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United States mainland speakers' use of Hawaiian Creole English and standard American English across social situations

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UNITED STATES MAINLAND SPEAKERS' USE OF HAWAIIAN

CREOLE ENGLISH AND STANDARD AMERICAN

ENGLISH ACROSS SOCIAL SITUATIONS

A Thesis

Presented to the

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in

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by

Nicole Kaylani Kanahele Stutz

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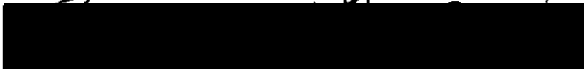
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ABSTRACT

In Hawai'i much of the population speaks Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) and Standard American English (SAE), and speakers often code-switch between the two varieties. Fluency in HCE and SAE differs among speakers, and this fact has implications for communication in a preferred language variety in a particular social situation. Individuals who move away from Hawai'i to the U.S. Mainland may find that their needs and preferences for using HCE and SAE may be different from what they experienced in Hawai'i; and individuals may consequently develop different uses of these language varieties in different contexts.

Little research has examined HCE and SAE use among Hawai'i-to-U.S. mainland immigrants, and this thesis seeks to expand the current scholarship. To address this gap, this study will focus on HCE/SAE speakers who grew up in Hawai'i and relocated to the mainland as adults, and on how their use of HCE and SAE varies across different social situations. This investigation considers factors that may shape their language variety use, including their attitudes, identity, and investment regarding SAE and HCE, and also provides a sociohistorical context of both HCE and SAE in Hawai'i and the social struggle between them.

Data for this study was elicited from responses to both video-taped small group discussions and a questionnaire disseminated to adult members of several different native Hawaiian organizations throughout Southern California. Results attend to what factors most affect the participants' use of HCE and SAE varieties, whether there is any change in how this population perceives and values each variety when they are removed from Hawai'i, and how such changes might impact whether certain language varieties are maintained, developed, or fall into attrition.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO HAWAIIAN CREOLE ENGLISH

> I ka ʻolelo no ke ola; i ka ʻolelo no
>
> ka make
>
> (Life is in speech; death is in speech)
>
> Old Hawaiian Proverb (Pukui)

In Hawaiʻi much of the population speaks Standard American English (SAE) and Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), a non-standard variety of English found only in Hawaiʻi. Speakers often code-switch between these two varieties (Young, 2002), but fluency in HCE and SAE differs among speakers, and this fact has implications for communication in a preferred language variety in a particular social situation (Young, 2004). Individuals who move away from Hawaiʻi to the U.S. mainland may find that because of the change in the ethnic balance of the population and the change in social norms and expectations, their own needs and preferences for individuals may develop different uses of these language varieties in different contexts.

This thesis will focus on HCE/SAE speakers who grew up in Hawaiʻi and relocated to the mainland as adults, and on how their use of HCE and SAE varies across different

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social situations. This investigation considers factors that may shape their language use, including their attitudes, identity, and investment regarding SAE and HCE. Through this study, I hope to illuminate issues that lead speakers to maintain, develop, or experience attrition in their use of standard and non-standard varieties.

Of all the ethnically diverse areas of the United States, only the state of Hawai'i can claim the unique position of possessing virtually no ethnic majority in its population. The variety of nationalities that inhabit this group of islands makes for a veritable "chop-suey" of cultures and backgrounds in which every group shares the designation of being a minority. Caucasians, Filipinos, Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, Portuguese, Puerto Ricans, Vietnamese, Tongans, Samoans, and Hawaiians are some of the representatives included in a mix which results in a rainbow of languages and cultures. However, there is one thing that this array of ethnicities share, and that is HCE, the language that the locals refer to as "Pidgin" (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003, p. 1). The majority of locally born children learn HCE as a first language (L1), and HCE is the L1 of about half of Hawaii's population (Romaine, 1999, p. 288).

Contemporary linguists have given HCE numerous labels such as "an American English vernacular" (Baugh, 1986, p. 84), an "English dialect" (Meyerhoff, 2002, p. 39), and a "non-standard variety" (Romaine, 1999, p. 287), while those who speak HCE simply call it "Pidgin." While technically HCE is a creole and not a pidgin, DeCamp originally described both pidgins and creoles as "genuine languages in their own right," despite their non-standard language status (1971, p. 15). Romaine (1988) concurs by defining pidgins, creoles, and dialects as types of languages. While the term dialect is used in conjunction with standard languages that possess specific linguistic features in the areas of pronunciation, vocabulary and sentence structure (Meyerhoff, 2006), not all scholars recognize HCE as a dialect of English, given its unique status as a creole. Indeed, there still remains considerable debate over what qualifies as a dialect or language vernacular for that matter (Chambers, Trudgill & Schilling-Estes, 2002), which is why 'language variety' may be a more felicitous categorization of HCE. Meyerhoff (2006) defines variety as "a neutral term used to refer to languages and dialects," and because of its neutrality, it doesn't contrive the "negative attitudes" that often

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accompany the term dialect (p. 27). This thesis will appropriate the term language variety to describe HCE with respect to other Englishes.

It is also important at this juncture to clarify the categorization of HCE and SAE as non-standard and standard language varieties respectively. Standard and non-standard languages are labeled mainly "on the basis of social evaluation," and standard languages or varieties are typically associated with the writing and speaking of educated users of the language (Sato, 1989, p. 262). With no distinctive orthography, a major factor, HCE is often labeled as a "deviant or non-standard variety of English" which "reinforces popular beliefs that HCE is not a language in its own right" (Romaine, 1999, p. 292-293). Because of HCE's non-standard language status, speakers of both HCE and SAE are not usually identified as bilingual in the current scholarship. And because there is no consensus on whether HCE is a dialect of English, the term bidialectal is not altogether accurate or accepted (Baugh, 1986). Therefore, although speakers of HCE and SAE could be identified in a broad sense as bilingual, this thesis will use the term "bivarietal" to describe those who speak both HCE and SAE.

History of the Hawaiian Language

> The Hawaiian…possessed [in] his
>
> language a flexible, adaptable, and
>
> useable tool.
>
> George Hu'eu Sanford Kanahele

To gain a richer understanding of the HCE and its speakers today, it is important to briefly look at the sociohistorical context of the indigenous Hawaiian language (Hawaiian) and its role in HCE's evolution. Hawaiian is part of the Austronesian language family and falls under the category of East Polynesian languages, along with Maori and Rapa Nui (Comrie, 1990). One of the interesting features of Hawaiian is its relatively limited phonemic inventory. There are 24 phonemes, seven of which are vowel sounds and eight of which are dipthongs (Elbert, 1970, p. ix). As is the case in most Polynesian languages, all words end in a vowel, and all consonants are separated by at least one vowel. Most of the English consonants absent from Hawaiian are voiced fricatives or voiced stops, and Hawaiian is also missing most of the lax vowels (Jannedy, Poletto & Weldon, 1994). Another feature of Hawaiian is the use of reduplication to convey quantifiers, superlatives and differences in meaning (Reinecke & Tokimasa, 1934). For

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instance, the word *mele* means "song," however, when *mele* is duplicated, *melemele*, the word takes on the new meaning of "yellow" (Elbert & Pukui, 1986, p. 245). Hawaiian sentence structure features a Verb-Subject-Object (VSO) sentence order (Wight, 1992) as opposed to English where the subject usually occupies the initial position in a sentence. Other features include the use of pure vowels (i.e., non-dipthongized) and less aspiration in voiceless stop consonants such and *p* and *k* (Elbert, p. vii). These features become relevant later when considering similar features in HCE.

Hawaiian also existed as an oral tradition language which by nature was a foundation for many social and psychological trends in the culture, and thus, the passing-down of information from generation to generation was paramount to ensuring the survival of the culture (Kanahele, 1986). The Hawaiians' rich oral tradition did not preclude them from acquiring literacy. In the 1800s Hawaiians were highly literate (Meyerhoff, 2002) and valued both learning and language as sacred (Kanahele, p. 269). Christian missionaries created an orthographic system for the Hawaiian language in the 1820s, and Hawaiians adapted well to the English writing system. By 1850 the entire

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Hawaiian population was considered literate in Hawaiian (Yamauchi, Ceppi & Lau-Smith, 2000). For a people with no written language, the Hawaiians embraced and mastered the written word in a short period of time, this perhaps stemming from the value they placed on language as a "precious tool...one that must be used with the greatest of care and respect" (Kanahele, 1986, p. 274). Hawaiians were superstitious and in awe of language, whether written or spoken, and perhaps it is this belief that allowed them to accept and adapt written Hawaiian so enthusiastically (Kanahele, 1986). The Hawaiians' great value of their language and culture figure into the development of language attitudes later in the century when the Hawaiian language comes under attack, and those attitudes play a role in stabilizing HCE.

Genesis of a Pidgin

The Hawaiian with his twelve-lettered alphabet, the Chinese boy who knows not the sound of r, the Japanese whose vernacular has no l, the German and Portuguese who are ignorant of the vocal or aspirate th—all these

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nationalities go to the same school on Monday…not one being able to communicate with the other…

Anonymous, 1886

From the time Captain James Cook and his crew arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1778, a steady flow of foreigners trickled into the islands, and until approximately 1884, Hawaiians still outnumbered foreigners (Roberts, 1999a), but the make-up of the population would change with the plantation era. In 1835 the first sugar plantation in Hawai'i was established, and the call for labor went out across the Pacific. The Chinese and Portuguese were the first ethnic groups to immigrate to Hawai'i in great numbers, along with laborers from a dozen Pacific islands such as Vanuatu, Rotunda, and Papua New Guinea (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003). As these ethnic groups, including Hawaiians, came together to work on the sugar plantations each with their own ancestral language (AL) (Roberts, 1999a), the need for a *lingua franca* among workers arose (Reinecke & Tokimasa, p. 50). As the 19th century agriculture business flourished in Hawai'i, the demographics began to change, and more white English speakers began to do business and take up residence in the

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islands (Meyerhoff, 2002). In addition, many immigrant plantation overseers did not "learn Hawaiian fully," and this was also the case for the increasing numbers of immigrant laborers. These developments served as the catalyst for the forming of Pidgin Hawaiian (PH) as communication arose among the different ethnic groups (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003).

In examining the evolution of PH, it is important to clarify the relevant linguistic features common to all languages known as *pidgins*. A *pidgin* is defined as a simplified language created between people who do not share a common language, and thus is not native to any of its speakers (Romaine, 1988). Pidgins also differ from other types of languages in that a pidgin is usually used "only in limited circumstances," and it is not anyone's L1 (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003, p. 2). There is substantial debate over which linguistic processes speakers engage in order to "pidginize" a language, and it is more likely than not that there is no such thing as a "simple and straightforward task of creating a [pidgin] contact language" (Bickerton, 1999, p. 32). When pidginization occurs, the languages that come into play can be separated into two classes: the *superstrate* and the *substrate*. The *superstrate* emerges as

the dominant language and serves as the *lexifier*, providing

most of the vocabulary; the *substrate* language or languages

contribute to pidgin formation in vocabulary,

pronunciation, prosody, and they often appear in the

pidgin's "grammatical structure" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 250).

In most cases, the language of the colonizers becomes the

superstrate; however, as noted by both Bickerton (1999) and

Roberts (1999a), PH doesn't fit the typical pidgin

construct. Even as laborers, missionaries and businessmen

flocked to Hawai'i, the islands maintained their

sovereignty through a powerful monarchy and a substantial

indigenous population, with Hawaiians outnumbering whites

and other immigrant groups. Since it was still the dominant

language in the 19th century, Hawaiian became the

superstrate of the developing pidgin, especially on the

plantations, while Portuguese, English, and Chinese served

as substrate influences (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003).

Because pidgins are used in limited circumstances,

pidgins appear to be "simplified" (Sakoda & Siegel, p. 2)

and "not very linguistically complex or elaborated"

(Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 247). A pidgin tends to be simplified

in terms of "the amount of vocabulary and the kinds of

grammatical structures" it possesses in comparison with its

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contributing languages (Sakoda & Siegel, p. 2). In understanding that simplification is a major component of pidginization (Chambers, Trudgill & Schilling-Estes, 2002), Bickerton argues that when mutually unintelligible languages come together, a "mixed-language", or pidgin, can only be produced "by reducing [its] structure to a minimum (p. 37). Examples of simplification as related to pidgins include: small phoneme inventories where sounds in the superstrate language may be lost or omitted, making the pidgin easier to learn; loss of morphemes resulting in the reduction of forms for a given lexical item; slower rates of speech in high-contact pidgins such as PH; small lexical inventories which assist in keeping the memory-load manageable and because the nature of communication is limited; and grammatical simplification, such as absence of copula, word order, and simplified negative and question constructions (Chambers, Trudgill & Estes, p. 712-719).

As the earliest identified pidgin of Hawai'i, PH demonstrates its simplification of Hawaiian most markedly in grammatical simplification, reduced or combined lexical items, and loss of phonemes, namely the glottal stop. Some of these features can be seen in the following example provided by Sakoda and Siegel (p. 6):

(PH)   Kela lio oe hele hauhau lela palani wau ma

ka ponei.

(That horse you[rs] went eat that bran I

[my] in the last night.)

(Hawaiian)   Ua hele kou lio e 'ai i ka'u palani i ka

po nei.

(Went your horse to eat my bran [last]

night.)

In looking at grammar, the PH sentence omits the tense

marker *ua* at the beginning of the sentence, and in Hawaiian

this conveys that the action or event has already taken

place. The PH and Hawaiian sentences also differ in word

order and how possession is structured. The Hawaiian

sentence uses the possessives *kou* (your) and *ka'u* (my)

respectively to refer to the ownership of the horse and the

bran, and the PH sentence doesn't have any possessives,

instead using *wau* (I). In terms of lexical items, PH

demonstrates how Hawaiian words were often combined;

whereas in Hawaiian *po* and *nei* have separate lexical

significance, in PH the terms are combined into one word,

ponei, with one lexical meaning (Sakoda & Siegel, p. 5).

However, one area where PH does not appear to simplify

its superstrate, Hawaiian, as much as other pidgins

is phonemes. While PH usually omits the glottal stop (a phoneme that marks major lexical differences), most other sounds are used by substrate speakers. This phenomenon may be attributed to phonemic similarities between Hawaiian and substrate languages, and/or the relatively conservative number of Hawaiian phonemes in general.

The significance of the relationship between PH and Hawaiian is twofold. First, at this point in history Hawaiians not only maintained their AL of Hawaiian but this language still occupied a position of dominance, practicality, and prestige among all speaking communities, so the developing pidgin was based on *their* language. Secondly, had future events not impacted the Hawaiian Kingdom so drastically, PH, which looks and sounds much like Hawaiian, may have very well stabilized and helped the Hawaiians maintain their AL and their cultural identity to a greater degree.

It is necessary to remember that although it grew into a plantation lingua franca, like all pidgins PH was only relied upon by adult speakers. Families and children were often housed separately according to ethnicity, so they had little opportunity or necessity to socialize outside their own ethnic group (Roberts, 1999a). Even by the latter part

of the 1800's locally born children of immigrants were more likely to be multilingual, learning other children's ALs, than users of the PH of the plantation (Roberts, 1999a). With the new generation of locally born children not using or maintaining PH, the beginning of a shift in language and the emergence of a new superstrate, namely English, became possible.

As business boomed, more Americans made their way to Hawai'i. Prior to 1875, the use of English was already on the rise, especially in English medium schools which were popping up everywhere in the islands, yet Hawaiian remained dominant. With the number of Hawaiians in deep decline, English speakers slowly began to outnumber Hawaiian speakers, especially in the towns (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003). Scholars put forth a rather murky picture of what happens to PH at this point. Some suggest that as more English began to infiltrate the plantations PH was relexified which at first resulted in PH sentences sprinkled with English words (Sakoda & Siegel), and others suggest that both PH and an English based pidgin were developing at the same time (Bickerton, 1999). This potential debate is outside the scope of this study, but what can be concluded is that English became more of a presence and affected the language

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of the islands, and eventually PH would adopt the English

word order S-V-O, moving subjects to the beginning of a

sentence.

Bickerton argues that this language shift resulted in

a "multilexical mess" (1999, p. 34), and that PH began

mixing with an evolving English lexified pidgin linguists

have labeled Pidgin English (PE). The following is an

example of PE (Sakoda & Siegel, p. 7):

(PE)   Me no pilikia, but nuinui hanahana nuinui kala.

[HCE] (Me no trouble, but plenty work, plenty money.)

The literal translation that Sakoda and Siegel provide

echoes modern day basilect HCE. This example demonstrates

the grey area surrounding PH and PE, for one can argue that

the sentence is PH relexified or sprinkled with English, or

one can argue that it is indeed a PE sentence with English

as the superstrate and PH as the substrate.

Regardless of the genesis of PE, soon there were

speakers of PH, speakers of PE, and speakers using a mixed

variety of both, creating a "single pidgin continuum"

(Bickerton, p. 34). Bickerton claims that it was not

uncommon to hear utterances containing words from three or

four languages as demonstrated by a Japanese plantation worker circa 1900 (Bickerton, p. 35):

> Luna san me danburo faia de mauka ga pilikia, ai raiki go home moemoe.
>
> (Overseer, I have burning pains in my stomach and my head aches; I want to go home and sleep.)

The breakdown of words is as follows:

Hawaiian:	luna	=	boss, overseer
	mauka	=	mountain (up, top)
	pilikia	=	trouble
	moemoe	=	sleep
English:	me	=	me
	danburo	=	down below
	faia	=	fire
	ai	=	I
	raiki	=	like
	go	=	go
	home	=	home
Japanese:	san	=	(honorary marker)
	de	=	(object marker)
	ga	=	(subject marker)

McWhorter supports the phenomenon of language mixture and states, "There is an even further degree of language

mixture that linguists have encountered occasionally in various parts of the world" (McWhorter, 2001, p. 109), that being *intertwined languages*. McWhorter also claims that pidginization operates on a "continuum" and that there is "no dividing line between direct intertwining of languages and the lesser and broader degree of mixture in creoles" (p. 169). It would seem that PH and PE are possible candidates for intertwined languages which would also explain why it is difficult to definitively separate the two.
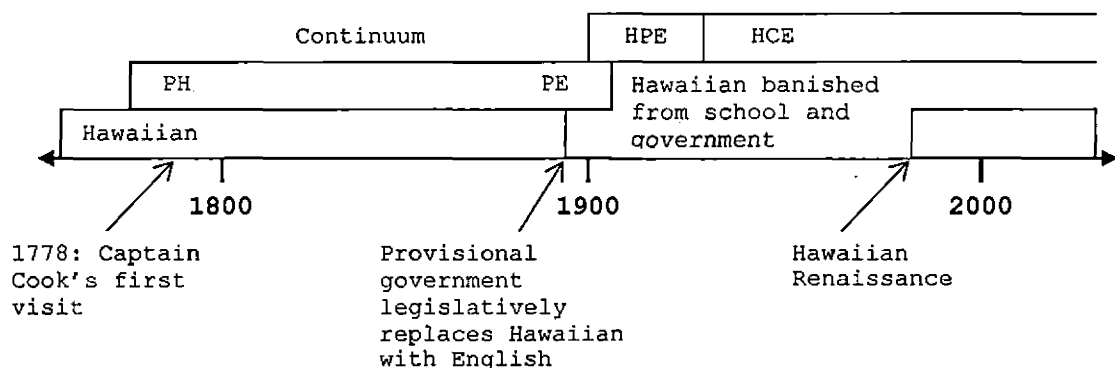
Figure 1. Timeline of Languages in Hawai'i including: Hawaiian, Standard American English, and Developing Pidgins and Creoles

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The mixing of pidgins and ALs soon took root in the towns, the plantations, and almost everywhere else. The one place where PH and PE were not dominant was in the home. Parents, for the most part, still spoke their ALs, and children, for the most part, were still multilingual before the turn of the century (Roberts, 1999a). However, the PH and PE mixture combined rather quickly as language patterns began to standardize in the last decades of the 19th century into what has become known as Hawaiian Pidgin English (HPE), and English becomes the indisputable superstrate (Sakoda & Siegel, p. 7).

Creolization

. . . the speech of the school children both reflects and foreshadows the speech of their elders.

Reinecke & Tokimasa, 1934

By the 1890s, locally born children began to speak HPE outside the home, and it soon became the preferred discourse among children and between siblings. This use of HPE among school aged children as a primary language marks the beginning of the *nativazation* and/or *creolization* of HPE (Roberts, 1999a, p. 272). *Nativization* is defined as

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"the process by which a language acquires a native-speaking community" (p. 257). Similarly, *creolization* is the process by which a language, almost always a pidgin, becomes a *creole*—that is a language that is spoken as an L1 by a group of speakers, and fully meets the range of social needs of the community (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 247).

Both nativization and creolization are generally interchangeable in the respect that they both involve a particular language becoming the L1 of a group of native speakers. Some theorists posit that pidgins and creoles are not "typologically distinct" from each other, but this study will take the position that HPE stabilized and met the social and linguistic criteria that scholars ascribe to creoles (Roberts, p. 257).

In terms of creolization, it has generally been accepted in the linguistic community that pidgins are introduced to children by adults (usually parents) and then creolized, becoming the L1 of those children. However, HPE was introduced to younger children and siblings by older children outside of the home, and thus, children were the driving force in *stabilizing* HPE (Roberts, 1999a). Thus, children were the ones to eventually introduce HPE to their parents who were still speaking ALs in the home

(Roberts, 1999a). Creolization then occurred as parents began to learn the language of their children and speak HPE in the home. The next generation of locally-born would now hear HPE in the home as their L1, thus creating a new generation and population of speakers, and changing the language from a pidgin to a creole.

Certain social factors also contributed to the creolization process. In 1893 a group of American businessmen, under the protection of the United States Marines, staged an overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy and imprisoned then Queen Lili'uokalani in an upstairs room of Iolani Palace (Kanahele, 1995). More critical than changing the history and sovereignty of Hawai'i forever, the overthrow dealt a great cultural and psychological blow to the indigenous Hawaiian population. Since the arrival of missionaries 70 years earlier, their criticism of the Hawaiians' religious and cultural practices had already begun to slowly erode the Hawaiian identity. With a provisional government made up of mostly American businessmen in place, Standard American English (SAE) advanced among schools, business, and government, and in 1896 Hawaiian was legislatively replaced with English as the official language of education and government

(Yamauchi, Ceppi & Lau-Smith). Students were often physically disciplined if they spoke Hawaiian in school and English was the order of the day. From this point on the use of the Hawaiian language plummeted and HPE use increased in response to the newly legislated language policies.

Creoles become more linguistically complex than pidgins due to the fact that they are primary languages and thus need to fulfill a range of speakers' communication needs. The most salient linguistic difference between a pidgin and a creole is that a creole is "rule-governed," and just like other mainstream languages, "one can make grammatical errors in it" (Sato, 1989, p. 261). Roberts' study of the "HCE tense-modality-aspect system" reveals a rule-governed grammar for these linguistic features (Roberts, 1999b, p. 45), and other features such as negation and word order also reflect complexity and follow specific grammatical guidelines among speakers of HCE. Creole speakers usually develop a range of linguistic forms ranging from *basilect*, furthest away linguistically from the superstrate, to *mesolect*, variety used by the majority of speakers, to *acrolect*, the most advanced form which reflects the most influence of the superstrate

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(Sakoda & Siegel, p. 20). Chapter two discusses how

language attitudes played a significant role in the

development of HCE basilect during this time;

unfortunately, because of the subjugated status of Hawaiian

and the rise of SAE and HCE, for all intents and purposes,

the Hawaiian language seemed to disappear.

Modern Day Hawaiian Creole English

Eh, you bettah watchyo mowt, yo maddah

goeen geev you likens if she catchyou

talkeen Pidgin laidat.

(Hey, you had better watch your mouth,

your mother is going to give you

physical punishment if she catches you

talking Pidgin like that.)

Hawaiian concert-goer, 2007

The speakers of PH and PE have disappeared along with

the plantations while the speakers of HCE fall along their

own language continuum with a basilect form of HCE at one

end and SAE at the other based on language continuum claims

from various scholars including Bickerton (1999), Roberts

(1999a) and Reynolds (1999). It has also been suggested by

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Reynolds that in Hawai'i there now exists a "variety of standard English, which can be called Hawai'i Standard English (HSE)" (Reynolds, 1999a, p. 304). HSE would then represent "the most acrolectal form of HCE," a variety much closer to SAE than the progenitors of HCE intended (p. 304). This development sheds light on current attitudes towards HCE that are reflected later in this study.

The HCE spoken today employs several linguistic features that are indeed carryovers from the original Hawaiian language aside from the great many lexical items that are part of HCE vocabulary. In the area of pronunciation, HCE continues to prefer a use of pure or "full vowels" especially with the long o and e sound; these vowels tend to be drawn out instead of gliding and creating a diphthong like they do in English (Meyerhoff, 2002, p. 42). This feature can be seen in a mesolectal level of HCE in the following examples:

Example 1

(HCE)   Ho da pree-dy yoa famly.

(SAE)   Wow your family [is] pretty (good looking).

(Hawaiian)   Ho ka nani kou 'ohana.

Example 2

(HCE)   No chraabo.

(SAE)   [It's] no trouble.

(Hawaiian)   A'ole pilikia.

In HCE the *o* in *Ho* is stressed and drawn out the same as it would be in Hawaiian. This feature also shows itself in the word *preedy* and the word *chraabo* where the long *e* and schwa *a* sounds are stressed and drawn out. Even the short *a* sound in *famly* would be stressed and drawn out by a native speaker of HCE. Hawaiian vowel sounds were often elongated to differentiate lexical meaning, so it is reasonable that HCE tends to adhere to these same sounds and stress patterns. The pronunciation and stress of vowels is one of the most influential contributors to the HCE accent, referred to as "the Island stress and intonation" as early as 1934 (Reinecke & Tokimasa, p. 53).

The local accent of Hawai'i residents is in many ways distinguished by the way consonants are pronounced in HCE. Example 1 demonstrates that HCE is without the interdental *th* sound which begins the word "the", and Examples 1 and 2 reveal that *r* and *l* are often omitted at the end of words. In Example 1, *th* is replaced with *d*, making *da* instead of "the", and the *r* at the end of the word "your" is replaced

with a vowel, schwa *a,* thus creating *yoa* instead of "your." Likewise, in Example 2, the word "trouble" becomes *chraabo* in HCE with the omission of the last consonant *l.* These particular substitutions and omissions of consonants are standard features of mesolectal HCE that reflect features of Hawaiian. Hawaiian words also have V-C-V or V-V construction explaining the practice of consonant omission, especially at the end of words. At the time HCE was stabilizing, some of the larger immigrant ethnic groups, such as the Japanese and Filipinos, were transitioning from ALs with similar vowel and consonant patterns. These groups may have also been quite comfortable with a vowel-heavy HCE.

Another feature that is reminiscent of Hawaiian and is a common characteristic of creoles in general is the presence of reduplication in HCE lexicon. For instance, in Hawaiian the meaning for the word *'ono* is "delicious," while *'ono'ono* also means "delicious" (Elbert & Pukui, p. 289-90). Likewise, HCE often uses reduplication in the same manner as illustrated in the following:

(HCE)	Dat wahine, she like talk talk all da time.
(SAE)	That girl/woman, she wants to talk all of the time.

In addition to similarities at the phonetic and
lexical level, HCE has also carried over several
syntactical features from Hawaiian. As seen in Example 1,
HCE word order often is more similar to Hawaiian than to
SAE. The Hawaiian sentence contains the exact same word
order as the HCE sentence as shown below:

(Hawaiian)

Ho   ka   nani   kou 'ohana.
Interjection/determiner/object/subject (pronoun + noun)

Ho   da   preedy   yoa famly.
(HCE)

This is not to say that Hawaiian and HCE word order are
always the same, but this example is typical of HCE and
demonstrates a close grammatical relationship to HCE's
substrate language, Hawaiian. The two sentences also
display an absence of the copula, a feature common to many
languages. Another syntactic feature shared by Hawaiian and
HCE is the omission of subject pronouns. Whereas English
sentences require a subject, Hawaiian and HCE allow subject
omission. Even in "existential sentences" like Example 2,
English requires a "dummy subject," as shown in the

insertion of [It's], in order to be grammatical (Meyerhoff, 2002, p. 43).

Because many of these HCE linguistic features are common to pidgins and creoles in general, it is difficult to distinguish which of these features may have survived creolization and pidginization from ancestral Hawaiian and which features are occurring naturally as a part of a creole. However, just as Hawaiian has often been described as melodic, qualities like sing-song and lilting are also ascribed to today's HCE. The relationship between HCE and its original lexifier, Hawaiian, becomes relevant as similar socioeconomic attitudes develop towards both languages.

The HCE currently spoken in the islands continues to evolve and move along the language continuum, with the majority of speakers using a mesolectal form of HCE (Sakoda & Siegel). In light of Hawai'i's socioeconomic, political and educational history, HCE has become a controversial issue in families, the workplace, and schools. In the next chapter, I will examine this controversy in terms of factors such as language attitudes, identity and investment that affect the use of HCE and SAE.

As the numbers of HCE basilect speakers decreases and acrolect speakers increases, especially in urban areas, the difference between HCE and SAE is often more about accent than grammar. Meyerhoff defines accent as a differentiation in language only at the level of pronunciation (2006, p. 27), and this study will later reveal that regularly even local Hawai'i residents identify SAE spoken with a HCE accent as HCE. However, the real difference between HCE and SAE doesn't lie within grammar or accent but rather in a social context.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LANGUAGE ISSUES IN HAWAI'I

Linguistic wars are always also

political and cultural wars.

Claire Kramsch, 1998

Since the purpose of this thesis is to examine how

attitudes and identity influence language variety use among

HCE speakers, it is useful to examine the history of the

relationship between HCE and SAE. Factors like a speaker's

attitudes towards language and their own sense of identity

have directly affected motivation to learn the L2, in this

case SAE, along with their investment in the L2. These

factors have influenced whether HCE speakers acquired or

did not acquire SAE. In relation to second language

acquisition (SLA), it is important to note that for the

vast majority of Hawai'i residents, SAE was not their L1.

At the time of the overthrow of the Hawaiian government,

most residents spoke either their ALs, HPE, or both, so

when SAE became the language of the schools and government,

tens of thousands of people would have to learn the new

dominant language, SAE. Since the late nineteenth century,

speakers of HPE/HCE have been thrust into a sociopolitical

arena that requires them to essentially learn SAE as a L2,

and several present SLA factors illustrate the dynamics of

SAE acquisition in Hawai'i.

Motivation and Investment

> . . . my history was nowhere present.
> For we had not written. We had chanted
> and sailed and fished and built and
> prayed. And we had told stories through
> the great bloodlines of memory. . .

<div style="text-align: right">Haunani-Kay Trask, 1999</div>

It is helpful to identify some of the theories of SLA

that focus on motivation and investment as key features in

influencing language use and acquisition, and subsequently

provide insight into factors influencing language use among

bivarietal speakers of HCE and SAE. In their early and

well-known work on motivation, Gardner and Lambert (1972;

cited in Skehan, 1989) argued that language learners are

motivated either through *integrative orientation*, referring

to learners who want to participate and integrate into the

culture and identify with the people of the language they

are learning, or *instrumental orientation*, referring to

learners who have practical goals in mind, e.g., job

advancement and being able to read in the L2. Later, Gardner's socio-educational model of language learning (1985) suggests that motivation is determined by *integrativeness*, which relates to the learner's desire to learn an L2 and to "meet and communicate with members of the L2 community," and *attitudes*, which relate to attitudes towards the learning situation, including the assessment of the L2 course and the instructor (MacIntyre & Charos, 1996, p. 4). These attitudes towards the learning situation become especially relevant later in this chapter when discussing the history of the school system in Hawai'i and its treatment of both SAE and HCE.

Other theories such as MacIntyre (1994), Tremblay and Gardner (1995), and Noels, Pelletier, Clement and Vallerand (2000) also suggest that certain personality traits or features come to bear on a learner's motivation to learn and speak a L2. And more recently Csizer and Dornyei (2005) have conceptualized the aspects of L2 motivation into seven different components: integrativeness, instrumentality, vitality of the L2 community, attitudes toward the L2 speakers/community, cultural interest, linguistic self-confidence, and milieu (p. 20).

While these models of language learning and motivation are dominant in the field, Pierce (1995a) points out that they don't cover the relations of power and identity that are always present in language learning. Peirce suggests that "motivation is not a fixed personality trait, but must be understood with reference to social relations of power that create the possibilities for language learners to speak" (p. 26). In her study of immigrant women in Canada learning English as a L2 (1995a), Peirce claims that *investment* rather than motivation better describes the relationship between the women in the study and the L2. Drawing upon Bourdieu's (1977) notions of *economic* and *cultural capital*, which refer to a variety of symbolic and material resources and social class and forms within the L2 culture, Peirce takes the position that when learners invest in a L2 they do so in order to increase their cultural capital via symbolic and material resources. All the women in Peirce's study were invested in the L2, English, seeking to increase their symbolic resources, such as better social conditions for themselves and their family, or material resources by increasing their "economic advantage" and opportunities (Peirce, 1995a, p. 19). By investing in the L2, these women expect or hope "to have a

good return on that investment—a return that will give them access to hitherto unattainable resources" (p. 17).

Investment theory is also interested in the language learner as "having a complex social history and multiple desires" and recognizes the language learner as "having a complex social identity that must be understood with reference to larger, and frequently inequitable social structures which are reproduced in day to day interaction" (p. 9). Peirce also draws a strong correlation between language and identity claiming that "an investment in the target language [or L2] is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing" (p. 18). These views are echoed by Craig (1985) who posits that "awareness of social stratification, of its implications, and of its correlation with the possession of creole or standard language" weighs heavily on a learner's motivation to learn the dominant L2 (p. 277). Peirce's study shows in several instances how each individual woman's complex social identity affects, sometimes negatively, her investment in the L2, thereby affecting her access to and increase of resources.

Whereas Peirce's (1995a) study illustrates how investment and identity impact L2 acquisition for

individuals, other research brings to light the same kind of impact on different groups of people in different learning contexts. Studies from Romaine (1999), Sato (1989), Au (1980), and Reynolds (1999) focus on how attitudes towards standard and non-standard languages in educational settings can bear positively or negatively on student investment in the L2, which is usually the standard language. Other studies (Matiki, 2001; Shameem, 2002) highlight the identity struggle that occurs when acquiring a L2, and how developing the L2 often results in the loss of speakers' mother tongue, or L1. A number of studies also address how identity is affected by social constructions of 'other' toward L2 learners (Young, 2002; Fought, 2006; Roth & Harama, 2000). As language learners and users are treated as outsiders, they are less likely to negotiate the L2 and L2 culture into their identity make-up, and they are also less likely to invest in the L2.

This thesis will take the position that investment is most pertinent to this study and that investment is directly affected by language attitudes and speaker identity. This, in turn, contributes to language use and acquisition. The next section reviews the social, economic, political and educational factors that have influenced HCE

speakers' language attitudes and speaker identity, and the impact of these on language use in Hawai'i.

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Struggles with Attitudes and Identities

Although [HCE] speakers may recognize the institutionalized prestige of SE, they are fiercely loyal to their own varieties.

Charlene Sato, 1989, p. 260

Hawai'i has been "entrenched in a history of multilingualism and oppression," as described by Meyerhoff (2002, p. 44), and has a long list of educational, socioeconomic and political changes that have shaped language attitudes and speaker identity over the past one hundred years. The overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893 led to the white provisional government replacing Hawaiian with English as the official language of the state in 1896. Not only was Hawaiian replaced with English, but Hawaiian was banned in the schools, and it was not uncommon for students to be physically punished for speaking Hawaiian (Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 1999). These changes triggered "ethnic and socioeconomic tensions" among the island population (Roberts, 1999a, p. 273). School

children, educated in English now, found their ethnic identities threatened and would soon manifest their underlying frustrations through language thus, they unconsciously banded together by using their own *Local* language, HCE (Roberts, 1999a). HCE served as a tool not only for school children but island residents in general to maintain their ethnic, locally-born, and self identities. In contrast, SAE was seen as the language of their oppressors, those who took away their ALs, and investing in SAE and identifying with SAE culture was tantamount to betrayal.

This strategy of resisting SAE and embracing HCE persisted and contributed to the developing attitudes towards language in Hawai'i, and still exists today as an indicator of in-group membership. With the overthrow of the monarchy, "English achieved ascendency over Hawaiian" (Watson-Gegeo, 1994, p. 102), not only in politics but in education as well, and these changes were the beginning of Hawai'i's non-white population developing an inimical relationship with SAE. In Charlene Sato's seminal work (1985) on HCE, she points out that for multilingual HCE speaking children, from 1894 and on, "English acquisition was, for the most part, a peripheral phenomenon in the

language socialization of these children" (p. 263). They were much more invested in HCE because of the concomitant identities HCE helped to maintain.

This negative attitude towards SAE is directly related to the development of the Local (hereafter used with the upper-case L) identity, established early on by recognizing HPE/ HCE as an in-group indicator. Roberts' study on early 1900s HCE reveals that school children "rejected [SAE] in peer group relations," considering SAE "the language of the schools…[and]…the language of the white bourgeois minority" (1999, p. 273). Roberts ties this "linguistic attitude" to identity, and suggests that the locally born used HCE as "an indicator of group identity" (p. 274). Children even went so far as to ridicule peers who did speak SAE, calling them "stuck up" or suggesting that they were acting like a *haole*, a pejorative term meaning "white" person or "white" foreigner (p. 284). Roberts also points out that when both older and younger locally born children began to negatively judge SAE and positively identify with HCE, they instinctively used HCE more and more, introducing HCE or the "Local" language into the home and preferring it to other languages. This linguistic shift led the locally born "away from ALs and multilingualism" and served as a

precursor to AL attrition (p. 283). As in-group identity became more salient among Local residents they became more invested in HCE and Local culture than their ALs and to some degree their ancestral cultures.

Because Hawaiians and other ethnic groups who felt dispossessed by the new language policies, HCE became an instrument of *totemization*, and the foundation of a cultural identity, the Local culture. As LePage and Tabouret-Keller (1985) describe, totemization occurs when members of a group "who feel their cultural and political identity is threatened are likely to make particularly assertive claims about the social importance of maintaining or resurrecting 'their language'" (p. 236). Since ALs were banned in the schools they could not resurrect their languages, but non-white students could rally around HCE and make it their language. This "act of identity" expressed through language would become the cornerstone of Local culture (Kramsch, 1998, p. 66).

During this time period, as HCE gained more speakers who had been educated in English schools, their language attitudes surprisingly contributed to the development of a "fairly radical basilect" (Roberts, p. 294). This is a notable development considering the fact that the English

superstrate of HCE was the language of all schools and that students had daily contact with SAE. Typically, the English superstrate should have ensured the development of a more acrolectal form of the creole. And this is where, once again, a speaker's attitude toward English becomes a factor. The rising generation of HCE speakers not only stigmatized SAE but they also had a desire to set themselves apart as Local, meaning locally born in contrast to their foreign born elders, and this may be why HCE speakers developed a basilect, and directed the language away from both SAE and immigrant PE (Roberts).

Another reason SAE did not take root with the Local children was that between the 1880s and 1920s white students were separated from Hawaiian and immigrant students in school. Private English Medium Schools were available for white students, thus denying the diverse ethnic student population input from other SAE speakers in school (Watson-Gegeo, 1994, p. 105). Even though the schools made the institutional shift to English, the balance of students did not change. Because white students were attending private schools, public schools possessed no more English input than they had before. The only English input was from the teacher, and "the pedagogical practices

of the time resulted in teachers more often than not speaking English *at* rather than with the students" (Sato, 1985, p. 263). SAE speaking children were neither classmates nor playmates to the multilingual community outside of school, and therefore did not and could not serve as language models. The combination of negative attitudes towards SAE and limited and isolated SAE input provided virtually no impetus for students to invest in SAE. The school situation only furthered the resolve of Local children to tolerate SAE dominance rather than actively support it, and this attitude was critical to the development and maintenance of HCE (p. 263).

Just as the changes that accompanied the overthrow of the monarchy began the establishment of the Local identity and culture, along with the totemization of HCE, the years of Territorial Hawai'i continued to widen the socio-educational chasm. Nowhere has the SAE versus HCE struggle been more prominent than in the educational arena. When Hawaiian was banned from the schools and HCE grew as sort of a replacement, educators routinely criticized not only the use of HCE but the language itself. As Hawai'i became an official territory of the United States, an invidious educational policy was established which left a bitter

taste in the mouths of Local people and has had a lasting effect on language in Hawai'i.

In 1920, the federal government's *Survey of Public Education in Hawai'i* and a petition signed by four hundred parents of children from SAE speaking homes brought SAE hegemony to a climax with the epoch of English Standard (ES) schools (Young, 2002). These schools required students to pass an oral examination in order to be admitted to the school, and this led to a system that not only often discriminated both explicitly and implicitly against the majority non-white population, but also ended up serving the mostly white middle-class of Honolulu (p. 407). The attitudes of the territorial government and educators were not only negative towards HCE, but they also had a tendency to regard Hawai'i's non-white public school students as nothing more than future plantation workers, and this construction of race by those in power becomes a key factor in understanding the motivation for the territory's educational policies (p. 407).

With a negative perception of HCE firmly in place at the time of ES schools (Romaine, 1994), the use of an oral examination to determine admittance to an ES school is one of the best examples of the problematic nature of

the school. Examiners were "prompted to note errors in the 'th' sound, lip movement and word endings" and "evaluations were based on pronunciation, grammar and fluency (Young, 2002, p. 417). Unfortunately, because SAE is not tied to accent, "the imposition of written norms onto spoken forms is inappropriate" (Sato, 1989, p. 263), and pronunciation errors should not have been a measure of a student's proficiency in SAE at all. In the case of the ES schools, accent "becomes a point of gatekeeping," not only allowing those in power to keep others out, but also providing "an excuse to exclude and refuse recognition of nonstandard languages" (Ohama, Gotay, Pagano, Boles & Craven, 2000, p. 374).

The attitudes of government and educators towards HCE and the Local student population in general, furthered the social and educational distance between HCE-speaking non-white students and SAE-speaking students and continued the subjugation of the HCE-speaking population. These attitudes sadly and wrongly depict a scenario where "[SAE] seemingly is equated with a cognitive ability to formulate a clear and understandable narrative that indicates intelligence" (Young, 2002, p. 418).

There were a variety of outcomes in conjunction with
ES schools, including the perpetuation of negative HCE
stereotypes, conflict between generations, and the
development of classes within the ethnic population. HCE
garnered several negative stereotypes and "became a marker
of socioeconomic status associated with the plantations,
and minimal intelligence often associated with manual
labor" (Sato, 1985, p. 266). As Meyerhoff notes, HCE was
regarded by many as "unsystematic, structurally
impoverished, and deviating from [SAE] (2004, p. 78). One
such criticism from 1934 reads, "[HCE] is fragmentary,
unintelligible, and in a larger sense, irrational . . .
Irrespective of race, tongue or creed, it spreads like some
contagious infection" (Weimer, 50-51, as quoted in Roberts,
1999a, p. 269). Sato (1985) observes that "By
institutionalizing linguistic inequality in this way, the
ES schools legitimized the negative stereotyping of HCE
speakers," and very small numbers of students ever
benefited from "the academic advantages provided in these
schools" (p. 264). Thus, ES schools continued to alienate
HCE speakers and to ensure no love for SAE.

ES schools paved the way for both generational
conflict and stratification in Local society. Conflict

between immigrant parents and locally born children

worsened, bringing out different linguistic loyalties.

Immigrant parents still identified with their ALs and

corresponding cultures and did not necessarily share their

locally born children's identification with the emergent

Local culture and HCE. In addition to the generational

conflict, social stratification among Locals also began to

take place. Some Locals, both students and adults, viewed

the adoption of English as playing an important role in

"exemplifying affinity with the American way of life," and

those Locals who did were thereby advocating and

identifying with SAE and American culture (p. 266).

Consequently, other Locals rejected what they perceived as

this obsequious view of American culture and SAE, and they

remained loyal to maintaining and further developing HCE

and local identity. This thought process helped to

differentiate the middle class from the working class,

wherein the middle class' identity with SAE developed, and

working class' alienation from SAE increased. In addition

to defining class differences, the adoption of SAE over HCE

came to delineate ethnic differences. The Japanese

especially felt pressure to assimilate because of World War

II, and they went to great lengths to show their American

patriotism which resulted in an effort to acquire SAE

(Watson-Gegeo, 1994). In essence, the ES schools maintained

a distance between HCE speakers and SAE speakers, causing

further "stratification along ethnic lines by means of

discrimination along linguistic ones" (Sato, 1985, p. 264).

Other outcomes of the ES schools were the negative

attitudes Local residents developed about their own speech

and the construction of an "other" identity. While HCE

provided in-group membership and Local identity, negative

stereotypes associated with HCE could have caused HCE

speakers to feel conflicted about their sense of identity.

In one study, Ohama, Gotay, Pagano, Boles & Craven (2000)

suggest that negative attitudes about one's own speech can

promote behavioral shifts, namely linguistic shifts in

language use. In Young's (2002) research on ES schools,

some HCE speakers sought to develop SAE in order to

compensate and overcome the shame they felt (particularly

in the classroom) when speaking HCE. This shift in language

use can lead to identity confusion, low self esteem, and

negative attitudes towards nonstandard languages in general

which further reinforce their negative attitudes toward

their own nonstandard language. These negative attitudes

can also affect investment in the L2, in this case SAE,

which as Peirce (1995) asserts is also an investment "in a learner's own social identity" (p. 18). Therefore, when HCE speakers chose to learn SAE in the face of negative views towards their L1, they may have done so resisting incorporating SAE into their identity. This resistance and lack of investment may have created a barrier for many to fully acquire SAE.

ES schools are a part of "the cultural memory of Hawai'i . . . marked by . . . the shared language of people whose lives were also marked by their racialization as Other" (Young, 2002, p. 408). This imposition of an "other" identity, either by the state or through self ascription, illustrates the dilemma of identity for these islanders. Each person possesses multiple identities that are sometimes contradictory to each other, making up a complex social identity (Peirce, 1995a). A variety of relationships ultimately determine each person's complex social identity, such as the relationships between ethnicity and language (Watson-Gegeo, 1994), language use and self-identity (LePage & Tabouret-Keller, 1985), intergroup behavior and social identity (Ohama, Gotay, Pagano, Boles & Craven), dominant and other (Fought, 2006), ethnic self and ethnic other (Fought, 2006), and standard and nonstandard language

(Sato, 1985; Craig, 1985). Kramsch suggests that aside from the culmination of these many factors, social identity is very much culturally determined, and what is perceived about a person's culture and language by one person is what that person has been conditioned by their own culture to see (1998, p. 67). Just as a person negotiates their sense of self "within and across different sites at different points in time . . . it is through language that a person gains access to, or is denied access to, powerful social networks that give learners the opportunity to speak" (Heller, 1987, as quoted in Peirce, 1999a, p. 13). HCE speakers struggled with access, opportunity to speak, and multiple identities at home, at school, among peers, and at work. On one hand, negative attitudes towards HCE and HCE as a marker of 'otherness' caused Locals to feel the need to distance themselves from HCE in order to avoid being labeled and other undesirable social outcomes. On the other hand, HCE has had a dyadic relationship with Local identity and this has often led to Locals distancing themselves from SAE as a matter of loyalty. Even though the ES school system was abolished in 1948, the effects of the system "continued to exist in the consciousness of Hawaii's

people" up until and beyond statehood (Young, 2002, p. 240).

In 1959 Hawai'i became the 50th state of the union, and after statehood there was an incredible "escalation of tourism and resort development" that followed, further "exacerbating existing resentment among many [L]ocals toward tourists, real estate speculators, and outside corporate investors" (Sato, 1985, p. 266). Local residents deepened their resolve to resist SAE because they associated it with "the economic and political exploitation" brought about by outsiders (p. 266). Outsider language, SAE, and behavior was to be avoided, and speaking HCE became a "salient indicator" of Local in-groupness, linguistic nationism, and ethnic belonging (p. 266). As Hawai'i was besotted with the selling-off of its natural resources and indigenous culture, Local culture and identity strengthened its roots and developed, in tandem with HCE, as "distinct from and in opposition to mainstream Mainland white culture" (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1999, p. 102).

For Locals, the drawback in rejecting SAE and affirming HCE for ethnic and linguistic loyalty was that it often "locked many HCE speakers into the vicious cycle of

educational failure, socioeconomic stagnation, and political powerlessness" (Sato, 1985, p. 266). The alternative, if an HCE speaker were to switch to or embrace SAE, was to be ostracized from their social networks and/or create tension within those networks (p. 266). HCE speakers have confronted this dilemma for the past 50 years, and will continue to struggle with the dichotomy of cultural loyalty and socio-educational success as constructed by language use.

Meanwhile, just as the Hawaiian language was on the verge of extinction, the Hawaiian renaissance of the 1970s brought about the re-institution of Hawaiian as an official language of the state in 1978, and an incredible revitalization of the Hawaiian language emerged (Yamauchi, Ceppi & Lau-Smith, 1999). The successful re-emergence of Hawaiian cultivated an ethnic pride that included HCE in its embrace. HCE began to climb out of shame, and the renaissance was not only beginning to legitimize Hawaiian culture and language but also Local culture and language. HCE also gained momentum as its popularity was cultivated through making "local cultural texts available" including music, television, and stage shows (Young, 2002, p. 424). HCE also earned legitimacy as being pre-requisite for Local

identity, and played a crucial role in "constructing, maintaining, and communicating 'being [L]ocal'" (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1999, p. 102). Although there were still those who continued to denigrate HCE, positive attitudes towards this variety increased and gained popularity amongst Local HCE and SAE speakers. One of the implications of HCE's new popularity status on language use was that positive attitudes mitigated some of the identity struggle bivarietal speakers experienced and that they were able to use HCE without the preterit social judgments. In terms of language acquisition, SAE speakers, that may have dismissed HCE before, perceived a new value in the Local language.

Before the Hawaiian renaissance the terms "Local" and "Hawaiian" were used interchangeably, and HCE seemed to be the language of both. Local culture was "firmly grounded in Hawai'i's indigenous elements," such as the people's relationship to the land, and also exemplified the Hawaiian culture's "openness to change and innovation" (Hall, 2005, p. 406). However, in tandem with the cultural renaissance came the Hawaiians' need to identify their nation, and "reclaim a homeland," and subsequently Hawaiian identities began to diverge from Local ones (Young, 2004, p. 84). This separation of cultural and ethnic identities has left many

non-white non-native Locals feeling "increasingly…displaced in the only 'home' they have known," as Hawaiians seek to "establish a political recognition of indigenous Hawaiian people" (p. 84). As HCE continues to serve the Local identity, the tension between Hawaiian and local identities may prove to be relevant when assessing language variety use.

Current Contributing Factors to Language Attitudes and Use

> I am proud to be linked to a heritage that gave the fiftieth state some of its blessed uniqueness of character; a heritage…which gave the world the word 'aloha', and all this means; and which has given me certain advantages of perception.
>
> John Dominis Holt,
>
> On Being Hawaiian, 1964

It has been over one hundred years since the overthrow of the Hawaiian government and its language, the century has turned again, and HCE remains an icon of Local identity. As this study examines language variety use among

HCE speakers that have moved to the U.S. mainland, it is particularly relevant to identify present factors that influence language attitudes and language use, including the classification of HCE as a non-standard variety, current social attitudes towards HCE and SAE, the education system and its treatment of HCE, Hawaiian and Local identities, HCE legitimization and HCE/SAE code-switching, and diaspora and emigration. Because many HCE speakers today, especially in and around Honolulu, speak an acrolectal form of HCE closer to SAE while other HCE speakers use a mesolect (only in certain rural areas mostly on the islands outside of O'ahu is a HCE basilect spoken anymore), a present-day summary of HCE and SAE will also be included (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003).

Classification

HCE today is regarded as a creole, a non-standard dialect, or a non-standard variety, and its population of speakers has "tremendous ethnic and cultural diversity" (Watson-Gegeo, 1994, p. 103). This classification lends credence and validity to HCE as a language, in comparison with HCE's historical labeling as an unintelligible language and a broken English. Unfortunately, HCE continues to be represented as "deviant" because it has no

standardized writing system of its own, thus reinforcing

its non-standard label (Romaine, 1994, p. 527). There are

also those, who either out of ignorance or habit, still

refer to HCE as broken English, furthering the notion that

somehow HCE is incorrect. Non-standard language varieties

also are also sometimes negatively associated with lower

socioeconomic status and education, and identification with

the indigenous culture (Craig, 1985). Those HCE speakers

who end up relocating to the U.S. mainland may carry some

of these negative associations with them, which in turn may

affect their use of HCE and SAE. Outside of Local culture

where HCE is recognized and valued, bivarietal speakers may

feel apprehensive about using HCE because of the historical

baggage it carries and because of the potential HCE has to

mark speakers as non-native speakers (NNS) of English

and/or persons of low socioeconomic status.

Social Attitudes

In addition to HCE's labeling as non-standard, the

related view that SAE is somehow superior to HCE still

looms over the Local community and still causes anxiety.

SAE continues to be the conduit to demonstrate literacy and

"attendant constructions of race, class, and citizenship"

(Young, 2002, p. 407). Conversely, many HCE speakers see

their home language "as a way of speaking to be corrected and eventually overcome, like a bad habit," and it is in this context that HCE speakers are made aware of both community and institutional stereoptypes of HCE and SAE (Sato, 1985, p. 267). These stereotypes and the identities they affect naturally impact the struggle speakers face in negotiating multiple identities and language varieties. In Hawai'i language use and attitudes are rarely "black and white," with most residents being bivarietal (speaking both HCE and SAE) employing varying levels and HCE and SAE in their everyday speech. Moreover, these linguistic stereotypes play a part in determining the level of investment speakers have in either variety and which variety of English is used in a given discourse.

Education

Historically, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the education system has devalued HCE, often resulting in anxiety for bivarietal students who in turn devalued SAE. A certain level of anxiety still exists within the Local community in regards to the use of SAE and its role as an unspoken prerequisite to literacy. HCE speakers as a group have long performed below the national average, and this poor performance can be linked to "generations of

socioeconomic and ethnic stratification" (Sato, 1989,
p. 260). Although it has been recently recognized as a
language by the Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE)
(Romaine, 1994), HCE has remained non-existent in language
planning and policy (Reynolds, p. 304). The DOE's
recognition of HCE has not "led to its active maintenance
in the educational context," and to avoid the "Pidgin
problem" HCE has been "relabeled as a dialect rather than a
language," suggesting that differences between HCE and SAE
are minimal and don't warrant special programs or
curriculum (Sato, 1985, p. 267). In fact the DOE judged
that HCE was not a language that one could be bilingual in,
therefore denying HCE speakers a bilingual or bicultural
program (Sato, 1985). As Reynolds observes, in Hawai'i,
"valuing bi[varietalism] has never been considered
seriously as an option by educational institutions," and
thus, in education circles, HCE is still considered to be a
non-standard variety that impedes the education process
(p. 304).

Reynolds' (1999) study at rural Pa'auilo elementary
school in Hawai'i explores how 5th and 6th grade students
invest in HCE and SAE and what conditions or strategies can
affect that investment. Reynolds discovered that while HCE

speakers struggled academically, SAE speakers struggled socially, being called *haole*, and not fitting in with groups of Local children (p. 305). The study showed that HCE speakers and SAE speakers understanding HCE had equal difficulty understanding the other variety, thus reinforcing the premise that when the language of the home is not the language of the school (socially and/or academically) then difficulties occur (p. 311). Reynolds focused on bringing more HCE into the classroom and creating an environment friendly for both HCE and SAE speakers, and eventually the Pa'auilo 6th graders began to consistently score better than their peers on standardized testing. As Reynolds reflected, "the more we talk and play and practice with both HCE and [SAE], the more interested we all become in both languages, and the more willing we all are to take risks and add another dialect to our linguistic repertoire" (p. 311). Another study done by Au (1980) at the Kamehameha Early Education Program (KEEP), reports the success of a reading program incorporating culturally appropriate participation structures. The study highlights HCE and SAE differences in areas like discourse style which include "question-answer patterns, joint performance of narratives, and other aspects of turntaking

in group discussions" (Sato, 1985, p. 269). Au's study, in addition to identifying features that are potentially difficult for HCE speaking children in a SAE teaching context, also implements appropriate discourse strategies for children that they may take with them to the next level of their schooling.

Both Au and Reynolds have identified strategies that encourage and increase HCE-speaking students' investment in SAE. These studies join many others in gauging the current academic climate in regards to English varieties, and offer a glimpse of a draw between the century-old contest of HCE versus SAE. As the Reynolds (1999) and Au (1980) studies have demonstrated, factors, including certain types of educational interventions, can influence and alter the level of investment in a language. Bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers on the mainland may experience shifts in attitudes and self-identity causing them to increase or decrease their investment in either variety.

Hawaiian Identity and Local Identity

The Local identity accomplishes the goals of "externally demarcating Hawaii from (especially) the U.S. mainland…[and]…internally uniting otherwise diverse groups into one." HCE fluency demonstrates that a person is a

Local and that he or she shares the "island culture and values" (Watson-Gegeo, 1994, p. 104). As such, HCE plays a vital role in constructing, maintaining and communicating a Local identity (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, 1999), in addition to serving indigenous Hawaiian identity as well. While the word 'Hawaiian' has been used quite loosely in the past, present society dictates that as applied to people, Hawaiian is a nationality to be applied to those descendants of the indigenous people of Hawai'i, also referred to as Native Hawaiians. The maintenance of HCE, in large part, has been an effort to preserve Hawaiian culture as the indigenous language was oppressed. If language indeed serves as a "cultural repository" (McWhorter, 2001, p. 92) then HCE and SAE both have significant roles in both Hawaiian and Local culture.

More recent, noticeable and controversial within the Local community is the distinct separation of Hawaiian identity from Local identity. While Hawaiians can claim to be Local, not all Locals can claim to be Hawaiian, and this causes growing tension as Hawaiian activists push for the recognition of a Native Hawaiian nation (similar to the status of Native Americans) and create anxiety for Locals who struggle for identity and claims of citizenship

(Young, 2004, p. 93). Many Hawaiians are no longer content with quietly fitting into the Local population but rather make themselves known and stand out. They follow the admonition and tenor of Hawaiian advocates who espouse that "as contemporary Hawaiians we are charged with filling that silence because others are too willing to fill it for us" (Hall, 2005, p. 412), and subsequently often use Hawaiian language over HCE to distinguish themselves as Hawaiian.

Hawaiian Creole English Legitimacy and Standard American English-Hawaiian Creole Code Switching

HCE has attained a definite presence in the public sphere, and positive attitudes towards HCE have gained popularity insomuch as this variety has branched out beyond a strictly spoken domain. There are now college courses on HCE and scholars and researchers like Charlene Sato from the University of Hawai'i at Manoa who study and promote the function and use of HCE. There is an entire entertainment industry built around HCE, from stand-up comedy to music to drama, and there is an ever increasing amount of literature written in HCE including poetry and novels (Sakoda & Siegel).

Over time HCE has been influenced by a variety of social and political factors that have "altered its value

and use by residents" (Ohama, Gotay, Pagano, Boles & Craven, p. 358). Some speakers have demonstrated more loyalty to HCE and have had "less inclination to acquire SE," while others have adopted SAE in addition to or in favor of HCE (p. 358). Keeping in mind the great variability along the HCE/SAE continuum, most Hawai'i residents possess HCE and SAE in their linguistic repetoire, and while some speakers "easily shift along the continuum of varieties…others have narrower communicative repertoires" (Watson-Gegeo & Gegeo, p. 105). This shift in variety use, also known as *code switching*, allows speakers to ascribe to themselves "various identities under various circumstances in the presence of various interlocutors," and also allows speakers "to show solidarity or distance towards interlocutors" (Kramsch, p. 70.) Thus for bivarietal speakers, HCE is often used in ethnically mixed gatherings to establish and/or maintain relationships across ethnic and cultural boundaries while SAE is often the variety used in professional settings (Watson-Gegeo, 1994).

Summary of Hawaiian Creole English and Standard American English

Negative attitudes stemming from the historical

contexts already mentioned still exist, but there seems to

be an increase in acceptance and positive attitudes towards

both HCE and SAE. SAE speakers enjoy much of the HCE

entertainment Hawai'i has to offer by way of Local

comedians and variety shows, in addition, SAE speakers find

various modern HCE texts "readily intelligible without

extensive glossing" (Romaine, 1994, p. 543). Meanwhile HCE

speakers are more accepting and willing to invest in SAE as

an additional language variety or second dialect because

social and educational climates have shifted and now there

is recognition of multiple English varieties. This

recognition validates HCE among bivarietal speakers and

allows them to entertain multiple identities and use

multiple varieties along the HCE/SAE continuum.

The current social context of language attitudes,

identity and investment has significant implications for

this thesis. The participants in this study will have

developed foundational elements of identity, investment and

attitudes in regards to HCE and SAE as residents of Hawai'i

in the social climates mentioned throughout this chapter.

These elements, born out of Hawai'i's socioeconomic,
educational and political environments, may then be brought
to the U.S. mainland and re-negotiated within new mainland
social contexts.

Diaspora, Emigration, and Mainland Hawaiian Creole English Speakers

Hawaiian out-migration is not new and has occurred in
several significant waves since World War II. Spurred by
economic struggles and lack of employment opportunities, at
least one-third of Hawaiians are geographically dispersed
outside of Hawai'i, with half of that living in California
(Kauanui, 2007, p. 144). Emigration to the U.S. mainland
can also be attributed to great numbers of Hawaiians
joining the military and going to mainland colleges.
Although these statistics pertain to individuals who are
Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian, they serve as a pattern for
Local emigration in general as indicated by the 2000 census
which reveals that economic struggles contributed to mass
departures from the islands to the mainland (p. 145).

Once on the continent, former residents' shared loss
of and connection to Hawai'i manifests itself through the
marketplace, the proliferation of Local clubs and
festivals, and Hawaiian and Local entertainment (Hall,

2005, p. 407). Locals on the mainland often feel "the need to recapture Hawaii through over-determined cultural practices," commonly accomplished through "Hawaii clubs" which serve both Local identity and Hawaiian identity needs (Young, 2004, p. 95). These Local cultural establishments and outlets provide not only a potential destination for emigrating Locals but also a respite from the dominant SAE of the mainland. It is possible that there are those who come to the mainland and feel great loss and connection to Hawai'i and invest even more into HCE and their Local identity than before. It is also likely that there are those who upon entering mainland society and culture will identify more with the cultural and economic capital they feel a greater investment in SAE will bring. One question that this thesis will explore is whether former Hawai'i residents show a shift in investment towards SAE in order to gain the social and economic resources needed, while at the same time, show a shift in investment towards HCE to maintain their Local identity.

A Legacy of Choices

. . . a people quietly and defiantly

defining themselves as different from

the rest of the United States.

Miriam Meyerhoff, 2002, p. 44

For HCE speakers, the factors that contribute to

identity, language attitudes and language use are numerous

and have stewed, transformed, condensed, and multiplied

over time. Each contributes intangible nuance and dimension

to the multiple identities each speaker possesses, and each

identity jockeys for position amongst the other identities

with every new discourse and every new interlocutor.

Bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers today inherit a legacy of

choices regarding language use, and the sweeping economic,

political, and social changes of the last hundred years

developed the intricate framework in which these speakers

constantly weave together issues of identity and language

use (Sato, 1985). HCE use seems predictable in gatherings

of Hawai'i Locals, as the powerful forces of in-group

identity will most likely prevail. Such gatherings allow

bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers an authentic venue to reconnect

with their foundational perceptions of identity and

investment in both varieties. Since most attitude studies

have been conducted in Honolulu, which Sato (1991)

describes as an urban setting where "mainland U.S.

institutions and values are most pervasive," there is

limited descriptive data regarding bivarietal speakers of

HCE and SAE residing on the U.S. mainland (p. 652). What is

unknown is how often HCE is used outside of conversation

with other potential HCE speakers and to what extent

bivarietal speakers abandon HCE and choose to identify and

invest more heavily in SAE and mainland culture. In

addition to these unknowns, this study aims to examine what

factors may influence bivarietal Hawai'i emigrants to the

mainland to shift their identities and investment in HCE

and SAE and how those shifts affect their choices to use

HCE or SAE in different situations.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

> Sociolinguistic work is always
> interpretive.
>
> Barbara Johnstone, 2000, (p. 36)

The purpose of the present study is to examine the
inter-relationships between investment, language attitudes
and speaker identity, and language variety use. I aimed to
study these issues through a group of HCE speakers who have
emigrated to the U.S. mainland. It is within this small
community of people I hope to discover what perceptions
they have of language varieties and what do those
perceptions suggest about Mainland HCE speakers' attitudes
about language variety and identity. Studying this group, I
specifically addressed the following research questions:

1. How frequently did participants use HCE and/or
    SAE in different situations, and what factors
    influenced language variety use?

2. How did the participants perceive the voice
    samples of bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers, and what
    factors, if any, influenced those perceptions?

To address these questions, I obtained information from two different sources: a questionnaire and video-taped group discussions. As Johnstone (2000) points out, an essential strategy to ensure "research credibility is to *triangulate* by utilizing multiple sources," which assists in reducing researcher bias and increases the number of data sources for addressing the research questions (p. 446). Each of the two data collection instruments, the questionnaire and the small group discussions of voice samples from HCE and SAE speakers, will be discussed more fully later in this chapter, along with Peirce's (1995b) tenets of critical research and the roles they played in this study.

Participants and Settings

In the previous two chapters, I offered an overview of educational, political and socioeconomic historical factors related to the different language varieties of Hawai'i and its bivarietal speakers in order to contextualize the backgrounds of HCE speakers from Hawai'i, such as the participants in this study. This is in tandem with Peirce's (1995b) fifth tenet of critical research, that "[c]ritical

researchers are interested in locating their research within a historical context" (p. 572).

At the four sites this study was conducted, participants were chosen according to two main factors. First, they must have resided and attended school in Hawai'i at least in their elementary school years in order to increase the likelihood that they had adequate exposure to HCE as an L1 or L2. Potential participants were pre-screened by way of two or three short questions asked orally by the researcher regarding where they grew up and that identified whether they had had an opportunity to acquire HCE as a L1 by virtue of spending some of their formative years in Hawai'i. Second, participants needed to be adults, over 18 years old, and speakers of both HCE and SAE who had moved to the mainland. At each site, those eligible participants were given informed consent forms explaining the purposes of the study; those who gave consent to participate in the questionnaire were given the questionnaire to complete. At a later time at three of the sites (ranging from two hours later to three weeks later), a small number of eligible participants were invited to participate in the videotaped small group discussions and given additional informed consent forms. Those who

consented to the videotaping participated in the videotaped discussions.

Participants were recruited at four different community sites, three of which were *hui*, i.e., social groups, and one of which was a regional cultural event. The physical setting of these research sites included two private residences, a restaurant and a convention center.

The first two research sites were located at residences, and participants had adequate privacy, comfort and little or no time limitations in filling out questionnaires. The first community site visited was *Na Hoa O Ka Hale Kanu*, a *hui* for Hawaiians and Locals, which routinely gathers at a private residence in two different forums, *hula* (dance) classes and a bible study group. The participant sampling came from a gathering of the bible study group, consisting of five men and women of various backgrounds fitting the participant criteria, and all of the potential participants completed the questionnaire. A small group discussion was also video-taped at this site which took place in the living room of the residence, away from the main gathering in the dining room. A total of three people participated in this activity.

The second community site was *E Mahi Pono*, another *hui* which gathers monthly at a private residence on the basis of Hawaiian and Local cultural camaraderie. The participant sampling included approximately ten men and women of various backgrounds fitting the participant criteria, and almost all of the potential participants completed the questionnaire with the exception of two participants who left the gathering early. This gathering was also the site of a video-taped small group discussion which also took place in the living room of the residence, away from the main gathering outside. Five members of this *hui* agreed to participate in the videotaped group discussion.

The third site was a gathering of *Kamehameha Alumni*, a *hui* of alumni from *The Kamehameha Schools* in Hawai'i that gathers for lunch monthly. The smallest participant sampling came from this group; however, the entire group fit the participant criteria, and all five participants completed the questionnaire and participated in the group discussion. Unlike the first two groups, this site was a public restaurant, and while there was adequate privacy for filling out the questionnaire, the level of comfort, setting and time limitations provided a slightly different atmosphere.

The last site was *E Hula Mau*, a Southern California *Hula* competition held at the Long Beach Convention Center that attracts competitors from all over California and the West Coast. While *E Hula Mau* is a Hawaiian dance competition, Hawaiian culture and Local culture are somewhat synonymous, especially on the mainland, and therefore draws huge Local audiences from Southern California and beyond. Outside of the theater, the convention hall was full of vendors selling Hawaiian and Local arts, crafts, plants, music, clothes, and much more. There were also several tables set up for Hawaiian education and service organizations, and it is in this area that I solicited participants and handed out questionnaires. There is no way of knowing how many potential participants may have been present at this event, but most of the approximately 40 people I screened as potential participants completed the questionnaire. This was by far the largest and most diverse participant sampling, and questionnaires were distributed to men and women of various backgrounds and filled out in an autonomous albeit public setting. There were no video-taped discussions at this site, only the dissemination of questionnaires.

Table 1 shows the distribution of participants according to gender, age, Hawai'i residency, and the age they relocated to the Mainland (Southern California). As can be seen in Table 1, the number of male and female participants are close to even, most of the participants were born and raised in Hawai'i, and the overwhelming majority of participants moved to the Mainland when they were in their twenties.

Table 1. Shows the Distribution of Participants According to Gender, Age, and Residency

Data Source	Male	Female	*Age Range	**HI Residency	Age Relocated to Mainland 17-21	22-29	30 & up
Questionnaire	15	16	20-80	58%	33%	13%	23%
Small group A	1	2	40-65*	66%	0	66%	0
Small group B	3	2	38-80*	100%	---	---	---
Small group C	1	3	40-41	100%	100%	0	0

*Indicates an approximation, only 58% of questionnaire participants reported their age
**Lived in Hawai'i from birth to at least 18 years of age, small group participants were asked orally before the videotaping
---Unknown

Table 2 reflects the ethnic background of participants and the nationalities that individuals reported the most. While 20 different nationalities were reported by participants, the three with the highest percentage are shown as Hawaiian, Caucasian and Chinese. This table also shows that over one-third of participants are a mix of four or more nationalities.

Table 2.   Shows the Most Frequently Reported Ethnicities and Percentage of Mixed Nationalities

Hawaiian	Caucasian	Chinese	Mix of 4 or more
94%	61%	52%	36%

My role as researcher calls on me to play "a constitutive role" in this study and to not allow any bias to cloud my objectivity, but in compliance with Peirce's (1995b) first tenet of critical research, I cannot logically claim to be completely "objective or unbiased" (p. 570). My background as a native Hawaiian and a Local, my education in Hawai'i and on the mainland, and a variety

of other factors provides me with an insight to not only the study itself but also the participants; since I am essentially a member of the specific population of this study, this has allowed me to conduct my research with an emic perspective. At the risk of bias, my knowledge and perceptions helped me to gain access to the research sites and participants and to interpret responses with more accuracy and understanding.

Questionnaire

The questionnaire itself (see appendix A) was designed in part to elicit demographic information about the participants, and the first section asked questions about their ethnicity, residency and education. The following questions asked participants to list the languages they spoke in order of fluency, and what languages they were exposed to in their youth. Next was a combination of yes/no and fill-in-the-blank questions about when and why participants moved to the mainland and their current connection to Hawai'i. The next section of questions addressed how participants have used HCE and SAE over the course of their lives, followed by two open-ended questions about feelings and values associated with HCE and SAE.

These questions were designed to elicit information that could address my research questions about possible influential factors, such as language attitudes, that affect language variety use. The questionnaire then contained a section of questions using a Likert scale regarding participants' current language use, and asked participants to rate their frequency of HCE and SAE use in certain social situations; this was followed by a series of yes/no questions specifically targeting the contexts of their language use in Southern California. Next participants were asked in open-ended/short answer questions to describe each variety, HCE and SAE. The last question asked participants through a mark-all-that-apply question how they perceived themselves as users of HCE and SAE presently. These questions were aimed at revealing participant's attitudes and perceptions of HCE and SAE and which variety or varieties they identify with.

Peirce's (1995b) fourth tenet of critical research calls for seeking "the way individuals make sense of their own experience." Participants in this study are allowed this opportunity through the self-report nature of the questionnaire. The questionnaire also aims to draw upon

participants' personal perceptions and attitudes without the spoken or unspoken influence of a group dynamic.

In addition to interpretive qualitative research, the methodology for this thesis also draws from Social Identity Theory (SIT). SIT takes the position that all people identify with multiple identities, "some of which are more personal…and some of which are group identifications." The questionnaire allows participants to self-report and to formulate different responses from different identities (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 70). SIT relates to Peirce's (1995b) third tenet, advising researchers to assume that inequalities of gender, race, class and ethnicity both "produce and are produced by unequal power relations in society" (p. 571), and provides the backdrop of identities that form or are formed by the inequalities of society. Participants' unspoken identities and perceptions of societal inequalities may be a factor in formulating their responses. The historical context of HCE involved several social inequalities, and the data aims to examine and acknowledge patterns across factors (e.g., race and ethnicity, level of education) that continue to influence language and social identities among participants.

Video-taped Observations

The aim of the small group discussions was to elicit participants' attitudes toward and perceptions of HCE and SAE. These data were collected at three of the research sites previously mentioned, two residences and one public establishment. In each of the video-taped small group discussions, participants were asked to listen to three voice samples of different people speaking HCE or SAE. Participants were then asked questions about the speakers they listened to. I asked participants a number of questions related to what kinds of characteristics they ascribed to the different speakers, what kinds of jobs or education did each speaker have, and whether each speaker consciously was choosing to use a particular variety. I further facilitated the discussion by asking participants why they gave the responses they did to see if they revealed underlying attitudes towards HCE and SAE and/or the participants' own senses of identity.

In preparing for the group discussions, a total of six voice samples were collected, involving four men and two women. The purpose of the voice samples was to collect a variety of spoken features including but not limited to pronunciation, prosody, and grammatical features linked to,

HCE and SAE and code-switching between the two varieties. The group discussions would then reveal what type of spoken features participants responded to and why. The voice sample speakers ranged in age from 19 to 82, and all considered themselves bivarietal speakers of HCE and SAE. Voice samples were unscripted, and were elicited in response to a specified topic or question asked by the researcher. Voice sample participants were not directed to speak HCE or SAE; instead they were asked to engage in "natural" conversation. One of the voice sample speakers used only SAE; four of the voice sample speakers used predominantly SAE with some code-switching to HCE; and one voice sample speaker used predominantly HCE. At least four of the voice sample participants had a marked HCE accent when speaking SAE and three of those had marked HCE grammatical features. Though they were asked not to make any references to Hawaii (so as to not give away where they were from), one participant did make a minor reference to Hawai'i. Five of the samples refer to events that happened on the mainland, and one refers to events happening in Hawai'i, although Hawai'i is not mentioned or alluded to. The voice samples will be referred to as follows: #1, #2, #3, #4, #5, and #6.

Each small group discussion was video-taped and informed consent from all participants was obtained. As each of the three small groups gathered (referred to as Group A, Group B, and Group C), three of the six voice samples were played for them on a portable audio device, and each group listened to a different combination of voice samples. Voice sample #1 was heard by two groups, voice sample #2 was heard by two groups, voice sample #3 was heard by two groups, voice sample #4 was heard by one group, voice sample #5 was heard by one group and voice sample #6 was heard by one group. Other than the brief explanation of the study provided on the consent forms, participants were given no information or instructions other than to simply listen to the voices on the audio recording. In almost all cases, the groups asked to have each voice sample played for a second or third time, due to recording quality and volume capabilities. After listening to each voice sample a series of questions were asked (see Appendix B) in regards to the speaker, not the content of what he or she said. Participants were asked to verbally describe the speaker, such as where they thought the speaker might be from, what level of education they thought the speaker may have achieved, what they thought the

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speaker's ethnicity might be, and what type of occupation or job the speaker may work at. Each participant spoke in front of the group, and different participants answered different questions at different times as they were inclined. After the initial responses were given, the facilitator then asked the participants to discuss as a group why they gave the responses they did and what characteristics of language, stereotypes or language attitudes influenced their responses. The same series of questions was then asked after each of the two remaining voice samples.

I was interested in seeing how group participants responded to the spoken features (e.g., pronunciation, prosody, grammar, lexicon, code-switching) of each voice sample and which features they recognized and identified as being present. Moreover, through this process I hoped to see what attitudes and assumptions participants assigned to those spoken features identified. Also of interest was how the attitudes and assumptions that participants shared related to the self-report data of the questionnaire.

At times I had to ask additional leading questions to draw out more discussion from the participants or to clarify the responses given. For example, the following is

part of a conversation between participants in Group B, (J) and (E), and myself (R):

137. J: He has the, you can hear it, you can

          hear the slang.

138. R: So is it words, is it his accent?

139. J: Words. There's a little accent too.

140. E: Accent.

In this situation, I asked a clarifying question in line 138, and (J) gave a more specific response in line 139 and (E) also responded in line 140, thereby yielding information about spoken features that the question was designed for.

To conclude each discussion, I posed the questions, "Do you think this person had a choice as to what language to use? Why did they choose that language variety?" Through these questions I hoped to see what types of assumptions participants made about each sample regarding what linguistic varieties speakers had at their disposal and what linguistic choices were made in a given situation. Again, after the initial responses, I asked the participants "Why would you say that" in order to learn which attitudes and perceptions about the speaker and what

characteristics of the speaker's speech influenced their responses.

Methods for this thesis are also supported by research in perceptual dialectology, defined by Meyerhoff (2006) as the study of "peoples' subjectively held beliefs about different dialects or linguistic varieties" (p. 65). Studies in this field (Fought, 2002; Preston, 1989) focus on the beliefs, attitudes and perceptions that non-linguists, or regular folks, have about different language varieties, including "accent and dialect boundaries" (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 66). Perceptual dialectology, also called "folk linguistics," is more concerned with what people *hear* as opposed to what is actually *said* or *produced*, and because of this concern there is no interest in whether peoples' perceptions are right or wrong. For instance, if three different people listen to the same speaker in the same moment, one person may evaluate the features of the speech produced as 'good' English, another as 'correct' English, and yet another as 'proper' English, and no one perception is more right or wrong than the other (Fought, 2002). Likewise, in this study I am interested in "what [those] perceptions tell us about which features of language people most readily pay attention to," and how

those features are integrated into their social identities and language use (Meyerhoff, 2006 p. 67). Just as perceptual dialectology provides "perception data, rather than production data," it also reveals how language serves as an epicenter for the creating and recreating of personal and social identities (p. 69). The questions given to the small group discussion participants were designed in order to elicit responses qualitative and critical research and perceptual dialectology.

Data Analysis

Data from the questionnaire was quantified where applicable and numerical averages for responses to Likert scale questions were calculated. In regards to open-ended short answer questions, similar descriptive terms were grouped together by variety into "positive" responses which included positive and neutral descriptions and attitudes towards SAE and HCE, and "negative" responses which included negative descriptions and attitudes towards SAE and HCE. I then analyzed these data for patterns in participants' reported language variety use and attitudes towards HCE and SAE. In regards to the video-taped small group discussions, the discussions were transcribed and the

transcriptions along with my written field notes on the discussions made up this portion of the data. Transcriptions were analyzed for patterns in participants' responses to the voice samples.

The goal of this research is to ascertain what factors and attitudes influence language variety use on the mainland among bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers. Whatever data is collected through this study will be interesting in its own right, for this population of speakers will be new to the conversation of language attitudes and use. However, Peirce's (1995b) final tenet is that the goal of research should be to institute "social and educational change" (p. 572), and while this study does not seek to effect any major change per se, it does seek to contribute to further understanding the role of language varieties in individual's social identity. For bivarietal speakers in general, and HCE speakers in particular, this research is aimed to further the already "heightened consciousness about language politics" (Sato, 1991, p. 658). This in turn will hopefully encourage people to examine their own attitudes and perceptions in the context of their complex and competing identities and group memberships.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

This thesis has sought to develop a rich and

encompassing background of HCE in Hawai'i and HCE speakers

to serve as a foundation and springboard for the focus of

this study, namely, what happens to HCE/SAE bivarietal

speakers' language when they leave Hawai'i and relocate to

the Mainland (hereafter used with an upper-case M). Through

the use of a questionnaire and small group discussions,

this study attempted to ascertain how frequently

participants used HCE and/or SAE in different social

contexts and what were some of the perceptions participants

had toward speakers of HCE and SAE. The results that this

research yielded are in large part interpretive and reveal

a number of implications in the areas of identity,

investment and perceptual dialectology.

How Frequently Did Participants use Hawaiian
Creole English and/or Standard American
English in Different Situations and
What Factors Influenced Language
Variety Use?

Based on the questionnaire given to bivarietal

HCE/SAE speakers, two trends seemed to emerge from the

data collected. First, after participants had moved to the Mainland, they reported a decrease in HCE use. Second, also after participants had moved to the Mainland, SAE was used more frequently than HCE in a variety of social situations, even among intimates and other potential bivarietal speakers of HCE and SAE. On the whole, results indicated that after relocating to the Mainland participants used SAE more frequently than HCE. However, they did not abandon HCE; rather they maintained it. Other results suggest possible factors that may have influenced these two trends among questionnaire participants.

Overall Decrease in Hawaiian Creole English Use

Of questionnaire participants, 71% reported that they don't speak/use HCE as much as they used to, and only three participants reported that they do not speak HCE presently. These particular results do not speak to the frequency with which participants used HCE and SAE, only to the percentage of participants who report using either variety. In every context--at home, at school, and with friends--participants reported using HCE less after moving to the Mainland than they did while living in Hawai'i, as demonstrated in the table below.

Table 3. Shows the Use of Hawaiian Creole English

in Different Contexts and Locations

Context	Use HCE living in Hawaii	Use HCE living on Mainland
Home	63%	59%
School/Work	84%	17%
Friends	92%	71%

After relocation to the Mainland, there appears to be
only a slight decrease in using HCE in the home and a 21%
decrease in using HCE among friends. In contrast, there was
a significant disparity in HCE results in the school/work
context where participants reported a 67% drop in using
HCE. Yet the 71% that reported a decrease in using HCE also
reported that they do in fact still use HCE, and that
result indicates that the majority of participants maintain
HCE. Again it should be noted that questionnaire results
only reveal whether participants used HCE at all and not
how frequently. Nonetheless, these self-report results show
an overall decrease in HCE use after relocation and

foreshadow the data concerning the frequency of SAE and HCE use. As to the reasons why the decrease in using HCE occurred, as discussed in Chapter 2, historically within Hawai'i's shared consciousness, SAE has been the language of education and success, and this attitude may be a factor in the decrease of HCE use in these contexts. There is also the practical matter of the number and availability of bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers. In the dominant SAE speaking society of Southern California and in a SAE context such as college, the opportunity to converse in HCE would be greatly reduced. Thus, HCE decrease is not necessarily due to lack of desire or attitude, but rather due to the lack of availability of HCE speakers in a given context.

The availability of HCE speakers may also be a factor in the maintenance of HCE among friends and family. All of the participants reported having family in Hawai'i, and over half of participants make 1-2 trips back to Hawai'i each year. Even when changing residence from Hawai'i to Southern California, family members remain the same for the most part and individuals keep old friends and make new ones, often drawing on the things they have in common, such as language. There are social groups that organize and participate in Hawaiian dance (hula), music,

crafts, food, culture, and Mainland chapters of many Hawaiian organizations. In these contexts, there would be more available HCE speakers, thus more opportunities to use HCE. Another possibility to consider is that participants reported maintaining HCE because of speaker identity. Twenty-seven percent of participants reported that HCE was a part of being Local and/or part of their identity, and 52% reported that they planned on moving back to Hawai'i someday. Some of the responses from the questionnaire illustrate this:

- "My parents did not allow it [HCE], but it was part of the local identity so I had positive associations with it."

- "Pidgin [HCE] was a vital part of my life growing up…"

- "This spoken language is a bond between friends in order to relate."

So while the overall use of HCE decreased, total attrition did not occur because maintaining HCE and maybe even a bivarietal status was possibly key to maintaining their identification with Hawai'i.

These speculations, however, do not fully explain the phenomenon of total HCE attrition that 12% of participants reported. Unless those participants were absolutely isolated from any HCE speakers, which is not likely because 100% of participants reported having family members still living in Hawai'i and all participants were recruited at Hawaiian community events. It is probable that for this small group of participants, factors other than lack of available bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers contributed to their HCE attrition. Drawing from responses given to open-ended questions, a few participants indicated that they themselves thought that HCE was "lazy" and "uneducated" and that may be a possible factor for HCE attrition.

Standard American English Used More Frequently Than Hawaiian Creole English in Various Social Situations

On the Likert scale questions, participants gave responses varying from 1 (rarely) to 5 (always) in answer to language variety use in different social situations. Participants reported using SAE more frequently than HCE in nine out of the ten social situations presented in the questionnaire (See Table 4 below). The only exceptions, where HCE was used more frequently, occurred in

talk between participants and a high school classmate
(situation #8) and talk between participants and a
sibling (situation #10). In both of these situations
participants reported using HCE about as frequently as SAE.

Table 4. Shows the Frequency With Which Hawaiian Creole
English and Standard American English are
Used in Different Social Situations

	SOCIAL SITUATION	HCE	SAE
1.	Making a complaint to my credit card company	1.21	4.31
2.	Making a hotel reservation for a hotel in Hawai'i	2.48	3.64
3.	Talking to a work/business associate in Hawai'i	2.30	3.80
4.	Talking to other parents at my child's school	1.40	4.08
5.	Talking to a relative who lives on the mainland	2.40	3.57
6.	Telling a story about relatives in Hawai'i to a neighbor	2.67	3.79
7.	Talking to my children about their homework	1.96	4.23
8.	Talking to a high school classmate	3.07	3.03
9.	Talking to my parents on the phone	2.75	2.79
10.	Talking to my brother or sister	2.93	2.86

The greatest difference between HCE and SAE use were found in three of the nine scenarios within the three point range (numbers 1, 4 & 7), with HCE frequency between 1-2 range and SAE frequency between 4-4.5 range. The similarity between the frequency results reported is probably due to the lack of bivarietal HCE/SAE speaking interlocutors, including possibly their children.

In the questionnaire participants reported an overall increase in their use of SAE once relocating to the Mainland. One hundred percent of participants reported using SAE at home while growing up in Hawai'i between 7th and 12th grade, and that percentage remained unchanged when they moved to the Mainland. In the contexts of school and friends there was a slight increase in reported SAE use, especially among friends, as participants moved from one society to another. Eighty-eight percent reported using SAE at school in Hawai'i and 96% reported using SAE at school after moving to the Mainland, and 84% reported using SAE among friends in Hawai'i while 96% reported using SAE among friends after arrival to the Mainland.

These results seem to support the notion that the participants investment in SAE as a L1 and as the language of their formative school years carries over into a new SAE

dominant climate. Also the majority of comments, 71%, made by participants regarding their opinions and descriptions of SAE were generally positive comments about SAE. Below is a sampling of positive responses given by questionnaire participants regarding SAE:

- "The basic."

- "A wonderful tool to gain position at work."

- "A necessary part of communication in the U.S."

Even though there has been a history of negative attitudes towards SAE, at least these participants did not seem to express negative attitudes in their responses. There were very few outright negative descriptions of SAE, like *"complicated"* and *"boring"*, and most participants reported positive attitudes towards SAE during their upbringing. For example:

- "My family spoke English and taught us to value speaking correctly."

- "Proper English always encouraged, spoken and taught at home."

- "I was fine with it."

Since 80% of participants reported moving to the Mainland for either job opportunities or schooling, and 63% reported

having earned a Bachelor's Degree or higher, their

educational and professional goals may have reinforced

participants' investment in SAE.

While almost all participants indicated a significant

investment in both HCE and SAE, there are varying reasons

for such investments. In participants' open-ended

questionnaire responses, almost one-third reported that

they considered HCE part of being local and/or part of

their identity, while almost three-fourths of participants

described SAE as common or necessary. These attitudes seem

to influence variety use in the respect that overall SAE

use increased after Mainland relocation and that SAE was

used more frequently, even among intimates like parents

(see Table 3).

How did Participants Perceive the Voice Samples
of Bivarietal Hawaiian Creole English/Standard
American English Speakers, and What Factors,
if any, Influenced Those Perceptions?

There were a total of six voice samples and the

persons who provided the voice samples were all bivarietal

HCE/SAE speakers. Each person provided their voice sample

in a natural conversation setting, allowing them to use

whatever language variety seemed natural to them in

that setting. The voice samples varied as some persons spoke SAE, some SAE with a HCE accent, and some SAE with HCE elements such as vocabulary and some grammatical forms. I hoped to learn which voice samples would be labeled as HCE and SAE and what reasons participants would give for their perceptions.

After the different small groups listened to each voice sample, I then asked each group after each sample, "How would you describe this person?" The most common responses were "young", "from the Mainland or Hawai'i", and "Local". However, because in one of the voice samples the speaker revealed that he was going to college, I chose to omit the "young" responses from the results data. After transcribing the three video-taped small group discussions (Groups A, B, and C) and looking for patterns and frequencies in responses, four different phenomenon seemed to stand out. First was that the initial responses of participants, in regards to the voice sample speakers, were directed towards the voice sample speaker's ethnicity. Second, the next most common participant response was directed towards where the voice sample speaker was from, either Hawai'i or the Mainland. Third, participants determined the different speaker's ethnicity or where they

were from based on speech features like grammar, lexicon and accent. And fourth, participants revealed that the way speaker's expressed themselves was an indicator of that speaker's education level.

Judgments of Speaker Ethnicity

When participants were asked the initial question, "How would you describe this person?" Fifty-six percent of the first responses were comments on the speaker's ethnicity, with the term Local counted as a mixture of ethnicity and origin. The term Local is synonymous with Hawai'i and it is an indication of a broadly applied shared ethnicity. In other words, Local does not describe one specific ethnic group, but the term is more representative of someone who was born and raised in Hawai'i, a *kama'aina* or person of the land. In Example A, although different participants are making different judgments about the voice sample, they are still making judgments about ethnicity. (In all of the following voice samples R=researcher).

Example A (voice sample #4, Group C)

112. R: Okay—how would you describe this person?

113. P: An islander that has been to the

          Mainland, or educated somewhere other

          than, uh-

114.   -Hawai'i.

115. T: That speaks good English.

116. C: I'm gonna need to say islander.

117. S: Local boy xxxx.

----

121. T: He speaks well.

122. S: -yeah he sounded smart.

The same speaker is described by three different

participants in their initial responses in terms of

ethnicity: first in line 113 as an "islander" (equivalent

of Local), next in line 116, also as an "islander," and

finally in line 117 as a "Local boy." This same initial

response can also be found with a different speaker as seen

in the first part of Example B below:

    Example B (voice sample #2, Group C)

40. R: Okay, now this, this *wahine*, how would

          you describe this person?

41. P: *Haole*, Caucasian.

42. C: Thorough.

----

50. R: Why do you think xxxx articulate?

51. T: Cause the way she talks.

52. P: Right, she speaks-

53. C: She's very particular about it.

54. T: And very articulate, and very specific-

55. P: Yes.

56. T: -detailed.

57. S: Detailed.

58. C: Yeah, that detailed directions to
         everyone else.

59. P: You notice that you xxxx.

60. R: Where do you think this person is from?

61. T: Mainland.

Example B, along with example A, also illustrates a
part of the pattern the results yielded, and that is, when
participants were asked about their initial responses and
why they made those responses it always led to a
conversation about the way the speaker talked. In lines
51-58 participants discuss features of speech as reasons
why they gave their initial responses about ethnicity
(lines 41-42), and those reasons gauge the speaker's
speech. The next example, involving a different speaker,
also reveals the same pattern:

Example C (voice sample #3, Group B)

212. R: Okay, what do you think about this guy?

213. J: I think he's a Local guy, can tell

from—this one sounds Local.

214. RO: The *ting*—the one *ting.*

215. R: Why? Why do you say that?

216. E: He sounds like it.

217. J: He has the, yeah you can hear it, you

can hear the, the slang.

218. R: So is it words, is it his accent?

219. J: Words. There's a little accent too.

220. M: Thing, the thing.

221. E: Accent.

222. M: *Da odda, da odda—*

223. RO: *Ting.*

224. M: —not "other."

The initial response to the speaker comes in line 213 where

the speaker is described as a "Local guy." The next lines,

214-224, justify why they think he's Local by pointing out

features of his speech such as accent and imitating some of

the words.

Judgments of Where Speaker was From

When small group participants were asked to describe each of the voice sample speakers, the second most common response, after judgments of ethnicity, was where speakers were from. And when participants were asked directly where each speaker was from, responses were almost unanimously either Hawai'i or the Mainland. And when participants were asked to support their assumptions, again 56% said because of the way the speakers talked. Almost all participants who determined that a voice sample speaker was from Hawai'i gave the same reason—because of their speech, HCE in particular, which the participants refer to as Pidgin. Take a look at the next few examples:

Example D (voice sample #1, Group B)

    15. R: Okay, uhh, umm, where do you think this person is from?

    16. J: Hawai'i.

    17. R: Why would you say that?

    18. J: He's talking Pidgin.

Example E (voice sample #1, Group A)

    23. R: [where would] -you think this person is from?

    24. D: Hawai'i.

25. R: And why would you think that?

26. D: Because he has a Pidgin accent like me.
         Like us.

27. K: Yeah he's right.

As Examples D and E are representative of the participants responses to voice sample speakers determined to be from Hawai'i, a simple logical assumption can be gleaned from the results of these small group discussions. Being Local means speaking HCE (Pidgin) and being from Hawai'i means speaking HCE; therefore, being Local means speaking HCE and being from Hawai'i. This result is validated by the third pattern found in the data discussed in the next section.

Connections of Judgments to Speech

Whether voice sample speakers were identified as Local, from Hawai'i, Caucasian or from the Mainland, participants linked these determinations to features of speech. For example, when small group participants were asked why they thought a speaker was from a particular place, the responses always revolved around "the way they [the speaker] talk."

When participants identified a speaker as a Local or from Hawai'i, they supported their assumptions by identifying HCE features of the speaker's speech,

describing the things they heard. As seen in the previous section, in Examples C and E, the participants acknowledge accent as a feature of speech that factors into their assumptions, and word choice and slang are also acknowledged as features in Example C. Participants referred to other HCE speech features including intonation and pronunciation to support their assumptions about ethnicity and origin, as shown in the following examples:

Example F (voice sample #4, Group C)

 123. R: So why do you think, why do you say that he's a Local boy?

 124. S: Because I could hear it in his intonations.

 125. P: Yeah, still, yeah.

Participants also cited HCE features that had more to do with syntax than accent such as incomplete sentences, as noted in lines 42-45 in Example G, and shortened sentences, shown in Example H.

Example G (voice sample #1, Group B)

 36. R: And, uh, now why would you say he was talking Pidgin, what do you, I mean-

 37. -why would you say that?

 38. J: He says *"an den."*

39. R: *An den-*

40. J: That was one thing I remember.

41. R: Okay. Well-

42. J: The sentences weren't complete.

43. G: An I goin work conshtuction.

44. RO: I goin work conshtruction.

45. J: Yeah, the sentences weren't complete,

          they were not complete sentences-

Example H   (voice sample #5, Group B)

91. R: Why would you say [he's from] the

          Mainland?

92. M: Doesn't have the inflections.

93. E: Yeah, yeah.

----

110. M: Ah, I don't think he was from Hawai'i.

111. J: I didn't think he was from Hawai'i

          either, I don't think and-

112. G: I didn't think so.

113. M: You know not only inflection but-

114. J: I couldn't tell

115. M: You know when uh Hawaiians are talking,

          the people growing up in Hawai'i-

116.   -you know they tend to shorten

          sentences, and uh-

117. E: Yeah that's true.

118. M: -and I didn't hear him doing that at

          all. I think he-

119. J: Umm hmm.

120. K: I think he, I think he carried on the

          conversation more.

Interestingly in Example H, the participant responses
communicating that the speaker *is not* from Hawai'i seem to
be more prevalent than the responses communicating that the
speaker *is* from the Mainland. By discussing what they did
not hear in the speaker's speech, participants revealed
that they were listening for HCE features and found them to
be absent. This is also true in the following next example:

Example I (voice sample #2, Group A)

70. J: With this lady, um I don't see any

          phrases, familiar phrases that stand

          out.

This participant was explaining why she thought the speaker
in voice sample #2 was from the Mainland by noting language
features that would have suggested an HCE speaker and
thereby a Local. While example H noted inflection and

sentence structure as suggestive features, Example I points out the absence of HCE phrases.

When speakers were identified as being from the Mainland or *not* from Hawai'i, participants gave what I refer to as both passive and active support. Passive support was provided by participants who noted HCE features that they did not hear, as previously shown in Examples H and I. Active support, or the speech features that participants heard, are illustrated in Examples J and K.

Example J (voice sample #2, Group C)

    98. C: Because she's very, hmm, you know, organized in her method-

Example K (voice sample #2, Group A)

    54. R: Okay. So how would you describe this person?

    55. K: English speaking, English as first language.

    56. D: Very firm. Very firm, yeah.

    57. R: And why would you say that? Why would you say English is her first language?

    58. K: Um, because of the way she speaks, no accent or xxxx.

59. D: Very distinct in her, in her

          presentation, what she saying.

Overall, the factors that participants attributed their

assumption regarding those speakers they believed to be

from the Mainland had more to do with the content and tone

of speech in contrast to the dialectal features focused on

regarding speakers believed to be Local and from Hawai'i.

Participants noted descriptors such as *articulate,*

detailed, organized, firm and *good delivery* to identify

voice sample speakers from the Mainland.

One possible factor that may have contributed to the

participants' categorizations of voice sample speakers was

that 100% of the small group discussion participants were

born and raised in Hawai'i at least until they were 18

years old, and subsequently they had all attended school in

Hawai'i. As discussed in earlier chapters, if HCE remains

an indicator of ethnic belonging, this may explain why

participants seemed to be listening for features of HCE,

and perhaps their own Local identities found solidarity and

connected to the voice sample speakers they perceived as

speaking HCE.

Another related possible factor may have been that

10 out of the 12 participants spoke with an HCE accent.

Although all of the participants spoke SAE, these ten spoke SAE with HCE accents, and used HCE words or phrases sparingly. I suspect that most participants chose to speak with HCE accents in order to establish Local identity and in-group membership. The way participants used language varieties to establish a complex social identity may very well have been reflected in how voice sample speakers consciously or unconsciously established their identities through language variety choice.

Language Judgments Linked to Education Level

Just as participants made judgments regarding speakers' ethnicity and origin, participants also identified certain voice sample speakers as being either well-educated or not well-educated, giving a variety of reasons for these assumptions. Reasons given for identifying certain speakers as well-educated included: that the speaker speaks good English or speaks well (Example A), the speaker was educated on the Mainland (Examples A & L), and the speaker was organized (Example J). The following example identifies speaking "good English" (line 137) with being educated on the Mainland.

Example L (voice sample #4, Group C)

> 134. R: Okay, who said he was educated on the Mainland, why do you think that?
>
> 135. T: Just the way he speaks.
>
> 136. S: He really sounded like a Local boy that was speaking as best he—like he'd been-
>
> 137. -around good English long enough that he was like a convert.
>
> 138. R: Pidgin convert or English convert?
>
> 139. T: English.

In the next example the voice sample speaker is explaining how to make a layered jello recipe. One of the participants (D) notes the reason he thinks the speaker is college educated is because the speaker was "firm" in her "announcement" and "presentation.

Example M (voice sample #2, Group A)

> 84. D: I would say, I would say college.
>
> 85. J: Yeah.
>
> 86. R: And why would you say that?
>
> 87. D: Because the way she speaks. And the way she do her presentation. She's very-

88.　　　-firm. Ah, she had, uh, any anything
　　　　　over 15 minute or 20 minutes, it
　　　　　wouldn't-

89.　　　-taste any good, the jello-

90. K:　[laughter]

91. D:　-very firm, in her, in her in her ah
　　　　　announcement. So like I said she was
　　　　　pretty-

92.　　　-good in her xxxx. I read her as a
　　　　　college grad.

When participants identified voice sample speakers as
not well-educated, two reasons emerged through their
responses: speakers repeating themselves, and more
ambiguous, the way speakers express themselves.

Example N (voice sample #5, Group B)

141. J: He didn't sound very well educated.

----

146. J: But he was saying the same thing over
　　　　　and over and over and over and over
　　　　　again.

147.　　　He was saying he worked really hard, he
　　　　　worked really hard, you know an he's-

148.　　　-discouraged he worked really hard.

Example O (voice sample #3, Group B)

    231. R: What kind of education do you think he

        has?

    232. G: High school?

    233. R: And why would you say that?

    234. RO: Well, if he went to college, he would

        express himself.

In Example N, participant (J) describes how the speaker was repetitive in his speech, and in Example O, participant (RO) suggests that either the speaker did not express himself or that the speaker would have expressed himself better if he were better educated.

Thus, it seems that the way speakers spoke or how they expressed themselves was a determining factor in the perception participants had not only of the speakers' ethnicities and origins but of the speakers' education levels. And sometimes the participants' comments about the speakers' language were linked to all three factors. For example, one of the speakers who was categorized by participants as a "Local boy" (Ex. A, lines 113, 116 & 117) was described as "smart" (line 122) and educated on the Mainland because he spoke "well" (line 121). Similarly, the female speaker who was categorized as being from the

Mainland by Groups A and C was attributed with a college education because of her "presentation," her "announcement" (Ex. M, lines 87 & 91), and the "way she talks" (Ex. B, line 51). As for the speakers that participants identified as not being well-educated like Examples N and O above, participants cited lack of self "expression" (Ex. O, line 234) and repetition (Ex. N) as their reasons.

Participants' perceptions about the voice sample speakers may in part lie in their own levels of investment and motivation in both language varieties. Ten out of the twelve small group discussion participants had college educations and certainly had to invest in SAE for that level of education, and that factor may have influenced their perceptions about the voice sample speakers. Furthermore, eleven out of the twelve participants have been working in Southern California, and the building of their socioeconomic and sociopolitical identities over the years may have influenced their motivation and investment in SAE. This in turn could potentially influence the value they placed upon speaking "good English" (Ex. A, line 115), self expression (Ex. O), and "carry[ing] on the conversation" (Ex. H, line 120).

Participants' complex social and self identities surely played a role in their perceptions of the voice sample speakers, although such concepts are not quantified in this study. The fact that all participants have lived in both Hawai'i and the Mainland would justify a general feeling of identity and investment in both places. Moreover, all participants were also bivarietal SAE/HCE speakers, and investment and identity in both varieties would be inherent.

In conjunction with the results of the small group discussion data and the subsequent speculations, one unexpected result did surface. Of all the voice sample speakers who were categorized by participants as Local, from Hawai'i or HCE speaking, none of these speakers actually spoke true HCE. Rather they spoke SAE with an HCE accent. This result coincides with the generalization that participants identified HCE with dialectal features such as pronunciation and intonation and accent. In addition, in speaking with the small group participants, 83% spoke with a detectable HCE accent, and they all occasionally used HCE vernacular. This result would be consistent with results from the questionnaire in which 78% of questionnaire participants reported speaking both HCE and SAE and 68%

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reported specifically that they switched back and forth

between the two varieties.

Discussion

The questionnaire results show that emigrant

bivarietal HCE/SAE participants living on the Mainland are

using SAE more frequently than HCE, and the small group

discussion results indicate that the participants connected

between language and cultural identity. This section will

discuss how the reported perceptions and attitudes of small

group discussion participants shed light on frequency and

contexts of HCE/SAE use from the questionnaire. The

discussion will include Local identity being achieved

through HCE maintenance, socioeconomic investment and

attitudes influencing SAE frequency, and HCE speakers being

identified by accent.

Local Identity Achieved Through Hawaiian Creole
English Maintenance

Questionnaire results reported an overall decrease in

HCE use however the majority of participants continued to

maintain HCE and 27% directly associated HCE with identity.

While the small group discussion results did not directly

address the reduction in HCE use, they can provide insight

into the maintenance of HCE. In the small group discussions, participants' initial responses to the voice sample speakers were mainly related to the speakers ethnicity and/or where they were from. In turn these categorizations were largely supported by descriptions of a speaker's speech. If a bivarietal HCE/SAE speaker living on the mainland identifies with Hawai'i and HCE, and they consciously or subconsciously know that their speech will identify them with Hawai'i and HCE, then a speaker may wish to maintain HCE. This idea hearkens back to what Watson-Gegeo (1994) mentioned about HCE fluency: that it's a way speakers can identify themselves as Local, and by doing so it is also a way of sharing culture and values. Participants also seemed to benefit from using HCE with a sense of in-group membership evident in the fact that all participants are at gatherings of Hawaiian social groups.

Back even further to the earliest days of the creole, HCE use showed someone's in-group membership which continues to be important among bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers, and as Young (2002) pointed out, significant strides have been made in recognizing that HCE has important cultural roots. HCE legitimacy also lends legitimacy to Local identity (Ohama, Gotay, Pagano, Boles &

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Craven, 2000), and it seems that even though the maintenance of HCE in the past has in large part been an effort to preserve culture, it can also preserve one's social and ethnic identity. This could explain why participants reported that their HCE use was slightly more frequent than SAE in the context of speaking with a high school classmate. Although removed from high school and Hawai'i, participants may have been more inclined to use HCE when talking to a high school classmate in order to show that they are still part of the group, if you will, still Local.

Socioeconomic Investment Influenced Standard American English Frequency and Hawaiian Creole English Attrition

According to the questionnaire, results showed that SAE was used more frequently in a variety of social situations, and since 71% of participants reported being in Southern California for either work or college, this suggests that investment for socioeconomic gain was a factor in terms of SAE frequency. One participant wrote, "I associate the English language with intelligence and an ability to express oneself in an intelligent manner," demonstrating the value of SAE. The small group discussion results seem to bear this out by perceptions of education

levels being determined by the way speakers express themselves. Almost all of the small group participants were here for work and/or college, a common factor shared with the majority of participants from the questionnaire, and concurrently reveal their own socioeconomic investment in SAE. This could explain why participants associated educational level and socioeconomic status with the Mainland when describing voice sample speakers. Coinciding with Bourdieu's (1977) theory of cultural capital, in order to obtain the various socioeconomic gains needed for life here in Southern California, an investment in the dominant language of the region, SAE, would seem necessary. Participants from the small group discussions and the participants from the questionnaire both had socioeconomic motivation to invest in SAE, in hope of, as Pierce (1995) mentioned earlier, enhancing social identity and power in relationships and accessing social structures through language. The need and/or desire to invest in SAE could explain the overall greater frequency of SAE over HCE in most of the social contexts presented in the questionnaire, as well as the links the small group discussion participants made between education level, socioeconomic status, and language use.

Conversely, it stands to reason that the same socio-economic desires and circumstances that led participants to use SAE more frequently also led to the overall decrease in HCE use. Participants demonstrated an investment in SAE to acquire socioeconomic gain while their investment in HCE was to establish and/or maintain Local identity. As discussed earlier, the opportunities for SAE investment are more abundant in SAE speaking Southern California than the opportunities to maintain Local identity through HCE investment, mainly because of the lack of occasions to converse with HCE speakers. Therefore, any HCE attrition could be linked to investment opportunities in both SAE and HCE; ultimately the desire of participants to maintain HCE and their Local identity rarely resulted in full HCE attrition.

Attitudes Towards Standard American English Influenced Frequency

Questionnaire results also reported that an overwhelming majority of opinions regarded SAE as necessary and common, and otherwise positive; there were very few negative comments about SAE. The small group discussion participants tended to equate good English with SAE thereby revealing that neither group of participants had negative

associations with SAE overall. Not only did participants

report positive attitudes towards SAE (questionnaire), but

they also reported positive attitudes towards those who

used SAE (small group discussions). These reflective

attitudes echo what Young (2002) asserted, that in Hawai'i,

SAE is still the vehicle to illustrate literacy and social

class which consequently could account for the overall

higher frequency in SAE use.

<u>Participants Perceived Hawaiian Creole English</u>
<u>Speakers Through Accents</u>

In addition to the insights into the relationships

between language variety perceptions and frequency of

language variety use, code-switching and accent surfaced as

a reoccurring features. While speaking with small group

discussion participants, 83% spoke with a detectable HCE

accent and those speakers they identified as Local/HCE

speakers were actually speaking SAE with an HCE accent.

Examples C, D, E, F, and G all identify the speaker as

being Local and speaking HCE because of accent or how they

pronounce certain words. In examples H, I, and J, speakers

are identified as not being Local because of their lack of

HCE features, most commonly accent. Only examples G and H

suggest that the presence or absence of a feature other

than accent marks the speaker's origin. In example G participants comment that the voice sample speaker's sentences are not complete in an SAE sense as a reason to identify the speaker as speaking HCE, and in example H participants suggest the absence of the HCE feature of shortening sentences as a reason to identify the speaker as not speaking HCE. But even in these examples, they both cite accent as a reason for identifying speakers as Local or not Local.

Identifying HCE accent as HCE suggests not only that Local identity is easily marked through language, but that HCE marks one as being from Hawai'i and in-group membership. In Reynolds 1999 study, HCE-speaking students tended to struggle academically while SAE-speaking students struggled socially. With this in mind, speaking SAE with an HCE accent would serve both academic and social agendas. Watson-Gegeo (1994) also touched on this idea, stating that for bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers, HCE was often used socially while SAE was used professionally. The small group discussion results indicate that participants paid foremost attention to how a speaker speaks or what they sound like and the next priority was what they said. That is to say that even if a person was making a intelligent, coherent

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utterance in SAE with an HCE accent, the participants from this study would pay more attention the HCE and where the person was from than what the person said.

What was not present among the participants of this study was any reluctant attitudes towards using HCE. Apprehension towards using HCE because of negative historical social attitudes did not seem to be present and didn't seem to influence the overall decrease in HCE use. In fact negative attitudes were not very present, and few negative comments were made regarding either HCE or SAE. Even older participants, those who may still remember the English Standard schools, do not report many negative towards SAE, and many of the old historical attitudes are not connected to HCE today. It seems that participants identified speakers of HCE based on linguistic features, and they did not express negative attitudes towards HCE or SAE.

Conclusions

This study demonstrates that identity and investment play a major role in language choice and language use among bivarietal HCE/SAE speakers living on the Mainland. In order to gain the cultural capital required to succeed in

professional and educational contexts, participants placed a significant level of investment in SAE. At the same time to maintain their Local identity, participants remained invested in HCE and sought to maintain HCE, although not to the same degree. Questionnaire participants reported a decrease in HCE use and small group discussion participants seemed to identify and relate to HCE accent more than actual HCE grammar.

In the field of perceptual dialectology, this study suggests that accent, not grammar, seems to be the strongest marker of HCE, so much that SAE was often mistaken for HCE by the participants in this study. In light of this suggestion, this study further speculates that among the small group participants' perceptions of the voice sample speakers' language choices and the language choices reported by the questionnaire participants there was more code-mixing than actual code-switching. Switching back and forth between SAE and SAE with an HCE accent was probably more common then code-switching, but the underlying intent was probably the same, to show solidarity or distance depending on the social context.

This study also concludes that an HCE accent combined with SAE grammar is sufficient to establish a Local

identity, without having to switch completely to HCE. The speech features associated with HCE are the primary factors in identifying a speaker as being Local/from Hawai'i. Additionally, SAE spoken with an HCE accent identifies a speaker as Local without negative associations like being uneducated or unintelligible which may be applied to a mesolectal form of HCE.

The findings of this study offer some insights into HCE use on the mainland, and how people perceive HCE in terms of accent rather than grammar. More research needs to be done in perceptual dialectology to expand these findings, and to find out how many people actually misidentify SAE with an HCE accent as HCE. The following related questions should also be pursued through additional research in order to understand better the function and status of HCE currently. How often are speakers code-switching between SAE and HCE and how often are they merely switching accents? How is this perceived by SAE listeners? Bivarietal listeners? Speakers who code-switch between SAE and HCE—what form of HCE are they actually using (mesolect, acrolect, etc.)? Of course all of these questions have a dual application for bivarietal speakers living in Hawai'i and bivarietal speakers living elsewhere, and this research

has hopefully opened the door for more research on the bivarietal HCE/SAE speaking population living abroad.

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APPENDIX A

THESIS QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

<u>PERSONAL</u>

1.   Male_____   Female_____   Age_____

2.   Ethnicity/Nationalities (list all)_____

_____

3.   Place of birth_____
                        (city, state or country if other than U.S.)

4.   I lived in Hawaii from: age_____   until   age_____

5.   I went to elementary school in_____
                                      (city, state, or country)

6.   I went to middle school/high school in_____
                                             (city, state, or country)

7.   Level of education: High school_____ some college_____B.A./B.S._____

     Post Graduate Degree_____

8.   My first language is English   Yes_____   No_____

     If no, my first language is_____

9.   List the languages that you speak, <u>including Pidgin</u>, in order of your
     fluency,beginning with the language you are most fluent and comfortable in.

        a.   _____   (most fluent in)

        b.   _____

        c.   _____

        d.   _____   (least fluent in)

10. In my home, during my schooling years (5-18), my parents and/or relatives spoke:

     (mark all that apply)

Pidgin   _____

English   _____

Other   _____   _____
(language)

11.   I moved to Southern California because:_____

_____

12.   I moved to Southern California when I was _____ years old.

13.   I have lived in Southern California continuously since then: Yes____ No____

          a. If no, explain:_____

14.   I've stayed in Southern California because:_____

_____

15.   I plan on moving back to Hawaii   Yes____   No____   Unsure____

16.   I travel to Hawaii _____ times a year.

17.   I spend_____ in Hawaii a year.
               (days, weeks, months)

18.   I have family in Hawaii   Yes____   No____

19.   I have family in Southern California   Yes____   No____

LANGUAGE USE HISTORY

20.   <u>From Kindergarten to 6th grade (ages 5-12)</u>:   (mark all that apply)

       I spoke English: at home   _____   at school   _____

                              with friends   _____   not at all   _____

                              other_____

I spoke Pidgin: at home   _____   at school   _____

with friends   _____   not at all   _____

other_____

I spoke _____: at home   _____   at school   _____

with friends   _____

other_____

21.   <u>From 7th grade to 12th grade (ages 12-18)</u>:   (mark all that apply)

I spoke Pidgin: at home   _____   at school   _____

with friends   _____   not at all   _____

other_____

I spoke English: at home   _____   at school   _____

with friends   _____   not at all   _____

other_____

I spoke _____: at home   _____   at school   _____

with friends   _____

other_____

22.   <u>When I first moved to Southern California :</u>

I spoke Pidgin: at home   _____   at school/work_____

with friends   _____   not at all   _____

other_____

I spoke English: at home   _____   at school/work_____

with friends   _____   not at all   _____

other_____

I spoke_____: at home   _____   at school/work_____

                                 with friends   _____

                                 other_____

23.   How did you feel about English (language) growing up? Was English associated with anything in particular? (i.e.: money, education, etc...) How did your family feel about English? How do you feel about English now?

_____

_____

_____

24.   How did you feel about Pidgin growing up? Was Pidgin associated with anything in particular? (i.e.: money, education, etc...) How did your family feel about Pidgin? How do you feel about Pidgin now?

_____

_____

_____

LANGUAGE USE:

Please indicate how you currently use Pidgin, English, and if applicable another language in the following situations by circling the appropriate number:

    1=rarely   2=sometimes   3=half the time   4=often   5=always

25.   <u>I speak Pidgin</u>:

    (a) talking to my parents on the phone   1   2   3   4   5

    (b) talking to a work/business associate   1   2   3   4   5
          in Hawaii

(c) talking to other parents at my child's school	1	2	3	4	5
(d) talking to my high school classmate	1	2	3	4	5
(e) talking to a relative who lives on the Mainland	1	2	3	4	5
(f) talking to a brother or sister	1	2	3	4	5
(g) making a hotel reservation for a hotel in Hawaii	1	2	3	4	5
(h) making a complaint to my credit card company	1	2	3	4	5
(i) talking to my children about their homework	1	2	3	4	5
(j) telling a story about relatives in Hawaii to a neighbor	1	2	3	4	5

26. <u>I speak English</u>:

(a) making a hotel reservation for a hotel in Hawaii	1	2	3	4	5
(b) talking to other parents at my child's school	1	2	3	4	5
(c) talking to my parents on the phone	1	2	3	4	5
(d) talking to my brother or sister	1	2	3	4	5
(e) talking to my children about their homework	1	2	3	4	5
(f) talking to a work/business associate in Hawaii	1	2	3	4	5
(g) telling a story about relatives in Hawaii to a neighbor	1	2	3	4	5

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(h) making a complaint to my credit card card company	1	2	3	4	5
(i) talking to a high school classmate	1	2	3	4	5
(j) talking to a relative who lives on the a. mainland	1	2	3	4	5

27. Living in Southern California: (mark all that apply)

    a. My spoken English has improved   Yes_____   No_____ .

    b. My spoken English is the same   Yes_____   No_____

    c. My spoken English isn't any better   Yes_____   No_____

        It's just different

    d. My written English has improved   Yes_____   No_____

    e. My written English is the same   Yes_____   No_____

    f. My written English isn't any better   Yes_____   No_____

        It's just different

    g. My Pidgin use is the same   Yes_____   No_____

    h. I don't speak as much Pidgin as   Yes_____   No_____

        I used to

    i. I don't speak Pidgin at all   Yes_____   No_____

28. I would describe Pidgin as:_____

_____

_____

29.   I would describe Standard English as:_____

       _____

       _____

30.   Today, I would apply the following to myself: (mark all that apply)

       I speak Pidgin_____   I speak Standard English_____   I speak both_____

       I speak a mix of both languages_____

       I switch back and forth between languages_____

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

SAMPLE SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

After listening to each voice sample:

1.   How would you describe this person? (any and all characteristics and stereotypes) Why?

2.   Where do you think this person is from? What kind of education do they have? What kind of job might they work at? Why?

3.   Are they using the preferred language for that situation? Do you think this person had a choice as to what language to use? If yes, then why did they choose that language?

APPENDIX C

INFORMED CONSENT FORM FOR QUESTIONNAIRE

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INFORMED CONSENT

The study in which you are being asked to participate in is designed to examine how and why adults from Hawaii who are able to speak both Standard English and Hawaiian Creole English (Pidgin) use these different languages in different situations. This study presents no measurable risks, and though there are no direct benefits, participants may benefit from this study by becoming more aware of their own language use, attitudes, and self identity. This study is being conducted by Nicole Kanahele-Stutz, a graduate student, under the supervision of Professor Sunny Hyon, Department of English, California State University, San Bernardino. This study has been approved by the Institutional Review Board of California State University, San Bernardino.

In this study you will be asked to do the following:

1. Complete a survey about your language use and attitudes (10-15 minutes)

2. Participate in a small group discussion which will be videotaped (10-15 minutes)

Any information you provide will be confidential, and at no time will your name be reported in any presentations or publications of this research.

Your participation in this study is purely voluntary, and you may withdraw from participation at any time.

I acknowledge that I have been informed of, and understand, the nature and purpose of this study, and I freely consent to participate. I acknowledge that I am at least 18 years of age.

Participant's Signature	**Date**
Researcher's Signature	**Date**

If you have questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact my advisor Professor Sunny Hyon at: (909) 537-5465

APPENDIX D

AUDIO/VIDEO INFORMED CONSENT FORM

FOR SMALL GROUP DISCUSSION

AUDIO / VIDEO USE
INFORMED CONSENT FORM
FOR NON-MEDICAL HUMAN SUBJECTS

As part of this research project, I will be making an audio/video tape recording of the small group discussion you will be participating in. Please indicate what uses of this audio/video tape you are willing to consent to by initialing below. You are free to initial any number of spaces from zero to all of the spaces, and your response will in no way affect your participation. We will only use the audio/video tape in ways that you agree to. In any use of this audio/video tape, your name would not be identified. If you do not initial any of the spaces below, you will be excused from participating in the small group discussion portion of the study. The extra copy of this form is for your records.

Please indicate the type(s) of informed consent:

☐ Audiotape

☐ Videotape

- **The audiotape can be studied by the researcher for use in the research project.**

  Please initial:_____

- **The audiotape can be used for presentations/publications.**

  Please initial:_____

- **The videotape can be studied by the researcher for use in the research project.**

  Please initial:_____

- **The videotape can be used for presentations/publications.**

  Please initial:_____

I have read the above description and give my consent for the use of the audiotape and/or videotape as indicated above.

_____   _____
Participant's Signature   **Date**

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