HAWAIIAN NONVERBAL COMMUNICATION

By Alberta Pua Anthony

A large number of Hawaiians retain patterns of Hawaiian nonverbal communication, particularly in rural areas where the Hawaiian population is concentrated. These Hawaiians, who have not assimilated Western values and behavior to the same extent as their more urbanized brothers, encounter difficulties at an early age when they enter the public school system which generally establishes middle-class white American behavior as the accepted norm. In these cases, research findings on Hawaiian nonverbal communication can be helpful to both students and teachers and administrators in understanding problems which arise with Hawaiian youngsters.

It should be clear that Hawaiian as a spoken language in the community is rarely encountered. Most of the learning and speaking of Hawaiian today happens inside a classroom, as often as not taught by a non-Hawaiian or at best, a non-native speaker of part Hawaiian ancestry. Here again, information on Hawaiian nonverbal communication can contribute to better teaching and learning.

1. BODILY CONTACT

In general, Hawaiians touch each other more than Westerners do. Touching is most often a sign of affection and friendship, and occurs not only between members of the immediate family and friends. It occurs between persons of the same and opposite sex and across all age groups. Greetings and farewells are usually accompanied by kissing, even with short separations of only a week or so. Youngsters particularly are required to kiss adult "relative" who are often family friends accorded the courtesy title of "aunty," "uncle," "grandma," and "grandpa." The 60s black power handshake has been widely adopted by men and is used in the same time frame as kissing.

Other forms of friendly bodily contact between peers are punching, slapping and pinching, either to attract attention or to make a point. Children would often lay a friendly hand on an adult they are trying to reach, rather than make a verbal approach. For Western teachers such touching on the part of Hawaiian youngsters can cause discomfort and is often not understood, leaving the teacher with a vague sensation of being pawed at or hung on, and the child with a feeling of having been ignored.

One part of the body not commonly touched by Hawaiians is the head, which is considered tabu throughout Polynesia. The head is usually touched by parents or older relatives and generally in punishing ways, such as flicking the tip of the ear or side of the head with a fingertip or rapping the forehead with a knuckle. Such action between peers or by inferior to superior is extremely provocative and can easily start a fight.

By contrast, one of the few touching gestures which is natural and comfortable for Westerners is a friendly pat on the head or tousling a youngster's hair. This can occur not only with children related to the actor but can even be done to strangers' children encountered in public places. Although perhaps not on a conscious level, Hawaiians react quite negatively to such behavior, with emotions ranging from a vague feeling of discomfort to resentment and anger and a feeling of physical violation.

2. PROXIMITY

Proximity refers to how people use space and divide territory. Today, Hawaiian and Western behavior do not contrast sharply in this regard, although Hawaiians may have a tendency to stay a little closer to each other.

However, the system of demonstrative pronouns in the Hawaiian language casts an interesting light on how Hawaiians, at least in former times, viewed space and divided territory. English distinguishes between objects within physical reach of the speaker - "this" - , and everywhere else, "that." Hawaiians divides space differently; objects within the speaker's grasp are labeled kēa - this --. Objects within the listener's reach are kēna - that thing in your territory. Objects beyond both parties fall into a third category, kelā, "that thing distant for both of us." Thus the English speaker defines only his own territory; the Hawaiian recognizes that of his listener also. Native speakers today still make these distinctions.

This kind of explanation helps Hawaiian language students understand vocabulary in its cultural context rather than as a peculiar deviation from English.
3. ORIENTATION

This is the angle at which people sit or stand in relation to each other. The major difference between Hawaiian and Western behavior in this regard is the relative of heads. This aspect is generally not important to Westerners; if anything, in formal situations there is a tendency for the inferior to stand in the presence of superiors, or for standing to be a sign of respect, as in student-teacher, male-female, younger-older interactions, where in all cases the former is expected to stand in the presence of the latter, thus placing the inferior's head on a level with, and often above, the head of the person who is due respect.

In Hawaiian culture today, the exact opposite is the rule. Younger people are expected to keep their heads below their elders at all times so that the older need never look up to the younger and the younger does not look down on the elder's head. Proper behavior in this respect is taught at a very early age.

In addition, among peers, heads are kept more or less on a level whenever possible. If a number of people are sitting in chairs and someone enters and sits on the floor, everyone else will do likewise. It is not at all uncommon in Hawai'i to see a roomful of people sitting on the floor leaning back against the chairs and couches. Failure to conform is interpreted as being "proud-" or "high man amuck."

4. APPEARANCE

This refers to style of dress and accessories, personal grooming and other matters. Even in an atmosphere as informal and relaxed as Hawai'i, there are expectations of "proper" dress on the part of Hawaiians at social events. Although most country parties are held in people's yards under an awning and often in rainy and muddy conditions, everyone is expected to wear his best clothes and slippers or shoes. Failure to do so is seen as lack of respect and regard for the hosts. Even friends who are helping with preparations will bring a change of clothing and will shower and dress before joining the party.

5. POSTURE

There are many different possible ways of lying, sitting, and standing. Hawaiians in the past frowned on a number of ways of standing quite common with Westerners. Some of these restrictions are now fading, but are still meaningful to older people. Inappropriate stances include: hands on the hips, hands folded across the chest, hands clasped behind the back, and arms crossed diagonally on the chest with hands clasping opposite shoulders. These positions are either too overbearing or thought to bring bad luck. In addition, sitting with legs outstretched and feet pointing at another is considered rude and make Hawaiians feel uncomfortable.

6. HEAD NODS

There is a marked tendency on the part of Westerners to feel that the meanings of head nods are universal, up-and-down to mean "yes" and side-to-side to mean "no." For Hawaiians, side-to-side movement of the head can mean "no," ~ often accompanied by protruding the lower lip. However the signal for agreement or ~ yes ~ is quite different from English speakers behavior. Hawaiians raise their eyebrows to say "yes," sometimes simultaneously jerking the head back slightly and lowering the corners of the mouth. This is also the most common way of greeting a friend at a distance (a smile and wave are the Western action) and can also be used in a questioning manner. Hawaiians tend to use these gestures as substitutes for verbal utterances much more commonly than Westerners, who often are unsatisfied without a verbal commitment.

Another common Hawaiian head movement often misunderstood by Westerners is lowering the head. When a Hawaiian is on the listening end of a conversation, this position, sometimes with the hand or fingers resting on the forehead and downcast eyes, signifies attention and respect. Children especially are taught to behave in this fashion when being scolded and are not allowed to talk back. Along with avoidance of eye contact, this behavior fits into a much larger pattern of conflict and confrontation avoidance which is central to Hawaiian culture. Westerners who are used to more active feedback in the form of head nods, eye contact and affirmative grunts interpret Hawaiian behavior as inattentive and unresponsive.

7. FACIAL EXPRESSIONS

One of the most common distinctive Hawaiian expressions has already been discussed above, the lifting of the eyebrows (often called the "eyebrow flash"~) to signify recognition, agreement and questioning. The mouth is also used to express a wide variety of meanings: pursed lips signify thinking, doubt or disagreement. One discordant thing for Westerners is the relative absence of the social smile.
in situations where Westerners expect it. This apparent lack of expression on the part of Hawaiians is interpreted as hostility of sullenness, when it is in fact neutral.

8. GESTURES

Hawaiians have a large number of gestures quite specific to them, and often highly provocative and insulting. For purposes of this discussion however, attention will be limited to those which contrast with Western behavior.

Pointing the finger, particularly at someone, is unacceptable. This is also true in indicating directions. In order to indicate which way someone went, the chin and eyebrows are thrust in the appropriate direction.

In beckoning someone, the finger is never used nor the upright hand. Both these gestures to the Hawaiian are extremely abrupt and rude. People are called to come by placing the hand sideways, palm facing the center of the body, and beckoning with the hand in that position.

9. LOOKING

It is probable that looking is a much more important aspect of non-verbal communication for Westerners than for Hawaiians. For Westerners it serves a myriad of functions, indicating attention, interest, and understanding on the part of the listener and providing feedback and reinforcement to the speaker. In addition, eye-to-eye contact is considered a sign of honesty. Studies show that among Westerners people look about twice as much while listening as while talking.

This is in sharp contrast to Hawaiian behavior, especially in situations involving people of unequal authority. The listener's head is lowered with downcast eyes. Such behavior is indicative of attention and respect and acceptance of the speaker's higher authority. It is ingrained in children at a very early age, along with the idea that silence is the appropriate response in these situations. As noted earlier, this is part of a pervasive Hawaiian pattern of confrontation avoidance.

Since most school contact between Westerners and Hawaiian youngsters are situations where authority is vested in the Westerners, there is an exceptionally high propensity for miscommunication on the part of the Hawaiian.

10. NONVERBAL ASPECTS OF SPEECH

These include prosodic signals which convey meaning, such as pitch, stress, intonation and juncture and paralinguistic signals such as tone of voice, voice quality and style.

The Hawaiian language, of course, has its own set of prosodic signals and relies heavily on changes in intonation pattern rather than word order to differentiate between statements and questions. It also has four intonation levels as opposed to the three commonly used in English. The fourth level indicates pleasure and is often used in reminiscing; in English, it is reserved to express incredulity and is rare and more apt to be used by women. Both of these distinctive elements of Hawaiian speech have been carried over into Hawaiian English with the result that Hawaiian speakers are often described as ungrammatical because of their inattention to word order, and sometimes as effeminate because of the use of fourth level intonation.

As for paralinguistic signals, there is a quite common style of masculine speech, originally in Hawaiian but now also in English which is rather hoarse, low-pitched abrupt and truncated. To Westerners' ears this generally signals impatience, unfriendliness and sometimes, aggression and is apt to cause nervousness and discomfort. For Hawaiians, however, this is simply one style of speech and may be traceable to certain dialects, although there is insufficient data for such a conclusion at this point.
Hawaiian Culture

*Nā Ki'i Pōhaku*

1. ali'i  
2. mea hula  
3. hoe wa'a  
4. he'e nalu

5. Wa'a Kaulua  
6. honu  
7. ohana/marchers  
8. hoe  
9. makahiiki  
10. huakāi

11. mo'okūauhau  
12. holo  
13. he'e nalu  
14. Kāne  
15. wahine

16. Koa  
17.  
18. hawai'a  
19.  
20. pohaku Ku'i 'ai

21. 'ilio  
22. wa'a  
23. pe'a  
24. honu  
25.  
26. mahi'ai

27. makuahine  
28. makuakane  
29.  
30. makau  
31.  
32. i'a  
33.   

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