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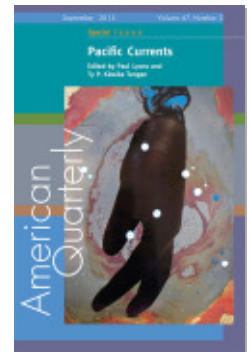
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Embodied Cosmogony: Genealogy and the Racial Production of the State in Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl's "Ho'oulu Lāhui"

Joyce Pualani Warren

The man at the gate began chanting about Papa and Wākea. Papa, the earth mother, and Wākea, the sky father, progenitors of the Hawaiian race. Kahikina listened for a minute and mused over his version. I guess he never heard the *old* story, the way it was before the Ministry of Hawaiian Culture reshaped oral history.

—Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl, "Ho'oulu Lāhui"

Race is an idea, not a fact, and its questions demand answers from the conceptual rather than the factual realm.

—Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People*

A speculative fiction text set in the late twenty-first century, Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl's short story "Ho'oulu Lāhui" (2000) signifies upon the preceding two centuries of Hawaiian experiences with the United States and opens pathways for a discussion of inclusion, belonging, and self-determination in our contemporary moment. The title's invocation of the slogan used by King Kalākaua in the face of American political takeover in the nineteenth century invites interrogations as to what and who, exactly, the "lāhui" is today. Kneubuhl's text imagines a sovereign New Hawaiian Nation, Ke Aupuni Hawai'i Hou, where racially unmixed and therefore "pure" Hawaiian bodies are given prominence in all aspects of life. The differences and similarities among historical constructions of lāhui are the starting point for the present essay's discussion of the (presumed) intersections of race and culture in matters of nationhood, which is informed by the emphasis on Native bodies in both Kneubuhl's title and Kalākaua's slogan. This essay indexes the shifting relationships between the individual and the nation, as prescribed by both Kanaka Maoli epistemology and US political frameworks, to suggest how a return to indigenous conceptions of the Kanaka Maoli body may liberate notions of identity and belonging from the American imposition of blood quantum.

Discussions of Kneubuhl's oeuvre have concentrated on her outpouring of plays, living histories, and novels, noting their ability to use "historical drama as political and pedagogical tool."¹ This confluence of political and literary efforts is emblematic of the expansive, dynamic aspect of the Hawaiian Renaissance through which much of Kneubuhl's work has been contextualized, as well as her experience working as a museum educator at the Hawai'i Mission Homes Museum and the Judiciary History Center of Hawai'i. For instance, Diana Looser cites *January, 1893* (1993)—a five-act, nineteen-scene living history spanning fifteen hours and performed on-site in downtown Honolulu to commemorate the centenary of the US overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy—as an impetus for the introduction of bills related to Hawaiian culture and sovereignty to the state legislature.² And while the wide-reaching effects of Kneubuhl's works are perhaps inextricable from the grand scope of their productions and the sense of community inherent in attending a dramaturgical performance, her short fiction similarly engages history as a "political and pedagogical tool." Looser has pointed out that Kneubuhl's drama, such as *The Conversion of Ka'ahumanu* (1988) and *Emmalehua* (1986/1996), tends to "focus on female protagonists and on domestic responses to moments of crisis-ridden social transition."³ "Ho'oulu Lāhui" has this in common with Kneubuhl's plays and living history pageants, yet filters the same epic and historical resonances through interiority and intimacy derived from the immediacy of short fiction mediated through a single protagonist's recollections. Kneubuhl's "Ho'oulu Lāhui" contains the same historical scope as her other works, perhaps even more: the plot unfolds through metatextual retelling of pieces of the Kumulipo, an ancient chant that links the genealogy of all Kanaka Maoli to the creation of the universe, which is then placed in conversation with the legacies of cultural and political colonization begun in the nineteenth century. These historical resonances become even more prescient when they are projected nearly a century into the future to deal with the iteration of American imperial influence sure to produce the twenty-first century's "moments of crisis-ridden social transition": biocolonialism.

The plot of Kneubuhl's text intricately and intimately layers Kanaka Maoli and US frameworks, as the New Hawaiian Nation both deploys and disenfranchises the Kumulipo, the epic cosmogonic chant that is the source of Kanaka Maoli identity formation and worldview. The Kumulipo's function as genealogical and cosmogonic validation of sovereignty are echoed in Kneubuhl's "Ho'oulu Lāhui." Kneubuhl's text tells the story of Kahikina, a "pure-blooded" Kanaka Maoli woman, and her relationship with Ke Aupuni Hawai'i Hou, the New Hawaiian Nation, formed in 2025, a few years before her birth. In

this way, the emergent postcolonial nation parallels Kahikina's own life. But this connection is more than figurative. "As one of only fifty pure Hawaiian women of childbearing age left in the world," Kahikina is asked to donate an egg for a repopulation program that will give children to infertile Kanaka Maoli couples.⁴ The program's premise appropriates the concept of *hānai*, in which a child is given to family members because of their infertility or to cement kinship ties. Unbeknownst to Kahikina, hers is the only sample used, and she is responsible for repopulating the entire nation, literally spawning thousands of children whom she will never know. The truth is not revealed to her until she is in her late sixties, and the story details her initial refusal to meet the man who was similarly deceived and whose sperm was used to create these children—a man she vaguely recalls as "the Kapuahi boy," also racially unmixed, whom she saw as a child at family functions. Kahikina's pain is doubly layered: the trauma of spawning thousands of children she will never know is juxtaposed with her life as a childless widow. Her closest relative is her nephew, Alika, who diligently tends to her expansive *lo'i* (irrigated terrace used to grow taro), and who she now suspects may be one of her cloned children. The story begins and ends with Kahikina's reactions to the Kapuahi man chanting portions of the *Kumulipo* while waiting for her to acknowledge him. Kahikina's responses to the visitor waiting at her gate, and the trauma she experiences as a result of the government's deception, are steeped in the discursive slippages of Hawai'i's legacy as a settler colonial state.

The critical slippage between US constructions of nationhood and the Kanaka Maoli *lāhui* is intensified by the historical layerings and intersections of Hawaiian and US conceptions of representation and belonging. Questions around modes of organization and self-identification must be answered before we turn to issues of self-determination in any century. Kneubuhl's "Ho'oulu Lāhui" provides a starting point for an epistemological archaeology of nineteenth- and twentieth-century attitudes toward representation and inclusion, with an eye toward what Nell Irvin Painter would call "conceptual" answers to the following "factual" questions:⁵ What are the relationships among *lāhui* and the US notion of nationhood? When and how do ideas of race begin to affect membership? What are the epistemological and ontological devices used to assign membership? How do these devices change when multiple groups attempt to define and assign membership? Answering these questions might illuminate how the discursive tensions around racial and governmental relationships come to bear on how Native bodies are positioned in discussions of self-determination. I also hope to emphasize how this special issue's attention to "continuities and changes in cultural practice" can offer recuperative pos-

sibilities for Kanaka Maoli constructions of identity. Ultimately, I argue that in returning to indigenous epistemologies of the body, which are dependent on its genealogical and metaphorical connections to community, we can open up discussions of inclusion and belonging that are based on the body but freed of US constructions of blood logic that have permeated Hawaiian society.

Excavating “Ho‘oulu Lāhui”: Kumulipo as Cosmogonic, Political, and Literary (Con)Text

The Kumulipo possesses formal and generic dexterity: its function as a two-thousand-line cosmogony is also inherently related to its form, as it is “a great poem of the cosmos” with its own mnemonic devices;⁶ and it is “both mo‘okū‘auhau (genealogy) and mo‘olelo (history/legend).”⁷ What Western literary discourse would remark on as a postmodern amalgamation of multiple forms and genres is, from an indigenous Pacific perspective, actually a shift that goes unmarked. Arguing that this is a feature of Pacific arts, Subramani notes that a piece may “move imperceptibly from poetry to verse and vice versa” because “in South Pacific oral literature, artistic expressions (drama, narrative, poetry) are not sharply differentiated.”⁸ Appreciating the ways in which the cosmogonic, political, and literary elements of the Kumulipo are mutually constitutive is necessary for the fullest understanding of the Kumulipo itself and for showing how Kneubuhl inscribes its form and content into “Ho‘oulu Lāhui.”

This section discusses the Kumulipo in three contexts: cosmogonic, political, and literary. I treat each context discretely to reify the multiple levels on which Kneubuhl’s text engages conceptions of cultural and political decolonization. Further, I illuminate how the text’s structural demand for an indigenous reading praxis opens possibilities for the application of Kanaka Maoli epistemology and ontology to contemporary discussions of lāhui formation and inclusion.

Cosmogonic Context

The Kumulipo is an oli ho‘okumu honua, a cosmogonic and genealogical chant, divided into sixteen wā (eras) that describe the unfolding of the world from the Pō, the unfathomable and bottomless darkness which creates and births all things. From the female darkness of the Pō comes Kumulipo, male night, and Po‘ele, female night. In recounting the successive generations of their coupling, the wā move through an evolutionary account of the universe that clearly establishes a genealogical link between all forms of life, from the coral polyp all the way to the first kanaka. The first half of the Kumulipo describes

the genealogies of plants and animals, the second half the genealogies of the gods and men who descend from them. Through these genealogies, Kanaka Maoli construct their identity and find meaning in the world. As Ty P. Kāwika Tengan notes, historically “claim[s] to indigenous place, being, autonomy, and culture [are made] through the Kumulipo to the Pō, which Kanaka Maoli still [return] to as a place of empowerment, strength, and connection with their past and their ancestors.”⁹

The cosmogonic and political resonances of this meaning making are articulated in Kneubuhl’s “Ho’oulu Lāhui” through a metatextual retelling of a specific mo’olelo within the chant. Kahikina’s position as unwilling progenitor of the “new” nation parallels the birth of humankind and the Hawaiian nation as detailed in the Kumulipo, which tells the story of the god Wākea’s deception of his wife, Papahānaumoku, and impregnation of their daughter, Ho’ohōkūkalani. Ho’ohōkūkalani gives birth to a son, Hāloanakalaukapalili, a stillborn whose buried body becomes the first kalo (taro). Her second son was named Hāloa after his elder brother and became the first man. In Kneubuhl’s text, Kahikina’s grandmother passes down a version of this story in secret, telling her as a young child that “Papa found out about the deception and spat in Wākea’s face. People today don’t like this story. They don’t like that it tells of how our people came from a lie, a lie to use and deceive women, but this is the story our ancestors told, my pua.”¹⁰ While the “Kānaka nouveau” of the New Hawaiian Nation’s Ministry of Hawaiian Culture have “reshaped oral history” and publicly sanitized this mo’olelo of the deception and abuse of women, in private a similar form of deception and marginalization occurs when Kahikina is unwittingly forced to repopulate the citizenry of the newly sovereign nation. The metatextual retelling of this mo’olelo emphasizes the cosmogonic bonds of all Kanaka Maoli while raising questions about how modern-day kinship is navigated in the name of an emergent lāhui that, because of the introduction of foreign notions of identity and belonging, simultaneously affirms and disavows its own foundational narrative.

Political Context

The text’s regeneration of a nation through emphasis on racial purity signifies, or deploys a *kaona*, on connections between the historical instability of Hawaiian political sovereignty and constructions of racial and national identity. Kahikina’s fertility project is named Ho’oulu Lāhui, which her generation translates as “Increase the Race,” although she is aware that “it was an ancient slogan from another century, but the health clinic had revived it.”¹¹ The phrase

has its origins in Kalākaua's efforts at repopulation in the nineteenth century in the face of foreign encroachment, when it came to mean "increase the lāhui" or "cause the lāhui to grow."¹² The reliance on genealogy and cosmogony to validate and maintain Kanaka Maoli political sovereignty is enmeshed with the project of cultural and racial survival. By the reigns of Kalākaua and Lili'uokalani, foreign diseases had decimated the population, from an estimated eight hundred thousand to approximately forty thousand in just over a century.¹³ Lāhui is both a nation and a people, and while Kalākaua's usage seems to speak to political self-determination as well as cultural and racial survival, the New Hawaiian Nation of Kneubuhl's story performs a crucial elision that emphasizes DNA at the expense of community. The political resonances of the Kumulipo affect constructions of the lāhui and their strategic deployment by the government in Kneubuhl's text.

The Kumulipo is a Kanaka Maoli account of the creation of the world but also a genealogy of Hawaiian ali'i (royalty), particularly the Kalākaua dynasty.¹⁴ Like all orature, the Kumulipo exists in multiple versions, but its best-known iterations were published by King Kalākaua (1889) and his sister and successor, Queen Lili'uokalani (1897). The Kumulipo was strategically deployed by Kalākaua for two reasons: first, to dispel challenges to his genealogical claim to the throne; second, to buttress Kanaka Maoli self-determination in the face of growing economic and political clout held by foreigners residing in the kingdom.¹⁵ Although high-ranking ali'i eventually conferred and resolved any real or imagined qualms with Kalākaua's lineage, he published the Kumulipo in 1889 as *He Pule Hoolaa Alii*, which can be translated as "a prayer to consecrate (an) Ali'i."¹⁶ The title suggests an affirmation of his own status as an ali'i, but also "consecrat[es] 'ali'i' as a system of government, which Kalākaua, Lili'uokalani, and the lāhui were trying to preserve."¹⁷ In 1897 Lili'uokalani in turn published an English translation, drafting it during her imprisonment by an oligarchy of American usurpers of the kingdom. In both instances, the publication of the Kumulipo validates Hawaiian sovereignty and the Hawaiian governmental structure through a discussion of genealogy and cosmogony.

In the story "Ho'oulu Lāhui," the New Hawaiian Nation appropriates this model of validation, yet Kneubuhl's diction creates an etymological and epistemological disjuncture. Although it appropriates the concept of lāhui and even uses the word in its fertility project, the New Hawaiian Nation is translated as Ke Aupuni Hawai'i Hou, the operative word being *aupuni* rather than *lāhui*. The terms *aupuni* and *lāhui* intersect around concepts of genealogy, "race," and nation as each evolves from the late eighteenth century through

the twenty-first century in which Kneubuhl situates her text. Aupuni is more easily translated than lāhui, referring mainly to the political unification of the islands and the hierarchy of power within a government structure. Jonathan Kay Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio defines aupuni as “the unified government established by Kamehameha the Great and ruled by his successors”; Mary Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert define it as “government, kingdom, dominion, nation, people under a ruler.”¹⁸ While these definitions vary slightly in that aupuni may refer to either the ruler(s) or the ruled, both use political power as the key referent. In the lāhui, the individual’s position within hierarchies of power is sublimated by the individual’s relationship to the collective, which is simultaneously imagined in national, racial, communal, and environmental terms, with definitions such as “great company of people; species, as of animal or fish, breed; national, racial . . . to assemble, gather together.”¹⁹ Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua observes the etymological roots of lāhui:

The prefix “lā-” can be a contracted form of “lau,” meaning leaf or a plant’s manner of leafing out. . . . “Lau” also means many or numerous and is often used poetically to refer to an unquantifiable number of people or beings, as in the countless gods or descendants. “Hui” can be used as both noun, meaning a society, organization, association or team, and a verb, meaning to join, unite, mix, or combine. Thus, the components of the word lāhui suggest both a singular, organic body with branches that nourish the whole *and* a gathering of distinct, pre-existing elements combining to form a new entity.²⁰

The references to plants and poetic quantification clearly link the lāhui to the cosmogony of the Kumulipo. However, lāhui’s emphasis on community is intensified by the conflation of race and nation in the previous definition. This conflation is complicated further when one considers that Kānaka Maoli notions of race are at times incompatible with US articulations of the term: Kānaka Maoli position genealogical inheritance as the supreme method of ascribing membership within the lāhui, while the US perspective favors genetic inheritance in the form of blood quantum, which Kānaka Maoli scholars such as J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, Noenoe Silva, and Osorio have variously theorized as a political tool of cultural dispossession.

Literary Context

Attention to the formal echoes of the Kumulipo in “Ho‘oulu Lāhui” positions the former as a literary decolonial tool in the service of crafting the lāhui through a specifically indigenous frame. Kneubuhl’s text opens and closes with the kāhea, the act of calling out in greeting. The use of the kāhea as frame

technique emphasizes the oral qualities of the text and specifically positions it as a text that depends on the oral mode of transmission even as it is operates as a written text. Kneubuhl has also articulated the ontological and sensory components of transmitting meaning: “When you hear someone chant it’s a total sensory experience . . . a direct transmission of words, feelings, emotions, and thoughts, opinions, everything in one package.”²¹ This juxtaposition of the written and the oral within the short story evidences both a reappropriation of dominant modes of expression as well as an alignment with the aforementioned pan-Pacific notion of fluidity in modes of storytelling.²² The use of the chant does more than align the story with broader Pacific notions of storytelling. The particular chant that the Kapuahi man chants to Kahikina, that of Papa and Wākea, is a genealogy, the genealogy of the universe and all Kanaka Maoli, which also positions the text in the Kanaka Maoli tradition of *mo’olelo*. As Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa reminds us, “In traditional times, the telling of any Hawaiian history began properly with traditional beginnings. A *mo’olelo* (history) would begin with the hero’s immediate antecedents or several generations further back along the ancestral lineage. In some instances, it would start at the very beginning of time . . . the Kumulipo, that distant, dark beginning of the earth.”²³ The inherently Kanaka Maoli protocols observed by the story’s formal construction suggest the need for a specifically Hawaiian reading praxis, attentive to the notion of *lāhui* independent of Western notions of the nation and state.

The importance of elasticity and recognition in the process of community formation within “Ho‘oulu Lāhui” is based on Kanaka Maoli cultural and political practices. Elasticity and recognition are integral to the Hawaiian practice of *kaona*, which Brandi Nālani McDougall describes as an “intellectual and aesthetic practice.” *Kaona* is generally translated as “hidden meaning,” but McDougall puts a helpful discursive pressure on that definition:

It is more exact to say that *kaona* refers to meaning hidden out in the open, with a range of both the “hiddenness” and “openness” of meaning engaged. . . . Inclusive of allusion, symbolism, punning, and metaphor, *kaona* draws on the collective knowledges and experiences of Hawaiians, recognizing the range and contexts within which we must inhabit, learn, and access knowledge in its many forms.²⁴

Thus the notion of what is spoken or unspoken, revealed or obscured, detected or undetected, within Kneubuhl’s “Ho‘oulu Lāhui” and her use of Kalākaua’s term takes on additional significance through a *kaona*-centered reading praxis. For example, a reader familiar with Hawaiian orature might detect the *kaona* that alludes to the Kumulipo and the story of Papahānaumoku, Wākea, and

Ho'ohökūkalanani as a metatextual subplot. This metatextual recognition could, then, for example, lead the reader to draw inferences about the multiple moments when Kahikina's questions about the fertility project are interspersed with images of taro—watching her nephew tend to the varieties she has made a career of cultivating, or noticing the fertility clinic's holographic poster depicts children walking through a taro patch. No matter how one reads these moments, the recognition of their significance to the text incorporates the reader into a larger genealogical discourse, as McDougall argues that “kaona is a responsible reading and compositional practice that demands audiences to actively ho'okū'auhau, or genealogize, to trace the connections between people, places, stories, proverbs, and other shared cultural imbricated knowledges and experiences.”²⁵ Genealogical resonances in “Ho'oulu Lāhui” are thus intensified, because, in unpacking the (veiled) references to genealogy within the text, the reader simultaneously participates in an intellectual and literary act of genealogy making.

The cosmogonic, political, and literary contexts of the Kumulipo facilitate a reading of “Ho'oulu Lāhui” that elucidates connections between the individual and political power, as well relationships among individuals. The exigencies of US constructions of citizen and nation are at times stalled by their Kanaka Maoli counterparts, which infuse political power structures with layers of communal reciprocity and metaphors of kinship. These mutually constitutive layers speak to and through American imperial formations of the nation.

Bodily Foreclosures: Blood Quantum and the Marginalization of Genealogy in Imperial Constructions of the Nation

The tensions and discursive slippages around constructions of lāhui that “Ho'oulu Lāhui” emphasizes are crucial to understanding how the idea of lāhui has, over the last century, become yoked to an imperial discourse that codes political sovereignty as racial survival dependent on blood logic. “Ho'oulu Lāhui” offers a productive space for overcoming the historical trauma to Hawaiian genealogical and ontological systems through its commentary on the fantasy of racial purity and critique of the very real importation of patriarchal American notions of blood quantum in nineteenth-century Hawai'i.²⁶ Through the text, I examine the incompatibility of Kanaka Maoli and US constructions of identity, and their contemporary legacies. US identity categories are restrictive, constructing racial and national identities as finite and dilutable, while the Kanaka Maoli genealogical system is inherently inclusive and extensive. In this sense Kahikina's experience with blood quantum elucidates the incom-

measurability of a US patriarchal racialization and movements for Hawaiian cultural and political sovereignty.

Mo'okū'auhau (genealogical succession) dictates that Hawaiian identity is based on both descent and kinship, emphasizing multiple heritages as an intersectional strength. As the nineteenth-century Hawaiian historian David Malo writes in *Hawaiian Antiquities*: "The genealogies have many separate lines, each one different from the other, but running into each other. Some of the genealogies begin with *Kumu-lipo*. . . . This is not like the genealogy from Adam, which is one unbroken line without any stems."²⁷ The multiple lines that Malo references are overlapping and complimentary, providing the individual abundant opportunities to forge new relationships or recognize old ones. In their invaluable exploration of traditional Hawaiian family systems of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Mary Kawena Pukui and E. S. Craighill Handy posit that "everything relating to this individual is within the matrix of *ʻohana*; an individual alone is unthinkable, in the context of Hawaiian relationship."²⁸ This familial matrix, from which one is inextricable, belies blood quantum's assertion that those links could be weakened through connections to other racial ancestry. The mo'okū'auhau system also contains a bilateral fluidity in which descendants may claim heritage through matrilineal and patrilineal lines, which further accommodates multiple heritages. As Kauanui writes: "Whereas in the colonial frameworks a person's vital substance comes from genetic inheritance, in the Pacific Islands context, one's substance is acquired through genealogical inheritance and sustenance from feeding in any given set of relationships."²⁹ US notions of identity that were imported to Hawai'i in the nineteenth century were based largely on the immediate conditions surrounding one's birth, and the supposedly inherent qualities of nationhood and race became conflated in an attempt to predetermine the character and quality of a being. In this way the US concept of kinship is a restrictive force, an "unbroken line" that racializes bodies in order to recognize only immediately tangible relations with no significance placed on shared histories, and is essentially restrictive and exclusionary, while the Kanaka Maoli mode is inherently extensive and inclusionary.

The New Hawaiian Nation of "Ho'oulu Lāhui" constructs its fertility project around the concept of extended kinship, but the principles that guide the project's application are entrenched in colonial blood logic. Extended kinship is invoked in the concept of *hānai* that undergirds the project, but the multiple genealogies inherent in inclusive models of kinship are subsumed by the emphasis on blood quantum and the exclusion of those who are "only part Hawaiian."³⁰ Kahikina, the protagonist, was told that her genetic dona-

tion would be one of three hundred, and while her contribution was valued because of her racial purity, many donors would also be mixed-race Kānaka Maoli. However:

Instead of selection on a rotation basis, they had simply chosen two donations of the very best, one male and one female, both of them from pure Hawaiians. First they were cloned for grooming purposes, and then altered to withstand inbreeding. Lab technicians combed through the strands of DNA, searching for and removing all defects. They engineered, strengthened, and activated enough genetic traits from each ancestral pool to produce an infinite variety of looks. Next, they cloned these perfect specimens again. Not once, but hundreds, maybe thousands of times. . . . The race didn't die. It began to flourish—Ho'oulu Lāhui.³¹

Maile Arvin has mapped the intersections of nineteenth- and twentieth-century US ideas of anthropology and eugenics, and points out that critical conceptions of “hybrid Hawaiian girls” and miscegenation were crucial symbols and methods of Americanizing Hawai'i.³² The New Hawaiian Nation seems to operate under the assumption that the erasure of miscegenation is a method of un-Americanizing, of genetically decolonizing the Hawaiian body. Within the context of the story, this genetic decolonization is linked to the project of cultural and political decolonization through the propagation of a racially pure citizenry. Yet the archive of the Hawaiian monarchy evidences the inclusion of mixed-race Kānaka Maoli citizens, even in the face of American political encroachment: Queen Lili'uokalani writes in her 1897 Protest of Annexation that she seeks redress for both “the native and part-native people of Hawaii”;³³ and when pressed on the issue of blood quantum, Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana'ole argued inclusion should extend at least to Hawaiians of the 32nd degree.³⁴ In addition to its dismissal of the many overlapping and complimentary lines of Hawaiian genealogical practice, which Malo describes as the defining difference between indigenous and Western constructions of family and belonging, this attempt at erasing miscegenation continues to reify US imperial blood logics and further marginalize the lāhui as a whole through the dismissal of a significant portion of the population. It positions Hawaiian identity as finite and erodible, a negation of our people's ability to endure even as it purports to be a project in service of that endurance by giving “a true act of aloha to those who can't have children” in an effort to ho'oulu lāhui.³⁵

I focus on the incommensurability of blood logic and Kanaka Maoli constructions of kinship and inclusion within “Ho'oulu Lāhui” to argue that the reliance on blood quantum to perpetuate a decolonized Hawaiian nation is inherently discursively flawed because race is a tool of the imperial project.

The racialization that infiltrated nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hawaiian society was doubly layered, with characteristics that were linked to specific forms of European and American colonialism. Steve Martinot traces the process of racialization back to European contact with the broader world: “All concepts of race, and all racializations of people, derive from the European invention of whiteness through the assumption of a purity condition for themselves in the context of a colonial relation with other people of different shades.”³⁶ With whiteness as the referent, race is a device that maintains colonial hierarchies of power and difference. Thus identities based solely on “race” can never be useful for people of color in the decolonial quest, since it will inherently and reflexively maintain the “purity condition” of whiteness that is required for the existence of mutually exclusive and mutually constitutive racial categories. This “purity condition” of the European notion of race is a critical component of the exercise of American political power in Hawai‘i. Unlike some European powers, which at times positioned their colonial subjects as unalterably othered, early Americans in Hawai‘i saw the native population as potentially able to assimilate, to attain that conditional purity through a manipulation of their bodies and behavior. Sally Engle Merry notes “the willingness of early missionaries and the government they created to welcome all peoples who were willing to transform their bodies and their lives—their cultural selves—in accordance with principles of Christian piety and comportment into the community of the ‘civilized.’”³⁷ Within US imperial frameworks, native bodies were racialized in order to paradoxically exclude through assimilation, and US imperial discourse around Hawaiian bodies was similar to that of Native Americans.³⁸ As Vine Deloria, Jr. reminds us, “law after law was passed requiring [Native Americans] to conform to white institutions” to such an extent that “[t]he preoccupation with race obscured the real issues that were developing,” such as the US imperial refusal of indigenous cultural and political sovereignty.³⁹ As with Native Americans, Kanaka Maoli were racialized in an effort to predetermine their assimilation, as opposed to other groups, such as Africans and Asians, who were by contrast marked as permanently foreign bodies unable to access that “purity condition.”

“Ho‘oulu Lāhui” illustrates how the emphasis on racial purity can erase not just those bodies that are racially mixed but, ironically, those bodies that are privileged because of their racial purity. As a child, Kahikina at times experiences her racial purity as a societal burden that fetishizes her: “She’d grown up being treated like an endangered species . . . subjected to the poking and prodding . . . Kahikina remembered how she hated going out in public when she was a child. Visitors to Hawai‘i had somehow come to believe that it brought good

luck to touch a pure Hawaiian.”⁴⁰ The same abhorrence of public fetishization reappears sixty years later, when Kahikina’s role in the production of thousands of racially pure Kānaka Maoli is leaked to the media. The Minister of Health visits her home and tells her, “I’ve ordered national security to delete your name and address from any and all public files. I’ve changed your communication numbers and covered any possible traces.”⁴¹ Ironically, after using her body to combat the “vanishing native” trope, the government attempts to erase that body and all traces of it. The poking and prodding she experienced as a child is analogous to the poking and prodding of her genetic material as an adult, after which the New Hawaiian Nation is keen to “[cover] any possible traces” of her existence. Once her genetic material has ensured the general population will not “vanish,” the government is keen to expedite her own virtual erasure. In addition to the trauma it causes the protagonist, the New Hawaiian Nation’s emphasis on genetic purity and the denial of genealogical agency poses an intervention in how land stewardship is articulated as a sovereign concern within the text.

Imagining Sovereign Spaces

“Ho‘oulu Lāhui” imagines how, when steeped in foreign constructions of identity, movements for political and cultural sovereignty could potentially intersect in the future genetic engineering of a racially “pure,” decolonized citizenry. Like all good speculative fiction texts, what makes “Ho‘oulu Lāhui” so captivating is that, the more one contemplates the insidious presence of the biological engineering industry in Hawai‘i, the less fantastic this narrative becomes. In fact, one could argue that our current world, in which Hawai‘i is the site of biopharmaceutical crops such as “corn containing part of the ape version of HIV, and sugarcane that produces a potent human hormone,” is far more dystopic than anything Kneubuhl’s text imagines.⁴² Walter Ritte, a sovereignty activist and Moloka‘i community organizer, has described the genetically modified organisms (GMOs) produced in Hawai‘i as “pilau,” noting that the bioengineering industry is growing crops but “producing things we cannot eat.”⁴³ The Kanaka Maoli lawyer Le‘a Malia Kanehe elucidates the connections between Kanaka Maoli cultural and political sovereignty and food security, and describes Ritte’s coining of the term “Mana Māhele”:

The term originated with activists on Moloka‘i to describe owning and selling of our mana or life force. An aspect of mana is the spiritual force Hawaiians have, stemming from our familial relationship with nature. Walter Ritte has remarked, “Biotechnology is here in

Hawai'i. . . . Taro is the example and the red flag. They tried to change its genes and patent it for 'ownership.' Biotechnology is the second Māhele . . . the Mana Māhele. Hawaiians need to maka'ala and wake up!"⁴⁴

The vehement opposition to the genetic engineering of organisms and “ownership” of resources is based in the Hawaiian concept of aloha ʻāina, love for the land, which is rooted in sacred genealogical connections. Published in 2000, Kneubuhl's text perhaps anticipated how the struggles that contemporary activists face around intellectual property and GMOs would become galvanizing issues at the center of sovereignty movements. Kanehe argues that Euro-American legal constructions of ownership and intellectual property have “encourage[d] the commercialization of the sacred” and coupled with bioengineering to usher in an era of biocolonialism in Hawai'i: “From a critical Indigenous perspective, Watson and Crick were to genes what Columbus was to the Americas or Captain Cook was to Hawai'i. Once Westerners discover and name a creation of akua, whether it be land or genes, they begin to utilize and develop it, and eventually they must devise ways to legally claim it as their own property.”⁴⁵ The most egregious act of biocolonialism has been the genetic modification of kalo (taro); particularly, the implicit assumption of ownership derived from the US patent process. In 2005 Kānaka Maoli were outraged by news that the University of Hawai'i had been granted three patents in 2002 for varieties of kalo it claimed to have invented through hybridization. The vehement response of Kānaka Maoli resulted in the university's agreement to put a moratorium on genetically modifying specifically Hawaiian varieties of kalo (taro); and though no attempts to ban genetic modification of kalo have succeeded at the state level, county-level victories such as the 2008 ban of GMO kalo on Hawai'i Island give activists hope.⁴⁶

The genetic manipulation of kalo in “Ho'oulu Lāhui” is done by Kānaka Maoli and not foreign corporations or research institutions, and on the surface the endeavor is quite successful: “Water and land conservation had become the first priorities of the New Hawaiian Nation, and Hawai'i was now a model for other island communities”; “as in the ancient days, taro once more filled the valleys and terraced hillsides.”⁴⁷ Initially, it might appear that the ends have justified the means in this fictional situation. However, using the constructions of mana, aloha ʻāina, and sovereignty articulated by contemporary Kānaka Maoli activists as a backdrop, I argue that the plot and character development of “Ho'oulu Lāhui” unfold through an engagement with the land that emphasizes the value of kinship against the attempt to engineer purity. Aloha ʻāina hovers around key encounters between Kahikina and her nephew, Alika,

and close reading reveals how these moments endorse a mutually constitutive relationship with nature as a way to strengthen interpersonal relationships and, by extension, *lāhui* inclusion.

Kahikina's initial refusal to recognize and greet the Kapuahi man, who was similarly deceived and exploited by the government's fertility project, is bound up with foreign notions of land ownership that occlude the recognition of genealogical bonds and metaphors of kinship. As the story opens, the Kapuahi man has waited at her gate for three days, hoping Kahikina would greet him in the "formal and polite way of their ancestors"; when Alika questions her refusal to do so, Kahikina bristles at what she perceives as the Kapuahi man's nerve: "He trespasses on my property, uninvited and expects me to welcome him?"⁴⁸ The relationship between human and *ʻāina* (land) is one of familial reciprocity and stewardship; as the Kumulipo reminds us, Kanaka Maoli come from the land and, until foreign pressure resulted in the Māhele of 1848, land ownership did not exist in Hawai'i. Further, the multiple *kaona* to taro throughout the text as well as its direct invocation and retelling of the Hāloa *mo'olelo* emphasize the centrality of land to Kanaka Maoli constructions of family. In Hawaiian culture, family is variously theorized as a collection of many roots and articulated as what feeds and sustains one. *ʻĀina*, the word that means land, also means that which feeds. Thus one can see that Kahikina's emphasis on land privatization that undergirds her claims of "trespassing" simultaneously distances her from her connection and responsibility to the Kapuahi man. This directive of domination through ownership is the predecessor of what Carolyn Merchant describes as the "capitalist industrial model of accumulation."⁴⁹ The theorization of land as site of accumulation replaces the infinite possibilities of reciprocity with ownership and consumption, which are unilateral and finite. Here I extend the Māori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith's appraisal of Western discourses of space to my reading of Kahikina's word choice. Smith cites Henri Lefebvre's argument "that the notion of space has been 'appropriated by mathematics' which has claimed an ideological position of dominance over what space means. Mathematics has constructed a language which attempts to define with absolute exactness the parameters, dimensions, qualities, and possibilities of space."⁵⁰ In this mathematic imagining of space, land becomes an objective site in the rhetoric of cultivation. Although *aloha ʻāina* has likely been a central commitment to her career in "agricultural economics" and "train[ing] to help people establish the maximum self-sufficiency in home environments," Kahikina's sense of violation instigates her use of the rhetoric of ownership and denial of reciprocity.⁵¹ If nature is no longer a sibling but a space to be ordered

and owned, then the genealogical connections and metaphors of kinship that bind Kahikina to the Kapuahi man are erased as well.

Alika's role in the narrative seems to be to counter Kahikina's instinct to deal with her trauma in isolation, and model inclusion and reciprocity through engagement with the ʻāina. After respectfully disagreeing with his aunt's refusal, steeped in the rhetoric of domination, to greet the "trespass[er]," Alika has a symbiotic moment with the ʻāina. Although he uses a "laser key card" to set the "water data board" to "[run] a house water treatment and recycling process," he returns to the lo'i and foregoes technology for corporeal confirmation of conditions and "put[s] his hand in the water near an in-flow valve to check the temperature of the circulating water."⁵² This interaction reminds Kahikina of the familial connections the ʻāina facilitates, as she muses while watching him: "Born of the same parents, the taro is the older brother, man being the younger. Alika looked back toward the house."⁵³ This mode of inclusion via land-based kinship models resonates in the connection Alika forms with the Kapuahi man. When he takes the man food against his aunt's wishes, Kahikina snaps, "'Why did you feed him?' As soon as the words left her mouth, she knew they were wrong, wrong words gone out, not to be taken back."⁵⁴ After Kahikina's own quiet reflection on the situation, Alika rationalizes his actions through the common bond of the land, explaining, "He's just a simple man, Auntie, mahi'ai, dirt farmer, like me."⁵⁵ In both these instances, Alika finds a mandate for his actions in the reciprocity and kinship that the land facilitates. In sharing food with the Kapuahi man, Alika reminds Kahikina that the land's function as that which feeds is inseparable from its maintenance of kinship ties. The affirmation of land-based kinship ties evokes the consecration of ontological relationality at the crux of Hawaiian identity formation.

Ontological Affirmations of the Lāhui

In her appraisal of how Native peoples might overcome legacies of historical trauma, the Native American activist Winona LaDuke finds "an answer in the multifaceted process of recovering that which is 'sacred.' This complex and intergenerational process is essential to our vitality as Indigenous peoples and ultimately as individuals."⁵⁶ Kanaka Maoli knowledge systems emphasize the sacredness of the body, and I argue that the racialized logics of blood quantum which guide the New Hawaiian Nation's fertility project are, in effect, a metaphorical desecration of what was always thought of as sacred.⁵⁷ "Ho'oulu Lāhui" suggests how the recovery of the Kanaka Maoli body can perpetuate a reinvigoration of indigenous epistemology that opens up more productive

modes of belonging and nationhood in our contemporary moment. The most potential for an inclusive model of the *lāhui* can be located in scenes where bodies emphasize the experiential and cultural elements of Hawaiian identity through their recognition, rather than exclusion, of others. I start from the position that the “individual alone is unthinkable, in the context of Hawaiian relationship” to examine Kahikina’s moments of rejection and recognition of her connection and responsibility to others.⁵⁸ Ultimately, the literal and figurative moments of corporeal and sensory recognition evidence the body’s ability to ascribe membership in the *lāhui* via Kanaka Maoli notions of ontology independent of blood logic.

“Ho‘oulu Lāhui” opens with Kahikina’s assurance that the Kapuahi man will respect cultural protocol and not infringe on her space, even as she simultaneously rejects her own reciprocal responsibility through the rhetoric of domination and isolation. As he chants the story of Papa and Wākea, a story that affirms the genealogical connections of all Hawaiian people to one another, Kahikina rejects any obligation to this man, whom the government deceived in the same way it deceived her. Relying on his deference to protocol, “she knew he would never come across unless she chanted back to him with her own *kāhea*, welcoming him in the formal and polite way of their ancestors. Unless she did so, the flimsy wooden gate might just as well have been a forty-foot moat.”⁵⁹ The refusal of reciprocity is significant because it not only registers her anger at the government’s actions but her rejection of the sense of community, or *lāhui*, related through the performance of the call and response function of the *kāhea*. Haunani-Kay Trask reminds us that “Hawaiians are a profoundly oral people whose major transmission of feeling and thought occurs not through the isolated practice of writing but through the instant act of living speech, chant, and song. The form of this kind of communication is thus inseparable from its meaning.”⁶⁰ Thus the meaning is incomplete without a sustained sensory experience. I return to Kneubuhl’s articulation of the ontological and sensory components of transmitting meaning: “When you hear someone chant it’s a total sensory experience . . . a direct transmission of words, feelings, emotions, and thoughts, opinions, everything in one package.”⁶¹ By refusing to perform the *kāhea* and infuse it with “the instant act of living speech,” Kahikina rejects not only her previous corporeal engagement of the genealogy being chanted to her via the fertility project’s deception but also the mutually constitutive elements of the *lāhui* that are firmly rooted in recognition. Although she feels a sense of cultural superiority to the Kapuahi man when she points out that she knows the old story and that his chant is a “version” produced by the “Ministry of Hawaiian Culture reshap[ing] oral history,” her refusal to participate

is more than a refusal to endorse the form of lāhui the New Hawaiian Nation has mandated; it is also a refusal to acknowledge the kinship and lāhui bonds the chant—in whatever “version”—elucidates.⁶²

Thus, when Kahikina does return the Kapuahi man’s kāhea, one can read her participation in the call and response function of the chant as an affirmation of community based on indigenous ontology, which transcends the temporal stasis of US constructions of blood quantum. Kneubuhl’s description of the exchange emphasizes what McDougall describes as the “experiential and cultural” components of the Hawaiian aesthetic: “It ascended through the lines of space, washed over her, crumbling gently in waves, crisp waves, his kāhea, calling out to be answered, calling out for recognition, flooding in the empty space and vibrating in the darkness.”⁶³ Their kāhea travels through the Pō, the cosmogonic darkness described in the Kumulipo, and transcends time on two levels: First, it recognizes their contemporary reenactment of the ancient creation narrative; second, it allows them both to transcend the violence of the near past, enacted in the state’s deception and the metaphorical and historical trauma of blood quantum. This transcendence refashions space as well: unlike Kahikina’s initial reaction to the Kapuahi man’s kāhea, in this instance space is a site of mutual recognition and affirmation rather than a tool for the rhetoric of domination and isolation that previously dubbed him a “trespasser.” In this way Kahikina is able to move through her feelings of isolation, so that she is no longer a “gaping hole”—her chanting is an acceptance of the mutually constitutive aspect of the lāhui, as well as her physical and figurative embodiment of the Pō. Kahikina is able to overcome the restrictive force of blood quantum, and the genealogical isolation it perpetuates, through an emphasis on the body’s expansive and figurative sensory components.

Conclusion

The temporal agility of Kneubuhl’s text reveals how in recovering the body’s sacredness, one can also recover the epistemological and cosmogonic connections the body facilitates through a discussion of Kanaka Maoli constructions of time. The human body’s connection to knowledge systems survives in the construction of time as corporeal and experiential. The Hawaiian term for “future” is ka wā mahope, what is behind us, while the term for “past” is ka wā mamua, what is in front of us. As Osorio writes, “These terms do not merely describe time, but the Hawaiians’ orientation to it. We face the past, confidently interpreting the present, cautiously backing into the future, guided by what our ancestors knew and did.”⁶⁴ Unlike the opacity of the US construction of

time, Kanaka Maoli temporal construction renders the past and future immediately available to the present, as they are constantly mediated by the body's metaphorical orientation and movement. This emphasis on orientation and temporal dexterity reminds us that conversations of decolonial futures must be rooted firmly in the past. I rely on the expansive nature of the Kanaka Maoli construction of time to guide my reading of "Ho'oulu Lāhui" and underscore how the text's form and content reveal the significance of indigenous epistemology and ontology as an aesthetic practice.

A return to indigenous discourses of genealogy and ontology prompts a version of the lāhui that transcends the US framework of blood logic, which rests on an articulation of native bodies as temporally peripheral. To return to the introduction's question of defining the lāhui, these indigenous discourses and my reading of Kneubuhl's text endorse a vision of the lāhui that affirms genealogy and kinship as key determinants. The inclusive and shifting nature of Hawaiian kinship systems allows one to constantly reaffirm physical and metaphorical connections. That constant reaffirmation necessitates a perpetual invocation of multiple temporalities, as these connections are based on kinship ties that are forged in the past and that will continue into the future. In this way, indigenous epistemology and cosmogony position the contemporary body as constantly transcending the US construct of linear time through its connection to both previous and successive generations and their temporal moments. In effect, this renders the temporal logic of blood quantum impotent. In the Hawaiian context, blood quantum is rooted in specific historical moments: most notably, European contact in 1778 and the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) of 1921. The HHCA set the precedent for the current legal definition of native Hawaiian as a "descendant of not less than one-half part of the blood of the races inhabiting the Hawaiian Islands previous to 1778." Blood quantum's insistence on fixing what it presumes is an authentic indigenous identity in the precontact past alienates successive Kānaka Maoli from their histories and cultural identity. It positions whatever comes after colonial encounter as separate from the "authentic" past, which marginalizes the dynamism and heterogeneity of this culture and binds it to an American historicization.

Liberation from this historicization is vital for Kanaka Maoli, above and beyond their experiences of US epistemological colonialism. In recovering the sacredness of the Kanaka Maoli body, we recover the metaphorical connections to 'āina, akua, and 'ohana, which in turn overcome the discursive violence that US cultural and political imperialism have done to the body and, by extension, the community. Kneubuhl's text pushes us to contemplate

what, who, where, and when the lāhui is. In my analysis of this text, I hope that I have elucidated some of the ways we may seek it out beyond legal and racial discourse. I hope that we may find it in the conscious implementation of cultural knowledge and the conscious act of binding and maintaining the sense of community and extended kinship that have been, and will continue to be, the most effective means to ho‘oulu lāhui.

Notes

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1. Diana Looser, *Remaking Pacific Pasts: History, Memory, and Identity in Contemporary Theater from Oceania* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2014), 25.
2. *Ibid.*, 25.
3. *Ibid.*
4. Victoria Nalani Kneubuhl, “Ho‘oulu Lāhui,” in *The Quietest Singing*, ed. Darrell H. Lum, Joseph Stanton, and Estelle Enoki (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2000), 188.
5. Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: Norton, 2010), ix.
6. Lilikalā Kame‘eleihiwa, “Kumulipo: A Cosmogonic Guide to Decolonization and Indigenization,” *International Indigenous Journal of Entrepreneurship, Advancement, Strategy, and Education* 1.1 (2005): 121; Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Lands and Foreign Desires: Pehea Lā E Pono Ai?* (Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press, 1992), 22.
7. Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 103.
8. Subramani, *South Pacific Literature: From Myth to Fabulation* (Suva: University of the South Pacific, 1985), 44.
9. Ty P. Kāwika Tengan, *Native Men Remade: Gender and Nation in Contemporary Hawai‘i* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 42.
10. Kneubuhl, “Ho‘oulu Lāhui,” 191.
11. *Ibid.*, 186.
12. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 101.
13. For a comprehensive discussion of the conditions that caused this rapid decline as well as an analysis of the errors of previous historical population estimates, see David E. Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai‘i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1989).
14. The Kumulipo is what Silva calls a “cosmological chant/prayer that describes the genesis of living things on the earth, including humankind, and links them to the genealogy of Lonoikamakahiki, which then leads directly to Kalākaua” (*Aloha Betrayed*, 97). There are several historical persons named Lonoikamakahiki, but in the context of the Kumulipo the name refers to a specific ali‘i ancestor.
15. For a discussion of how foreigners began attacking Kalākaua’s genealogical ties to the throne via his hānai and blood parents and his racial background, see Helena G. Allen, *Kalakaua: Renaissance King*

- (Honolulu: Mutual Publishing, 1994), 152: “The old story of Kalakaua’s [*sic*] negro blood was revived. Someone was supposed to have testified that she had seen Keohokalole [Kalakaua’s birth mother] in sexual relations with Blossom, a Negro blacksmith, and from the union had come Kalakaua. Later studies revealed that the Blossom family came to Hawaii in the 1850s when Kalakaua was in his teens.” See also Miles M. Jackson, “Prelude to a New Century,” in *They Followed the Trade Winds: African Americans in Hawai‘i*, ed. Miles M. Jackson (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004), 55. These types of attacks were spurred on by foreigners like Sereno Bishop, an influential haole community member and newspaper editor who “frequently expressed in print that any admixture of African would be disastrous for the people of Hawai‘i, writing derogatory editorials that referred to both those of African ancestry and other non-Whites as ‘low in mental culture.’” For a discussion of the black presence in the Hawaiian Kingdom since before Kamehameha’s unification, in addition to Jackson’s anthology, see Kenneth Porter, “Notes on Negroes in Early Hawaii,” *Journal of Negro History* 19.2 (1934): 193–97. Samuel Kamakau’s *Ruling Chiefs of Hawaii*, a compilation of nineteenth-century writings, also contains references to foreign-born subjects. For a discussion of the meritocracy and absence of racial bias in the extension of citizenship in the Hawaiian Kingdom, see Jonathan K. K. Osorio’s “Hawaiian Issues” and Jon P. Rosa’s “Race/Ethnicity” in *The Value of Hawai‘i: Knowing the Past, Shaping the Future*, ed. Craig Howes and Jon Kamakawiwo‘ole Osorio (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2010), 15–21, 53–59.
16. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed*, 98.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. Jonathan K. K. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui: A History of the Hawaiian Nation to 1887* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2002), 289; Mark Kawena Pukui and Samuel H. Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1986), 33.
 19. Pukui and Elbert, *Hawaiian Dictionary*, 190.
 20. Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua, “Kuleana Lāhui: Collective Responsibility for Hawaiian Nationhood in Activists’ Praxis,” *Affinities: A Journal of Radical Theory, Culture, and Action* 5.1 (2011): 139.
 21. Kneubuhl, interview by author, Honolulu, November 2013.
 22. Other examples of Pacific texts that indigenize Western written genres by emphasizing oral storytelling techniques include Māori writer Patricia Grace’s *Potiki* and Mā‘ohi writer Chantal Spitz’s *Island of Shattered Dreams*, novels whose construction and content both rely on formal aspects of the chant; and the Samoan writer Albert Wendt’s *Pouliuli*, a reading of which can be informed by the Samoan fāgogo. See also Peggy Dunlop, “Samoan Writing: Searching for the Written Fāgogo,” in *Readings in Pacific Literature*, ed. Paul Sharrad (Wollongong: New Literature Research Centre, University of Wollongong, 1993); and D. S. Long, “In Search of a ‘Written Fāgogo’: Contemporary Pacific Literature for Children,” in *Inside Our: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999).
 23. Kame‘eleihiwa, *Native Land and Foreign Desires*, 1.
 24. Brandi Nālani McDougall, “Putting Feathers on Our Words: Kaona as a Decolonial Aesthetic Practice in Hawaiian Literature,” *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education, and Society* 3.1 (2014): 3.
 25. *Ibid.*, 3.
 26. For extended discussion of blood quantum, see J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood: Colonialism and the Politics of Sovereignty and Indigeneity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).
 27. David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities (Moolelo Hawai‘i)*, trans. Dr. N. B. Emerson (Honolulu: Hawaiian Gazette, 1903), 20.
 28. E. S. Craighill Handy and Mary Kawena Pukui, *The Polynesian Family System in Ka‘u Hawai‘i* (1958; rpt. Taiwan: Mutual, 1999), 75.
 29. Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood*, 52.
 30. Kneubuhl, “Ho‘oulu Lāhui,” 187.
 31. *Ibid.*, 190.
 32. Maile Renee Arvin, “Pacificaly Possessed: Scientific Production and Native Hawaiian Critique of the ‘Almost White’ Polynesian Race” (PhD diss., University of California, San Diego, 2013), 42.
 33. “Queen Lili‘uokalani’s Protest of Annexation, June 17, 1897,” *Hawaiian Journal of Law and Politics* 1 (2014): 227.
 34. Arvin, “Pacificaly Possessed,” 104.
 35. Kneubuhl, “Ho‘oulu Lāhui,” 187.

36. Martinot, quoted in Brandon C. Ledward, "On Being Hawaiian Enough: Contesting American Racialization with Native Hybridity," *Hūlili: Multidisciplinary Research on Hawaiian Well-Being* 4.1 (2007): 112.
37. Vine Deloria, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 23.
38. J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, "The Politics of Blood and Sovereignty in *Rice v. Cayetano*," *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 25.1 (2002): 110.
39. Vine Deloria, Jr. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* (1969; rpt. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1988), 8, 168.
40. Kneubuhl, "Ho'oulu Lāhui," 184.
41. *Ibid.*, 189.
42. Le'a Malia Kanehe, "Kū'e Mana Māhele," 342.
43. Quoted in *ibid.*, 345, 344.
44. *Ibid.*, 334.
45. *Ibid.*, 332.
46. *Ibid.*, 339.
47. Kneubuhl, "Ho'oulu Lāhui," 185.
48. *Ibid.*, 183, 185.
49. Carolyn Merchant, introduction to *Ecology*, ed. Carolyn Merchant (Amherst: Humanity Books, 2008), 32.
50. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1999), 50.
51. Kneubuhl, "Ho'oulu Lāhui," 188.
52. *Ibid.*, 185.
53. *Ibid.*
54. *Ibid.*, 186.
55. *Ibid.*, 191.
56. Winona LaDuke, *Recovering the Sacred: The Power of Naming and Claiming* (Cambridge, MA: South End, 2005), 11.
57. Our primary written records of Hawaiian life before Euro-American contact, Malo and Kamakau, relay the sacredness of the body over and over again via discussions of topics like corporeal kapu of the ali'i, corporeal kapu between men and women, and eighteenth-century chief Kahekili's attempt to manifest his mana through the tattooing process. In addition to historical and metaphorical articulations of bodily sacredness, Pukui and Elbert trace the linguistic survival of these beliefs through discussions of everyday language and etymology. The consciousness of bodily sacredness survived in the preference of certain colloquialisms over others. For example, as they note of the literal translation of the English language toast "bottoms up" into Hawaiian as "ōkole maluna": "This expression is condemned by older Hawaiians as vulgar and indecent because of the sacredness of the human body in old belief" (*Hawaiian Dictionary*, 282).
58. Handy and Pukui, *Polynesian Family System in Ka'u Hawaii*, 75.
59. Kneubuhl, "Ho'oulu Lāhui," 183.
60. Haunani-Kay Trask, "Decolonizing Hawaiian Literature," in *Inside Out: Literature, Cultural Politics, and Identity in the New Pacific*, ed. Vilsoni Hereniko and Rob Wilson (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 167.
61. Kneubuhl, interview by author.
62. Kneubuhl, "Ho'oulu Lāhui," 183.
63. *Ibid.*, 192.
64. Osorio, *Dismembering Lāhui*, 7.