

EXTENDING HAWAIIAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE

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Hawaiian children who want to read in the Hawaiian language have a limited choice of reading material. This is a problem for children's rights, for language development, and for language preservation and cultural pride, and a problem that has been tackled successfully for other languages. This article describes the reading situation for Hawaiian children and discusses problems derived from that situation. It then uses the example of the Welsh language, an example that has much in common with the Hawaiian situation, to suggest how the development of a translated children's literature in Hawaiian would be an effective and practical route toward a living, vibrant Hawaiian literature and language.

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Hawaiian children’s literature, despite impressive growth in recent years, is still limited in both quantity and range. If this is accepted as a valid analysis, the question remains, “Does it matter?” and if it does matter, “What can be done?” I argue, from three different perspectives, that it does matter. First, Hawaiian children have a moral right to a literature in their own language. This argument is mainly seated in international human rights legislation. The second argument is a practical concern; reading is an excellent resource for both L1 and L2 language learning. A larger, more varied Hawaiian children’s literature would be a valuable resource for all kinds of learners of Hawaiian. The third argument is based on language preservation and cultural pride. Language preservation absolutely requires a child population learning that language. This is a view clearly accepted by the Hawaiian community and shared by many children and adults who may not be part of the Hawaiian language movement or like myself, may not even live in Hawai’i but who still feel some connection to the language or culture and want to learn the language.

The question of how to expand Hawaiian children’s literature has been addressed to a certain extent by the notable expansion of Hawaiian picture books in recent years. This article suggests adding to that resource using the example of the Welsh language preservation program. The Welsh situation had much in common with the Hawaiian situation and provides an encouraging model of how language preservation can be made to succeed. One of the solutions in the Welsh example was using translation as a speedy way to expand a literature, making a firm statement that a language is both powerful enough and important enough to appropriate other literatures for its own ends. The article continues with a breakdown of the current state of Hawaiian children’s literature. The number of Hawaiian language picture books is increasing rapidly, but there is still a lack of chapter book level reading, and even the picture book reading is unbalanced in range of topic. Translation, at first glance, might seem a rather redundant solution. Most Hawaiian speakers are bilingual in Hawaiian and English and have no need of translation to read English texts. In the final section I discuss how translation can be more than simply a convenient way to expand a literature. Translated texts can give Hawaiian children a choice other than English and can also give a sense of ownership, of having, for example, their own *Harry Potter*, rather than borrowing someone else’s.

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Child Rights

The United Nations 1989 *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (Article 17, c) states generally that States shall “Encourage the production and dissemination of children’s books” and immediately following, in (Article 17, d), adds that they shall “encourage the mass media to have particular regard to the linguistic needs of the child who belongs to a minority group or who is indigenous,” thus arguing that indigenous children, or children with a minority tongue, have a moral right to children’s books in their own language.

The right of access to writing and communication in a minority tongue is reinforced in other parts of the agreement; Article 29 c states that children’s education should encourage “cultural identity and language.” Article 30 states that children of ethnic or linguistic minorities “shall not be denied the right . . . to use his or her own language,” and Article 13 states that the child shall have “freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child’s choice.”

In other words, although the concepts are spread over various Articles and although these Articles deal with the seemingly separate concepts of cultural identity, education, and access to media, they are all linked in the concept that children of a minority culture or language should have access to both information and art in that language—in other words, such children should have access to children’s literature, both fictional and factual, in the language of their community.

In a similar agreement, the Council of Europe’s *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (1992), besides requiring that minority languages have radio stations, television channels, and newspapers made available (Article 11), also requires that translation and publishing of work from other languages into the minority language should be facilitated by the state (Article 12, c), and that government subsidized bodies should be set up to facilitate the publishing of original work in the minority language (Article 12, g). Governments are therefore required

to encourage and subsidize the translation and publication of works into minority languages, and also the publication of original works in the minority language. In practice, much of the effort put into translating, writing, and publishing in the minority language is grounded on the idea that the child readers of today are the adult readers of tomorrow, and is therefore strongly focused on the production of a body of children's literature in the minority language.

The United States has not ratified The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child and is not legally bound to follow its articles. The United States is not a signatory to the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. But the fact remains that two major pieces of international human rights legislation argue a moral right for the availability of literature, especially children's literature, in minority languages, a right which Hawaiian children are still largely denied.

Reading and Learning

One reason for arguing for a children's literature in Hawaiian is that reading is a powerful aid to language acquisition, and providing more reading for Hawaiian children would also strengthen the position of the Hawaiian language generally.

A large body of research in education and language learning supports the idea that reading is a powerful factor in the development of language skills, be it a first language or a second. In terms of starting reading, it has been found that early reading and picture book reading are a very effective stimulus to vocabulary acquisition and lead to higher levels of reading ability later (for example, Sénéchal, 1997; Sénéchal & LeFevre, 2002).

There is strong consensus that extensive reading powerfully improves vocabulary acquisition. Most recent studies in language learning take this improvement as a given and concentrate instead on examining what kind of reading, under what conditions, best encourages what kind of vocabulary growth (see, for example, Gardner, 2004). However, if we want to look at the basic power of extensive reading on language acquisition, Nagy and Herman (1987) give an interesting breakdown of the problem. They report that the average high school senior has a vocabulary of about 40,000 words, which implies learning "around 3,000 words per year during the school years" (p. 21). They add that studies show "the chance of learning a word to any given criterion from one exposure in text is somewhere around 1 in 20" (p. 26), which seems very low, until they show that a student learning at that rate,

but reading at a rate of 200 words per minute, for 25 minutes per day, for 200 days per year, would read 1,000,000 words per year. Within these 1,000,000 words they would encounter 15,000 to 30,000 unfamiliar words and would, at a rate of 1 in 20, learn between 750 and 1,500 words (p. 26). However, this is a conservative estimate, as it is unlikely that all new words encountered over a year will be encountered only once, especially considering the prevalence of re-reading in child reading behavior (Hall & Coles, 1999, pp. 9–10). Multiple encounters with new words dramatically increase the chance of learning, and the total learning of new words, especially of the more common words, would probably be considerably higher than the 750–1,500 word estimate.

Other research shows that the variety of vocabulary encountered in reading is much greater than that encountered aurally (Hayes & Ahrens, 1988). Stanovich (2000, p. 225), discussing Hayes and Ahren's work and extending the analysis of their data, states that the "relative rarity of the words in children's books is in fact greater than that in all of the adult conversation . . . Indeed, the words used in children's books are considerably rarer than those in the speech on prime-time adult television." Children's reading gives access to a much greater variety of vocabulary than does most talk or television. Reading is not just a good way of learning language; it also allows a greater variety of learning than the other major input media, conversation and television. This is not to say that television and conversation are not important modes of input but rather that reading both backs up that input and significantly expands it.

Reading, then, can be an excellent way of enhancing the learning of either a first or a second language. But for children wanting to learn Hawaiian, it is a learning choice that is still limited. Some children will learn well just from conversation, others from school study, but many do not have access to Hawaiian-speaking conversational partners, or may not enjoy or be capable at academic approaches to language learning, even if they are available in their school, which in many schools in Hawai'i they are not. A body of children's literature in Hawaiian gives extra chances to children who are learning conversationally or at school, and a unique chance for children who do not have those options. Also, it should be added, many adult language learners of many different languages, either as an alternative or as a supplement to formal learning, turn to children's literature as an enjoyable and effective route to natural language acquisition.

Cultural Pride and Language Preservation

Expanding both the range and volume of Hawaiian children's literature is also important in terms of cultural pride and language preservation. Reading, generally, is given high status in both education and society, and both the act of reading and the objects of reading, the literature, are highly valued. A large and visible body of Hawaiian children's literature would be powerful evidence of the value of the language and the strength of the culture and would be a powerful message to the young people of Hawai'i. Conversely, a restricted body of children's literature could have the opposite effect. If children's reading materials are not easily available in Hawaiian, then Hawaiian culture and the Hawaiian language may produce an impression of low status and low value.

In terms of language preservation, a large body of literature is also a large body of linguistic and stylistic models. Children in schools where Hawaiian is taught or used are encouraged to write poems, essays, and stories in Hawaiian, but they still need role models. Hawaiian has different narrative and poetic structures than English, and if children are not reading a variety and range of literature in Hawaiian, they will be handicapped in learning these structures and techniques. For children not receiving an education in Hawaiian, the handicap will be far greater.

At present the only serious, widespread, easily available production of Hawaiian language literature is in the lyrics of Hawaiian music. This is a powerful expression of cultural pride and evidence that the language has the range and flexibility to produce works of literary art. Hawaiian cultural pride is well served by song lyrics but would be better served by a fuller, more rounded literature including prose and poetic writing for children.

THE WELSH LANGUAGE AS A PARALLEL EXAMPLE

It may seem that Wales, a small country on the other side of the world, has little in common with Hawai'i, but in terms of language there is much they share. Welsh was originally the native language of the people of Wales, but slowly under military, economic, and cultural influence English took over. Welsh, though it has related languages, was a language not much used outside the borders of Wales, and, as with Hawaiian, quickly succumbed to the dominance of a powerful

language of international value. The original Welsh speakers were generally not the rich landowners but, as was also the case in Hawai'i, were often ruled over by English-speaking landowners. Welsh, like Hawaiian, traditionally had a largely oral history and storytelling tradition, kept alive by the traditional bards and their reputedly vast stores of memorized songs, ballads, and chants. And like Hawaiian, Welsh did not have a viable body of children's literature. Welsh, in order to survive, had to compete with economically and culturally dominant English, had to change from a mostly oral literary tradition to a written tradition, and had to create a literature for children so people could grow up learning a living language rather than just learning it as a subject in school.

In the middle of the 20th century, Welsh was in danger of disappearing completely, but it has since made a marvelous recovery. There are many reasons for this, but one is the active provision of reading in Welsh for Welsh children. In 1952 a British government paper examining the poor state of publishing in the Welsh language included the following sobering words, which could equally be applied to the current Hawaiian situation:

Books are an indispensable means to the preservation, continuity and development of a national culture. A bookless people is a rootless people, doomed to lose its identity and its power to contribute to the common fund of civilisation. (Home Office, 1952, p. 2)

Since that time government funding has aided Welsh publishing, promoting both original writings and translations, and these days it is easy to find and buy all sorts of Welsh language reading for children, both online and in local book stores, with over 500 new titles published each year in Welsh.¹ The number of Welsh speakers has risen and is still rising. In 2004, for a population of about three million, approximately 611,000 people claimed to be able to speak the language and 315,000 considered themselves fluent (2004 Welsh Language Board, p. 6), with the highest percentage of both fluent and non-fluent speakers in the 3–15 age band (p. 7). In 2012 the number of people claiming to be able to speak the language had risen to 757,500.² Most of these people did not learn the language as an L1, but the number of children now growing up bilingual is steadily rising. The Welsh language is not out of danger, but it is growing and considerably stronger than before. There are

many aspects to the Welsh Language preservation program including a television channel, radio, newspapers, magazines (including magazines for children), and school education. All children in Wales learn Welsh at school from ages 5 to 16, and over 440 primary schools and over 50 secondary schools use Welsh as a language of instruction,³ bolstering book publishing, including translation. The Welsh people have employed many strategies to preserve their language. One of those strategies has been to concentrate on children and children's literature, both original and translated. The following sections examine Hawaiian children's literature, and, drawing from the Welsh example, offer some considerations for preserving the Hawaiian language.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS IN HAWAIIAN

Picture Books

Children in the developed world typically start to read with picture books. A varied and interesting diet of picture books early in life helps develop the habit of reading and also becomes a major source of new vocabulary and variety of grammatical expression. The commonly found tendency of young children to repeatedly re-read texts (Hall & Coles 1999, pp. 9–10), even to the point of memorization, means that the language in picture books is a particularly powerful element in the acquisition of language. In terms of literature, picture books are often surprisingly complex and can provide a growing and sophisticated awareness of a great variety of narrative and poetic forms employed in written genres.

There are many picture books in the bookstores of Hawai'i. These books are mainly in the English language; very few picture books use the Hawaiian language. Until recently there were no monolingual Hawaiian language picture books in the bookstores, though since 2008 Kamehameha Publishing, a division of the Kamehameha Schools, has released a growing number of titles in either bilingual or monolingual Hawaiian-only formats. In October 2011 I counted 13 such texts listed on their website. In November 2012 I found 15 picture books available in either bilingual or monolingual formats and a further 10 picture books (including board books) in a purely bilingual format. A small number of bilingual English/Hawaiian picture books are also available from other publishing houses, particu-

larly the Bishop Museum's Kamahoi Press, which publishes texts such as Nona Beamer and Caren Ke'ala Loebel-Fried's *Pua Polū: The Pretty Blue Hawaiian Flower* (2005) and their *Naupaka* (2008), and Kimo Armitage and Meleanna Meyer's *He Mau Nane Hawai'i: Hawaiian Riddles* (2004). As of November 2012, Ulukau, the Hawaiian Electronic Library, a growing online resource, had a large number of downloadable picture books: no less than thirty monolingual Hawaiian language picture books, four bilingual picture books, and four books readable as either Hawaiian or English text. What was a very small number of Hawaiian language picture books is rapidly expanding into a respectable corpus.

The monolingual texts in particular provide a growing backbone of Hawaiian language picture books which can be read simply as picture books. However, the bilingual books are slightly different. These books provide an excellent resource for children learning Hawaiian as a second language, but, by nature of being bilingual, they are clearly marked as educational texts, and their reading and reception will be fundamentally different from monolingual texts. Nonetheless, since many of the bilingual texts are also published as monolingual Hawaiian language texts, when viewed in isolation they can still be read and received in the same ways as monolingual picture books.

A number of picture books written in English have Hawaiian themes and Hawaiian words scattered through them, such as Tammy Yee's *Baby Honu's Incredible Journey* (2006) and Kimberly Jackson and Yuko Green's *Humu: The Little Fish Who Wished away His Colors* (2000). Many of the picture books from the Hawaiian publishing houses Bess Press and Hawaiian Heritage are books of this nature. These books attempt to give a Hawaiian atmosphere and introduce, or use, a few words of the language. They can be a useful introduction to basic vocabulary for people who have no knowledge of Hawaiian but are of no real use for children who need stories in their own language. Indeed, they can have the negative effect of displaying Hawaiian as a little like Latin, a language where knowing a few words or phrases is interesting or has a certain status but where we do not need the whole language. Perhaps we can see these books as similar to *hapa haole* (Hawaiian music with English lyrics), and indeed, *Ke Ahiahi Mamua O Kalikimaka 'Twas the Night Before Christmas—in Hawai'i* (ed. Valjeanne Budar, 2004) which introduces itself with the words, "Now, Keiki . . . here is a happy Hapa-Hawaiian version of 'Twas the Night Before Christmas.'" These kinds of picture books are both useful and enjoyable in their own right, carrying and maintaining elements of Hawaiian culture, but they do not really maintain the language or give a Hawaiian language experience.

The number of Hawaiian language picture books has grown enormously in recent years, thanks largely to the efforts of Kamehameha Publishing, which has produced the majority of the printed books and 'Aha Pūnana Leo and Hale Kuamo'o, which have donated books to Ulukau for free online availability. Availability has also improved through the development of the internet, with the printed books now available through publishers' home pages and through major international sites like Amazon, rather than being restricted to physical bookstores with their limited display space. The rapid increase in downloadable books on the internet reflects the spread of home computers and personal electronic book readers, though for the moment books on Ulukau are in PDF form and are not available in eBook formats.

Chapter Books and Adult Books

Monolingual and bilingual picture books are a valuable start in creating and making available a Hawaiian children's literature, and there are now probably enough of these books to give a child the reading experience needed to take on easier chapter books. However, Hawaiian language children's chapter books are a very rare commodity. I have been unable to find any, either on the internet or in bookstores, which means that they are certainly not easily or normally available.⁴ Considering that until recently there were very few picture books with which to start the habit of reading in Hawaiian, this is not surprising; but for those children who have learnt Hawaiian at home, or even at school, and are moving beyond picture books, the lack of any reading material to expand their language experience must be very discouraging.

For adults there is a little more material, such as the bilingual *The O'ahu Exploits of Kamapua'a* or *The True Story of Kaluaikoolau* (2004), published by Bishop Museum Press and The Kauai Historical Society, respectively. These books, and others like them, tend to an academic or cultural-historical content, as does the growing collection of reproduced historical sources available on Ulukau, and are not marketed to the general reader. There is also, remarkably, an 1871 Hawaiian translation of Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (*He Mo'olelo no 'Ivanahō*) available for download on Ulukau. *He Mo'olelo no 'Ivanahō* was the only novel I could find available in Hawaiian. As with children's chapter books, there probably are other texts available, but they are not easily found.

There are also a number of books of traditional Hawaiian song lyrics, but these also have a very specific market. Since 1998 there has also been the Hawaiian journal *‘Ōiwi: A Native Hawaiian Journal* which is attempting to correct the lack of a written Hawaiian literature with poems, short stories, and translations. Hopefully it will grow in popularity and impact, but at present it still has a limited circulation and readership. On the internet there is the Hawaiian language Wikipedia, (*‘O Wikipikia*³), which seems readable for both adults and older children and covers varied topics in the Hawaiian language, but at the moment it is limited to only a few pages of entries.

Even for adults, then, the choice is limited in both volume and range, with an especial lack of recreational reading. There is, quite simply, very little published for older children or adults in Hawaiian. Very young children now have picture books to read, but once they have progressed beyond picture books they have almost nowhere to go.

Range of Reading

Children's literature in the Hawaiian language lacks quantity, especially in chapter books, and a range of content. The themes of the available books are almost exclusively limited to stories specific to traditional culture or a restricted interpretation of life in Hawai'i. The majority of picture books are beach stories, featuring Hawaiian animals or sea creatures, or stories connected to Hawaiian history or mythology. Monolingual books such as William Wilson and Lilinoe Andrews' *Nā Keiki 'Elima* (2011) and Lilinoe Andrews and Leimomi Respicio's *E 'Ai I Kekahi, E Kāpī I Kekahi* (2011), for example, have themes based on the beach, the sea, and traditional values. Traditional Hawaiian themes promote understanding of the land and of traditional values and culture, and in that respect are an entirely positive thing, working to create and perpetuate a sense of Hawaiian identity. However, the predominance of such themes, and a lack of other themes, makes the available children's literature unbalanced in content and ideologically linked to a specific role for the Hawaiian language of preserving traditional culture and values. Because of the narrow focus on things traditionally or conceptually Hawaiian, and because the books have an overall educational role of teaching Hawaiian culture, this almost inevitably leads to a somewhat didactic tone in the

stories, which may be off-putting to some children. Apart from any didactic feel to the books, the limited range of themes can result in a correspondingly limited implied audience of readers who are interested in such topics, or who accept that view of Hawaiian life.

Not all children who speak or want to speak Hawaiian want to read this type of text, and for those children there is almost no choice of reading material. Even for children who do accept and enjoy the common themes of the texts, if they want to read in different areas they have no choice but to read in a different language. There is also the danger that the limited focus can give the impression that the Hawaiian language is unrelated to modern or global matters.

For some children reading in Hawaiian, other texts are available. Articles in the *Honolulu Advertiser* (Cataluna, 2010; Rumford, 2003) report that for many years dedicated educators have been taking English texts and making them available in Hawaiian by sticking translated text over the English. Cataluna, reporting on the work of Sam L. No‘eau Warner, states that “[s]ome of the stories were big hits with students in Hawaiian immersion programs, like ‘No, David!’ which became ‘A‘ole e Kawika!’” These books, for practical reasons, and also no doubt for copyright reasons, could not be made available to the general public, but they remain an example of how books with a different type of content can attract and be popular with Hawaiian children. Domestically produced texts with a less specifically Hawaiian theme do exist; for example, there is Kimo Armitage, Keli‘i Ki‘ilehua, and Michael Furuya’s excellent bilingual picture book *Ho‘omālamalama: A Hawaiian Language Primer* (2004), a farmyard story of the dog Nihonui who saves the newborn chicks from a hungry cat. Nonetheless, specifically Hawaiian themes dominate the reading list. In the context of a threatened Hawaiian culture and language, the production of books reflecting that culture through the language was no doubt a necessary and valuable start, but the time may have come where a greater variety of themes, to attract a greater variety of readers, is a necessary next step, especially in chapter books.

Reading Population

The 2000 census counted just over 27,000 L1 speakers of Hawaiian.⁶ If native speakers are seen as the primary reading population, since many of these 27,000 are not children, this may not seem a very large audience. However, there are two reasons why this figure should not be taken as a reasonable estimate for readers of children's literature.

First there is the question of identifying "L1" speakers. Most speakers of Hawaiian are bilingual. Definitions of L1 or "native speaker" are particularly difficult when dealing with bilingual people, and more so when dealing with bilingual families as there are often varying degrees of bilingualism within a single family. For example, even if Hawaiian/English bilinguals' strongest language may sometimes be English, this does not automatically mean that they, or their children, are not native speakers of Hawaiian. On top of this, the census is not really trying to identify native speakers of languages other than English but only asks about the language spoken at home. The language spoken at home is a very narrow definition of "native speaker," and it is likely that other forms of questioning, such as self-reporting of Hawaiian language ability, would result in greater numbers.

Second, census data miss the many people who have learned Hawaiian as a second language, many of whom will have reached a native or near native proficiency. The potential readership for Hawaiian language children's literature is much greater than the sum of native speakers or near native speakers. It is the nature of children's literature that it is more accessible to readers at low levels of language ability. Therefore, the potential reading population includes all people, of whatever age, and whatever level of Hawaiian ability, who wish to read Hawaiian at an easier level. It even includes children learning Hawaiian whose parents are not capable Hawaiian speakers. I imagine that there must be many parents in Hawai'i who are perhaps not very capable at Hawaiian themselves, who do not speak Hawaiian at home, but who would like their children to learn the language. The potential readership for Hawaiian children's literature must, therefore, be considerably larger than the 27,000 suggested by the census results.

The limited children's literature in Hawaiian does not supply the needs of Hawaiian children. Contrasted with the presence of a large children's literature in English, this can give the impression that Hawaiian is a language of little importance even in its homeland, and of little relevance except to those interested in or involved in traditional Hawaiian culture. However, the potential readership for Hawaiian children's literature is large and growing. The next section deals with the reasons for expanding Hawaiian children's literature to serve a growing potential readership.

PRESERVING LANGUAGE THROUGH TRANSLATION

Preserving a language is a complex and multifaceted thing, and it would be naive in the extreme to suggest that children's literature is the answer to all the problems. It would also be unfair and misleading to imply that Hawaiian people are not already making great efforts to preserve their language and culture, often in the face of powerful legal and economic barriers.⁷ However, it is clear that if a language is to survive it must be learned by the children. For children learning any language, reading in that language is an important source of input and is an accessible means of practicing and consolidating the language in the absence of conversational partners. Simultaneously, the presence of a children's literature in a language provides highly visible evidence of the value and growing status of the language and its cultural settings.

Hawai'i already has a number of specialist publishers, academic and more commercial, producing texts related to Hawaiian history and culture. These publishers have, by producing such texts, shown their commitment to Hawaiian language and culture. It would be good if Native Hawaiian authors and illustrators could produce enough new texts to supply the needs of Hawaiian children, but this would naturally be a very slow process. Instead, I would like to propose following the route that has worked well for Welsh and other minority European languages: translation.

Translation might seem like a step backwards for any culture fighting to preserve its identity in an increasingly English dominated world. The influx of cultural input, even into the language of the minority culture, can easily be seen as simply diluting that culture and encouraging the cultural imperialism of the dominant

language. This view is perfectly reasonable, but there are other ways of viewing translation. Translation may be seen as the imposition of outside culture, but equally it can also be seen as appropriation of that culture. This act of appropriation is especially powerful for translations into minority languages where most of the readers are often bilingual and are actually capable of reading the original text. As such, the conventional rationale for translation, to make an inaccessible text accessible, disappears, and new rationales, such as appropriation, take prominence. If I translate something into my language, in a sense I make it mine. If *Harry Potter*, for example, is translated into Hawaiian, then Hawaiian people can say, “this is our *Harry Potter*, and it is different from your *Harry Potter*.”

Beyond the simple fact of translation, there also remains the question of styles of translation. All translation involves choice, and one such choice is the degree to which a translated text is domesticated through the translation. For example, whether names, either personal or place names, are changed, whether the translation strives for fluency or idiomatic accuracy in the new language, or whether it attempts to preserve the foreign feel of the text by allowing non-fluent, foreign patterns of language in the text. Translators into minority languages often choose a domesticating policy to give an even stronger feeling of ownership of the text. For example, in the Scottish translation of *Winnie-the-Pooh*, Piglet changes his name and becomes Wee Grumphie. *Wee* is the Scottish way of saying *small*, and *grumphie* means *pig*. Scottish people can easily understand all the associations of the original name Piglet, so the name change is in no way linguistically necessary, but the new name, Wee Grumphie, powerfully domesticates the character, and aids the cultural appropriation of the text. Writing on the same topic, the translation studies scholar Susan Bassnet (2011) argues that:

It may seem like a paradox, but the more a culture struggles to assert its own individuality and establish its own literature, to make its own voice heard, the more likely it is that translation will play a major part in the process. The true test of a language is to show that it can take the foreign, the different and the other and transform it into something familiar. (p. 6)

Translation is one of the quickest and most effective ways of expanding an indigenous literature. Indeed, most nascent children's literatures start with a mix of translation and written versions of traditional tales (Hunt, 1999, p. 6). Texts chosen for translation tend to be high-profile, successful texts which are attractive to potential readers and easily marketed. The presence of these high-profile texts passes on an image of success, sophistication, and validity to the target language. For example, Welsh people are proud that there is a *Harry Potter* in Welsh (*Harri Potter maen yr Athronydd*, 1997/2003), Scots are proud that there is a *Winnie-the-Pooh* (1926/2008) in Scots, and even Cornish Speakers, of which there are estimated to be only 300 fluent,⁸ can boast of a number of translations, including for example *Alice in Wonderland* (*Alys in Pow an Anethow*, 1865/2009). All the above texts are easily available on major internet sites such as Amazon (UK and USA). The act of translation not only brings texts into a language, it also takes a language out into the surrounding world.

Translation expands both the quantity and the variety of the available reading material in a language, and expands the reading population, but at the same time it also expands the language. Historically, translation has been used as a conscious and active tool in the deliberate expansion of vocabulary in a number of now very successful languages. In the case of English, for example, writers of the 16th and 17th centuries, in the belief that English lacked the vocabulary to become a powerful and elegant language, produced great numbers of translations, and in doing so coined many new words and actively borrowed many words from the European and Latin source texts (Baugh & Cable, 1993, pp. 209–224). This active borrowing through translation became one of the greatest sources of new vocabulary in the English language. The same conscious policy of actively importing words and coining new words was also used in Japanese translation (Haag, 2011). In pre-Meiji times words were taken from the Chinese language, and in Meiji and post Meiji times, from English and other European languages. Translation is an effective tool in expanding the vocabulary of an indigenous language.

Translated texts, especially when translated from a culturally powerful language like English, are easier to market than new texts by unknown writers. By publishing translations, publishing houses can generate more income and can afford to invest more in local talent, who, as the number of Hawaiian readers grows, will have a better chance of financial reward, especially if the publishers also translate out of Hawaiian. The growth in the market generated by translated texts is one of the main reasons why Welsh language original authors now have a readership for which they can write.

Finally, although Hawai'i is a small place and Hawaiian has a limited number of readers, Hawaiian has one great advantage over most minority languages. Hawai'i has an enormous number of visitors every year. If a person visits Hawai'i and likes Hawai'i, and also likes, for example, a particular children's book, many of those people would be pleased to be able to buy that book in the Hawaiian language. This could be a first step into the language, or it could just be a gift or a souvenir. Whatever the reason, it would add to the financial return to Hawaiian translators. Many of the Hawaiian books of any category now sold, are sold to tourists or foreign people with a passion for Hawaiian culture, and these people form an important market that other minority languages do not always have, even Welsh.

As mentioned above, Hawaiian music is one area where Hawaiian literature is currently successful and expanding. But if we look to the music as an example, we can see that many English language songs have been translated into Hawaiian, and many Hawaiian people like to hear these songs in their own language. Also, Hawaiian music has incorporated into itself musical forms from other traditions, and far from becoming diluted, has grown and evolved within itself. Likewise, many Hawaiian musicians have found that a large part of their income and popularity lies in other lands: in Japan, on mainland America, in Canada. The example of the songs shows that poetic skills in Hawaiian are strong, and the range of the Hawaiian language is easily up to the challenge of producing and translating literary texts.

Other factors also work in favor of Hawaiian. The Japanese poetic form of haiku, for example, is very popular in English and all across the United States. In English, haiku is often clumsy and difficult, but Hawaiian has a similar phonetics to Japanese and shares with it many poetic techniques. Haiku, either original or translated, would be a natural immigrant to Hawaiian, fitting easily into traditional awareness of nature that is coded into the Hawaiian language and essential to traditional haiku.

Even in terms of movies or TV programs, modern digital television and digital reproduction of movies allows easy addition of subtitles. It would be a marvelous resource for Hawaiian children if they could watch DVDs and choose "Hawaiian" from the list of subtitled or spoken languages, or if Hawaiian subtitles could be available for non-Hawaiian language broadcasts. This type of addition would require expenditure by the movie and TV companies, and would therefore work best with government aid, but it is far from impossible, and if applied to other minority languages in the United States would be a revolutionary change.

Finally, if translation is encouraged between English and Hawaiian, then not only do children gain something to read, and a way to learn their local language more effectively, they may also find that an ability in the Hawaiian language, rather than being a simple expression of cultural affinity with little power in the job market, can instead be a powerful addition to a resume, and a marketable skill leading to better employment opportunities. If there is to be a growing children's literature in Hawaiian, Hawaiian speakers will be needed to write, translate, illustrate, edit, publish, review, study, and teach the new literature. Indeed, the "Did you know?/Ua 'Ike Anei 'Oukou?" page of the Kualono website run by the University of Hawai'i at Hilo states that even now "[t]here is more work to be done in the Hawaiian language than there are people who are qualified to do this work."⁹ One day we might see courses at the University of Hawai'i on "The Children's Literature of Hawai'i." That would be something I would love to see. But not as much as I would love to go into a Hawaiian bookstore and find a section filled with children's books, in Hawaiian, for Hawaiian children, and to see children buying those books.

CONCLUSION

At this point I feel I should explain a little of why I, a person who is not Hawaiian and who does not live in Hawai'i, should be writing an article such as this. Simply, several years ago I became interested in Hawaiian culture—interested enough to want to learn the language. As a student of children's literature I was well aware of the theoretical value of children's texts in L1 and L2 learning and I also had practical firsthand experience, having learned Japanese first from picture books and then from chapter books. I therefore went in search of Hawaiian language picture books. However, at that time there were no monolingual texts available and only a couple of bilingual texts. The corpus was too small for my needs either as a researcher in children's literature or as a language learner. Over the past few years my studies have grown to include translation studies, and this produced the final impetus for writing this article. These studies resulted in the parts of this article introducing the Welsh language preservation program and the role of a translated literature in language preservation. Welsh has much in common with the Hawaiian situation but has had legal and government support longer. I hoped to show how translation has become an important part of Welsh language

preservation and how it might also help in the Hawaiian situation. Translation is, of course, only one route to strengthening a language. I want to stress again my respect for the people who work so hard to maintain Hawaiian language and culture in so many ways, including translation. Translation is a relatively quick, relatively easy, high profile route to language and cultural development and preservation, and as such worthy of greater expansion, especially in these days of e-publishing and the versatility that entails.

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NOTES

- 1 See "Welsh, current status" on Omniglot, the online encyclopedia of writing systems and languages, at www.omniglot.com/writing/welsh.htm
- 2 See the StatsWales site at <http://www.statswales.wales.gov.uk/TableViewer/tableView.aspx?ReportId=42667>

3 See “Welsh, current status” on Omniglot, the online encyclopedia of writing systems and languages, at www.omniglot.com/writing/welsh.htm

4 In 2012, after I had finished writing this article, Evertype Publishing released Hawaiian translations of Lewis Carroll’s *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland* (*Nā Hana Kupanaha a ‘Āleka ma ka ‘āina Kamaha’o*) and *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There* (*Ma Loko o ke Aniani Kū a me ka Mea i Loa‘a iā ‘Āleka ma Laila*). Both works were translated by R. Keao NeSmith.

5 See http://haw.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ka_papa_kinohi

6 See the Hawaiian page on the Ethnologue: Languages of the World site at www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=haw

7 See ‘Aha Pūnana Leo’s “A Timeline of Revitalization” for an overview at http://www.ahapunaleo.org/index.php?/about/a_timeline_of_revitalization/

8 See “Cornish, current status” on Omniglot, the online encyclopedia of writing systems and languages, at www.omniglot.com/writing/cornish.htm

9 See <http://www.olelo.hawaii.edu/olelo/uaikeanei.php>