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**Author**

Yamashiro, Aiko

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laborers for more than a century and that such participation was not inconsistent with traditional Indian and Métis identities. He argues that Indian participation the labor market was slowly improving, but that it was the arrival of the Great Depression in the 1930s that was the real culprit: “last in, first out” appears to have been the operative method. As the labor market improved, indigenous participation did not: “first out” did not result in “first in,” but rather “last in.” The decline is real, regardless of its reasons. The aboriginal histories written since Knight’s 1998 book have uncovered governmental efforts aimed at exclusion than were not known at the time. Subsequent research by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1996) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2015) demonstrate devastating effects by government policy and action upon indigenous lands, waters, identities, and cultures. The argument for decolonizing pedagogy education measures is made stronger, as these studies lend support for MacKinnon’s main conclusions.

MacKinnon’s contribution to the dialogue on indigenous labor is to clearly demonstrate the limits of the adoption of a neoliberal approach to improving the participation of indigenous people in the labor market. Sustained improvement will require a broad approach: one that couples training and education along with cultural reclamation programs that are directed at healing the many effects of what the Truth and Reconciliation Commission calls “cultural genocide.” MacKinnon’s findings support the recommendation by the Indian Tribes of Manitoba’s 1971 position paper, *Whabung: Our Tomorrows*, which called for a similar broad approach to the question of how to improve Indian labor market participation. Had MacKinnon’s book been available to me in the 1980s, it would have made my policy-development task more complex, but ultimately would have led to better public policy.

David Newhouse  
Trent University

**Finding Meaning: Kaona and Contemporary Hawaiian Literature.** By Brandy Nālani McDougall. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2016. 248 pages. \$55.00 cloth.

Much anticipated, *Finding Meaning: Kaona and Contemporary Hawaiian Literature* is the first book-length analysis of contemporary Kanaka Maoli [Hawaiian] literature. Kanaka Maoli poet, publisher, and scholar Brandy Nālani McDougall creates life-giving pathways between contemporary English-language texts (from 1965 to the present) and ancient cosmogonic stories (of the Kumulipo, Papa and Wākea, and Pele, Hi‘iaka, and Haumea). The texts she discusses include fiction, poetry (both print and spoken word), drama, and visual art by Donovan Kūhiō Colleps, Jamaica Heolimeleikalani Osorio, Ittai Wong, John Dominis Holt, Imaikalani Kalahale, Sage U‘ilani Takehiro, Victoria Nālani Kneubuhl, Māhealani Perez-Wendt, Matthew Kaopio, Kai Gaspar, Haunani-Kay Trask, David Keali‘i, ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui, Charles Kong, and Joy Enomoto. In addition to her nuanced, political readings of these texts, McDougall has put together valuable material histories of publishing and

literary criticism in Hawai‘i, and includes selections of her own poetry as another provocative example of engagement. By insisting on weaving together the political, personal, creative, and healing, McDougall models the deep stakes and commitment that feeds indigenous literary criticism, and nourishes an unbroken genealogy of sovereignty and strength in Hawai‘i.

*Finding Meaning* contributes to indigenous literary criticism by offering politically charged and culturally rooted methodologies. In conversation with First Nations, Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander theorists, McDougall argues for a model of “aesthetic sovereignty,” in which responsible readings attend specifically to the function of indigenous aesthetics, thus restoring force to the “ornamentalization” and pacification of indigenous art within colonial tourist contexts (47). For McDougall, aesthetics are valuable as a political tool for sovereignty in the ways they can create a map to Kanaka Maoli perceptions of “beauty, power, excellence, and pleasure” crucial to decolonial struggle (44–45). In breaking down boundaries of the English term “aesthetic,” she offers a range of provocative Hawaiian-language approximations and proverbs on the themes of *pono* (balanced, right), *nani* (beautiful), *‘ono* (delicious, craving), *li‘u* (well-seasoned), and *‘ala* (fragrance) that multiply readers’ means of engaging with the richness of Kanaka Maoli literature.

The author’s staunch historicizing of Hawaiian literary criticism and pedagogy also contributes to the field. Her statistics about the dearth of Kanaka Maoli-run presses following the loss of political sovereignty give an important material analysis of literacy, literature, and power in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Hawai‘i. Furthermore, McDougall reviews and critiques existing literary criticism from the last few decades. One cannot even begin to perceive the layers of meaning and skill in Hawaiian literature without a commitment to Hawaiian language and aesthetic traditions, history, and Kānaka Maoli themselves, and the author takes to task shallow and irresponsible readings of Hawaiian literature by settler scholars who did not do so. McDougall’s resolute critique of literary history offers a rigorous starting point for teaching Hawaiian literature, with respect and reverence for the deep wealth these stories hold.

McDougall’s methodologies are grounded in her reverence for her own ancestral wisdom. She points to the *kalo* plant as a teacher for how to understand that contemporary English-language Hawaiian literature is not a new invention or break with tradition. Across colonial ruptures, *kalo* shows us that the roots of the parent and child are intertwined, inseparable, and fed by *‘āina*—the land that is abundant in reciprocal relationship with Kānaka Maoli. Strengthening this continuity then, indeed strengthening Hawaiian literature, depends on Kānaka sovereignty to protect and care for the very ground of this relationship.

McDougall’s focus on continuity puts her community—Kānaka Maoli and other indigenous peoples searching for reconnection and healing—at the *piko* (center, source) of her work. The healing pathway that is her focus lies in the pleasure and deep engagement of *kaona*. *Kaona* is often simplistically defined as a literary device of “hidden meaning” or “wordplay” in Hawaiian literature. To the contrary, *kaona* is a unique Hawaiian cultural practice, McDougall retorts, not a Hawaiian version of

metaphor, or a static object or thought that was once hidden. She describes *kaona* as action, “of hiding and finding meaning through analogy, allegory, and figuration ... how *kaona* is found and received across time and space, how *kaona* affirms and defines communities, and how *kaona* may effect change, especially decolonial change, through assertions of rhetorical and aesthetic sovereignty within those communities” (25). She guides us through multiple readings of each text, pointing out how meaning morphs depending on the sociopolitical context of the encounter, of the unique relationship between each writer and reader, and not only how the hiding and finding activates us and brings enjoyment, but also how the hiding and finding is part of the decolonial process of reconnection: “as our *kūpuna* [elders, ancestors] knew, we learn and remember knowledge more deeply when we have been given the opportunity to reflect, make connections to our lives, and arrive at the knowledge ourselves” (51).

McDougall’s emphasis on “*kaona* connectivity”—as active transmission and interaction, as fertile and ongoing practice—infuses texts, readers, and writers with possibility, agency, motion, life. Genealogy and memory are sovereign practices, as McDougall demonstrates. She shows us how to understand a spoken-word poem performed at the White House in 2009: as an act of defiance that echoes Queen Lili’uokalani’s translation of the *Kumulipo* in the late nineteenth century, which protested the illegal overthrow and annexation of the Kingdom of Hawai’i. She helps us read a novel about homelessness as a guide to reawakening ancestral practices of caring for *akua* [nonhuman spirits, gods] of earth and sky, Papa and Wākea. She honors the fierce Hawaiian women activists of the present by affirming their inheritance of the creative and destructive powers of Pele and Hi’iaka. As a new mother and poet, she rereads her own creative work, showing how *kaona* can return as a surprising and beautiful gift as the reader/writer herself grows and changes.

Bringing life to the practice of *kaona* reconnects contemporary Kānaka Maoli to sources of great power. The struggle for decolonization is fought in the wake of devastation: political theft and betrayal, attempts to wipe out language and cultural practices, bulldozing of gravesites and temples, rampant commodification of land and bodies, the ongoing genocide revealed in statistics of education, incarceration, health, homelessness. In the face of so much loss, McDougall reminds her beloved community: “That we are even able to (and want to) connect to our *kūpuna* through *mo’olelo* [stories, histories] and *mo’okūauhau* [genealogies]—using the unbroken trajectory of *kaona* to read them—should signal that colonialism is a failing system” (158). *Finding Meaning* unfolds with the love with which one would hold a cherished child, the urgency with which one would defend the life of a sacred elder. Her intimate care for ancestral and contemporary stories nourishes the *kuleana* (responsibility, privilege) to resist, to rebuild, to flourish in the present.

Aiko Yamashiro  
University of Hawai’i-Mānoa