i* their land with a one-third commutation fee insuring the government's share. These two opposing forces not only caused great confusion, but also allowed for even greater dispossession of Hawaiian lands.

In spite of the fact that the estimated population of Hawaiians in 1848 was 88,000 (of which about 29,220 were adult male), only 8,421 of the 14,195 *kuleana* claims placed were awarded.¹¹³ A total of 28,658 acres of land, less than one percent of the total acreage of Hawai'i was awarded.¹¹⁴ For those fortunate enough to receive *kuleana* awards, they were generally granted small properties no more than a few acres in size. Awards were granted for house lots and land that was being actively cultivated. It was common for families to grow a variety of plants near their homes for their consumption.

¹¹⁰ Kelly, M., p. 63.

¹¹¹ Kame'eleihiwa, L., October 1, 1996. Hawaiian Studies 440 Lecture.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 295.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

Hawaiians also allowed *lo'i* to lay fallow to ensure that each *lo'i* was rich in nutrients. Prior to the *Māhele* and the concept of privatization of land, Hawaiians acknowledged that all *lo'i*, even those lying fallow were under the care of the “owner” or steward of that land. Land that was lying fallow at the time of the survey however, was not awarded.¹¹⁵ The lands awarded to the *maka'āinana* were distributed from the land holdings already claimed by the *ali'i*.¹¹⁶

While the 1848 *Māhele* failed to ensure life for the *maka'āinana*, foreigners, especially missionaries, acquired great amounts of land at the expense of the Hawaiian people. In 1850, it became legal for foreigners to own land. By 1855, nearly fifty missionaries had already purchased thousands of acres of land.¹¹⁷ In the end, Hawaiians lost great amounts of *'āina* as a result of adopting Euro-American laws and policies concerning land tenure. To the dismay and devastation of the Native Hawaiian population, rather than providing Hawaiians with a land base to hold in perpetuity, the *Māhele* greatly dispossessed the Hawaiian people from their land.

THE MĀHELE AND KAHAKULOA

The *ali'i* valued Kahakuloa for numerous reasons. Kahekili, the last ruler of Maui, sometimes lived on Pu'u Koa'e.¹¹⁸ He came from a rich blood line and was the son of Kekaulike, *mō'i* of Maui.¹¹⁹ Through his high lineage and alliances, Kahekili controlled the islands of Maui, Moloka'i, O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Ni'ihau.¹²⁰ As one of the

¹¹⁵ Kelly, M. January 1, 1992. Professor Justifies Native Anger, *Ka Leo O Hawai'i*.

¹¹⁶ Alexander, A.C., p. 69.

¹¹⁷ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 302.

¹¹⁸ Sterling, E.P., p. 58.

¹¹⁹ Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 42.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

two recognized fathers of Kamehameha I, Kahekili was the grandfather of Kamehameha III, Kauikeaouli.¹²¹ Kahekili, along with Namaka, a renowned man of Kalaniopu'u's time and other *ali'i*, enjoyed the recreational aspects of Kahakuloa. They took full advantage of the Kahakuloa's cliffs by jumping approximately 300 feet from the cliffs in a game known as *lele kawa*.¹²² The sport of *lele kawa* was not limited to the *ali'i* however, only the very brave attempted death leaps such as those at Ke'anae, Keka'a, and Kahakuloa.¹²³

Kahakuloa was also valued because it was a crucial communication link for the Maui *ali'i*. In ancient times, a paved foot trail of beach rocks was constructed under the direction of Kihapi'ilani, the son of Pi'ilani, to enable messengers to run the shortest distance between two points.¹²⁴ Unlike most trails of this time which were straight, this particular trail was meandering and therefore became known as *ke alanui kīke'eke'e o Maui*, the zigzag road of Maui.¹²⁵ The trail is said to encompass the entire island and parts of the trail can still be seen today in Kahakuloa.¹²⁶

The *ali'i* also treasured Kahakuloa for its resources. Kahakuloa was a thriving farming and fishing village. The fertile valley and good fishing grounds were capable of sustaining a large population. If necessary, a large number of warriors could have been fed off the resources available at Kahakuloa.

¹²¹ In traditional times, the *ali'i* mated with multiple partners. A child born of a woman who had mated with two men in close succession was known as a *po'olua*. Both of the men were considered to be the fathers of the child. In this way, the *po'olua* child was able to claim the genealogy and *mana* of both men. Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 43.

¹²² Stokes, Sites Notes, MS SC Sterling p. 11.7., Sterling, E.P., p. 45 and Kamakau, S.M. 1992. *Ruling Chiefs*. Honolulu: Kamehameha Schools/Bishop Estate, p. 111.

¹²³ Sterling, E.P., p. 45.

¹²⁴ Kamakau, S.M., *Ruling Chiefs*, p. 429.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Walker, W.M., p. 123.

The *ali'i* valued Kahakuloa for its recreation, resources, spirituality as well as a crucial communication link. Perhaps the most significant way in which the *ali'i* of the mid-nineteenth century were able to display their love for a land was to claim the land as their own during the *Māhele*. In traditional times, Kahakuloa was recognized as being a very sacred place. In fact, Kahakuloa was said to be like Hālawā on Moloka'i, one of the most sacred places in Hawai'i.¹²⁷ When one considers the fact that Kūikeyaouli only chose between four and ten Maui lands for himself, it is not surprising that Kahakuloa, a place valued by both the *ali'i* and *maka'āinana* alike was chosen by Kūikeyaouli.¹²⁸

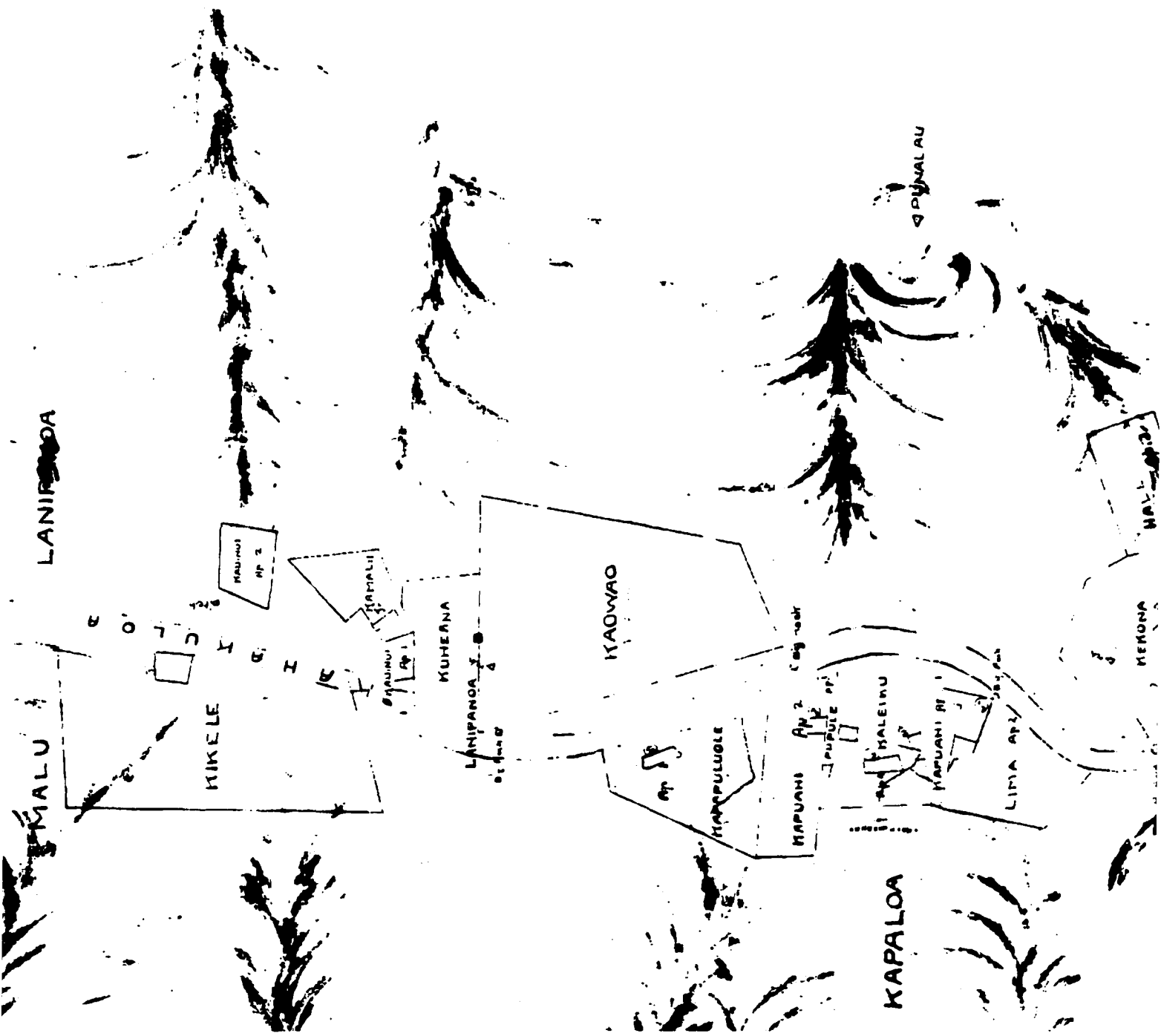
The *ali'i* were not the only ones to receive titles to land in Kahakuloa during the *Māhele*. Like the *ali'i*, the *maka'āinana* also treasured Kahakuloa for its material and spiritual wealth, and applied for title to their lands. A total of 96 residents were awarded *kuleana* land claims for the lands that they were living on and working.¹²⁹ These 96 land claims are listed in the *Buke Māhele* under the place name Kahakuloa. Considering the fact that only 8,421 people were awarded land throughout Hawai'i, Kahakuloa residents were among the very few throughout the islands to have retained most of the lands they were cultivating after the *Māhele* (Figure 7).

¹²⁷ Ashdown, I.M., p. 60.

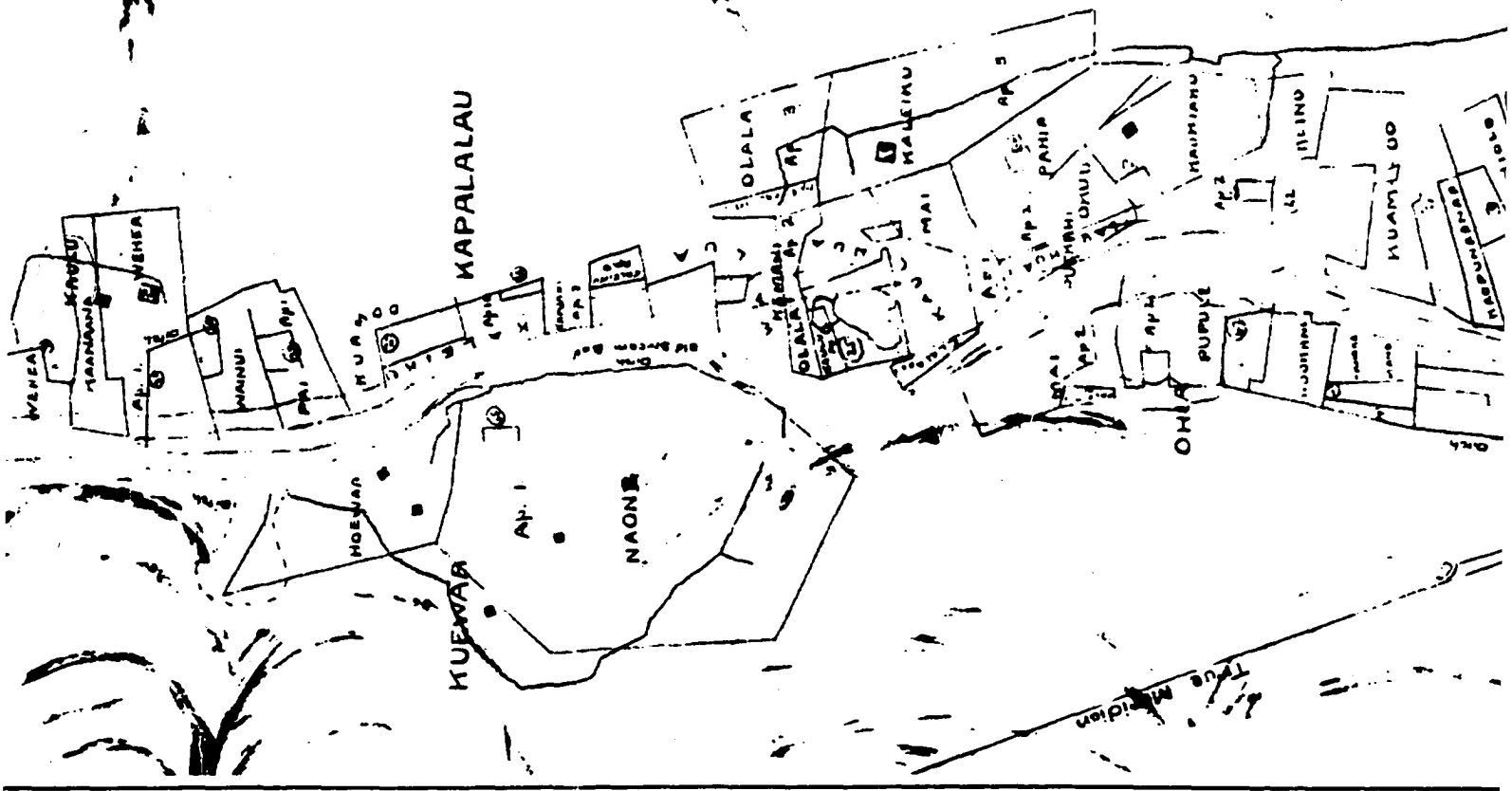
¹²⁸ There are conflicting accounts regarding the number of Maui Crown Lands selected by Kūikeyaouli. Depending on informant, the number of Crown Lands vary with the lowest number being four and the highest number being ten.

¹²⁹ Kingdom of Hawai'i. 1848. *Buke Māhele*. Honolulu: Hale Ali'i.









Most *kuleana* land awards in Kahakuloa were for an acre or less however; in some extraordinary cases, over five acres were awarded to an individual.¹³⁰ In the case of my family, Naone received an award of 4.43 acres in Kuewaa.¹³¹ Here are a few Land Commission documents for Naone's award:

6623 Naone Kahakuloa Jan 31, 1848
 Ewa Lina hooona Kuleana. Eia mai
 20 Kii Kuleana, he Maue lo'i 20 a he wahi
 Kula no hoi
 Na Naone

(Figure 8. Copy of Original Native Register on Claim of Naone.)¹³²

Translation:¹³³

No. 6623 - Naone Kahakuloa, Jan. 31, 1848
 To the Land Commissioners: Here is my claim: 20 *lo'i* and also a *kula*.
 Naone

Based on Naone's large award of twenty *lo'i* and an upland area, it is evident that Naone was an important person in Kahakuloa. Unfortunately, I do not have additional information regarding Naone as the genealogy of my family prior to Tūtū Ka'ilioi is *kapu*. The Native Testimony to follow does however document that Naone had two *Pō'alima* lands on his property. This is significant because such lands, also known as

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 589.

¹³² Ibid., Native Register no. 6623, vol. 6, p. 408.

¹³³ Ibid.

Translation of Native Testimony:¹³⁶

No. 6623 Naone

M. Kenui sworn. He has seen 2 sections in the 'ili lands of Kahakuloa. Land from Naone's parents at the time of Kamehameha I. 2 *Pō'alima* lands are in the first section, no objections.

Section 1.	Taro and pasture in Kuewa 'ili.
	<i>Ma uka</i> Hoewaa
	Lahaina Kahakuloa Stream
	<i>Ma kai</i> Kenui and Kahewahewanui
	Waihe'e Pali
Section 2.	House lot at Kaopilopilo 'ili.
	<i>Ma uka</i> Kaahui
	Lahaina Kenui's land
	<i>Ma kai</i> Pali
	Kahakuloa Pali
	Waihe'e Kenui

The Native Testimony provided the means for people to testify in Hawaiian to confirm that the claimants were residing on and/or cultivating the land being claimed. North, south, east, and west were not used as directionals for these documents. Instead, *Ma uka* (towards the mountain), Lahaina (towards the place known as Lahaina), *Ma kai* (towards the sea), and Waihe'e (towards the place known as Waihe'e) were used to identify where the land in question was located relative to its surrounding areas. Often the names of neighboring land owners were used as reference markers.

¹³⁶ Ibid.

Ct. 6623. Naone.

No. 1. I know the lands of Naone. They are in the district of Kona; Kaka'akua.

No. 2. is a section of base & hula land.

No. 3. is a section of base & hula land.

The title of these lands from his parents, in the days of Kamehameha, and his title has never been disputed.

No. 4. is bounded. On the N. by Kamehameha's land. On the E. by the Estate of Kaka'akua, On the S. by Kamehameha's & my land. On the W. by the Estate of Kaka'akua.

No. 5. is bounded. On the N. by Kamehameha's land. On the E. by my land. On the S. by the Estate of Kaka'akua, On the W. by my land.

There is one pihama hui and one pihama hula in No. 1.

(Figure 10. Copy of Original Foreign Testimony on Claim of Naone.)¹³⁷

Foreign Testimonies were another means of testifying for or against a person's claim to land. Foreign Testimonies were written in English.

¹³⁷ Kingdom of Hawai'i. Land Commission Award no. 6623. *Buke Māhele*, vol. 7, p. 265.

Translation:

No. 6623 Naone

Kuewaa, Kahakuloa, Maui

Apana 1. Taro and Uplands. Section of Kuewaa. Starting at the southwest corner and continuing on.

South 72 degrees	East 203	land section at (belonging to) Hoewaa
South 62 degrees	East 126	land section at (belonging to) Hoewaa
North 54 degrees	East 360	land section at (belonging to) the <i>Konohiki</i>
North 7 degrees	East 495	land section at (belonging to) the <i>Konohiki</i>
North 53 degrees	West 410	land section at (belonging to) the <i>Konohiki</i>
South 52 1/2 degrees	West 276	land section at (belonging to) the <i>Konohiki</i>

and then adjoining the stream at the first corner. 4 43/100 acres

Apana 2. House lot at Kaopilopilo. Starting at the north corner and continuing on.

South 74 degrees	East 100	land section at (belonging to) the <i>Konohiki</i>
South 12 1/2 degrees	West 204	land section at (belonging to) the <i>Konohiki</i>
North 85 degrees	West 118	land section at (belonging to) Mala
North 17 1/2 degrees	East 228	land section at (belonging to) Mala

to the first corner. 1/4 acre

A.F. Turner
Surveyor

28 December 1852

Total payment \$7.00
signed

Honolulu January 10, 1853

The Land Commission Award Survey documented the Land Commission Award number, name of awardee, land use, location, size, and exact boundaries of the awarded parcel of land. A sketch of the parcel, labeled with the names of the surrounding land awardees was also included. Many examples exist where *kuleana* lands were surrounded by the lands of the *konohiki*.

As land became private property, surveys were needed to accurately determine the boundaries of the land. In 1873, James Alexander, one of the leading surveyors of his time, surveyed the acreage of Kahakuloa.¹³⁹ In total, he surveyed 10,523 41/100

¹³⁹ Lucas, P.F.N. 1995. *A Dictionary of Hawaiian Legal Land-Terms*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p. 168.

acres.¹⁴⁰ In spite of his survey, the exact boundaries of Kahakuloa remain disputed to this day. According to a February 1892 memo from the Minister of Interior and Agent of Crown Lands to the Commissioner of Boundaries for the 2nd Judicial District, “The land of Kahakuloa adjoins the lands of Honokōhau, belonging to Hon. H.P. Baldwin, and of Waihe‘e, belonging to the Waihe‘e Sugar Co.”¹⁴¹

Another primary source, Document 397 written in the mid-nineteenth century lists the *ahupua‘a* and *‘ili* belonging to Kahakuloa. Such a document implies that Kahakuloa was not a single *ahupua‘a*, but a larger land division which could further be divided into several *ahupua‘a* and *‘ili*.¹⁴² Manā and Makamaka‘ole are likewise listed as being a part of Kahakuloa in a Commission of Public Lands document.¹⁴³ These two places are about three and five miles respectively from the valley itself. Yet another document, Ltr. Bk. 15 p. 126 contains information that contradicts that of Document 397. Unlike Document 397 which lists many *ahupua‘a* under the place name, Kahakuloa, Ltr. Bk. 15 p. 126 lists the Crown lands of Kahakuloa, Nāpili, Polua, and other lands separately.¹⁴⁴ Likewise a Bishop Museum document states that Kahakuloa is a single *ahupua‘a*. In spite of the dispute over the exact boundaries of this land, lifelong residents of Kahakuloa are adamant that the true boundaries of Kahakuloa are the ridges of the valley itself. Kahakuloa is therefore a single *ahupua‘a* originating deep in the valley at Mount ‘Eke and extending out to the sea. These residents contend that over the

¹⁴⁰ Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Land Matters file. November 29, 1873. Letter to Deputy Commissioner to Honorable John O. Dominis. Hawai‘i State Archives.

¹⁴¹ Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Interior Department of Lands. February 1892. Letter from Minister of Interior and Agent of Crown Lands to Commissioner of Boundaries. Hawai‘i State Archives.

¹⁴² Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Land Matters file. N.d. Hawai‘i State Archives, Document 397.

¹⁴³ Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Commission of Public Lands. February 7, 1903. Letter from Sub-Agent Fourth Land District to Governor, Hawai‘i State Archives, p. 1.

¹⁴⁴ Kingdom of Hawai‘i. Interior Department of Lands. N.d. Hawai‘i State Archives, Ltr. Bk. 15, p. 126.

years, the name Kahakuloa has been erroneously used to include many places outside of the valley.¹⁴⁵

I have been told that the place name “Kahakuloa” was derived from a single *lo'i* with a rock by the same name. From this particular rock in the valley, one could see the entire village.¹⁴⁶ I am therefore doubtful that the boundaries of Kahakuloa extend outside of the valley itself, for other places would not be visible from such a rock in the valley. Furthermore, Hawaiians were very sophisticated in their naming of places, from islands to individual *lo'i*, every place was named. I therefore use the valley walls as the boundaries for my study area. The *lo'i* with the rock known as Kahakuloa was said to have belonged to the chief of the valley who lived in relative isolation. As a result, the *lo'i* and eventually the valley received the name Kahakuloa “The distant master or lord” in reference to its “isolated master.”¹⁴⁷ Others dispute this interpretation and contend that Kahakuloa translates to mean “the tall lord.”¹⁴⁸

KAHAKULOA IN THE MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY

Personal Introduction

Throughout the valley, rain drips off the *pili* houses. Water gushes rapidly down the stream making its way from the mountains to the sea. The force of the water stirs the

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Richard Ho'opi'i. Conducted by Katrina-Ann R.K. Oliveira on December 31, 1998 in Wailuku, Maui. Richard Ho'opi'i is a Native Hawaiian who was born and raised in Kahakuloa. His family has called Kahakuloa home for many generations. He is not a *mānaleo* of the Hawaiian language.

¹⁴⁶ Interview with Leroy Ho'opi'i. Conducted by Katrina-Ann R.K. Oliveira on January 2, 1999 at his home in Waihali, Maui. Leroy Ho'opi'i is a Native Hawaiian who was born and raised in Kahakuloa. His family has called Kahakuloa home for many generations. He is not a *mānaleo* of the Hawaiian language.

¹⁴⁷ Handy, E.S.C. 1940. *The Hawaiian Planter*, vol. I. Honolulu: Bishop Museum, p. 107.

¹⁴⁸ Interview with Richard Ho'opi'i.

sediments in the stream causing the once transparent and tranquil water to be brown and out of control. The raging water swiftly carries debris down stream. The land is soaked. The people of the village are pleased. As they say, “*Uē ka lani ola ka honua,*” when the heaven weeps, the earth lives.¹⁴⁹

The next day, the rain subsides and the sun shines brightly upon the land. A light breeze blows gently down the valley. The clumps and groves of bananas are watered.¹⁵⁰ The *‘uala, uhi, pia, wauke,* and *olonā* are likewise watered.¹⁵¹ Everywhere one looks, raindrops trapped on the tops of *kalo* leaves can be seen glistening in the sun. *Kalo* leaves sway softly in the wind throughout the valley. The water is no longer brown and out of control. The land and stream are fresh and clean. The land is fertile.

Landuse and Landscape from the Records

In the mid-nineteenth century, Kahakuloa was a densely populated and thriving valley. A variety of plants such as *lehua, ‘awa, pia, wauke, olonā, ‘uala,* and *uhi* grew in the valley. However, Kahakuloa was best known as a valley highly cultivated in wetland *kalo*. More than twelve varieties of *kalo* were grown.¹⁵² The residents of the valley were so ingenious that their irrigation allowed for water to flow upland into terraced *lo‘i*.¹⁵³ *Lo‘i* once covered the valley as far as the eye could see, even in the uplands.¹⁵⁴ Interestingly, by examining the Land Commission Awards, I was also able to deduce that

¹⁴⁹ Pukui, M.K., p. 315.

¹⁵⁰ Handy, E.S.C., Handy, E.G., and Pukui, M.K., p. 162.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 495.

¹⁵² Handy, E.S.C., p. 107.

¹⁵³ Sterling, E.P., p. 55.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Richard Ho‘opi‘i.

a prison existed in Kahakuloa in the mid-nineteenth century. On Land Commission Award surveys, sketches of *kuleana* lots identified *lo'i* set aside for prisoners.

The land and sea provided for the sustenance of the people of Kahakuloa in traditional times. To sustain a large population, residents of the valley utilized the land to its fullest potential. When one considers the number of *kuleana* awards granted in Kahakuloa, it can be estimated that at least one hundred houses were erected and inhabited in the mid-nineteenth century. During this era, large families of ten or more children were common. Based on these figures at least 1,000 people resided in Kahakuloa in the mid-nineteenth century. This population figure can further be substantiated by taking into account the number and size of the *lo'i* documented in the land records of the nineteenth century. In 1909, the Government owned 59 small *kalo* garden lots in Kahakuloa. These lots were scattered amongst the 96 privately owned *kuleana* lands. Each of the *lo'i* were between 920 to 43,000 square feet each in size.¹⁵⁵ In 1931, Kahakuloa had the largest proportion of *lo'i* under cultivation in Maui and the stone walls that once bordered and defined the *lo'i* can still be seen today.¹⁵⁶ Based on the carrying capacity of the *lo'i*, it can be estimated that 1,050 to 2,100 people could have been fed in Kahakuloa in the mid-nineteenth century.¹⁵⁷ In addition, the necessities of life were also grown in the uplands or *kula* lands. There, families grew a wide range of plants such as, 'awa, *kī*, *kukui*, *mai'a*, *milo*, *niu*, *olonā*, 'uala, 'ulu, and *wauke*.

¹⁵⁵ Kingdom of Hawai'i. Commission of Public Lands. October 14, 1909. Letter from Commissioner of Public Lands to Governor. Hawai'i State Archives.

¹⁵⁶ Sterling, E.P., p. 53.

¹⁵⁷ Stannard, D. 1989. *Before the Horror*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p. 40. Based on Stannard's estimates for the carrying capacity of wet-land *kalo* used in conjunction with the estimate of seventy acres of awarded *kuleana* land in Kahakuloa, one can estimate the population of Kahakuloa in the mid-nineteenth century.

Sacred Places

Archaeological surveys provide evidence that a common sacred element in the landscape of Kahakuloa is *heiau*. Seven recognizable *heiau* of varying shapes and sizes were found throughout the valley. Each *heiau* was dedicated to a specific god in traditional times. Similar to *heiau*, stone altars known as *ko'a* were dedicated to the deities of the ocean at Kahakuloa.¹⁵⁸ Fishermen erected *ko'a* to pray for a plentiful catch and a safe journey. Kanehalaoa is one known *ko'a*. This *ko'a* is on the beach near Pu'u Koa'e. Although the site can be seen, the *ko'a* itself has been destroyed.¹⁵⁹ The Kaneaola *heiau* is located to the west of Kahakuloa valley just inland of the school. Within the walls of this *heiau* rest graves of former residents of Kahakuloa.¹⁶⁰ Kuewa and Pakao are two other *heiau* known in the valley.¹⁶¹ The Pakao *heiau* is a small *heiau* that is difficult to make out. It is located on a ridge on the east side of Kahakuloa.¹⁶² The Kuewa *heiau* is located on my family's property. This piece of land was originally awarded to Naone. It is located on the east side of the stream about half a mile into the valley. The original outline of the *heiau* can no longer be made out.

A *heiau* in Honanana Gulch has a maximum length of 150 feet and a maximum width of 85 feet. Within the 6-8 feet high walls lay evidence of terraces and platforms.¹⁶³ In spite of the spiritual nature of *heiau*, this *heiau* has ironically been used as a cattle pen in recent times. Such a use shows a complete disregard for a place that

¹⁵⁸ Ashdown, I.M., p. 37.

¹⁵⁹ Sterling, E.P., p. 58.

¹⁶⁰ Walker, W.M., p. 125.

¹⁶¹ Thrum, T.G., 1938. Complete List of Heiaus (Temples) and Sites. *Hawaiian Annual for 1938*, issue 64, pp. 130-131.

¹⁶² Walker, W.M., p. 128.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

was once considered to be sacred by the ancestors of this place. This suggests that the people of Kahakuloa began to stray from the religious practices of their *kūpuna*. By the mid-late nineteenth century, people were no longer worshipping as their *kūpuna* did at *heiau*, but they were now worshipping in Christian churches. Even in a remote place such as Kahakuloa, the effects of colonization are apparent by the influence of the European world. An old *heiau* east of Kahakuloa stream is known as Keahialoa Heiau. Interestingly, the *heiau* has been incorporated into the foundation of a house.¹⁶⁴ No other information has been found on this *heiau*. I do not know the location of this house.

Single stones could also be considered sacred in traditional times. A large stone measuring 7 feet in height and 6 feet in width is located north of the church on the east slope of the valley. People formerly worshipped at this stone. It is not known whether or not this stone was considered to be phallic in nature.¹⁶⁵

It is very likely that other *heiau*, *ko'a*, and sacred stones also existed in ancient times. With the influence of the Euro-American world, it is quite possible that other sacred places were destroyed or forgotten. The numerous *heiau* present in the valley not only suggests that the people of this valley were extremely spiritual, but it is also indicative of the large numbers of people who once resided in the valley. A large population would necessitate the construction of many *heiau* as places of worship.

In myths, Kahakuloa was a place connected to the Pele and Hi'iaka saga. In the Pele and Hi'iaka saga, Hi'iaka set out to find Pele's lover, Lohi'au. On her way to Moloka'i, Hi'iaka stopped at Kahakuloa and rested upon a stone near a cliff. Until

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 127.

¹⁶⁵ Sterling, E.P., p. 58.

today, this stone is said to be *kapu*. No one is permitted to touch this stone because it is believed to be filled with Hi'iaka's *mana*.¹⁶⁶ In the same saga, it is further stated that a *lei hala* was thrown by Hi'iaka to Manamanaia Kaluea off a headland near Kahakuloa.¹⁶⁷

Kahakuloa was also noted as a place of sorcery. I can still remember my grandfather and older cousins telling me about seeing *akua lele*, fireballs. A mid-nineteenth century example illustrates how powerful sorcery was in the lives of people in the past, as well as providing insight into the relationship between the new religion and Hawaiian beliefs.¹⁶⁸ Kualaa wrote a letter in 1849 in which he described how his father, Paresa Mahoe, was the target of sorcery at Kahakuloa. Mahoe went to Lahaina and talked to Hoapiliwahine.¹⁶⁹ She alerted Mahoe to the types of sorcery that the people of Kahakuloa were learning. Hoapiliwahine instructed Mahoe to warn others of the news and to direct her people not to participate in such sorcery. Hoapiliwahine instead wanted her people to pray to Jehovah. When word got back to the people of Kahakuloa about what Mahoe was saying, the people in Kahakuloa were furious. A trio found the place where Mahoe excreted and took his excrement. Keawehamoa took the wrapped excrement to Moloka'i where he approached a sorcerer named Kaniho. When Kaniho refused to work his sorcery on Mahoe's excrement for fear that harm would come upon

¹⁶⁶ Handy, E.S.C., Handy, E.G., and Pukui, M.K., p. 495.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ordinarily, I would have refrained from including the names of people involved in sorcery. I am however, including the names for this story because this story is public information, available to any researcher at the Bishop Museum Archives. Furthermore, in my opinion, Kualaa wrote this letter because he wanted to share his father's experiences with others.

¹⁶⁹ Hoapiliwahine was the name of an *ali'i nui* of Maui who also went by the name of Kabeiheimālie. Hoapiliwahine was born in 1777 and died in 1842, just seven years before Kualaa wrote this letter about his father's death. While Kualaa does not directly refer to Hoapiliwahine as an *ali'i nui*, it can be theorized that the person being referred to as Hoapiliwahine in this letter is indeed Kabeiheimālie, the *ali'i nui*. Throughout this letter, Kualaa relays Hoapiliwahine's concern for "her people" implying that she felt responsible for them. Kame'eleihiwa, L., p. 126.

himself, Keawehamoa left Moloka'i for Kā'anapali with the excrement. News got back to Mahoe that his excrement had been gathered. Mahoe addressed Kahopuhoe^{aa} and Olala who were said to have gathered the excrement with Keawehamoa. The two admitted to Mahoe that they had indeed collected his excrement. Mahoe died shortly thereafter of swelling after eating raw fish that he was warned not to eat.¹⁷⁰

Pu'uhonua or places of refuge were also sacred places in traditional times. A lawbreaker was able to escape any punishment due him by seeking refuge here. A *pu'uhonua* was located in close proximity to the *lo'i* with the rock named Kahakuloa.¹⁷¹ During Kamehameha I's reign, he established new *pu'uhonua*. The *pu'uhonua* which existed prior to his reign were stripped of their *mana*. The lands of Ka'ahumanu, Kamehameha's favorite wife and Kūka'ilimoku, Kamehameha's war god, became the new *pu'uhonua*. In total, six *pu'uhonua* were established by Kamehameha on Maui. Kukuipuka was the established *pu'uhonua* for Kahakuloa. The other *pu'uhonua* of Maui were Paunau, Waipuikua, Kaniamoko, Polipoli, and Ka'ili.¹⁷²

Like *heiau* and *pu'uhonua*, burial sites were likewise considered to be sacred places. In traditional times, Hawaiians had different ideas as to the destiny of a person's soul after their death. Three of the places that a soul could go to rest were the volcano, in water, and on dry plains. On the island of Maui, Keka'a and Kamaomao were two such dry plains.¹⁷³ The manner in which the common people were buried in traditional times in Kahakuloa is intriguing. While people were often buried near their residences, another common burial practice was to throw the corpses into a deep pit. Waiuli was once such

¹⁷⁰ Bishop Museum Archives. July 16, 1949. MS SC Emory GRP 10 Box 2.2, pp. 214-215.

¹⁷¹ Handy, E.S.C., p. 107.

¹⁷² Kamakau, S.M. 1991. *Ka Po'e Kahiko*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, p. 19.

¹⁷³ Sterling, E.P., p. 48.

burial pit that was utilized by the people of Kahakuloa. The pit was said to have been more than a mile deep, with fresh water at its bottom.¹⁷⁴ Another method utilized was to bury the dead in caves, some of which were constructed of mud and stone. One known burial cave is located in Kahakuloa Gulch. The cave is located on a hill north of the trail leading to the valley and measures 4 feet across and 10 feet deep.¹⁷⁵ No matter where or how the dead were buried, all burial sites were respected as sacred places.

KAHAKULOA IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY AS REMEMBERED BY THE RESIDENTS

Through my interviews with the people of Kahakuloa, I have learned a great deal about what life was like in this valley decades ago. Inasmuch as place names can serve as a link to the past, the oral traditions of people who lived in Kahakuloa and experienced its lifestyle firsthand must be recorded. After all, in order to truly understand a place, one must “talkstory” with the locals.

Akua Lele

In talking to the residents of Kahakuloa, each of them discussed their eyewitness encounters with *akua lele* or flying gods during their youth. According to them, the *akua lele* were sent by sorcerers and shot through the air often landing on the houses of their enemies. The *akua lele* looked like fireballs and had a tail. It was believed that if an *akua lele* landed on a house, the people of that household would become ill and/or die.

¹⁷⁴ Kamakau, S.M., *Ka Po'e Kahiko*, p. 39.

¹⁷⁵ Sterling, E.P., p. 57.

In order to reverse the its effects, it was necessary to curse the *akua lele* or say “*ai kūkae pilau*” and command it to return to its place of origin.¹⁷⁶

Today other people provide a scientific explanation for this phenomena, stating that the *akua lele* were created from the release of gases from the buried bodies of the deceased. According to this explanation, this no longer occurs because corpses are now placed in airtight coffins. This explanation does not, however explain how or why *akua lele* were said to occur when several parties were arguing with one another or why the people of the affected household became sick and/or died when an *akua lele* landed on their house.

Electricity

Electricity was first brought to Kahakuloa in 1953. Prisoners were responsible for laying the poles necessary for the electricity to be brought over. Prior to 1953, lanterns, charcoal irons, and gas irons were used at night.¹⁷⁷

Farming

Farming was and continues to be a way of living in Kahakuloa. For many families, farming was an all day affair. From sunrise to sunset, they worked in the *lo'i kalo*. Other crops grown in the village were *mai'a*, *'uala*, and *'ulu*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Telephone interview with Winifred Cockett. Conducted by Katrina-Ann R.K. Oliveira on June 27, 1999. Winifred Cockett spent much of her childhood in Kahakuloa. She is my cousin, her father, Alfred Kalawai'anui Nākoa and my grandfather, Ned Kalawai'anui Nākoa are brothers. Our family has roots in Kahakuloa which trace back many generations. Winifred Cockett is not a *mānaleo* of the Hawaiian language and is sixty years old.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Interview with Moki Kauha'aha'a. Conducted by Katrina-Ann R.K. Oliveira on June 27, 1999 in Kahakuloa, Maui. Moki Kauha'aha'a is a Native Hawaiian who was born and raised in Kahakuloa. His family has called Kahakuloa home for many generations. He is not a *mānaleo* of the Hawaiian language and is about sixty years old.

'Auwai

There are two 'auwai or irrigation ditches in Kahakuloa. one on either side of the village. The people residing on the Waihe'e side of the village share one 'auwai while the people on the Lahaina side have another 'auwai.¹⁷⁹ The 'auwai must be cleaned regularly to ensure a steady supply of water. Until today, the residents of the valley rely on this water source.¹⁸⁰

Packing

In the early twentieth century, Kahakuloa had many donkeys. The donkeys were used for transportation and for packing. A resident would pack a donkey with the items needed by another person upland. The donkey was told to go upland, given a slap, and off it went. Once it reached its destination upland, the person upland would unload it, tell its new destination, and it returned to the first person.

Fishing

Fishing Methods

There were several fishing methods employed by the fishermen of Kahakuloa. Fishermen fish with a pole, free dive, or use a throw net. During the World War II, boats were also used for fishing expeditions. Moki Kauha'aha'a explained how a group of *haole* fishermen went fishing with their boat and caught an abundant supply of fish, but

family has called Kahakuloa home for many generations. He is not a *mānaleo* of the Hawaiian language and is about sixty years old.

¹⁷⁹ The old spelling for this name was Lāhainā, however this pronunciation is no longer used by *mānaleo*. I therefore use the spelling, "Lahaina." Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini, E.T., p. 127.

¹⁸⁰ Interview with Winifred Cockett.

failed to share their catch with the people of the village. On their next fishing trip, the *haole* fishermen did not catch any fish.¹⁸¹

Another interesting aspect of fishing in Kahakuloa was *kilo i'a*. Men who were skilled at sighting fish would stand on a lookout point on the cliffs and direct the fishermen below. The *kilo i'a* were highly respected men, for they had the ability to permit the fishermen to catch many fish for the people of the valley. The *akule* was the fish that was most commonly caught using this method of fishing.¹⁸² On either side of the bay there was a lookout spot, one at Kealahula and another at Waihonu.¹⁸³ This form of fishing is not commonly used today.

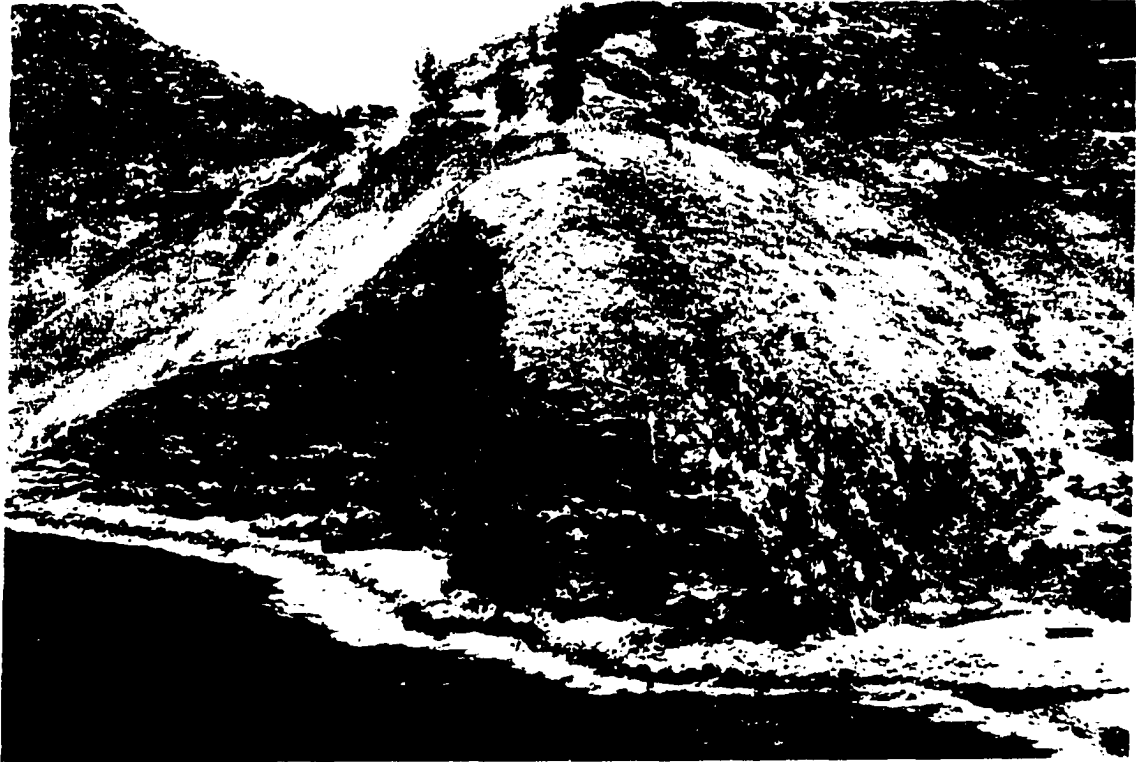


(Figure 12. Photograph of Kealahula.)

¹⁸¹ Interview with Moki Kauha 'aha 'a.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Interview with Richard Ho'opi'i.



(Figure 13. Photograph of Waihonu.)

Crab

The people in the village caught crabs. They would go to the ocean at night, shine their lights on the rocks, blinding the crabs, and catch the crabs with their bare hands.¹⁸⁴

Hihīwai

Kahakuloa once had many *hihīwai*, a snail found in brackish and freshwater. Today, however *hihīwai* is scarce. The locals of Kahakuloa recall preparing *hihīwai* by boiling it with Hawaiian salt.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸⁴ Interview with Moki Kauha 'aha 'a.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

Limu

Two types of *limu* or seaweed that were known to grow in Kahakuloa Bay were *limu kohu* and *limu pepe'e*. No mention was made about how the *limu* was collected.¹⁸⁶

'Ōpae

'Ōpae or freshwater shrimp were caught in Kahakuloa and its surrounding areas including, Makamaka'ole and Wai'ōpae. A few decades ago, there were many *'ōpae*, however with the introduction of prawns, this delicacy has become hard to come by. In the past, the people of the village would use an *'āpua*, a net used to catch *'ōpae*. One way of trapping the *'ōpae* was to block off the water source into a pond so that the water level of the pond could be reduced. They would then use their nets in the shallow water to scoop the *'ōpae*. Because the water level was so low, it was then necessary to clean the *'ōpae* of any debris that was trapped in the net. A second trapping method eliminated the need to clean debris. Using this method, an *'āpua* was again placed in the water. This time however, the net was placed in the *'auwai*. The water was again cut off, forcing the *'ōpae* to swim downstream in search of flowing water, there the *'ōpae* were trapped in the *'āpua*.¹⁸⁷

'O'opu

'O'opu is a type of fish found in freshwater streams. Kahakuloa residents used a fishing pole baited with *'ōpae* to catch the *'o'opu*. If necessary, fishermen used chewed *kukui* nuts and spat into the water making the water transparent. Once caught, the *'o'opu*

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

was prepared in the *lawalu* style, a method of cooking items bound in ti leaves. A specific type of 'o'opu, *nāpili* was once abundant in Kahakuloa Stream. It was caught, salted, and hung in the sun on a line to dry. The *nāpili* was a very satisfying snack. When hungry, all one needed to do was to pluck a few *nāpili* off the line. *Nāpili* are hard to come by today.¹⁸⁸

'Opihi

The people of Kahakuloa pounded 'opihi or limpets off the rocks of Kahakuloa Bay. They also went to other places outside of Kahakuloa. On the Lahaina side of the valley, 'opihi was pounded in Honanana and on the Waihe'e side, Kahakuloa residents traveled several miles to pound 'opihi as far as Laha'ole Beach near Makamaka'ole.¹⁸⁹ Richard Ho'opi'i told me about how his mother used to pound 'opihi at a spot near Pu'u Koa'e. In order to get to the beach where the 'opihi were abundant, one needed to descend the side of a cliff. A ladder constructed of rope was fastened and lowered down the cliff to the beach. His mother would then descend down the rope which was knotted in intervals. Once on the beach, she would pound enough 'opihi for her household, then have lunch at the beach. After lunch, she would clean the 'opihi, place it in a bag, hoist the bag on her back, securing the bag by biting the top of the bag with her teeth, and make her way back up the rope. When necessary, she would pause by stepping on a knot on the rope, and dropping her head down to rest the bag of 'opihi on her back. Slowly, she would make her ascent to the top of the cliff. From there, she would walk out to the road and create a pile of leaves to alert her sons that she was on her way home. She

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

would then begin her walk of over a mile along the road until she either got home or someone gave her a ride home.¹⁹⁰

Pipipi

Pipipi, a small black snail found on the rocks along the shore were gathered and eaten.¹⁹¹

Kapu Fish

Walter Ho'opi'i recalls how he would go down to the beach and help the fishermen push their canoes out to sea. When the fishermen returned with their catch, they would clean their fish on the shore so that the fish would be ready to cook and lighter to carry. They would also leave behind any *kapu* or forbidden fish. Certain fish were not eaten by the Hawaiian fishermen because such fish were considered to be the *'aumākuā* or ancestral deities of these fishermen. One such fish, the *po'opa'a*, was known to be the *'aumākuā* of some Kahakuloa residents. Because Walter was part-Hawaiian and part-Chinese, he was able to eat any type of fish since his Chinese mother did not have *'aumākuā*, nor did she require him to keep the *'aumākuā* of his father.¹⁹²

Food Preservation

Before electricity was brought to Kahakuloa in 1953, there were no electric refrigerators. Food was therefore preserved in a number of other ways. One way of refrigerating food for a weekend was to place meat and other perishable items into plastic

¹⁹⁰ Interview with Richard Ho'opi'i.

¹⁹¹ Interview with Moki Kauha'aha'a.

¹⁹² Interview with Walter Ho'opi'i. Conducted by Katrina-Ann R.K. Oliveira on April 9, 1999 in Paukūkalo, Maui. Walter Ho'opi'i is a Native Hawaiian who was born and raised in Kahakuloa. His family has called Kahakuloa home for many generations. He is not a *manāleo* of the Hawaiian language.

bags and place the bags into the stream. The bags were secured to a nearby tree. Other people went to town, purchased meat and ice, dug a hole and buried the perishable food and ice in the hole. Using this method of food preparation, food could be refrigerated for three to four days. Dried fish were placed in rice bags and suspended from the ceiling of the house by a rope. This method kept the fish safe from rats.¹⁹³

Market

In the early to mid-twentieth century, whenever fishermen and farmers needed to make money, they would travel to Wailuku to sell *'opihi*, *'ōpae*, *limu*, *'inamona*, and various other items at the Takamiya and Wakamatsu Markets.¹⁹⁴

Prison

A temporary prison was built near Kahakuloa in Honanana. The prisoners were used as laborers to complete the road to Kahakuloa. In the afternoons a prison guard, John Lu'uwai would allow the prisoners to swim in the stream for an hour.¹⁹⁵

Rain

It is said that when the Kilikilihune rain comes and covers the valley, Pu'u Koa'e, and the ocean, it is a sign that someone is very ill or has passed on.¹⁹⁶

Recreational Activities

During their leisure time, children would swim in the stream or go upland to play and explore.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Interview with Winifred Cockett.

¹⁹⁴ Interview with Moki Kautu'aha'a.

¹⁹⁵ Interview with Winifred Cockett.

¹⁹⁶ Interview with Richard Ho'opi'i.

Road

The road to Kahakuloa was opened in the late 1920's or the early 1930's. Richard Ho'opi'i's father was rumored to have been the first person to drive into the valley on his Buick truck. Prior to the opening of the road, people traversed to Kahakuloa by horse or mule. Boats were not used as a mode of transportation to and from the valley.¹⁹⁸

Salt Gathering

Salt was gathered from a natural salt pond at Kahapa'akai. Salt water would splash into the pond and dry in the sun. The salt would then be collected for home consumption.¹⁹⁹

Washing Clothes

Winifred Cockett recalls her experiences washing laundry in the stream. Before washing their clothes, she and her sisters would alert those living down stream that they would be washing clothes the following day. The people living upstream, did likewise so that everyone could get freshwater for the household before hand. When washing clothes, a *hohoa* stick was used to beat the clothes against the rock to loosen the dirt.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁷ Interview with Moki Kauba'aha'a.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Walter Ho'opi'i.

²⁰⁰ Interview with Winifred Cockett.

CONCLUSION

The mid-nineteenth century records and sacred places tell us a great deal about the land, landuse, land ownership, and people of Kahakuloa. From these records, we can identify the names of *kuleana* awardees and the locations and boundaries of their properties. We can also approximate the number of house lots, *lo'i*, *heiau*, and estimate the population of Kahakuloa in the nineteenth century. While these records are useful for understanding material aspects, the sacred places throughout the *ahupua'a* provide us with insight about the spirituality of these people. From these sacred places and records left behind by the people, we learn that the people were polytheistic. They prayed many times throughout the day and had numerous places of worship with each place being dedicated to a particular god for a specific purpose such as farming or fishing.

While the information contained in the mid-nineteenth century records and sacred places alludes to what life in Kahakuloa was like in the past, these sources only scratch the surface of what is known about Kahakuloa. As a society with an oral tradition, Hawaiians embedded many clues about themselves and their land in place names and orature. As Kanalu Young asserts, "The awareness that Hawaiian word meanings hold the essential spirit that entwines the here and now with times past is powerful. The events and characters from the past become signposts of identity and symbols of pride reestablished each time their descendants speak, chant, sing, or write in their honor."²⁰¹ In the next chapter, I explore the notion that by studying these clues, one can better understand the values and traditions of these people and the intricacies of each place.

²⁰¹ Young, T.K. 1998. *Rethinking the Native Hawaiian Past*. New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., p. 4.

CHAPTER 3 PLACES IN THE NAMES

INTRODUCTION

Places are as much a part of us as we are of them. As the Māori assert, “The physical presence recalls the name. The name recalls the event. The event recalls the *whakapapa* (genealogy). The *whakapapa* recalls the connection between things past and things present. The connection between things past and things present is the element which gives *Te Roroa* its pride and identity.”²⁰² In this section, the place names of Kahakuloa are recorded in hopes that the names will aid in recalling the translations, events, genealogy, and connection between things past and things present. Like the Māori, the connection between things past and present sparks a sense of pride and identity in the people of Kahakuloa and the Hawaiian people as a whole. I therefore explore the notion that place names not only reflect the significant events and geographic features of a place, but are also a representation of the society who named them. I examine the research methods involved in the creation of place names, problems associated with place name translations, translations of Kahakuloa place names, and connections between place names and orature. Ultimately, my aim is to ascertain what the place names say about the traditional Hawaiians who resided in and named Kahakuloa.

²⁰² Waitangi Tribunal. 1992. *The Te Roroa Report 1992*. Wellington: Brooker and Friend, Ltd., p. 211.

PLACE NAMES AND PROTOCOL

The first step in any place name study is to compile a list of place names. This can be accomplished by utilizing old maps, conducting research in libraries, archives, and museums, referring to previous place name studies and manuscripts, and examining orature relating to the place. At this stage, it is also crucial to interview people knowledgeable about the place names being studied. In many cases, lifelong residents of an area are aware of place names that are not recorded in written material. By interviewing such people, it is possible to learn more about a place in terms of the legends, myths, orature, culture, traditions, as well as the translations and locations of the place names themselves.²⁰³

Once confident that the place name list is accurate, it is possible to attempt to translate the place names. The translations enable us to decipher the clues embedded in the meaning of these place names. In many cases, the translations may provide us with information regarding the physical characteristics as well as significant events of the place.²⁰⁴

Protocol and Kahakuloa Place Names

In following the appropriate protocol for conducting place name research, I have interviewed a number of Kahakuloa residents knowledgeable about the place names of the valley. Frequently, the interviews took place in Kahakuloa at the homes of my informants. In talking with these people, I discovered that while many of them could identify the different coast and valley place names, they were largely unable to provide

²⁰³ Waitangi Tribunal, pp. 10-11.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 11.

me with literal translations, let alone the *mo'olelo* associated with them, for the vast majority of the place names that they identified.

Further, because I was only able to locate one native speaker of Hawaiian knowledgeable about the place names of Kahakuloa, I therefore utilized the index of *Ka Leo Hawai'i*, a Hawaiian language radio talkshow.²⁰⁵ I was able to identify audiotapes pertaining to place names, especially discussions with guests from Kahakuloa. This source of information has been particularly valuable because many of these people have passed on. These talkshow recordings have been my only means of tapping into the knowledge of these people who have left us and have taken their knowledge with them. Unfortunately, very few place names of Kahakuloa were discussed on the talkshow.

In addition to conducting interviews and listening to cassette recordings of Hawaiian language talkshows, I have also utilized maps and surveyor notebooks of the late nineteenth century to document Kahakuloa place names and their locations in the valley. These two sources have been particularly important because they document the place names as they were known in the late nineteenth century, a time in which many native Hawaiian language speakers resided in the valley. Unfortunately, diacritical markings were rarely used in the documentation of place names making it difficult to determine their true pronunciations. Moreover, the Kahakuloa maps that I have compiled were completed by non-Natives who may have had a poor mastery of the Hawaiian language.

I have also explored primary sources found at the Hawai'i State Archives which contain information dealing with the leasing, buying, and selling of land. These sources

²⁰⁵ *Ka Leo Hawai'i Inventory Sheet*. 1972-1988. unpublished.

are listed in the Hawai'i State Archives' land index file under Kahakuloa. Most of these sources are the original documents that were written in the mid-nineteenth century. Just by touching the yellowing pages and reading its content, it is as if I am somehow taken back into that time and place.

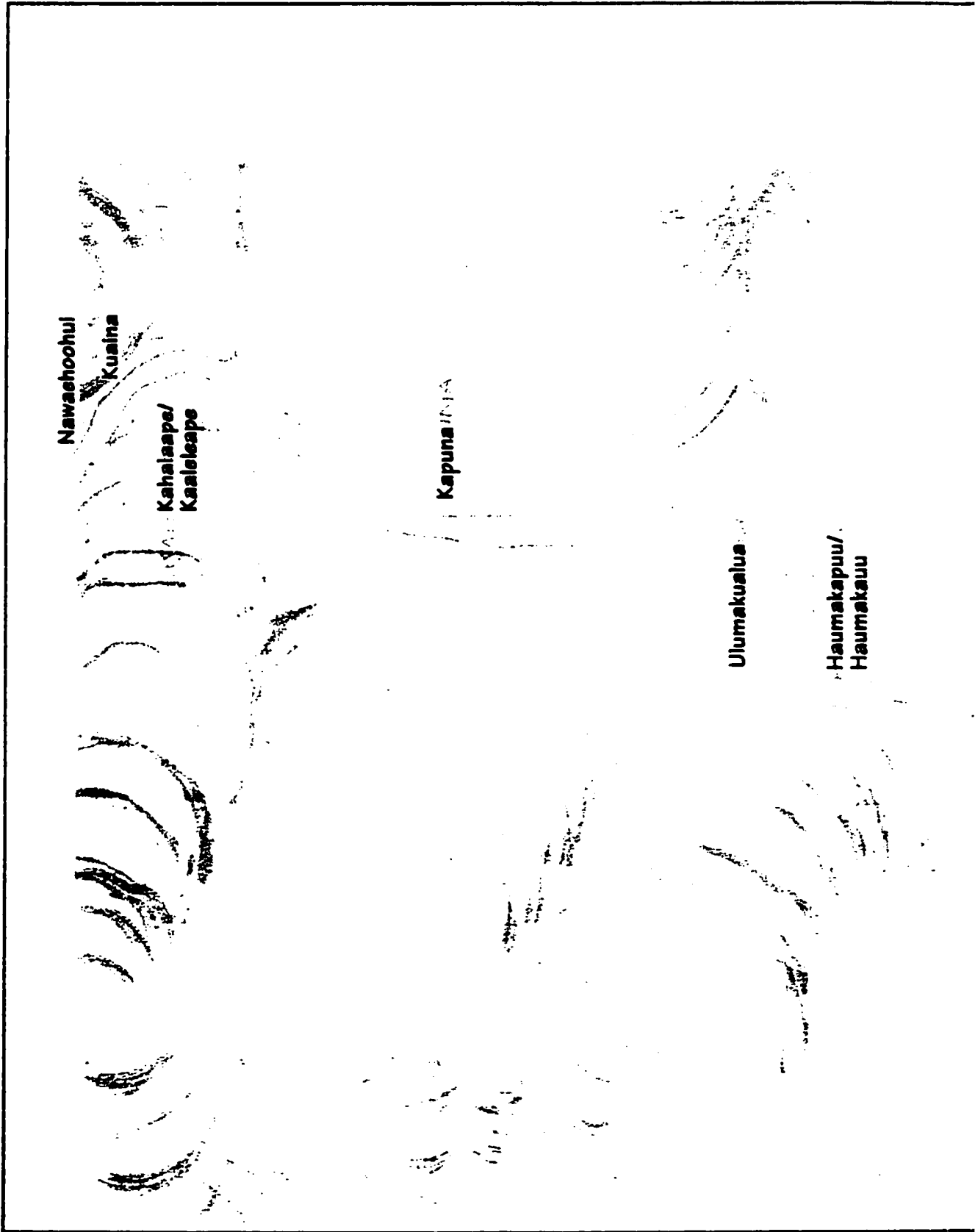
The Bishop Museum Archives has a wide range of primary sources available to researchers. I have found their audiotape and *mele* collections to be of value. I have also explored other miscellaneous written sources on Kahakuloa in the Hawaiian Ethnological Notes collection and card catalog at the Bishop Museum Archives. Some of these sources are letters written about place names while others provide legends about Kahakuloa.

I have also accessed a number of Hawaiian language newspapers of the nineteenth century. Through the place name index, I have been able to locate a number of *mele* with Kahakuloa place names. I am certain that more place name information is contained in the Hawaiian language newspapers. However, until a complete index is available, information can only be gathered on a "hit and miss" basis.

Furthermore, I have examined Hawaiian place name books to see how other scholars have approached the study of Hawaiian place names. By reading these books, I have not only been able to compile a list of place names as well as other pertinent information on Kahakuloa, but I have also been able to identify what I consider to be the strengths and weaknesses of other place name sources.

Through the information gathered from each of these sources, I have created a list and illustrated the place names of Kahakuloa (Figures 14 and 15). I am confident that both are as accurate as possible, given the sources that I have had to work with.

However, as I have discovered firsthand, the translation of place names is often problematic. Even when scholars follow the proper protocol for studying place names, it is inevitable that they will still encounter a number of obstacles along the way.



Nawaehohui

Kualina

Kahalaape/
Kaeleape

Kapuna

Ulumakualua

Haumakapu/
Haumakau

Haumakapu/
Haumakau

Mauna Kini

Papae

Kapakala

Keanananakohe/
Kuananakohe

Malu

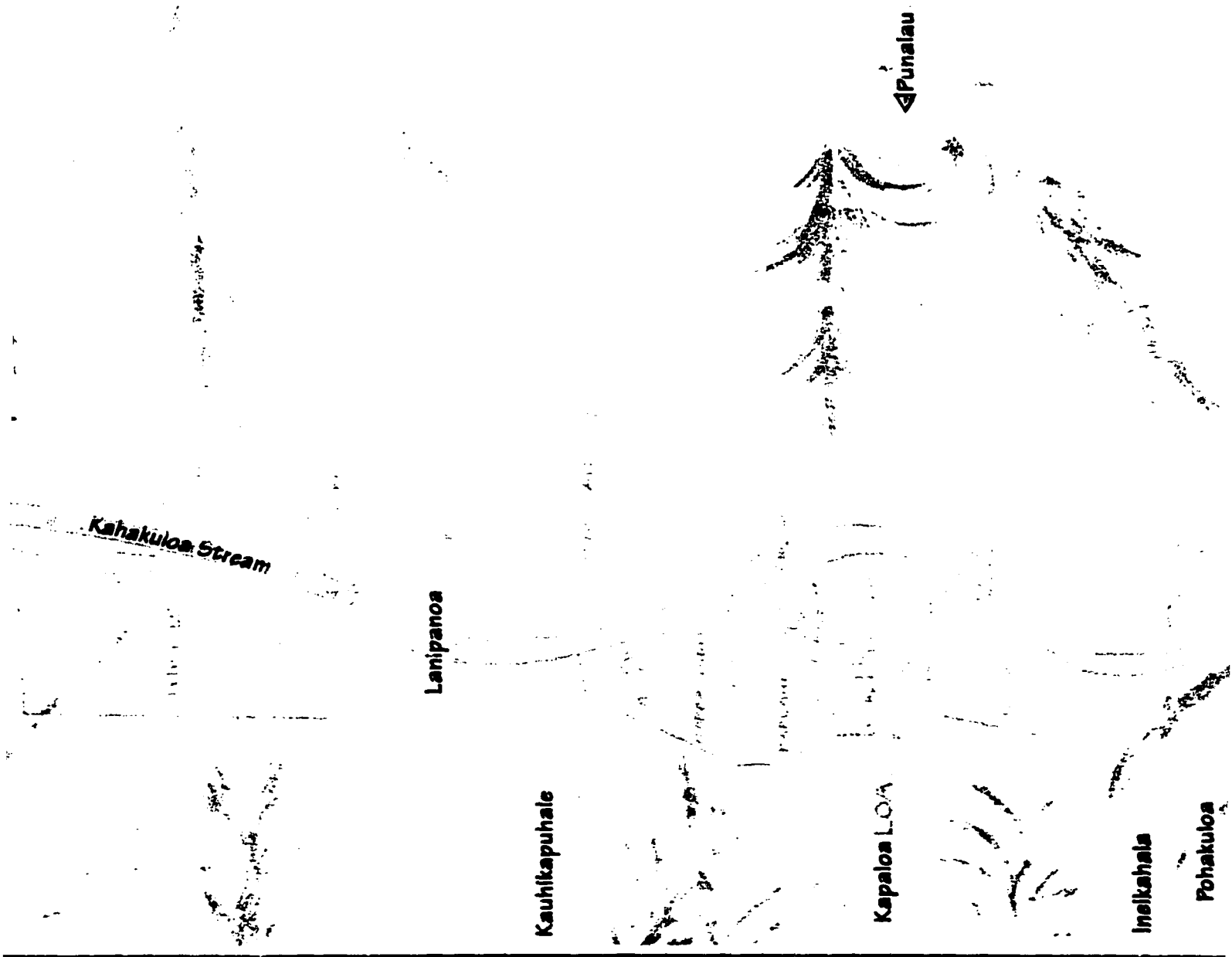
Lanipanoa

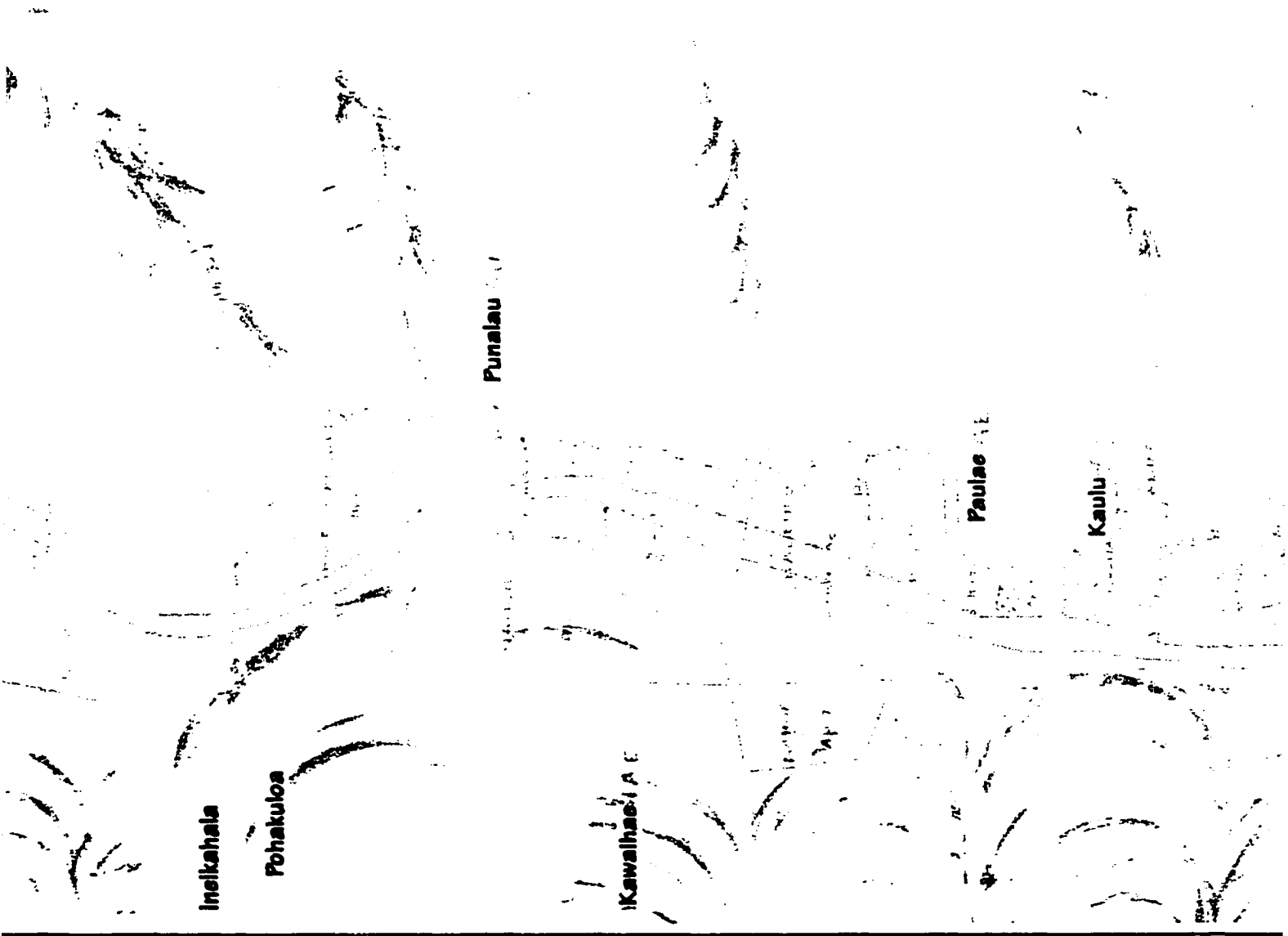
Papakalo

Kahakuloa Stream

Puu Lalo

Malu U







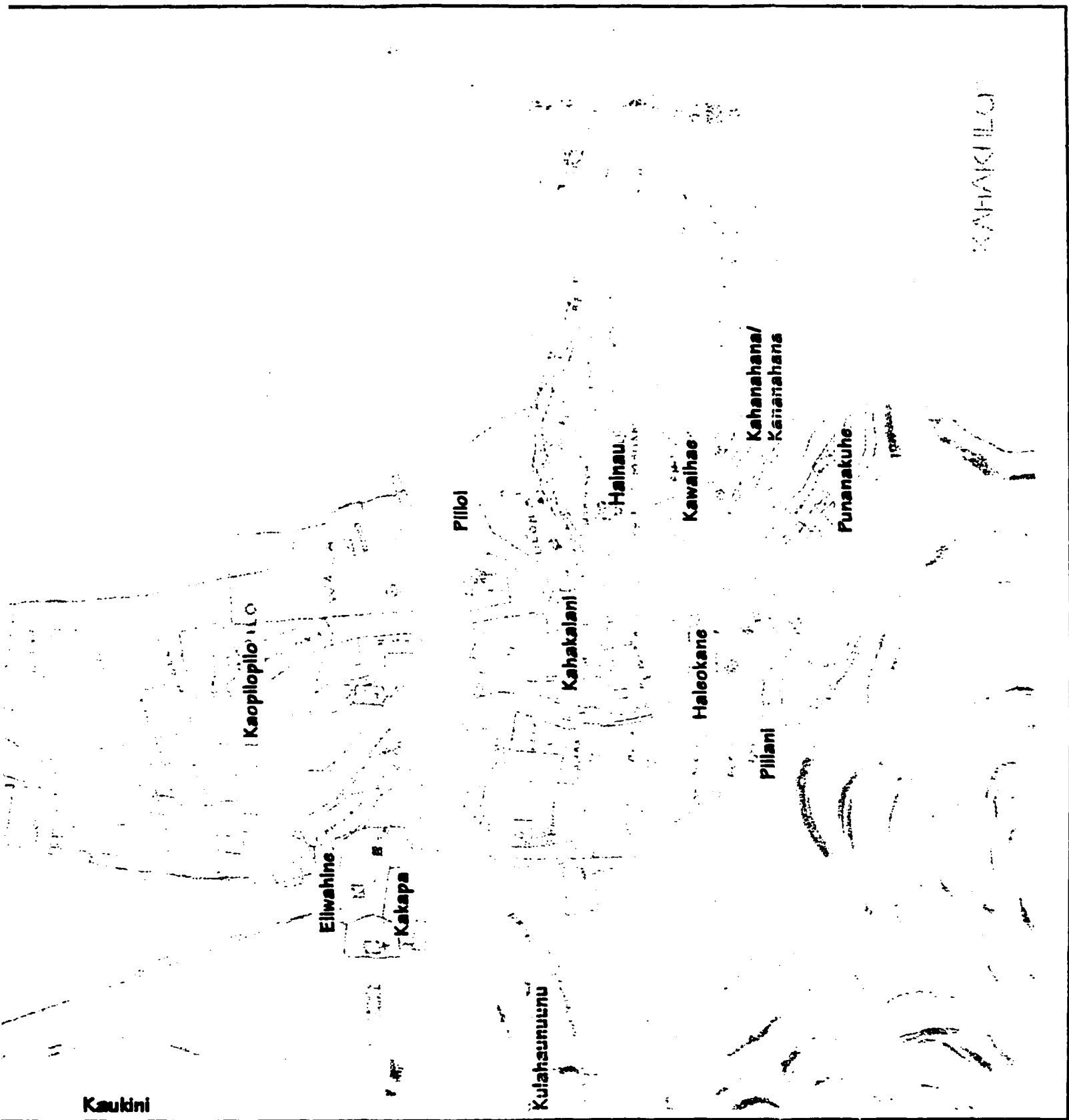




Figure 14. Illustration of Kahakuloa Valley place names.

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KAHAKULOA PLACE NAMES

Place Name	Pronunciation	Informant(s)
Anaokole		
Anapuka		
Awalau	'Awalau	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Eliwahine		
Hainau		
Haleokane		
Halii		
Haumakapuu/Haumakauu		
Heinau		
Ineikahala/Ineikahale		
Kaaleale	Ka'ale'ale	Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Kaaleieape		
Kaaleleape/Kahalaape		
Kaauhaukaheka		
Kahakahakalani/Kahakahalani		
Kahakalani	Kahākalani	Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a
Kahanahana/Kananahana		
Kahapaakai	Kahapa'akai	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Kahulaana		
Kakapa		
Kamani		
Kaneola		
Kaopilopilo	Ka'ōpilopilo	Leroy Ho'opi'i
Kapakala		
Kapalalau		
Kapaloa		
Kapuna	Kapuna	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Kauhikapuhale		
Kaukini	Kaukini	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i,

		Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Kaulu	Ka'ulu	Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i
Kawaihae		
Keahialoa		
Kealahula	Kealahula	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Kealakahakaha		
Keanananakohe/Kuananakohe		
Keawalua		
Kekuaō		
Kuaina		
Kuewa(a)	Kuewa	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Kukaehonu	Kūkaehonu	Winifred Cockett, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a
Kulahaunuunu/Kunanaunuunu		
Kumaiehaa		
Lanipanoa	Lanipanoa	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Malu		
Mapu	Mapu	Richard Ho'opi'i
Mauna Kini	Mauna Kini	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Nawaehoohui		
Ohia	'Ōhi'a	Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Paepae		
Pakao		
Paliau	Paliau	Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a
Paliokohe	Palikohe	Richard Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a
Paliokohe	Palikohe	Walter Ho'opi'i
Papakai		

Papakalo		
Papanalaho		
Papaohe		
Paulae/Pulai		
Piia	Pi'ia	Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Piilani	Pi'ilani	Moki Kauha'aha'a
Piiloi	Pi'ilo'i	Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Pohaku o Kane		
Pohakuloa		
Puekahi		
Punalau	Punalau	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Punanakuhe		
Puu Koa	Pu'u Koa'e	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Puu Laio		
Puu o ka Inaina		
Puu Olelo		
Ulumakualua		
Waihonu	Waihonu	Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho'opi'i, Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a, Malupō Lum Lung (<i>mānaleo</i>)
Wainao		

(Figure 15. Kahakuloa Place Names)

Obstacles Associated with Place Name Translations

As a scholar and a Native Hawaiian, I am in a unique position to bring to light the knowledge of my *kūpuna* in a way that is both academically rigorous and responsible to my community. However, before I may proceed, I am forced to confront these questions: Is it possible to find a common ground between the scholar and Native Hawaiian in me without compromising the information or my own integrity? Do I have the authority to translate these place names? Is it my *kuleana*, my responsibility, to my *kūpuna* and to the *'āina* to translate the names to the best of my ability so that the place names may be passed down to future generations?

I have struggled with these issues since I first decided to take on this research project, knowing full well that my intention is to do what is in the best interest of the *'āina* and the people of Kahakuloa. As a descendent of the people of Kahakuloa, I feel my *kūpuna* would be proud of my dedication to preserve these place names to the best of my ability. In translating these place names, I in no way mean to suggest that I am an authority on the place names of Kahakuloa. Rather, I am utilizing my understanding of the area and my Hawaiian language background to make the best educated guesses possible for translating these place names.

To my knowledge, I have exhausted the sources available on Kahakuloa and traditional Hawaiian place names. As I said, I have personally interviewed lifelong residents of the valley, listened to audio recordings on Kahakuloa, shifted through primary sources, referred to maps, examined *mele*, and read books dealing with the study of Hawaiian place names. Yet, in spite of my efforts, I have been unsuccessful at compiling a comprehensive list of the meanings of Kahakuloa place names and the

stories of how these places received their names. Perhaps these place names, like the majority of the names of the islands are untranslatable because they are so old that we no longer know their meanings. As a result of cultural and linguistic genocide, their stories have been lost.

How do I go about finding these translations if not through these sources? My only alternative is to draw upon my Hawaiian language background to determine a variety of possible translations for the meanings of these places with the hope that someday new information will surface which will allow me to better understand the meaning of these place names. Until such time, however I must rely on my limited understanding of the area and the native language of this land while openly acknowledging that my knowledge is incomplete.

I do recognize that, on occasion, my translations may not reflect the original meaning of the place names that were given by my *kūpuna*. Nevertheless, numerous place names throughout the islands have translations, pronunciations, and legends that may be disputed. Even native Hawaiian language speakers of a common place, do not always agree on the translation and pronunciation for places within their homeland. While many controversial interpretations exist for place names, each translation and legend of our *kūpuna* and other knowledgeable people is valuable in its own right. As our *kūpuna* say, “*A’ohe pau ka ‘ike i ka hālau ho’okahi*,” all knowledge is not obtained in one school of thought.²⁰⁶

Scholars inevitably encounter many obstacles when attempting to translate place names. One obstacle that I am faced with is that with the exception of a few place names

²⁰⁶ Pukui, M.K., p. 24.

mentioned on *Ka Leo Hawai'i* and by one *mānaleo* or native speaker of the Hawaiian language that I interviewed, I have not personally heard the pronunciation of many of the place names. It is therefore difficult to properly translate the place names without knowing their traditional pronunciations. This creates a problem because many non-native speakers of Hawaiian pronounce place names incorrectly. Over time, the mispronunciation of place names is perpetuated to the point that most people believe they are pronouncing a place name correctly when in fact they are mistaken.

Unfortunately, Hawaiian is currently not the dominant language spoken in Hawai'i. The mispronunciation of Hawaiian place names is therefore common. In other places where the native language of the land is dominant, the mispronunciation of place names by foreigners is not as serious a problem as it is here in Hawai'i. In such places, the *mānaleo*, continue to perpetuate the correct pronunciation of the place names in spite of the fact that others mispronounce the place names. It is only by listening to the *mānaleo* of the place that other *mānaleo* are able to properly pronounce the place names since many place names can be pronounced in a variety of ways. As Lawrence D. Berg and Robin A. Kearns state, the pronunciation of place names constitutes the "cultural politics of place."²⁰⁷ From this stance, they are interested in, "identifying forms of pronunciation that articulate positions in the cultural politics of naming."²⁰⁸ The act of pronouncing place names is therefore, both cultural and political in nature. Culturally, place names are a reflection of a people and their traditions; politically, place names aid people in claiming space as their own and legitimizing their existence.

²⁰⁷ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A., *Placing Names*, p. 7.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Another major obstacle that I have been faced with is that I do not know first hand where some of these place names are situated on the landscape. While I do know where many of them are located, in some cases, different sources provide conflicting information as to the location and spelling of the place names. For places that are unfamiliar to my informants, my only means of locating the place names is through nineteenth century maps of Kahakuloa.

In spite of these obstacles, I have made every attempt to find the most appropriate meaning for each place name. My literal translations merely hint at what the place names could potentially mean. As Basso so eloquently states in *Wisdom Sits in Places*, “Beyond the memories of living persons, this path is no longer visible--the past has disappeared--and thus it is unavailable for direct consultation and study. For this reason, the past must be reconstructed--which is to say, imagined--with the aid of historical materials sometimes called ‘footprints’ or ‘tracks’, that have survived into the present.”²⁰⁹

Many place names have already been forgotten and we cannot afford to lose any more names. I am extremely hopeful that my research will spark an interest in my community, encouraging other knowledgeable people to step forward so that more place names, translations, and legends will surface, thereby adding to our knowledge of this special place. Individually, place names add one piece at a time to our understanding of an individual house lot or *lo‘i*. Collectively, the place names come together like a jigsaw puzzle to tell the story about the entire place, its people, their traditions, and their

²⁰⁹ Basso, K.H., p. 31.

customs in traditional times. In some cases however, pieces of the puzzle may be missing.

PLACE NAME CATEGORIES

Place names may be categorized in a number of ways. In *Place Names of Hawaii*, Elbert and Pukui use a semantic system of classification which includes the categories: geographic features, inanimate nature, words of size, material culture, plants and plant life, actions, other qualities (except colors), numbers and words of quantity, colors, birds, body parts, legendary supernaturals, people, sea life, mammals, locatives, smells, and insects.²¹⁰ In *Ngā Tohu Pūmahara*, Te Aue Davis, Tipene O'Regan, and John Wilson takes a different approach is utilized. Place names are categorized by: 'Hawaiki' names, people's names as parts of place names, descriptive names, names commemorating Māui, and names with 'nga' in them.²¹¹ As illustrated above, place names may be classified in a number of ways. While no one way may be more "correct" than another, when classifying place names, it is always necessary to select categories that are culturally acceptable.

Categories of Kahakuloa Place Names

In traditional times, Hawaiians were very deliberate in their naming of places. Even today, the recitation of place names can conjure up images of distant events in time.²¹² Every name told a story about the place. In many cases, names commemorated significant events or described the physical characteristics of the place. In other cases,

²¹⁰ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 258.

²¹¹ Davis, T.A., O'Regan, T., and Wilson, J., pp. 18-43.

²¹² Basso, K.H., p. 46.

the names alluded to the resources present at a particular place. In studying the place names of Kahakuloa, it is apparent that several common elements appear in these place names. From them I have devised the following categories into which I group the place names of Kahakuloa: place names associated with the ocean (excluding sea animals), place names associated with animals, place names associated with caves, cliffs, and other geographical features, place names associated with people, place names associated with plants, place names associated with sacred spaces, miscellaneous place names, and place names with no known translations.

Place Names Associated with the Ocean (excluding sea animals)

Like the valley, the Kahakuloa Bay has many place names (Figure 15).

Kahulaana is one such name located to the west of Wainai. Kahulaana can be translated in two obvious ways. First, Kahula'ana can be translated as "the" (*ka*) "place where it is necessary to swim past a cliff that blocks passage along a beach or coast; sheer cliff where the sea beats" (*hula 'ana*).²¹³ In my opinion, based on the topography of the coastline, this is the most correct translation for this place name. Because of the sheer cliffs, a person walking along the seashore would eventually need to swim to get to the seashore on the other side of the cliff. A less likely translation would be "the" (*ka*) "dancing of hula" (*hula 'ana*).²¹⁴ Perhaps *hula* was performed here or people had to "dance" around the seashore.

²¹³ Ibid., p. 88.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

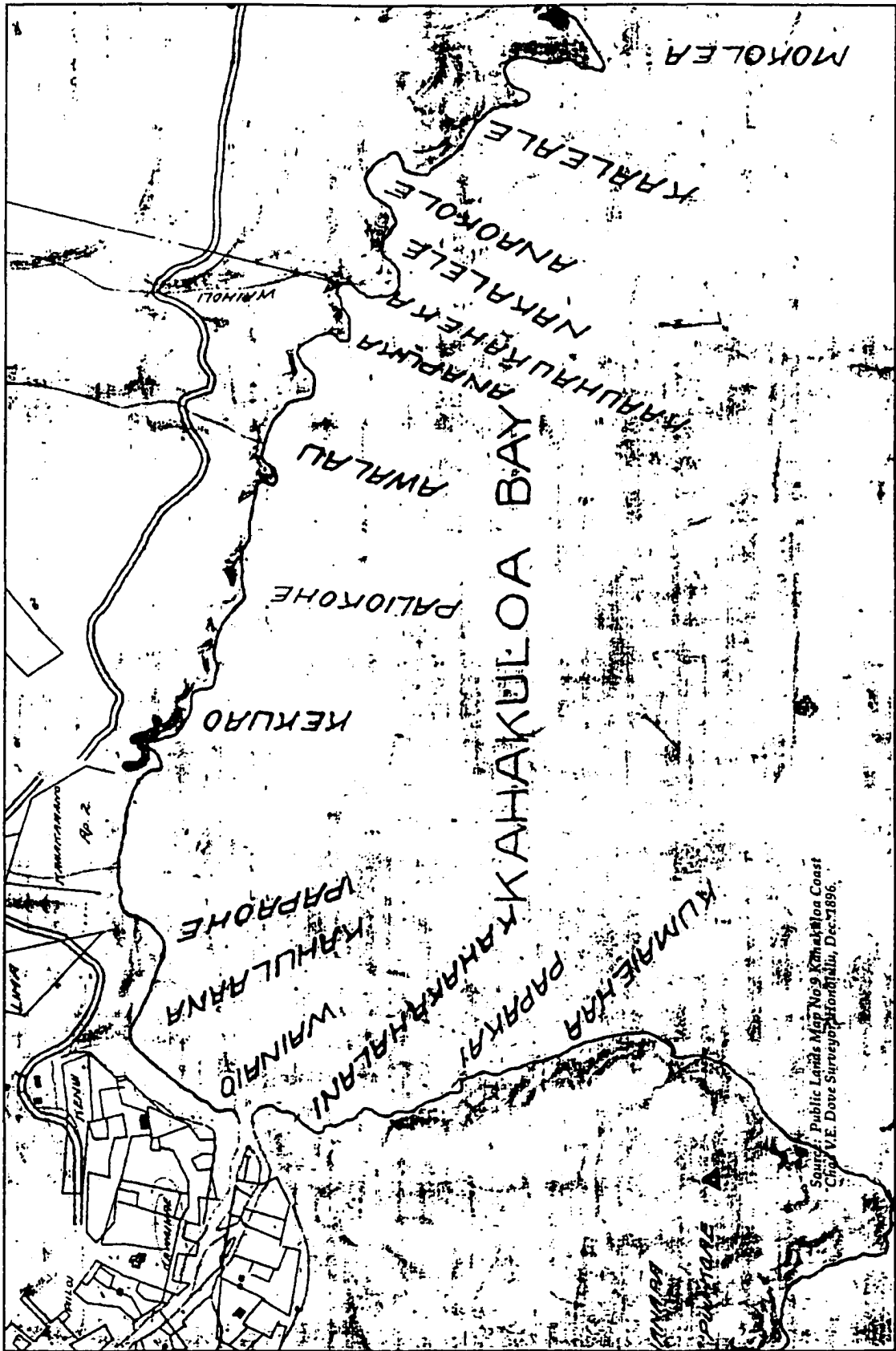


Figure 16. Illustration showing Kahakuloa Bay coastal place names.

Another coastal name, **Kaaleale** is pronounced, “Ka’ale’ale,” by the residents of Kahakuloa and likely means, “agitating, stirring, tossing, and moving.”²¹⁵ As Kahakuloa Bay is known to have the potential of being a dangerous and turbulent body of water, this translation is fitting for this place name.



(Figure 17. Photograph of Ka’ale’ale.)

Keawalua means “the” (*ke*) “double” (*lua*) “channel” (*awa*).²¹⁶ This place name provides us with information regarding the geographic conditions of this place.

Pāpākai is a coastline name is literally translated as “shoved, pounded by the sea.”²¹⁷ Anyone familiar with the Kahakuloa coastline would probably find this name to

²¹⁵ Ibid., p. 19. Ka’ale’ale was a place name mentioned by Leroy Ho’opi’i, Richard Ho’opi’i, Walter Ho’opi’i, Moki Kauha’aha’a, and *mānāleo*, Malupō Lum Lung. Interview with Malupō Lum Lung. Conducted by Katrina-Ann R.K. Oliveira in Nu’uanu, O’ahu. Malupō Lum Lung is a Native Hawaiian who spent most of her youth in Kahakuloa. She is 95 years old and is a *manāleo*.

²¹⁶ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini, E., p. 104.

be appropriate. The ocean is known to be rough and unpredictable. Pāpākai is located along the coastline just to the west of Kumaiehaa.

Kahapa‘akai is another coastline place name. This place name means, “salt place.” At this location, salt was once gathered by the residents of Kahakuloa.²¹⁸

Place Names Associated with People

Because Hawaiians perceived one’s life on earth as being momentary, people’s names were very seldom utilized in the naming of places.²¹⁹ Herman asserts, “While there are stories of places being named for ancestors, Hawaiian generally did not use people’s names as place names, and cases in which they do so suggest a direct relationship with the land, rather than an honorific attachment of a label.”²²⁰

Eliwahine is a place name that I am certain has a very interesting story behind it. I am inclined to think that this place name means, “excavated woman” with *‘eli* meaning, “excavated” and *wahine* meaning, “woman.”

Place Names Associated with Animals

Hawaiians were very keen observers. Undoubtedly, places that were known to be abundant in a particular resource would have been given a fitting name. “Cave” (*ana*) “of” (*o*) “surgeonfish” (*kole*) or “cave” (*ana*) “to spear” (*‘ō*) “surgeonfish” (*kole*) are two of the best interpretations for the coastal place name, **Anaokole**. Another possible translation for this name is “anus” (*‘ōkole*) “cave” (*ana*). None of the residents of

²¹⁷ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 317.

²¹⁸ Ibid., p. 19. **Kahapa‘akai** was a place name mentioned by Winifred Cockett, Leroy Ho‘opi‘i, Richard Ho‘opi‘i, Walter Ho‘opi‘i, Moki Kauha‘aha‘a, and *mānaleo*, Malupō Lum Lung.

²¹⁹ Herman, R.D.K., p. 84.

²²⁰ Ibid.

Kahakuloa that I interviewed were familiar with this place name. I am therefore uncertain how this place received its name.

Papaohe can be translated as “young of ‘*akule*” (*papa‘ohe*) or “bamboo” (‘*ohe*) “plain” (*papa*).²²¹ When one takes into account the location of this place along the coastline to the west of Kahulaana, “young of *akule* fish” is the most likely translation for this place, especially because *akule* were often caught in Kahakuloa Bay.

Waihonu refers to another sea animal, the turtle or *honu*. Waihonu means, “turtle water.”²²²

Another place name with reference to the *honu* is **Kūkaehonu** which translates to mean, “turtle” (*honu*) “feces” (*kūkae*).²²³

Pukui translates **Mōkōlea** to mean “cut plover or plover island, *mō* is short for *moku*, cut or island” in her book, *Place Names of Hawaii*.²²⁴ If this is the true meaning of this place name, the plover must have been known to inhabit this place. While Pukui refers to Mōkōlea as a Kahakuloa place name, Mōkōlea is located to the west of Kahakuloa.

Pu‘u Koa‘e is another place name with reference to a bird. Pu‘u Koa‘e means “*koa‘e* hill.”²²⁵ The *koa‘e* is a seabird that nests on sheer cliffs.²²⁶ The long tail-feathers

²²¹ Ibid., p. 318.

²²² All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed, including Malupō Lum Lung, a *mānaleo*, all pronounced this place name as Waihonu.

²²³ Kūkaehonu was a place name mentioned by Winifred Cockett, Walter Ho‘opi‘i, and Moki Kauha‘aha‘a.

²²⁴ Ibid.

²²⁵ All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed, including Malupō Lum Lung, a *mānaleo*, all pronounced this place name as Pu‘u Koa‘e.

²²⁶ Pratt, D. 1996. *Hawai‘i’s Beautiful Birds*. Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, p. 60.

of this bird were used to create cloaks for low ranking *ali'i*.²²⁷ Feathers from the *koa'e* were also used in *kahili*, a featherwork insignia of rank in traditional times.²²⁸

Place Names Associated with Caves, Cliffs, and other Geographical Features

The aforementioned *Anaokole*, “cave of the surgeon fish,” or “cave to spear surgeonfish,” and *Mōkōlea*, “cut plover or cut plover island” may be categorized as being both animal and cave related names.

Anapuka is a coastline name which can mean “underground passage” (*anapuka*) or “tunnel or cave” (*ana*) “with holes” (*puka*).²²⁹ There is a place by the same name on *Moloka'i*. Fishermen use the holes in this *Moloka'i* cave to secure their canoes.²³⁰ *Anapuka* is located between *'Awalau* and *Kaauhaukaheka*. This place name is an example of how Hawaiians often named places after their geographic characteristics.

Kakapa is located near a cliff and the *Kahakuloa* Catholic Church. Two likely translations for this place name are “edge” or “border.”²³¹

There are several place names in *Kahakuloa* which are named after freshwater. **Kapuna** probably means, “the” (*ka*) “spring” (*puna*).²³² It is highly likely that a spring is located here at this place deep in the valley.

Kawaihae is a place name that can literally mean, “the” (*ka*) “water” (*wai*) “of” (o) “wrath/torn” (*hae*).²³³ It is located about halfway between the main road and the coastline and is on the *Honokōwai* side of the stream.

²²⁷ Buck, P.H. 1957. *Arts and Crafts of Hawaii*. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, p. 218.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 579.

²²⁹ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 24.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 355. All of the residents of *Kahakuloa* that I interviewed, including *Malupō Lum Lung*, a *mānaleo*, all pronounced this place name as *Kapuna*.

Punalau probably means “many” (*lau*) “springs” (*puna*).²³⁴ It would be interesting to travel to this place to see if there are indeed many springs.

Chas V.E. Dove made two survey maps in 1896, completed within a few months of each other. On the August map, the place name **Keanananakohe** was given for a place deep in the valley.²³⁵ **Keanananakohe** probably means, “the” (*ke*) “cave” (*ana*) “to look at” (*nānā*) “vagina” (*kohe*). However, on the December map of the same year, **Kuanananakohe** is the place name given.²³⁶ This place name can literally mean, “stand” (*kū*) “and” (*a*) “look at” (*nānā*) “vagina” (*kohe*). In Dove’s Survey of Kahakuloa, Maui Book No. 2, **Keanananakohe** is the place name recorded.²³⁷ There are several possible reasons why these names differ. Perhaps Dove was careless in his work or had different informants for each map. One other possibility is that Dove’s work was inaccurately traced. On the December 1896 map, the phrase “traced by Jos Iao in 1907” appears on the map.²³⁸

Paliokohe is a coastline place name which means “cliff” (*pali*) “of” (*o*) “vagina” (*kohe*). Richard Ho‘opi‘i and Moki Kauha‘aha‘a both pronounced this place name as “Palikohe” while, Walter Ho‘opi‘i used the pronunciation “Paliakohe.” According to Walter Ho‘opi‘i, there are two large rocks at this place. In olden days, people traveling along this path would jump from one rock to another. Men would stand at the base of the rock and look up at the women’s genitals as the women leaped from rock to rock.

²³³ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini E., p. 97 and Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Edgar Henriques Collection.

²³⁴ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., pp. 194, 355. All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed, including Malupō Lum Lung, a *mānaleo*, all pronounced this place name as Punalau.

²³⁵ Dove, C.V.E., surveyor. August 1896. *Public Lands Map No. 9a: Kahakuloa Valley*. Honolulu.

²³⁶ Dove, C.V.E., surveyor. December 1896. *Public Lands Map No. 9: Kahakuloa Coast*. Honolulu.

²³⁷ Dove, C.V.E. n.d. *Survey of Kahakuloa, Maui Book No. 2 Reg. No. 525*.

²³⁸ Dove, C.V.E., *Kahakuloa Coast*.

Another place name with reference to a cliff is **Paliau**.²³⁹ Paliau is a beach name located by Waihonu. There are many possible translations for this place name including: “cliff” (*pali*) “(of) *au* sweet potatoes” (*au*), “cliff” (*pali*) “(of) *au* wood” (*au*), “cliff” (*pali*) “to set fishing nets” (*au*).²⁴⁰ Because this is a beach name, I believe that the last definition, “cliff” (*pali*) “to set fishing nets” (*au*) is most likely to be correct.

Three places that I have not personally seen are **Malu**, **Pohakuloa**, and **Puekahi**. Malu can mean “shelter, shade, or protection,” while Pohakuloa probably means “long” (*loa*) “rock” (*pōhaku*). I believe Puekahi to mean “singular” (*kahi*) “hill” (*pu’e*).

Mauna Kini has been translated by Mary Kawena Pukui as “many” (*kini*) “mountains” (*mauna*).²⁴¹

According to *Place Names of Hawaii*, **Kaukini** means, “placing multitude” or “to place” (*kau*) “many or multitude” (*kini*).²⁴²

Pu‘u ‘Ōlelo is a hill name which translates to, “speaking” (*‘ōlelo*) “hill” (*pu‘u*).

Another hill name, **Pu‘u o ka Inaina**, can be translated as, “hill” (*pu‘u*) “of” (*o*) “the” (*ka*) “wrath” (*inaina*).

Pu‘u Koa‘e is a third hill name which means, “tropic bird” (*koa‘e*) “hill.”

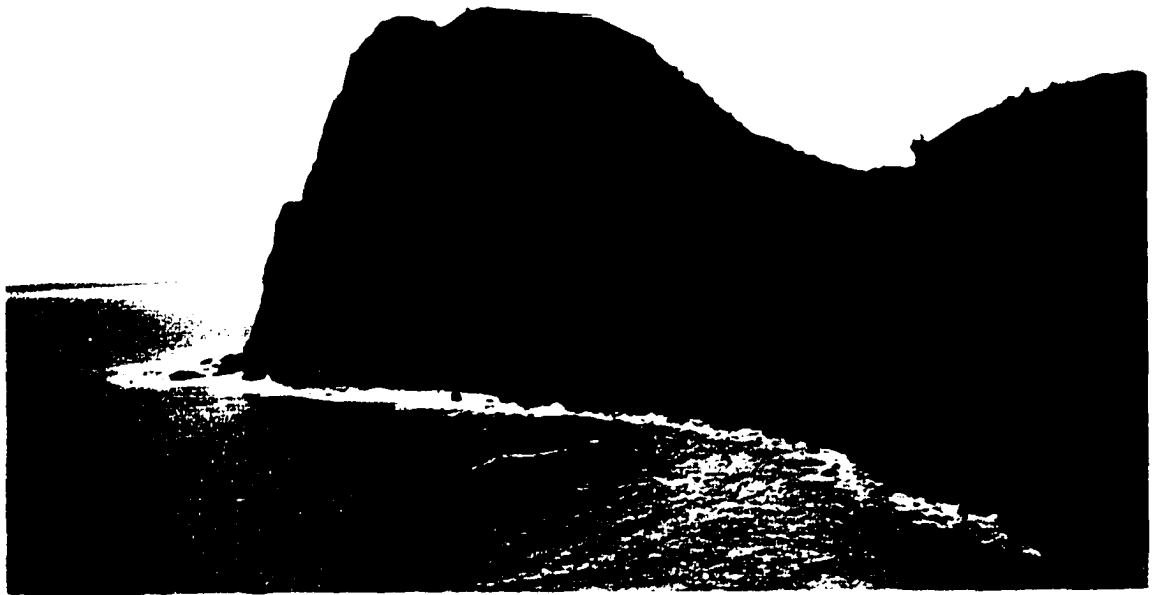
(Figure 18).

²³⁹ Leroy Ho‘opi‘i, Richard Ho‘opi‘i, and Moki Kauha‘aha‘a all knew the pronunciation for this place name.

²⁴⁰ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., p. 30.

²⁴¹ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini E., p. 149. All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed, including Malupō Lum Lung, a *mānaleo*, all knew the pronunciation of this place name.

²⁴² Pukui, M.K., and Elbert, S.H., p. 92. All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed, including Malupō Lum Lung, a *mānaleo*, all pronounced this place name as Kaukini.



(Figure 18. Picture of Pu'u Koa'e.)

Place Names Associated with Plants

According to *Place Names of Hawaii*, 'Awalau could mean "young" (*lau*) "'awa plant" ('*awa*) or "many" (*lau*) "branches" ('*awa*).²⁴³ The residents of Kahakuloa pronounce this place name as, "'Awalau."²⁴⁴ It is unlikely that this place is named after the young '*awa* plant which prefers wet places with little sun. Although Kahakuloa valley would be an ideal place to grow '*awa*, 'Awalau is not a valley place name but a coastal name. Furthermore, lifelong residents of Kahakuloa have no recollection of '*awa*

²⁴³ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini E., p. 15.

²⁴⁴ All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed, including Malupō Lum Lung, a *mānaleo*, all pronounced this place name as 'Awalau.

growing in 'Awalau.²⁴⁵ The translation "young 'awa" is therefore questionable. It is more likely that 'Awalau means "many branches."²⁴⁶

The place name inland of Haumakauu/Haumakapuu is recorded as **Ulumakualua**. Perhaps a hybrid 'ulu tree grew at this location, resulting in the place name, "breadfruit" ('ulu) "parents" (*mākua*) "two" (*lua*) or "breadfruit of two parents." However, it is highly likely that another translation exists for this place name because while it is possible that such a tree once grew there, I am not aware of such a tree at this location.

Kamani is possibly a place in which the *kamani* tree grew.

In a similar context, "the" (*ka*) "breadfruit" ('ulu) probably grew in **Ka'ulu**.²⁴⁷

Pi'ilo'i probably means "to ascend or ascending" (*pi'i*) "taro terraces" (*lo'i*).²⁴⁸

In ancient times, the *lo'i* of Kahakuloa were very numerous and traditional Hawaiians terraced wetland *lo'i* to make optimum use of the land.²⁴⁹ The walls which once lined the "ascending" *lo'i* of Pi'ilo'i can still be seen today.²⁵⁰

Ōhi'a is a place name that is commonly known to the people of Kahakuloa.²⁵¹

This name probably refers to the variety of *kalo* by the same name because *kalo* was

²⁴⁵ Interview with Moki Kauha'aha'a. Conducted by Katrina-Ann R.K. Oliveira on June 27, 1999 in Kahakuloa, Maui. Moki Kauha'aha'a is a Native Hawaiian who was raised in Kahakuloa. He does not speak Hawaiian.

²⁴⁶ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini E., p. 15.

²⁴⁷ Richard and Leroy Ho'opi'i both knew the pronunciation of this place name.

²⁴⁸ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H. 1986. *Hawaiian Dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, p. 327.

²⁴⁹ Handy, E.S.C., Handy, E.G., and Pukui, M.K., p. 92.

²⁵⁰ All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed with the exception of Winifred Cockett mentioned this place name and pronounced it as Pi'ilo'i.

²⁵¹ Richard Ho'opi'i, Walter Ho'opi'i, Moki Kauha'aha'a and Malupō Lum Lung all knew the pronunciation of this place name.

grown throughout the valley. Because 'Ōhi'a is not a *kula* or upland, it is unlikely that this place name refers to the 'ōhi'a *lehua*.

Papakalo could be translated as “taro” (*kalo*) “plain” (*papa*). However, because *kalo* was cultivated throughout the entire valley, a taro plain would not be unique to this area. It is more likely that the place name means “forbidden” (*pāpā*) “taro” (*kalo*). It is possible that the *kalo* at this place was *kapu* either year round or during famine.

Possible translations for **Wainaio** include: “water” (*wai*) “(of) low-grade taro left in a *lo'i* after a harvest” (*naio*), “water” (*wai*) “(of) native *naio* tree, and pinworm water” (*naio*).²⁵² *Naio* is also a type of seaweed. Although I am unaware of the proper pronunciation of this name, taking into account the location of this place name along the coastline, it is likely that “*naio* seaweed water” is the correct interpretation for this name.



(Figure 19. Picture of Wainaio.)

²⁵² Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 259.

Place Names Associated with Sacred Spaces

Kapakala is an interesting place name with a variety of possible translations. Kapakala can mean translated to mean, “place” (*kapa*) “(of) forgiveness” (*kala*) or “the” (*ka*) “enclosure” (*pā*) “(of) forgiveness” (*kala*).²⁵³ Kahakuloa was said to have had a *pu‘uhonua*. Perhaps, Kapakala was that place of refuge. Another equally feasible translation is “place” (*kapa*) “to free people from evil influences or sorcery” (*kala*). Because Kahakuloa was a place known to have much *mana*, this translation is equally possible.

Kulahaunuunu probably literally means “to stand” (*kū*) “to make known” (*laha*) “the prohibition” (*unuunu*).²⁵⁴ It is conceivable that a symbol of sacredness was erected here to signify that this place was *kapu*.

A coastal place name, **Kunanaunuunu**, similarly suggests that people may have “stopped” (*kū*) “to observe” (*nānā*) “the *kapu*” (*unuunu*).” If this assumption is accurate, these place names further support the idea that Kahakuloa was one of the most sacred places in Hawai‘i.

A *pōhaku* or rock by the name of, **Pōhaku o Kāne**, is named after the *akua*, Kāne, as is a *heiau* by the name of **Kāneola**, “living Kāne.” Likewise the place, **Haleokāne** or “house” (*hale*) “of” (*o*) “Kāne” (*kāne*) is probably named after the same *akua*.

²⁵³ Ibid., pp. 120, 130.

²⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 372.

The *heiau* by the name of **Pakao**, can be translated as either, “barren” (*ka’o*) “enclosure or wall” (*pā*) or “crowded” (*pākāō*).

Another *heiau*, **Keahialoa**, probably means, “the” (*ke*) “long” (*loa*) “burning” (*ā*) “fire” (*ahi*).

Miscellaneous Place Names

Without knowing the pronunciation for the valley name, **Kaopilopilo**, one may be tempted to translate this place name to mean, “stink” (*pilopilo*) “goat” (*kao*). Although *kao* were known to inhabit the nearby headland of Pu’u Koa’e, such a translation would imply that this is a fairly new place name because *kao* were not introduced to the Hawai’i until after the arrival of Captain Cook. Anyone familiar with *kao* know that they are not the most pleasant smelling animals. Leroy Ho’opi’i however, pronounces this name as, “Ka’ōpilopilo” or “bad-smelling” (*‘ōpilopilo*).²⁵⁵

The place name, **Hālii** could have several different meanings. Hāli’i could be translated as “strewn” as is the Kaua’i place name by the same name.²⁵⁶ Other possible translations include: “a covering, spread; to spread as a sheet.”²⁵⁷

Kananahana could be translated as, “the” (*ke*) “examining” (*nānā*) “(of) work” (*hana*). Like all other place names, without knowing the story behind the name, it is impossible to know for certain what this place name truly means.

Kapalalau could have several translations. It could mean “mistake” (*lalau*) “tapa” (*kapa*) or “seized” (*lālau*) “tapa” (*kapa*). In a completely different context,

²⁵⁵ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini E., p. 130.

²⁵⁶ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini E., p. 39.

²⁵⁷ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 54.

Kapalalau may be “(a) place” (*kapa*) “to go astray, wander, or have sexual affairs” (*lalau*).²⁵⁸

Kapaloa can mean, “long” (*loa*) “tapa” (*kapa*) or if spelled “*kapāloa*,” the translation could be “the” (*ka*) “long” (*loa*) “enclosure” (*pā*).

Kealakahakaha could possibly mean, “the” (*ke*) “engraved, marked, striped” (*kahakaha*) “path” (*ala*).

Kekuaō could either mean, “to repulse, shove away” (*keku*) “daylight, enlightenment” (*ao*) or “instruction, learning” (*a’o*).²⁵⁹

Kuaina probably means “to stand or reside” (*kū*) “(on the) land” (*‘āina*).²⁶⁰ The term, *kū‘āina* is still used today to refer to people who rely on the land for sustenance.

Lanipanoa is a *lo‘i* area near the Lahaina valley ridge. It can be translated as “barren” (*panoa*) “heaven” (*lani*).²⁶¹

Pi‘ia can be translated as “climbed.”²⁶²

According to *Place Names of Hawaii*, the coastal place name, **Nakalele** means “the” (*nā*) “leaning” (*kālele*).²⁶³ I have been unsuccessful at gathering additional information to explain how or why this name was selected. One interesting thing to note about this particular place name is that two sources that I have referred to provide contradictory information about Nakalele. In *Sites of Maui*, Nakalele is depicted on a map as being located off the coast of Honokōhau, the next valley to the west of

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 130, 192.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27, 143.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 167-169.

²⁶¹ All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed pronounced this name as Lanipanoa.

²⁶² All of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed, excluding Malupō Lum Lung and Winifred Cockett mentioned this place name in my interview with them.

²⁶³ Pukui, M.K., Elbert, S.H., and Mookini E., p. 161.

Kahakuloa.²⁶⁴ However, according to a 1896 map by Surveyor Dove, Nakalele is located between Kaauhaukaheka and Anaokole in Kahakuloa Bay.²⁶⁵ It is difficult to determine whether either source is accurate. While Dove's map was created in the late nineteenth century when many of the residents of Kahakuloa would have likely been familiar with the place names of Kahakuloa and their locations, there are inconsistencies between Dove's August and December 1896 maps. Sterling, the author of *Sites of Maui*, received her information through the compilation of the work of others, her work like that of Dove is questionable.

Paepae is a valley name. A chief named Paepae once ruled parts of West Maui.²⁶⁶ I am uncertain whether there is a connection between this place name and the name of the chief. Possible meanings for Paepae include: "a support, prop, stool, pavement, house platform."²⁶⁷ If pronounced Pa'ēpa'ē the place name could mean, "to be noisy, as a distant sound."²⁶⁸

Kahākalani is a place located midway between the valley and coastline. Many of the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed knew this place name which could mean, "the" (*ka*) "breath" (*hā*) "(of) the" (*ka*) "heaven" (*lani*).

As its name suggests, **Kealahula**, "the" (*ke*) "alahula" (well-known, frequented path) is well-known by the people of Kahakuloa. Kealahula is a lookout spot that was used for *kilo i'a*.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Sterling, E.P., p. 46.

²⁶⁵ Dove, C.V.E., *Kahakuloa Coast*.

²⁶⁶ Fornander, A. 1985. *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore and Origin of Their Race, with the Traditions of Their Migrations, etc.*, New York: Krauss Reprint, vol. 4, pp. 416-417.

²⁶⁷ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 299.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ All of the people that I interviewed were familiar with this place name.

Place Names with No Known Translations

There are a number of Kahakuloa place names for which I have no translations. These place names include: **Hainau, Heinau, Haumakapuu/Haumakauu, Ineikahale/Ineikahala, Kaaleieape, Kaauhaukaheka, Kahakahakalani, Kahakahalani, Kahalaape, Kauhikapuhale, Kuewaa, Kumaiehaa, Nawaehoohui, Papanalaho, Paulae/Pulai, Punanakuhe, and Puu Laio.**

Summary of Place Name Translations

It is apparent by the different categories listed above that several themes were common to the Kahakuloa place names. Numerous descriptive names were used. In many cases, these names had a close connection to people, plants, animals, ocean, geographic features, and sacred places. This is indicative of important elements in the material and spiritual landscape of the past. Each of the place names of Kahakuloa help to decipher and reconstruct the past. The name, Anaokole, “cave of the surgeon fish,” for example, is important in that it identifies a fish that was abundant in the area. This implies that *kole* spawned off the Kahakuloa coastline. Kahula‘ana, or “a place where it is necessary to swim past a cliff that blocks passage along a beach or coast; sheer cliff where the sea beats” contributes information regarding the features of this place. Kūlahauunu or “to stand to make known the *kapu*” alludes to the sacredness of this place.²⁷⁰

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE NAMES

The distribution of place names can likewise provide us with clues about the people and traditions of old. In the case of Kahakuloa, while the ridges and mountains ranges have been named, place names are most prevalent along the coastline and along either side of the stream in the valley. The further one goes into the valley, the less dense the names are. Along the coastline, place names are evenly dispersed. If one uses the valley walls as the boundary for the place known as Kahakuloa, there are nearly as many names for the coastline as there are names for the various parts of the valley.

In total, I have gathered over seventy place names for this valley and coastline. The number of place names that actually existed in traditional times was undoubtedly much greater. It is known that Hawaiians named their *lo'i*. However, because many of the *lo'i* are no longer used and were not recorded on *Māhele* survey maps, the names have been forgotten.

The large number of names that were given to Kahakuloa places is indicative of the people's close connection to the land and sea. Only a people with close ties to the land and sea would meticulously name the various parts of the coastline and valley. Even places deep within the valley were named. This is evidence that the Hawaiians of traditional times knew of these places and probably lived and gathered resources here.

The distribution of place names also suggests that in traditional times, most people resided along the coastline and in the valley. Because so few names exist for the ridges today and mountain ranges, homes were probably not erected along these places.

Of the seventy place names I gathered, only about twenty were known by the residents of Kahakuloa that I interviewed. Most of the place names that are known are

located at the mouth of the valley, halfway between the valley and coastline, where the majority of the people continue to reside today. A handful of places are known in the valley and coastline.

KAHAKULOA IN *MO'OLELO*

Introduction

Narratives or stories are an integral part of any place or geographical location.²⁷¹ In traditional times, the transmission of knowledge was oral in nature. Hawaiians affirmed their origins and legitimized their existence through their narratives.²⁷² They relied on orature in the form of legends and myths along with *mele* and dance to record their history. In this way, historical knowledge was passed down from generation to generation as a backbone for their culture.²⁷³

Myth and Legend

In old Hawai'i, all important and extraordinary natural features such as springs, pools, hills, mountains, and craters had a legend.²⁷⁴ These legends often explained how and by whom the feature was formed as well as how the feature received its name. Unfortunately, I have only been able to record a few legends associated with Kahakuloa place names. As a result, it has been difficult to decipher the true meanings and correct pronunciations for the various place names in the valley. Some of the legends that I have uncovered explain how places were named while other legends are centered in

²⁷¹ Basso, K.H., p. 64.

²⁷² Ibid., p. 28.

²⁷³ Ibid.

²⁷⁴ Thrum, T.G., p. 82.

Kahakuloa. One such legend is about a sister, Nā'ilima and a brother, Ka'ili who resided in Kahakuloa valley.²⁷⁵ One day, while Ka'ili was at Kahakuloa Bay, he was seized by a group of warriors. The warriors took Ka'ili by canoe to Lahaina for the purpose of offering him as a human sacrifice to the gods at the Halulukoakoa *heiau*. Witnessing her brother being captured, Nā'ilima immediately set foot along the Kihapi'ilani trail. From the trail used by the messengers of the *mō'i* to traverse around the island, Nā'ilima was able to watch the canoe of her brother's captors make its way to Lahaina. The whole time, she kept up with the canoe in hopes of assisting her brother to escape. When Nā'ilima was too exhausted to continue, she rested on a flat rock and wept for her brother. A nearby owl who had heard the story of the young boy and girl, told Nā'ilima to be optimistic and to pray while he went to Ka'ili's aid. At the *heiau*, the owl became invisible and unfastened Ka'ili's restraints. With his wings, the owl signaled to Ka'ili to walk backwards. After traveling backwards for several miles, Ka'ili was happily reunited with his sister.

However, it did not take long for the warriors to notice that the boy had escaped. They therefore, began searching for Ka'ili. Observing the approaching warriors, the owl gestured for Ka'ili to hide under the rock that his sister was resting upon. The warriors asked Nā'ilima if she had seen their escaped prisoner. She denied seeing anyone. Just then, the warriors noticed the footprints on the trail and immediately set out to follow the tracks. Not realizing that the tracks were of their backwards walking prisoner, the warriors followed the tracks all the way back to their sacrificial *heiau*. By the time that

²⁷⁵ Armitage, G.T. and Judd, H.P. 1944. *Ghost Dog and other Hawaiian Legends*. Honolulu: Advertiser Publishing Co., Ltd., pp. 91-92.

the warriors realized they had been set up, Nā'ilima, Ka'ili, and the owl were able to flee never to be seen again.

Another story that is set in the Kahakuloa area is about the infamous *akua*, Māui.²⁷⁶ While this legend does not take place within the valley itself, it does relate to Kahakuloa because the exact boundaries of Kahakuloa are controversial. According to legend, Makaliua, a place near the valley of Kahakuloa, was the birthplace of the *akua*, Māui. This is extremely significant because only a very spiritual place would have been the home of an *akua*. When one considers the fact that the survey maps include Makaliua within the boundaries of Kahakuloa, it is easy to understand why the *mō'i* chose Kahakuloa as one of his Crown Lands.

The following legend centers around Māui's feats while still in the womb of Hina. One day, a group of men went fishing for 'uhu. To their dismay, a child was leaping off the rocks and splashing in the nearby water. Upset at the boy for frightening away their fish, the fishermen chased Māui. Eventually, Māui sought refuge behind the waterfall of Makamaka'ole. There, he hid on a dry ledge in back of the waterfall. After hiding for some time, Māui decided to re-enter the womb of his mother, Hina. When Māui left the waterfall, he was spotted again and given chase. Māui ran back to his home where his mother was making *kapa*. The men ran into the home and asked Hina for the whereabouts of the child who had entered the house. Hina then told the men that the only child in the house was the one in her womb.

Another Kahakuloa legend is centered around the *akua*, Māui. According to legend, Pele was deeply in love with Māui. In display of her love for him, Pele formed

²⁷⁶ Forlander, A., pp. 537-538.

the island of Maui with west Maui as his head, Kahakuloa as his forehead, Ma'alea'a as his throat, east Maui as his shoulders, and Haleakalā as his heart.²⁷⁷ It is significant that Kahakuloa was chosen as the *lae* or forehead because the *lae* is seen as the seat of wisdom.²⁷⁸

Legends and myths provide many clues about a place. The aforementioned legends furnished me with information about the Kihapi'ilani trail, fishing practices of the Makaliua area, and the hiding spot behind the Makamaka'ole waterfall. Together, place name legends as well as legends centered in a particular place, help us to better understand what life was like there in traditional times.

Kahakuloa in *Mele*

Mele is another important means of recording history for Hawaiians. Through poetry, composers are able to express their feelings and experiences of a place. Whether it be a romantic affair in the lush green mountains or the recollection of the scorching sun beating down upon a windless place, memories, characteristics, and significant events of places are recorded via *mele*.

A common element of Hawaiian *mele* is the recitation of place names.²⁷⁹ According to Reverend C.M. Hyde, "In the Hawaiian chant (*mele*) and dirge (*kanikau*), the aim seems to be chiefly to enumerate every place associated with the subject, and to give that place some special epithet, either attached to it by common place repetition, or

²⁷⁷ Ashdown, I.M., p. 14.

²⁷⁸ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 189.

²⁷⁹ Thrum, T.G. 1887. Hawaiian Poetical Names for Places. *Hawaiian Almanac and Annual for 1887*, p. 79.

specially devised for the occasion as being particularly characteristic.”²⁸⁰ In this way, *mele* were utilized to honor both a person as well as his homeland.

Through my research endeavors, a number of *mele* containing Kahakuloa place names have surfaced. Some *mele* date back to traditional times and can be found in the Pele and Hi‘iaka saga while, others are from modern times.

Kupu Ekeeke Oili i ka Malie²⁸¹

Kupu Ekeeke oili i ka malie,
Kiekie ka pane mauna o Kahakuloa,
Kapo ka kalia poohiwi o Honokōhau--e,
O ka ae wai a ke kua
I nuanua i ka laulaolao
I kehukai a ka Moae,
I kapi iluna o ka pali,
Pulu ke kini o Hononana,
He pua mohala ka iluna,
Maemae ka lau koko o Polua
A ulu ka lau maikai i ka makani
Ka pua alii a Holonae e ala e
O ka pilikia makani olo pali
Nihi maikai ana i Makalina
Ke ale wai lehua o Mana
A nanahi i Kaukini,
Ma ke alo iho o Makaliua,
Ola ka noho i makamaka ka ole
Iluna o Kaauiwaipaki e ula--e

M. Kaeo

No translation.

This *mele* was printed in *Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu*, a Hawaiian language newspaper of the late nineteenth century. Kahakuloa and Kaukini are mentioned in this *mele* as are Makalina, Manā, Makaliua, and other lands near Kahakuloa.

²⁸⁰ Ibid.

²⁸¹ Konia. May 16, 1883. *Na Mele Alii*. *Ka Nupepa Elele Poakolu*.

Interestingly, the place names in the above *mele* are not listed in either a clockwise or counterclockwise or counterclockwise fashion. Rather, the names flip-flop between the two directions.

Hulihia ke One o Kahakuloa²⁸²

- 1 Hulihia ke one o Kahakuloa
- 2 Ua nakaka ka pali, ua lewa ka honua
- 3 Ua anapu ke ahi o Kilauea
- 4 Ua lele ka pohaku iluna
- 5 Ke kolo ka mamala i ka nahele
- 6 Ka leo o ka pohaku a ke akua wahine
- 7 Ua wawahi o Pele i kona kino
- 8 O ka ua, o ka la me ka hekili
- 9 Ua kaulu wela iluna o Ooluwela
- 10 Ua wela na lehua o Kaniahiku
- 11 Ua haahaa Puna, kiekie Kilauea
- 12 Ua oni ke kuahiwi o Puuonioni
- 13 Ua hao'eo'e ke a makai
- 14 Ua kuni o Lonomakua i ka momoku
- 15 Ua wela ke kihi o Poliakeawe
- 16 Ua pii pono ka uwahi o ka lua iluna
- 17 Ua ololo iluna o Uwekahuna
- 18 Ke halihali nei ka Puulena i ke ala
- 19 Laau honi i ke kini i kai o Puna --e
- 20 No Puna ka wahine, no ka hikina a ka La i Haehae

This *mele* is significant because it connects Kahakuloa to the Pele and Hi'iaka saga. This *mele* recounts Pele's rage and anger towards her sister, Hi'iaka for her tardiness in returning with Pele's lover, Lohi'au. In this *mele*, the images of overturned sands, cracked cliffs, and moved earth at Kahakuloa all reflect Pele's fury.

Kahakuloa is incorporated in this enumeration of primarily Hawai'i island place names. Perhaps this is the composer's way of illustrating that Pele's anger was so profound that it reached the island of Maui from Hawai'i.

²⁸² *Ka Moolelo o Hiiaka-i-ka-poli-o-Pele*. Ka Na'i Aupuni, August 28, 1906.

Lines 9 and 10 of this *mele* contain linked assonance. This mnemonic device enables the chanter to remember the next line of a *mele* by ending a line with a word or syllable that closely resembles a word or syllable in the beginning of the next line. In this example, line 9 ends with “*Ooluwela*” while line 10 begins with “*Ua wela*.”

E Ho‘i na Lehua o Kahakuloa²⁸³

E ho‘i na lehua o Kaukini.
Ke malu mai nei na pali.
O ka ne‘e a ka na li‘ilu‘i,
Kahiko i ka alo o ke kuahiwi.

Translation:²⁸⁴

The *lehua* blossoms of Kaukini return.
The cliffs cast their shadow.
‘Tis the fitful showers of fine rain we feel,
Which adorn handsomely the face of the mountain.

In this *mele*, we learn that the *lehua* grew in Kahakuloa on Kaukini. This is significant because it has been disputed whether or not *lehua* grew abundantly in Kahakuloa. While only a handful of *lehua* can be seen in Kahakuloa today, the *lehua* is a reoccurring theme in many *mele* relating to Kahakuloa.

In addition to reference to the plant itself, the term, *lehua* can also metaphorically refer to the people of Kahakuloa or be literally translated to mean, “expert” or “warrior.”²⁸⁵

O Kaukini Kai Kahakuloa²⁸⁶

O Kaukini kai Kahakuloa
O Mana kai ka Oio
O na pali o Leinaha

²⁸³ Handy, E.S.C., Handy, E.G., and Pukui, M.K., p. 495.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

²⁸⁵ Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 199.

²⁸⁶ Kinau. n.d. *O Kaukini Kai Kahakuloa*. Bishop Museum Archives.

O ka lehua i Makamakaole
 O ia paha kai luna i Makalina--e--
 O kuu makani Kilioopu
 Oau wai eha i lalo
 Ua huiia mai e Kaiiaki
 O ke Kaahaaha o Nuia (?)
 E ia oe-- O oe--ie--
 O ka ua lena ulalena
 Kui moe nahele o Lilikoi
 Ua hoohie wale me ka wau
 Me ka makani Puhalakea
 Komo Koanaulu a Kokomo--e
 O Komo poo oe ke aloha maloko
 Iwaena oe o ke kanaka
 I ka pauku hui o ka moe
 I laila oe e heahea mai ai e--a

No translation.

This *mele* is important because it enumerates several place names near the Kahakuloa valley including: Kaukini, Manā, Makamaka'ole, and Makalina. Reference to the *lehua* is once again made. This time, we learn that Makamaka'ole was also once adorned with *lehua*.

Hana Ekeeke i ka Ipu a ka Makani²⁸⁷

Hana ekeeke i ka ipu a ka makani
 Hiolo lua i ka pali o Leinaha
 O Waiokila ua hoaaku lou maka pehu inai ole Mana
 Ua hii ia e waha i ke kua ka io mehe keiki ne omino makua ala
 Kane hone i ka pali o Kahakuloa
 Loa Kahakuloa he mau pali mamua
 He puu kinikini he alu he kapekepeke
 Hiahia mai palaha ia hononana
 Hu kaa ka pohaku o holo naenae
 Paupauaho ihola o Punalau
 I ke kaka ia e ka laau La'ola'o
 Ke nana iho ia Honokōhau mehe kula ala na ka ahu pe'a
 Ma i ka ila ka malo'elo'e
 Ke alo o na pali

²⁸⁷ *Hana Ekeeke i ka Ipu a ka Makani*. n.d. Bishop Museum Archives, pp. 141-142A.

Mehe huaka'i ka'a lau ohua ala ka nahua
 Ka wili e'a i ke kula o Honokahua
 Ka ua ha'a ana ka ua Pa'upili
 Na ka ua noe o na pili
 I pili hakakau kahaka'e
 Ma e ke kua o ke kaa niniu owai ka makani
 Mehe leo ala no ka ipu hoehoene
 Leo le'a la ke kai o koko o na moku
 Moku Lahaina noho e i ka malie
 Mehe kia moku ka o lau niu o Kona
 Mehe ka hili po'o peahi la i kala'ila'i
 Hauola i ka pohu maokioki
 Wehe mai ka olauniu, uu mai ke hau pukuku'i Pahoa
 Mehe waa holo ala
 Huli kalana huli ia Launiupoko
 Huli ka ale ma kai ma uka
 Ka nalu noke hala ole ia ke one Pohuehue
 Ku ma kehukai a ka maa'a
 Ho'onu'anua i ke one o Wawalua
 Konohiki lua ka la ia Olowalu
 I ka la i ka makani
 Kahi 'ao'ao na Ukumehame ka mana
 Ka makani mehe papa konane ala
 Ke kumu ma'oma'o ka 'ili'ili
 Ke i kai o ka moana ana pakui i ka
 Ino a papawai, kawahawaha ka ale
 A ke Kaumuku
 Ia ako kou hale li'ili'ia
 Ka nau e ka makani pa kololio
 Ke kaiulu o ke alia.
 Alia oe e ke aloha
 I ka'awale ka houpo kahi nana ke aloha
 He aloha i ona he 'ole i'ane'i
 Kaukana e ke aloha lawa ia
 Hoa ia i pa'a o ka ipo ka mana'o

Translation:²⁸⁸

The container of winds is carelessly rained on,
 Water washes down the cliffs of Leinaha
 Waiokila is left in confusion,
 Mana bows down with lack of fish to eat,
 Like a spoiled, fretful child,
 Carried in the arms, borne on the back
 And whining on the cliff of Kahakuloa.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., pp. 140-142B.

Distant is Kahakuloa with cliffs before,
 With many hills and slippery trails,
 Entanglements that trip and make on sprawl,
 The stones are dislodged and roll down the slope,
 Punalau is out of breath,
 Smitten by small, projecting branches.
 When one looks down Honokōhau it looks like a weed entangled
 field,
 Before the face of sheer and precipitous cliffs,
 The dust rises as though disturbed by a big company of travelers,
 Whirling up on the plains of Honokahua.
 The Pa'upili rain goes dancing by,
 The misty rain that sweeps over the pili grass
 The scanty, sparsely growing pili grass
 On the back of the plain the wind whirls and whistles,
 Its voice is like that made on a gourd whistle,
 A pleasing voice that goes over the sea girl isles
 Lahaina is a district that dwells in the calm,
 Like ships masts, the coconut trees of Kona reaches upward
 Like the tops of kahili are the leaves that move and flutter,
 Like living objects where the stillness and breezes interchange,
 The Olauniu wind blows, the cold wind tugs and pounds as though
 with a sharp stone,
 Like a swiftly moving canoe the wind veers toward Launiupoko,
 The billows turn hither and thither,
 The waves pound relentlessly on the sand of Pohuehue,
 A heap of foam is piled up by the Ma'a'a wind,
 Heaping them up on the sand of Wawalua,
 The sun beats down on Olowalu,
 The sun shines, the wind blows.
 On the side of Ukumehame there is a change,
 The wind seem to make a checker-board pattern
 With the green bushes for pebbles
 At sea it lashes the ocean into a furious storm,
 The billows rises and furrows are formed,
 The Kaumuku wind pile up the billows like small houses,
 The swift moving wind seem to chew them
 And to sweep them ashore to form a salty crust upon the earth,
 Wait there, O beloved one,
 Separate [other emotions] from the chest where love should be
 observed,
 Love is there but not over here,
 it is sufficient in itself,
 So bind fast ones' thoughts to the loved one.

In this *mele*, Kahakuloa and Punalau are mentioned along with Manā, a place near Kahakuloa. Throughout the *mele*, the place names are enumerated in a counterclockwise order. Because Hawaiians recorded history through orature, this method of enumerating place names undoubtedly served as a mnemonic device. To further aid in recalling the lines of this *mele*, linked assonance and the reduplication of words such as *kapekepeke*, *hiahia*, *naenae*, and *La'ola'o* are also utilized.

Anyone previously unfamiliar with Kahakuloa, would be enlightened about the landscape of this place including its many cliffs, hills, slippery trails, and entanglements that trip and make one sprawl. Mention is also made regarding how stones are dislodged and roll down the slopes.

Oli Pa-u²⁸⁹

Kakua pa-u, ahu na kikepa!
I ka pa-u noenoe i hooluu'a,
I hookakua ia a paa iluna o ka imu.
Ku ka hu'a o ka pali o ka wai kapu,
He kuina pa-u pali no Kupe-hau,
I holo a paa ia, paa e Hono-kane.

Malama o lilo i ka pa-u.
Holo iho la ke ala ka Manu i na pali;
Pali ku kahako haka a-i,
I ke keiki pa-u pali a Kau-kini,
I hoonu'anu'a iluna o ka Auwana

Akahi ke ana, ka luhi i ka pa-u:
Ka ho-oio i ke kapa-wai
I na kikepa wai o Apua,
I hopu 'a i ka ua noe holo poo-poo,
Me he pa-u elehiwa wale i na pali.

²⁸⁹ Emerson, N.B. 1986. *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii*. Vermont and Japan: Charles E. Tuttle Company, pp. 51-53.

Ohiohi ka pali, ki ka liko o ka lama,
Mama ula ia ka malua ula,
I hopu a omau ia e ka maino.
I ka malo o Umi ku huna mai.
Ike'a ai na maawe wai olona,
E makili ia nei i Waihilau.
Holo ke olona, paa ke kapa.

Hu'a lepo ole ka pa-u;
Nani ka o-iwi ma ka maka kilohana
Makalii ka ohe, paa ke kapa.

Opuu ke ahi i na pali,
I hookau kalena ia e ka makani,
I kaomi pohaku ia i Waimanu,
I na ala ki-ola-ola.
I na ala, i ala lele
Ia Kane-poha-ka'a.

Paa ia Wai-manu, o-oki Wai-pi'o;
Lalau o Ha'i i ka ohe,
Ia Koa'e-kea,
I kauhihi ia ia ohe laulii, ia ohe,
Oki'a a moku, mo' ke kihi,

Mo' ke kihi, ka malama ka Hoaka,
I apahu ia a poe,
O awili o Malu-o.

He pola ia no ka pa-u;
E hii ana e Ka-holo-kua-iwa,
Ke amo la e Pa-wili-wili
I ka pa-u poo kau-poku--
Kau poku a hana ke ao,
Kau iluna o Hala'a-wili,
I owili hana haawe.

Kuka'a, olo-ka'a wahie;
Ka'a ka opeope, ula ka pali;
Uwa kamalii, hookai ka pihe,
Hookani ka a'o, a hana pilo ka leo,
I ka mahalo i ka pa'u,
I ka pa-u wailehua a Hi'ilawe iluna,
Pi'o anuenua a ka ua e ua nei.

Translation:²⁹⁰

Gird on the pa-u, garment tucked in one side,
Skirt lacelike and beauteous in staining,
That is wrapped and made fast about the oven.
Bubbly as foam of falling water it stands,
Quintuple skirt, sheer as the cliff Kupe-hau.
One journeyed to work on it at Honokane.

Have a care the pa-u is not filched.
Scent from the robe Manu climbs the valley walls
Abysses profound, heights twisting the neck.
A child is this steep thing of the cliff Kau-kini.
A swelling cloud on the peak of Auwana.

Wondrous the care and toil to make the pa-u!
What haste to finish, when put a soak
In the side-glancing stream of Apua!
Caught by the rain-scud that searches the glen,
The tinted gown illuminate the pali--

The sheeny steep shot with buds of lama--
Outshining the comely ma lua-ula,
Which one may seize and gird with a strong hand.
Leaf of ti for his malo, Umi stood covered.

Look at the olona fibers inwrought,
Like the trickling brooklets of Wai-hilau.
The olona fibers knit with strength
This dainty immaculate web, the pa-u,
And the filmy weft of the kilo-hana.
With the small bamboo the tapa is finished.

A fire seems to bud on the pali,
When the tapa is spread out to dry,
Pressed down with stones at Wai-manu--
Stones that are shifted about and about,
Stones that are tossed here and there,
Like work of the hail-thrower Kane.

At Wai-manu finished, 'tis cut Wai-pi'o;
Ha'i takes the bamboo Ko-a'e-kea;
Deftly wields the knife of small-leafed bamboo;
A bamboo choice and fit for the work.
Cut, cut through, cut off the corners;

²⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. 54-55.

Cut round, like crescent moon of Hoaka;
Cut in scallops this shift that makes tabu:
A fringe is this for the pa-u.

'Tis lifted by Ka-holoku-iwa,
'Tis borne by Pa-wili-wili;
A pa-u narrow at top like a house,
That's hung on the roof-tree till morning.

Hung on the roof-tree Ha-la'a-wili.
Make a bundle fitting the shoulder;
Lash it fast, rolled tight like a log.
The bundle falls, red shows the pali;
The a'o bird shrieks itself hoarse
In wonder at the pa-u--
Pa'u with a sheen like Hi'ilawe falls,
Bowed like the rainbow arch
Of the rain that's now falling.

Overall, this *mele* is not significant to Kahakuloa. Only one Kahakuloa place name, Kaukini is mentioned. The *mele* does however, disclose the fact that Kaukini is a cliff.

Ike ia Kau-kini, He Lawaia Manu²⁹¹

Ike ia Kau-kini, he lawaia manu.
He upena ku'u i ka noe i Poha-kahi,
Ua hoopulu ia i ka ohu ka kikepa;
Ke na'i la i ka luna a Kea-auwana;
Ka uahi i ke ka-peku e hei ai ka manu o I'u-o-ali'i.
O ke alii wale no ka'u i makemake
Ali'a ia, ha'o, e!

Translation:²⁹²

Behold Kau-kini, a fisher of birds;
Net spread in the mist of Poha-kahi,
That is soaked by the sidling fog.
It strives on the crest of Koa-auwana. [Different spelling]

²⁹¹ Ibid., p. 51.

²⁹² Ibid.

Smoke traps the birds of Pu-o-alii.
It's only the king that I wish:
But stay now--I doubt.

This particular *mele* refers to a person named, Kaukini. This is interesting to note because Kaukini is a well known place name in Kahakuloa. It is said that a *kahuna* skilled in bird catching by the name of Luaho'omoe once resided at Kaukini at the time when 'Olepau was the *mō'i* of Maui.²⁹³

Namahana-Ka Malu Io lani, Maka o Kelii²⁹⁴

Ka malu io lani, maka o ke lii
Lupe malu haili lani o Maui
O Maui ke alii hookino manu
I hoohulu a hookanaka
Loaa Kalani nui ke kono ulu ae moku
O ua kama lani na ka weo lani
Nana ia kau i aloha nui
I ike ai oe i kuu noho aku, aku no,
Hana lua wai naulu o Kona
Hana lua wai naulu o Mana
I hoonaniia e piha Kealia wai
Kahelu, ua piha Kalanamaihiki
Na ka wai ua Kaunalewa
Maikai iho i ka wai Lolomauna
E nana iho ana loko i ke aloha iaia
E kala e haalele wale i ka manao, ao no
Ka manao ia o ke kau aloha nui
E noho ana ke kuapuu iloko
A oi koowau ia e pahulu ai
Ua nahelehele ke ala ka manao
Ka malu ka ioio a ke aloha
Ua lua iho nei ke kae o ka moe e
O ka moe wale no la ia e noho nei
E noonoo ana au e
E hoomaikai i kuu manawa o maua e.

²⁹³ Ibid.

²⁹⁴ Kanabele, P.K. 1988. *Maui Chants*. Honolulu: Alu Like Native Hawaiian Library Project, p. 19.

Translation:²⁹⁵

The shelter of the heavenly hawk, eyes of the chiefs,
The sheltering kite that passes over the surface of the sky of Maui
Maui was the chief who took the form of a bird,
Who feathered out and changed into a man again,
A great chief begotten to snare and raise the land,
The royal child born of sacred chiefs,
His was the chant that is much loved,
That makes you see me sitting here, right here,
The rain clouds of Kona produce water,
The rain clouds of Mana produce water,
To beautify and fill the spring of Kealia,
Kahelu is a spring, Kalamaihiki is filled
By the rain water of Kaunalewa,
And made beautiful by the water of Lolomauna,
One can look within for love for him,
For long has he left the thought of it alone, and on recall
Remember the time when there was much love,
It remained hunched up within,
With nothing to worry or to have bad dreams over
Overgrown with weeds is the trail of remembrance
A shadow is cast over the remainder of love,
Worn out are the borders of dreams,
And one sleeps on
I am thinking,
To bless the time when we were together.

While this *mele* does not directly discuss the place names of Kahakuloa Valley, it is important because Manā and Kealia, two places near Kahakuloa are mentioned. This *mele* is also significant in that it is about the *akua*, Māui who is said to have been born in close proximity to Kahakuloa.

Nani Lahaina i ka Ua Pa‘upili²⁹⁶

Nani Lahaina i ka ua Paupili
I pili aloha ia me ka makani he Ma‘a‘a
Ke a‘a nei no roko o‘u
I ka hana a ke makemake
Pau ole ko‘u makemake ia Maleka

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 20.

²⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

I ta wili o kaio ka ululaau i ka moana
 Niniu Molokai powahi Lana'i
 I ka ua Nahua e
 Eha Molokini i ke aki ku ia e Pu'uola'i
 La'i ihola ka luna o Lihau
 I ka holo mau ia e ka ua Ukiukiu
 He ua hoopiha i ke alo o na kahawai
 Olowalu ka ihu o ka wa'a ia Ukumehame
 Mehe pohapoha la i ke alo a ke Kaumuku
 Hu lei ana i na nalu o Launiupoko
 Ka'ika'i Lahaina i ka ua Pa'upili
 I pili aloha ia
 E mauna Hoomaha me Keka'a
 Keka'a ka ihu o ka moku
 Kowali ka makani
 Ua pau ko'u lihi hoehoe ia Honokōwai
 Eia 'ku no ka oi o na pili
 I pili aloha ia e au
 Me kuu aloha i ke kula o Kaea
 E ea mai ana ko aloha ia'u nei
 E hoolaaui mai ana ia'u
 I hoa kaunu oe no'u
 I ke kula o Punalau
 He lau ka mana'o o ke kanaka
 A loko hananui e hananei
 Ake aku wau e ike i na ui kaulana
 O na pali Poikaohu
 Lana pu no ku'u makemake
 E ike i ka ui kaulana o Waihali
 Ku iho wau i ka luna o Waihali
 Mahalo iho wau o ka nani o na manawai
 E ake ana wau e inu a o auau
 I ka wai hui koni i ka ili o Kahakuloa
 He loa Puu Koa'e
 He papa'olelo na ka makani
 Makani lu ino i na lehua o Kaukini
 Polipoli pulehu i ka ua Kilioopu o Waihee
 Me ka ua na mamala ino a ka wai
 Pilia ka hanu o Wailuku
 Pili ia mai e Kanaha me Mauoni
 Oni ke kula o Kama'oma'o
 Anapa i ka la e
 Ilio pialu i ka uka o Hamakua
 Nome ka la i ka pohu o Maliko
 Nome na pipi ai weuweu a Kalanikahua
 He kahua holo na lio o Kaupakuea

E ea wale mai ana ia'u kou aloha
E hoolaaui mai ana ia'u ipo na'u
Ke kuahiwi kaulana o Haleakala e
O Maui no ka oi
Haina ia mai ana ka puana
O Maui no ka oi

Translation:²⁹⁷

Beautiful Lahaina in the Pa'upili rain
It is a constant companion with the Ma'a'a wind
There is an intense desire inside me
To do what I wish
Endless is my desire for America
In the moving about of the masted ship
Moloka'i spins, Lana'i reels
In the Nahua rain
Molokini aches in the biting rain at Pu'uola'i
The uplands of Lihau are calm
In the continuous movements of the Ukiukiu rain
A rain which fills the streams
The bow of the canoe to Ukumehame is Olowalu
Making a cracking sound in the face of the Kaumuku wind.
Running here and there are the waves of Launiupoko
Lahaina stands proudly in the Pa'upili rain
It is close friends with
Mauna Ho'omaha and Keka'a
Keka'a is the bow of the canoe
Which twirls about in the wind
My interest in Honokōwai has ended
Here stands the peaks of the cliff
It is a beloved friend to me
With me is my love in the plains of Kaea
My love gives me a rise
Building up, for me the desires within
You are my lover
On the plain of Punalau
The ideas of men are many
Heightening desires and acting upon the impulses
I desire to see the famous beauties
Of the cliffs of Pi'ikaohu
My desire is also to want
To see the famous beauty of Waihali
I stand on the top of Waihali

²⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 40-41.

I am grateful for the beauty of the many waterways
 I desire to drink and bathe
 In the cool pulsating water of Kahakuloa
 By the tall hill of Koa'e
 Where the winds converse
 The winds which scatter the lehua of Kaukini
 Upon the rounded hot rocks in the Kilioopu rain of Waihe'e
 Along with the rain which causes a disturbance on the water
 The breath of Wailuku is held
 Drawing together Kanaha and Mauoni
 The plains of Kama'oma'o trembles
 Arid in the sun
 The upland of Hamakua is like the loose-skin dog
 The sun beats down upon the recession of Maliko
 The cattle are chomping at the grass at Kalanikahua
 A running field for the horses of Kaupakuea
 Your love is giving me a rise
 Building up the desires within, for me
 It is the famous mountain of Haleakala
 Maui is indeed the best. Sing the refrain, Maui is the best.

The island of Maui is celebrated in the above *mele* through the clockwise enumeration of many Maui place names. In addition to this method of enumerating place names, another mnemonic device used in this *mele* is linked assonance. Numerous examples of linked assonance are found throughout this *mele* including: Paupili and *i pili aloha*, Ma'a'a and *Ke a'a*, Pu'uola'i and *La'i*, and Kahakuloa and *he loa*.²⁹⁸

In this *mele*, the physical features of various places are discussed in detail with reference being made to the "cool pulsating water of Kahakuloa, tall hill of Koa'e, and winds which scatter the *lehua* of Kaukini." It is possible that the place name, Kahakuloa meaning, "the tall or distant lord" may be used metaphorically here to refer to a well-respected *ali'i*.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 39.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

He Mele-Haluapo Wailuku³⁰⁰

Haluapo Wailuku i ka makani
Hiki au ola kula me Hanamauu
Hope ke ole i ka luna o Halaabui
Hui e, hui la
Hue hakau au hono ua malie,
Me he kuku upena luelue la Kahului,
Me he hano malolo la i kai,
I Paia mai e Hamakualoa,
I kapekuia e Puukoa'e i kai,
He uiha loko ka i'a iki mawaena
Ua he-i, hei iho la i ka makau Kilio'o--pu

He oopu hoopaio hookolohe
E hoonalulu ana i ka makani nui,
I mohai mai ka inaina o ke ae,
Halakau ka malie a Haiku
Alaila kuu ka luhi o ka makani,
Moe iholā i ka po a ao hele
Hele hoikua hoihope i Wailuku
Nana aku o ka pae a ka Hoolua
E hehu mai ana ka ua me ka makani,
E ehū mai ana i ke kai a lele iluna,
Lele la, lele la, lele ae la ka huna ke kai ua pulu
Pulu iho la ke kahao niua kekee
Mai kii oe i ke hoa ua kaawale,
Ua haawia ua lilo ia ia'la

Translation:³⁰¹

Wailuku lies darkened in the wind,
Time of life at Hanamauu plains have arrived
The conch was gotten above of Halaabui
Turning here, turning there
Sea shelves of the bay are exposed, it is calm
Kahului is like the beam of the luelue net
Like the malolo net at sea
At Paia by Hamakualoa
Splashing around, seaward of Pu'u Koa'e
Are little fish in the center who are weary
Entangled, caught in the net by the frightening Kilioopu

³⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 42.

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 43.

The oopu makes enemies and causes mischief
Headaches will happen in the big wind
The intensity of the A'e is an offering
The calm of Ha'iku is perched high
Then the tired wind slackens
The wind died down the whole day long
Returning to the back lands of Wailuku
Observe the blowing of Ho'olua
The rain and the wind will cause things to be uprooted
Things will be dug up by the sea and wash on shore
The sea spray burst forth spraying here and there it is wet
Drenching is the intense rain, spinning, twisting
Don't fetch the companion for he is free
It was given to time, he is gone.

Only one Kahakuloa place name, Pu'u Koa'e is mentioned in the above *mele*.

Ka Mele Makani a Kua-Paka'a³⁰²

Aia la, aia la, ke kau mai la ke ao makani,
O ka pali ale ko Hilo makani,
He pakiele ko Waiakea,
He makani ko Hana he ai maunu,
He kaomi, he kapae,
He hoolua, he lauawaawa
He apiolopaowa, he halemauu,
He ku, he kona,
He Kohola-pehu ko Kipahulu,
Kohala-lele iho no ilaila,
Ai loli ko Kaupo,
He Moae ko Kahikinui
He papa ko Honuaula
He naulu ae i Kanaloa
Hina ka hau i ka uka o Kula
Ko laila makani no ia.
Ke noke ami la i ke pili,
Ka makani o Kula o ka na'u,
Ulalena i Piiholo,
Ukiu ko Makawao,
Ka ua puukoa i Kokomo
Ka ua elehei i Lilikoi
Lihau iho no ilaila,
Ka haule aku i Mauoni,

³⁰² Ibid., pp. 44-46.

Ka hau aku i Kealia
He Kaumuku ko Papawai,
Olaukoa i Ukumehame,
Makani wawahi hale i Olowalu
Kilihau iho no ilaila,
Kololio mai o Waikapu,
He i'a iki ko Wailuku,
He oopu ko Waihe'e
Pa ka makani Kauaula
Ke nu mai la i na pali
I na pali aku o Kahakuloa,
O Waiuli aku i Honolua,
Pohakea i Mahinahina,
Lililehua i na pali,
He imihau ko Keka'a
Nahua i Ka'anapali
He unuloa i kela pea
He ma'a'a ko Lahaina
Ke kau mai la i Kamaiki,
Moa'ea'e aku laka pali,
He alani ko Liloa
Ka paala o na Kaha
O na keiki a Ku, a Naiwi,
Kaiaulu i Pulumulu
Ke holio mai la i ke kaula,
Holio mai nei ka makani
Lau koaie i ke kula
Holo kaomi ma Paomai,
He pelu ka makani no kai,
He kupa he okea ka makani,
He apio lua i ka moana,
Ka hoolua, ka moae,
Kaele i Palaau
Hauali'ali'a ilaila,
Laumaomao i Punakou,
Lawelawe malie i Kekaha
Haleolono i Kaluakoi,
Ka iki ae'a i Hoolehua
Make kuapa maluna mai o Moomomi
Ka makani kiola kapa o Kaeleawa'a
O Waikalua ka makani
Puupapa'i, Puuanahulu, Kaamola,
Kau makani koo waa o Molokai
Makaolehua Kaluaaha
Na puu lolo i Mapulehu,
Puu makani Ahaino

He paka'ika'i ka makani no Wailua e pa nei,
Hoolua hio la ma Halawa,
Hoolua noe ma Halawa,
Hoolua kele ma Halawa,
Hoolua pehu ma Halawa,
Hoolua ka'i pou ma Halawa,
Hoolua wahakole ma Halawa,
Hikipua ma Halawa,
Hakaano ma Halawa
He lau kamani ma Halawa
Puuohoku ma Halawa
He okia ma Halawa
He ualehu ma Halawa,
He laiku ma Halawa,
He nalu ma Halawa
He kehau ma Halawa,
He ko'ipali ma Halawa,
He lianu ma Halawa,
He ehukai ma Halawa,
Hauialiali'a ko Kaunakakai,
He pa'i ko Kamiloloa,
He ihuanu ko Kawela,
He ekahanui ko Kamalo,
He akani ko Wawaia,
He pohakupukupu ko Kaamola,
He heakai ko Kalaeloa,
He makaolehua ko Ualapu'e
He kipukaholo ko Kaluaaha
He waikoloa ko Mapulehu
He hukipepeiao ko Kupeke
He launahelēhele ko Honomuni,
He mauna i heleia ko Kainalu
He kahau ko Waiālua
He alopali ko Honoulu,
He puuohoku ko Moakea,
He kololio ko Keopuka
He hoolu ko Halawanui
He lau kani ko Halawaiki
He hoolu puakakalo ko Kaahakualua,
He kaaki ko Papalaloko
He leia ko Kikipua,
He ekepue ko Wailau,
He puupilo ko Pelekunu
He kilioopu ko Makaluhau,
Kaupu moa ula Kalawao,
He koki lae ko Kalaupapa,

Inu i ka waihanau i uka,
 He makakuapo ko Nihoa,
 He aikupala ko Kahanui
 He noe-ka-maile lawelawe malie,
 He kumumaomao ko Kaluakoi
 He hoolua ko kela puka moae,
 He hoolua ko keia puka moae,
 Huli ka lae o Kalaau
 He ukiukiu ko Kalamaula
 He ala hou iho no ilaila
 Kukuni aku la i ka ai o na kula wela,
 Pau pili ka lae lawelawe malie Ioli,
 Ke hao la i ke kai maloo
 Ke ohi la i ke i'a,
 Ka ukana ia a ka makani he Moae,
 Noho mai auanei ka Moae i uka,
 He Moae auanei ma Kona,
 He hoolua ma Koolau,
 He kaa ka ua e lana nei
 A ka lae o Kalaau he pelu ka makani
 Hua'i ka puka loa
 He koa ko Malei
 He ununu paakea
 He malualua Hale-o-Lono,
 He Kumumaomao,
 He hoolua ma ka nahelehele,
 He makani kaiko'o no Kona, no Ko'olau,
 Kai aku la Ko'olau palena ke awa
 Make ka waa iki, pau pu me ka waa nui,
 Pihī ka ma'i mene ka olo,
 Alina na hookele, alina ke kahuna,
 Ka mea i pau ka lōina o ka ino,
 Pua ia mai a paa.

Translation:³⁰³

There! There they are! The wind blown clouds are appearing
 Hilo's wind is Kapali'ale
 Waiakea's is Paki'ele
 Hana's wind is 'Ai-Maunu (bait eating)
 Kaomi, Kapae
 Ho'olua, Lau'awa'awa
 Api'olopa'owa, Halemau'u
 Ku and Kona
 Kipahulu's wind is Kohola-pehu

³⁰³ Ibid., pp. 47-49.

Kohala-lele blows there also
 'Ai-loli wind belongs to Kaupo
 Kahikinui possesses Moa'e
 Honua'ula proudly hails the low blowing wind, Papa
 Toward Kanaloa blows the showery sea breeze, Naulu
 Hau blows steadily in the Kula uplands.
 This wind blows there
 Persistently whirls the pili grass
 The wind of Kula of the Na'u
 Ulalena is at Pi'iholo
 The ukiu wind belongs to Makawao
 The Pu'ukoa rain is at Kokomo
 The 'elehe'i rain is at Liliko'i
 The Lihau rain falls there also
 Falls also at Mauoni
 Hau is at Kealia
 Papawai displays the Kaumuku wind squall
 At Ukumehame is the 'olaukoa wind
 Wawahihale is at Olowalu
 The kili hau blows there
 The Kololio comes from Waikapu
 Wailuku has the I'aiki wind
 And Waihe'e the 'o'opu wind
 The Kaua'ula wind blows
 Roaring in the cliffs
 The cliffs of Kahakuloa
 Wai'uli is at Honolua Pohakea wind is at Mahinahina
 Lililehua wind is on the cliffs
 Keka'a has the 'Imihau wind
 The biting Nahua wind blows at Ka'anapali
 The Unuloa trade blows at that border
 Lahaina has the buffeting Ma'a'a wind
 Which rises at Kamaiki
 The Moa'ea'e trade winds are attracted to the cliffs
 Liloa possesses the 'Alani wind
 The Pa'ala wind of the Kaha(s)
 The child of Ku, of Naiwi
 Is Kaiaulu at Pūlupulu
 The Holio is blowing in a line
 The wind which is constantly on your mind
 Laukoai'e is in the plains
 Holo Kaomi is at Paomai
 The wind from the sea folds
 Familiar and attaching is the wind
 There are two Api'o winds at the ocean
 The Ho'olua and the Moa'e

Ka'ele is at Pala'au
 Hauali'ali'a is there
 Lauma'oma'o is at Punakoa
 Lawelawe malie is at Kekaha
 Haleolono is at Kaluako'i
 Iki'iae'a is at Ho'olehua
 Make Kuapa is above of Mo'omomi
 Kiolakapa is the wind of Kaelewa'a
 Waikaloa is the wind at
 Pa'upapa'i, Pu'uanahulu and Ka'amola
 Rising is the Ko'owa'a wind of Moloka'i
 Makaolehua is at Kaluaaha
 Napu'ulolo is at Mapulehu
 Pu'u wind is at Aha'ino
 The winds for Wailua pounds when blowing
 (At Halawa the Ho'olua is most evident.)
 The downward Ho'olua is at Halawa
 The misty Ho'olua is at Halawa
 The saggy Ho'olua is at Halawa
 The swollen Ho'olua is at Halawa
 The leading post Ho'olua is at Halawa
 The boisterous Ho'olua is at Halawa
 Hikipua is at Halawa
 Haka'ano is at Halawa
 The Lau Kamani Ho'olua is at Halawa
 The Pu'uohoku Ho'olua is at Halawa
 The 'Okia wind is at Halawa
 The Ualehu wind is at Halawa
 The La'iku wind is at Halawa
 The Naulu wind is at Halawa
 The Kehau wind is at Halawa
 The Ko'ipali wind is at Halawa
 The Li'anu wind is at Halawa
 The Ehukai wind is at Halawa
 Kaunakakai has the Hauili'ali'a wind
 Kamiloloa has the Pa'i wind
 Kawela has the 'Ihuanu
 Kamalo has the 'Ekahanui wind
 Wawaia has the 'Akani wind
 Ka'amola has the Pohakupukupu
 Kalaeloa has the Heakai
 Ualapu'e has the Makaolehua
 Kaluaaha has the Kipukaholo
 Mapulehu has the Waikoloa
 Kupeka has the Kukipepeiao
 Honomuni has the Launahelohelo

**Kainalu has the mountain wind which it moves by here
 Waialua has the Kahau
 Honolulu has the Alopali
 Moakea has the Pu'uohoku wind
 Keopuka has the Kololio wind
 Halawanui has the Ho'olu wind
 Halawaiki has the Laukamani wind
 Ka'ahakualua has the Ho'olu puakakalo wind
 Papalaloko has the Ka'aki wind
 Kikipua has the Leia wind
 Wailau has the Ekepue wind
 Pelekunu has the Pu'upilo wind
 Makaluhau has the Kili'o'opu wind
 Kaupu moa'ula is at Kalawao
 Kalaupapa has Kokilae
 Drinking the birth waters in the uplands
 Nihoa has the Makakuapo wind
 Kahanui has the 'Aikupala wind
 And the Noe-ka-malie lawelawe malie wind
 Kaluako'i has the Kumuma'oma'o wind
 That Moa'e's entrance has Ho'olua
 This Moa'e's gateway has Ho'olua
 Turns toward the point of Kala'au
 Kalama'ula has the 'Ukiukiu wind
 It rises again there
 Burning are the provisions of the hot plains
 The pili is destroyed by the Lae Lawelawe malie wind at 'Ioli
 The wind blows the sea dry
 It gathers the fish
 Moa'e is the fish wind bag
 The Moa'e lingers in the upland presently
 At Kona is possibly the Moa'e
 Ho'olua is at Ko'olau
 The rain Ka'ao is drifting
 And at the point of Kala'au the wind bends
 Revealing a long hole
 Malei has the Koa wind
 Burning the limestone
 The Malualua wind is at Hale-o-Lono
 Also Kumuma'oma'o
 Ho'olua is at the forest
 Kaiko'o wind is for Kona for Ko'olau
 The Ko'olau is seaward bordering the harbor
 The small craft is destroyed, finished along with the big craft
 The ma'i is smashed, the olo is flattened**

The navigators and steersmen are disgraced, the kahuna is
disgraced
These are the ones destroyed in the force of the storm
It appeared and held fast.

This *mele* is significant in that it names the wind of Kahakuloa. Prior to locating this *mele*, I knew that every place in Hawai'i had a wind and rain name. However, it was not until I came across this *mele*, that I learned that Kaua'ula is the wind name of Lahaina which also blows above the cliffs of Kahakuloa.

The place names listed in this *mele* appear in a counterclockwise order.

Pau ka Makemake ia Maleka³⁰⁴

Pau ka makemake ia Maleka
I ka wili okai a ka ulu la'au i ka moana
Niniu Moloka'i, poahi Lanai
I ka ua nahunahu a eha Molokini
I ke akiaki ku ia o Pu'uola'i
La'i iho la ke kuahiwi o Lihau
I ka holo mau 'ia e ka ua Ukiukiu
He ua ho'opiha i ke ale o na kahawai o Olowalu
Olowalu ka leo o ka makani ia Ukumehame
Pohapoha ka ihu o ka wa'a i ka ale a ke Kaumuku
Huleilua i na nalu o Launiupoko
Ka'ika'i Lahaina i ka ua Pa'upili
I pili aloha ia Maunaho'omaha me Keka'a
Kaka'a ka ihu o ka moku owali, ka makani
Ka makani ua ka'a wale a'o Honokōhau
Ua pau ka lihi hoihoi ia Kahakuloa Loa Pu'ukoa'e
Papa i ka makani lu i na lehua o Kaukini
I ka pali aloha o pulehu
Na ka ua Kili'o'opu o Waiehu
'Ehu i na mamala iho a ka wai
I pilia mai ka hanu o Wailuku i ke anu
Pilia mai o Kanaha me Mauoni
Oni ke kula o Kama'oma'o anapu i ka la
Ilio pi'alu ka uka o Hamakua i ka la nome
Nome ka la i ka pohu o Maliko
Nome na pipi ai weuweu ia Kalanikahua

³⁰⁴ Ibid., pp. 54-56.

He kahua holo na ka lio o Kaupo
 Lua he lua ole ka ua home mai i luna o ka laau
 Ho'ola'au ka manu
 Nome ai ke kula lehua o Haili
 Iiili i ke ao a ka makani
 Ka opili i ke anu a nahele o 'O'opuola
 Anu mai na pali Koolau
 He ko'ou, he kewai, kapa ia makani
 Malama Keanae i na pauku wahie a ka wai
 He wai aloha o Wailuanui me Wailuaiki
 He iki ka ia e kani na pue hoe a ka makani he ino
 Ka'ili palala i ka ehua ke kai
 Kihe ka ihu o Waiohuna i ka ino
 Ino o Kalehu uahihi ka moku
 Pau i na ale a ke Kualau
 Kupikipiki'o na lae o Makapipi i ka ino
 Lawe a ke kai pua hala o Kea'au
 'Aue, 'aula, 'au na ka wahine
 Au hulaana ua ino, ua liliha
 I ka ino la o Honoma'ele
 Ke ku pahako ia mai la e ka i'a o Kahaule
 Ke kupa maila ke kai o Mokuhanu.
 I ka pali o Ka'uiki Pali aku la ke alo o Kapueokahi
 I ka ho'ohaunaele ia e ka awaawa wahie
 Kakekake wai o Punahoa
 Mikimiki ala halawai a'e me Konale
 Ole lua i ke kai o Kaihalulu i ka makani
 Kani ole ka ua i luna o ka lau e hala
 Hala ala ua loa'a Kaiwiopole
 He pele kani mau ia no Haneo'o
 He mea pio ole ka wai no Kumaka
 Ahu kapeke lua i na nalu o Puhele
 Ike oe i na ipu hua'i lua o Hamoa
 Ke hua'i mai la Makaalae i na ipu o ka makani
 Me he lae kanaka la na ilio inu wai
 He'e pu'ewai o Lihau
 Hahau ka nai'a kuapuhi ke kai
 I ka eli a ke kohola pehu
 Me he pua'a lele pa ala ka wai o Waiohiu
 Malo hela o Pu'uhaoa na ke aloha
 Ho'opu'upu'ua i na kahawai o Alae i ka wai a ka Naulu
 Ulu mai na Kalahala me Waiamoa
 Wehe Mokuahole i na pukapihi a ke kai
 Paikini na hale i Kalalea
 Nani ka'ahu a Alae
 Nana nei mehe lole a'i kula'ia e nana nei

Nana ka ua i ka pali o Haili
 Ke ho'oili ana ke ao i na kahawai o Manawainui
 Nui ka wai ke hanini nei na kahawai
 Hanini ka wai na ka ua o Helani
 Opakihi me he kihi pe'eahi la
 Ka pili o Nananu'u
 Nu'u ka wai, ka ua noe o ka mauna
 Mai ho'omaunauna oe e ke aloha i ku'u nui kino
 O hao mai auane'i ka ino
 Me he kaupaku hale la'au 'la ke kuahiwi o Haleakala
 Ka 'alohi lua i ka makani
 Makani Kahikinui ke pulumi mai la ke ao o ka Moae
 Pulumi hana mau loa i ka wa'a holo mai Lua la'i
 Lua la'i o wela a uwahi kea i Hanakaieie
 Ke ahi a ka wahine, wahine pulumi lei hala
 Nakunaku na oopu moe wai
 A na wai ekolu i kuapa i Kane'o'io
 Paila ka la i ke alo o kea kekua
 Pa'a kahi mana'o i kahi nalu o ka lua
 Poloke ke ki ka pahu o Honuaula
 Ike la i lu ia ke ola ia Ulupalakua
 Kuahewa i ka la'au ho'omalua a ke Konohiki
 Hiki ke ao o wai o Malukahaloa
 Loa ka'u inu ana i ka lama kini
 I kini ho'i nau e ke 'loha
 I hoa hele no'u ka la'i o Hauola
 Ua ola ku'u lihi makemake ia Kawaikini
 Ua hoao laua me Waialeale
 Ua noho pue i ke anu ka uka Ola'a
 Hihii launa ole ka uka o Kamahoa
 E - e aloha no - e.

Translation:³⁰⁵

I lost my interest in America
 In the moving about of the masted ships at sea.
 Molokai seems to stagger, Lanai to reel
 In the bitter rainstorm that hurt Molokini
 That bite into the hill, Pu'uola'i
 Peace comes to the mountain of Lihau
 Though the Ukiukiu breezes constantly blow in and out
 And the rain swells the streams of Olowalu
 The voice of wind makes to din at Ukumehame
 The brow of the canoe resounds with the slapping of the billows
 raised by the Kaumuku wind,

³⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 57-59.

The surf of Launiupoko runs this way and that
 Lahaina stands proudly in the Paupili rain,
 Beloved friends of Maunahoomaha and Kekaa
 The bow of the ship cuts a swath in the wind
 Separated is Honokōhau
 No more does she delight in Kahakuloa;
 Distant Puukoa'e forbids the wind
 Not to scatter the lehua blossoms of Kaukini over the beloved cliff
 of Pulehu
 It is the Kili'o'opuu wind of Waiehu
 That causes a disturbance in the water
 Wailuku holds her breath in the cold
 That draws Kanaha and Mauoni ponds close together
 The plain of Kama'oma'o seems to move in the glare of the sun
 Like a wrinkled loose-skinned dog, is the upland of Hamakua in
 the scorching sun.
 The sun beats down on windless Maliko
 The cattle that browse on herbage feeds hungrily at Kalanikahua
 A site for the horses of Kaupo to run about on
 There is no comparison to eating that goes on in the trees
 For the birds persist in eating in the lehua grove of Haili
 The wind scatters the wind into small cloudlets
 The cold presses down on the forest at Oopuola
 Cold are the cliffs of Koolau
 Damp, watery is the blowing of the wind
 Keanae takes care of the log washed over by the waters
 The water loved by Wailua nui and Wailua iki
 For a little while the wind whistles as a canoesman who struggles
 with a paddle in the storm
 Pulling hard in the foamy sea
 Waiohua sneezes in the storm
 Stormy is Kalena for the ship is made to wander
 She has gone through the billows raised by the Kualau wind
 And struggles by the rough point of Makapipi in the storm
 The sea carries away the hala fruit of Keaau
 The women that swim around the porpoises swim, swim here,
 swim there
 The weather is bad and they are tired of the storm
 Only a few fish of Kahaule find shelter at Honomaili
 The sea of Mokuhanu dashes wildly against the cliff of Kauiki
 The face of Kapueokahi is washed smooth by the persistent falling
 of the bitter rains
 The water source of Punahoa breaks and runs out
 It goes on to meet with Konale
 There is no comparison to the sea of Kaihalulu in a wind storm
 It does not permit the rain to patter on the hala leaves

It drives it on to Kaiwiopēle
 A bell that rings endlessly to Haneo's
 Kumaka is a water source that has no end
 It glides and slips into the surf of Puhele
 There you may see the vessels of Hamoa that yield their plenty
 Makaalae opens up the vessels that pour out the wind
 Like the brow of a man has the dogs that drink water
 Which washes into the mouth of the stream
 The dolphin strikes the water causing a furrow
 The sperm whale digs into the water
 Like a fence-leaping hog, in the water of Waiohi'u
 Eager to get to Puuhaoa for a loved one
 The streams of Alae is choked by the water from Naulu rain
 Those of Kalahale and Waiamoa swell
 Mokuahole unbuttons the button holes of the sea
 Fashions are seen in the houses of Kalalea
 Beautiful is the gown of Alae
 Seen with necklines that seems to be trimmed with gold
 The rain looks at the cliff of Haili
 See the clouds unload their burden in the streams of Manawainui
 There is so much water that the streams spill over
 The water spills from the rain of Helani
 The corners are obliterated like the corners of a fan is the pili grass
 of Nananuu
 The water rolls down from the mist laden rain of the mountain
 O loved one to not mistreat my body
 Lest a storm arises
 Like the roof of a frame building in Haleakala
 Glistening in the wind
 The wind of Kahiki-nui the Moa'e sweeps away the clouds
 It sweeps constantly over the water courses
 Slowly rising and warm the white smoke rises at Hanakaieie
 It comes from the woman's fire the woman who sweeps and wears
 hala leis
 The gobey fish that dwell in fresh water quakes
 In the three kinds of water at the wall of the pond at Kane'o'i'o
 That water seems to boil before the face of Keakekua
 The mind is set on the surf at the pit
 But the key of the trunk of Honaula is broken
 Thus is lost the life of Ulupalakua
 Huge is the tree the konohiki prohibits
 Presses against by the flood of Malukanalao
 Long have I drunk the liquor called gin
 Let me be as fine as gin to you O beloved
 And you to be my traveling companion for the calm of Hauola
 My weak interest in Kawaikini is revived

For it is wedded to Waialeale
The uplands of Ola'a crouches in the cold
Without equal are the wilds of the upland of Kamahoa
Greetings to you.

Two Kahakuloa place names, Pu'u Koa'e and Kaukini are mentioned in a clockwise fashion in this fairly modern *mele*. Like other *mele*, this *mele* provides evidence that *lehua* blossoms were indeed a part of the landscape of Kahakuloa.

Pukaka na Lehua³⁰⁶

Pukaka na lehua o Mana
Auwana wale iho no i ka alawai
He ole ka launa me Makaliu
Ike ina Muliwai holo a ka ia
E hoholo ana ka oopu a ka i'a iki e
He ia ike hoonowelo i ka pohu
He kupu ia mai ka poli o Waihee
E holo ana i ka po i Ha'iku
E pue ana i ka ua Ulalena
Ka hauwawa mai o Lilikoi
Ka'apa'pa a ka wai i Kama'oma'o
He mau newenewa ia no Kealia e
Ku na lio o ka malu kuawa
Ane hooaka wale no i Wailuku
Hookahi no ke'a ku i Hopukea
Poipoi a pukoko moa ke kaha
Aohe kau kanaka iho a Paia
E paa i ka hohia i ka mana
He mau lima hopukanaka na Kua

Translation:³⁰⁷

The lehua of Mana are scattered
Drifting down in the waterways
The meeting with Makaliua did not happen
The swimming of fish is seen in the river
The oopu, the tiny fish will run
A fish is seen, seeking a calm spot
The fish spawn from inner Waihe'e
They will travel at night to Ha'iku

³⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 63.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 64.

They will gather together in the rain of Ulalena
 Liliko'i resounds
 Tossing about in the water at Kama'oma'o
 These are moving for Kealia
 The horses stood in the shade of the guava trees
 Their reflection swims in the waters at Wailuku
 Concealed is a striped chicken cackling
 The man of Pa'ia himself has no reason
 To hold on to the desires by the power
 Of hands grasping men for the gods.

In the first line of this *mele*, the *lehua* of Manā, a place near Kahakuloa is mentioned. This is the only line that relates to Kahakuloa.

Huli Kina'u³⁰⁸

Huli Haleakala lele i ka makani la
 I huli aku e huli i Waiahu'alele e
 Huli kupanaha onaha Waiohuli e
 E uwe ae ana i ka ia maka kehau e
 Aloha ka olohe e apa nei i ke kula
 I ke kula o Kamaomao i ke Alia
 Alia oe e kuu manao e koi nei la
 Ke manao nei no au ia Kahului
 I ke kai hoholuholu o Kapo'ipo'i
 O wehe'a wale ia mai auanei
 Auhea oe eia au

Eia la o ka pali o Kaukini la
 O na lehua i luna o Makamakaole
 Pau no na pua i Wai-o-kila
 Mai hookilakila ae oe ka nake nake
 O kahi'a mai aua nei ua pau lele nui aku
 Auhea oe eia au.

Translation:³⁰⁹

Haleakala spins, (flying) in the wind
 Turn to face Waiahualele
 An amazing change shapes Waiohuli
 Tearing apart at the thing desired
 The ghost who is moving slowly in the plains is desired

³⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 112.

³⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 113.

The plains of Kama'ema'o marsh lands
Before you my thought is demanding
I am thinking of Kahului
The sea of Kapo'ipo'i is rising and falling
(is concealed)
It will soon be uncovered
Where are you, I am here!

Here indeed is the cliff of Kaukini
The lehua blossoms atop Makamaka'ole cliff
The flowers were destroyed at Waiokila
Don't you strengthen the ka nake nake
It will soon be pointed out (identified)
It has ended, it has flown
Where are you, here am I.

Once again, reference is made about the *lehua*. While the *lehua* is an actual flower that was said to have grown at Kaukini and Makamaka'ole, the *lehua* could also refer poetically to ancestors who once resided or have been buried at these aforementioned places. Moreover, reference to Makamaka'ole meaning, "friendless" could metaphorically refer to an emotion of loneliness. The composer is probably lonely without his lover.

He Mele no Hōkūle'a³¹⁰

Eo aku o Hawai'i
Ke kanaka loloa
Aloha aku ia 'oe
Eo aku o Maui
Maui a Hina
Maui i ke alo lani
Aloha aku ia 'oe
Eo aku e na mea kia'i
'O Haleakala laua o Eka
Ua ku 'olua me ka lei ao
Mai ke kinohi mai
Mai ke alanui mai no na Hoku
'O Hokule'a ke kanaka holokai imua ou

³¹⁰ Ibid., p. 135.

Me he kaupu makou e hehi i na 'ale o ka moana
Ka moana a Kane laua o Kanaloa
'O ka wa'a kaulua o na lani
'O Kahai, 'O Wahelo
'O Laka, 'O Mo'ikeha
'O La'a, 'O Pili
Ua ho'i mai i ka pumehana o Papa
Anuanu ka moana Kane laua o Kanaloa i ka makani
Ua 'imi no i kahanu mahana a Hina
I ke ahi a Pele
Aia i hea ka ihu a kealoha
'O makou keia
'O 'oukou malaila
Eo mai i ka hanu aloha e

Translation:³¹¹

I call out to Hawai'i
The long Man
Greeting to you
I call out to Maui
Maui and Hina
Maui of the heavenly front
Greetings to you
I call out to the guards
Haleakala and Eka
You two who have stood with a wreath of clouds
From the beginning of time
From the pathway of stars is
Hokule'a the sailing man in front of you
Like an albatross we trample over the waves of the ocean
The ocean of Kane and Kanaloa
This is the double hull vessel of the chiefs
Kaha'i, Wahieloa
Laka, Mo'ikeha
La'a, Pili
We return to the warmth of the land
The ocean of Kane and Kanaloa is cold with the wind
We seek for the warm breath of Hina
The fires of Pele
Where is the kiss of affection
We are here
You are there
Answer with the breath of love.

³¹¹ Ibid., p. 136.

This *mele* relates to Kahakuloa because Māui is said to have been born at Makaliua, a place near Kahakuloa. This *mele* is also quite interesting in that it personifies Mount 'Eke as a guard of Māui. The mountain range from which Makaliua and Kahakuloa Valley originate is Mount 'Eke. In this *mele*, reference is made to 'Eka, a variation of 'Eke.

Kahakuloa³¹²

'Ohu 'o Kahakuloa i ka pua lehua
Kanu no na pua i Mauna Kaukini
Aloha ka leo o na manu la
I kahea mai nei i anu makou.

Hui:

I aloha 'ia no (i aloha 'ia no)
'o Kahakuloa e ('o Kahakuloa e)
I ka ua kaulana (i ka ua kaulana)
Ua lihi na pali (ua lihi na pali)
Pehea la ho'i (pehea la ho'i)
E i mai ana (e i mai ana)
E ho'i mai (e ho'i mai)
Kakou e pili.

Translation:³¹³

Kahakuloa is decked with lehua blossoms,
The flowers were planted at Mauna Kaukini,
Loved is the voice of the birds
That call to me saying, "we are cold."

Chorus:

Truly loved (truly loved)
Is Kahakuloa (is Kahakuloa)
In the famous rain (in the famous rain)
Fringing the clifftops (fringing the clifftops)
How is that (how is that)
It seems to say (it seems to say)
"Return to me ("return to me)
So we may all be together."

³¹² *Kahakuloa*. n.d. Bishop Museum Archives.

³¹³ *Ibid.*

This *mele* is the most famous Kahakuloa song today. In this *mele*, the landscape is described as being decked with *lehua* and fringed with rain. This song is proudly sung by the residents of Kahakuloa as well as their descendants. The Ho'opi'i Brothers of Kahakuloa released this song in 1975 on their first album, *No Ka Oi*.

Summary of Kahakuloa in *Mo'olelo*

The aforementioned *mele* paint a vivid picture of the physical and spiritual aspects of Kahakuloa and its surrounding areas. The cool pulsating water of Kahakuloa, tall hill of Pu'u Koa'e, scattering *lehua* of Kaukini, and the Kau'ula wind blowing down the cliffs, all allude to the physical characteristics of Kahakuloa.

These physical characteristics combined with references made about the spiritual beliefs of traditional Hawaiians in the Pele and Hi'iaka saga, allow us to gain insight about what Kahakuloa was like in traditional times.

CONCLUSION

The act of naming creates a sense of place. Through various place names, it is evident that Kahakuloa was a very fertile place in traditional times. With place names such as: Pi'ilo'i, 'Ōhi'a, and Papakalo, it is obvious that *kalo* was plentiful throughout the valley. Based on the oral history and literature that was written in the mid-nineteenth century, we know that *kalo* was the staple food of these people. Place names with reference to animals also aid in recreating a sense of Kahakuloa in traditional times. Anaokole suggests that *kole* were plentiful, while Mōkōlea and Pu'u Koa'e allude to the presence of the *kōlea* and *koa'e* birds. Place names associated with geographic features allow us to visualize the physical landscape. Anapuka for instance alludes to an

underground passage, while Kapuna, Kawaihae, and Punalau make reference to water sources. Many other place names such as, Malu, Pōhakuloa, and Mauna Kini, all provide clues about the physical landscape in traditional times. Place names such as: Ka‘ale‘ale, Kahula‘ana, Keawalua, and Pāpākai all describe the conditions of the sea. Whether place names make reference to shade, a long rock, or many mountains, each place name is important in piecing together the landscape as it existed in traditional times.

The essence of a place is not merely physical in nature but spiritual as well. Like other Polynesian societies, Hawaiians considered birthing grounds, burial grounds, *heiau*, places associated with *ali‘i* to be spiritual in nature.³¹⁴ In Kahakuloa, many place names were spiritual in nature. Kapakala when translated to mean, “place of forgiveness” or “place to free people from evil influences or sorcery” suggests that Kahakuloa was a sacred place with a great deal of *mana*. Kūlahauunu, “to stand to make known the *kapu*” along with various *heiau* names such as Pōhaku o Kāne, Kāneola, and Pākāō likewise suggest that Kahakuloa was indeed sacred.

While some place names are without a doubt spiritual in nature, all place names have a common thread in that they link us spiritually to our ancestors. Throughout Polynesia, “There was a special, spiritual attachment to land, as it contained graves and burial grounds, and through these sacred places, every part of the land was loved for its connection with ancestors.”³¹⁵ After all, our *kūpuna* were the ones who first gave names and meanings to the places. Indeed, place names are the words of our ancestors. Each time we recite a place name, we are quoting our *kūpuna*.³¹⁶ Those things that our *kūpuna*

³¹⁴ Waitangi Tribunal, p. 227.

³¹⁵ Murton, B.J., p. 24.

³¹⁶ Basso, K.H., p. 30.

did not tell us while they were alive are embedded in place names, orature, and the physical presence of the land. According to Basso, there is an “evocative power of place names to comment on the moral conduct of persons who are absent from the scene.”³¹⁷ In spite of their absence, through their words, we learn about their lifestyles, traditions, customs, and values. We also acquire knowledge about the physical landscape of the place as it existed in traditional times.

Although writing about the European experience in Australia, Paul Carter’s idea that the naming of places creates a space with a history is important in this context.³¹⁸ Through the naming of place, we are able to demonstrate our attachments to places and claim places as our own. The naming of a place gives life to the place. From a European point of view, prior to receiving a name, a place is merely a space; a void without meaning. Once a place name is recorded on a European map, the place is officially acknowledged. According to Kearns and Berg, place names are formalized through writing and are ‘mapped into official discourse’.³¹⁹

Like the European world, traditional Hawaiians had maps too. However, the ‘oral maps’ of the Hawaiians differed greatly from the European maps which were drawn up on paper. As Kearns and Berg point out, “Place-names have been passed down through an oral tradition that gives life to place and prioritises proclamation over inscription. Thus the recording of place-names on maps and signposts is, inevitably, associated with the colonial imprint on the landscape.”³²⁰ Hawaiians mapped place names on the land and used the enumeration of place names in *mele*, dance, legends, and

³¹⁷ Ibid., p. 80.

³¹⁸ Carter, P., p. xxiv.

³¹⁹ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A., *Placing Names*, p. 7.

³²⁰ Ibid., p. 13.

myths as a means of recording place names.³²¹ Even today, scholars may refer to the 'oral maps' which continue to bind us to the land and our *kūpuna* 'map' the place names, legends, myths, and events of distant times.³²²

Our knowledge of the past will always be incomplete. However, through the examination of the words of our ancestors in the form of place names we can get a sense of what the physical and spiritual landscape of Kahakuloa was like in traditional times.

³²¹ Waitangi Tribunal, p. 50.

³²² McKinnon, M. (ed.) 1997. *New Zealand Historical Atlas*. Auckland: David Bateman in Association with Historical Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, plate 9.

CHAPTER 4 NATIVE KNOWLEDGE IS LIFELONG

INTRODUCTION

Place names have a rich history. Through the study of place names, one can learn a wealth of information about a place, its landscape, and its people. Each of the previous chapters have contributed to my understanding of Kahakuloa in the mid-nineteenth century. In chapter one, I explored the ways in which geographers and Hawaiian scholars have previously approached the study of place names and analyzed the ways in which place names and language contribute to the creation of a Hawaiian identity and Hawaiian worldview. In chapter two, I examined the changes in Kahakuloa landscape, landuse, and land tenure from ancient times to the present. I dedicated chapter three to uncovering the clues embedded in the place names, *mele*, and *mo'olelo* of Kahakuloa. Through these records of history, I was able to better understand what Kahakuloa was like in the mid-nineteenth century. In this concluding chapter, I illustrate that unlike other societies, the commitment of indigenous peoples to their Native knowledge is lifelong.

RESEARCH AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Throughout my research process, my goal has been to give my *kūpuna* a voice to ensure that their knowledge is passed down to future generations. Each *kūpuna* leaves behind a legacy. Generation after generation, the *kūpuna* think of the future and give from the heart. They care for and work the *'āina* knowing that while their lives are fleeting, the *'āina* will remain behind for the generations to come.

As scholars, we too must follow in the footsteps of our *kūpuna* and give from the heart as they have. Without the knowledge of my *kūpuna*, this research project would not have been successful. The *kūpuna* of the past and present have openly assisted me along my journey opening doors and shedding light about the history of Kahakuloa. Just as their commitment to the younger generations has been lifelong, we too must constantly give back to our communities. Unlike many Western scholars, most Native scholars understand that the knowledge that we obtain is not merely for personal gain. Our learning process and commitment to our people does not end when we obtain our degree, rather it is lifelong. We cannot simply obtain information for our sole benefit, instead knowledge must be gathered to empower our people as a whole.

As a Native scholar, I am in a unique position. I am able to relate to my people, while simultaneously voicing my findings in an academic setting in a manner that is culturally appropriate and sensitive. As a Native scholar, I must constantly ask myself: Who does this knowledge empower? Who does this knowledge belong to? How does this knowledge benefit future generations? Is my work culturally appropriate and sensitive? It is only by sharing my knowledge with others that I am able to give back to my community and empower my people.

PLACE NAMES AS MAPS OF THE PAST

Just as cartographers construct topographic maps today as a means of representing places and as a basis of social construction, traditional Hawaiians also mapped their landscape.³²³ Yet, the maps of cartographers and traditional Hawaiians are completely

³²³ Berg, L.D. and Kearns, R.A., Naming as Norming, p. 105.

opposite in nature. While the maps constructed by cartographers represent a single moment in time depicted in written form on a flat surface, traditional Hawaiians adopted mental maps which could constantly be updated to include new information about people, events, and places. Even the most detailed topographic maps of the present are unable to accurately illustrate the density of Hawaiian place names on the landscape. Names of individual house lots, trees, and boulders are rarely depicted on topographic maps. Unlike topographic maps which merely illustrate the locations and names of places, the mental maps of Hawaiians contained information about the meanings and stories behind the place names and contributed to one's identity as a Hawaiian. Hawaiians utilized place names as a mnemonic device.³²⁴ By recalling the place name, Hawaiians were able to recall the story behind the name. Place names were mapped mentally and through orature in the forms of *mele* and *mo'olelo*. In this way, Hawaiians preserved and mapped place name information for future generations. As is written in the *New Zealand Historical Atlas*, "Places are linked to people: the ancestors 'made a map' over the land, which both provided a record of those ancestors and bound their descendants more tightly to that land."³²⁵

PLACE NAMES AND ORAL HISTORIES

While place names provide us with many clues about a place, place names alone do not always enable us to understand the past. Under the ideal conditions, the meanings, legends, myths, and pronunciations of the place names would be known. In the case of Kahakuloa however, where many people have returned to the valley after

³²⁴ Davis, T.A., O'Regan, T., and Wilson, J., p. 7.

³²⁵ McKinnon, M., plate 9.

living elsewhere for years, much of the information of the past has been lost. While the reconstruction of the past may not be possible in Kahakuloa due to the limitations of the knowledge known about this valley, place names and language are two tools that may be used to help us approximate the past. Through the use of these tools, we may be able to build a better interpretation and understanding of the past. Unfortunately, these sources do have their limitations. Because the meanings and stories behind the place names are largely unknown today and because so much time has elapsed, it is impossible to know everything about the past.

As native people dedicated to retaining the knowledge of our *kūpuna*, we must take steps to ensure that what information is known is recorded for future generations. Just as we are unaware of much of what life was like a hundred years ago, if we fail to record our knowledge and that of our living *kūpuna*, our children will know even less than us. While we may not know the stories, meanings, and pronunciations of place names, if we fail to document the stories of our *kūpuna*, our children will not even know where their families once caught 'o'opu or which spots were used for *kilo i'a*. Ideally, the knowledge of our *kūpuna* should have been passed down to succeeding generations. Had this happened, the reconstruction of the past would not be necessary; it would be common knowledge. However, the reality is that we have lost a great deal of our Native knowledge of the past. It is therefore our responsibility to our *kūpuna* and to future generations to record what is known today before the oral histories, like the place name information will be lost forever. We must go with them upland to learn firsthand how and where to gather 'ōpae, pound 'opihi, *kilo i'a*, and the like. We must sit down and "talkstory" with our *kūpuna* and listen to all that they have to say. We cannot forget.

THE ROLE OF PLACE NAMES AND LANGUAGE FOR THE FUTURE OF HAWAI'I

“...the politics of language, place names, and sovereignty are intertwined.”³²⁶ As Hawaiians strive to regain self-determination, it is necessary for us to reclaim our places and our language. To understand a place and achieve self-determination, both the landscape and the language must be stressed. Our land, language, and traditions have been tools of the colonizer for too long. We must determine for ourselves that these aspects of our heritage are crucial to our identity as Hawaiians and must therefore be reclaimed. Hawaiians must continue to stand in the forefront and demand that Hawaiian receive the same status as English. Hawaiian language must be required of all students at the University of Hawai'i just as is the policy for English. Moreover, people must be educated about the proper pronunciation and enunciation of place names. The bastardization of Hawaiian place names by individuals who are either ignorant of the proper pronunciation of names or simply do not respect the Hawaiian language must cease to exist. We must empower ourselves through our language.

It is only when our people speak the language that our place names can have meaning and our *kūpuna* can have a voice. Without our knowledge of the mother tongue of this land, we not only silence ourselves, but we silence our *kūpuna*. Through our ignorance, we contribute to the demise of the language and support the rhetoric of the colonizer. We have been silenced too long. We must listen to the words of our *kūpuna* for they have much to tell us about our ancestry and our identity as Hawaiians.

³²⁶ Herman, R.D.K., *The Aloha State*, p. 95.

CONCLUSION

My ultimate goal is to preserve the traditional place names of Hawai'i as accurately as possible for the generations to come thereby giving my *kūpuna* a voice. It has been said that place names link people to their environment and record their history.³²⁷ Likewise, place names play a significant role in deciphering and perpetuating a people's history.³²⁸ If the history of Hawai'i is to be recorded for future generations, it is only right for it to be covered from a Hawaiian worldview; a worldview that incorporates land, language, and traditions. After all, Hawaiians are the active participants of their history and the ones who understand the symbols encoded in Hawaiian place names. As a Hawaiian myself, I therefore have both the privilege and responsibility of ensuring that the history of my people is preserved for future generations as a Hawaiian geography and not simply as a geography of Hawai'i. As my *kūpuna* would say, "*E ho'i nā lehua o Kahakuloa*" as a *lehua* of Kahakuloa, I will return to listen and learn all that my *kūpuna* have to say.³²⁹

³²⁷ Wilson, P.D., p. 2.

³²⁸ Crocombe, R., pp. 1-19.

³²⁹ *E ho'i nā lehua o Kahakuloa* literally means, "return the *lehua*, the people, of Kahakuloa." Kahakuloa was a place known for its *lehua* flower. The people of Kahakuloa were likened to the *lehua*. *Lehua* also means, "expert" and "warrior". Pukui, M.K. and Elbert, S.H., p. 199.



(Figure 20. Picture of My Grandfather's Cross Overlooking Kahakuloa.)

APPENDIX

*'ILI OF KAHAKULOA*³³⁰

Eliwahine
Haleokane
Heinau
Kahanahana
Kakapa
Kamani
Kaopilopilo
Kapalalau
Kapaloa
Kawaihae
Kuewaa
Lanipanoa
Malu
Maupo
Ohia
Paulai
Piilani
Piiloi
Puekahi
Punalau
Punanehuhe

³³⁰ Kingdom of Hawai'i, *Buke Māhele*.

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