FOREWORD

Hawaii's past economic development, focusing on the plantations, necessitated the importation of immigrant laborers. Successive invasions of the Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Koreans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, and small numbers of about ten other ethnic groups have introduced into Hawaii great cultural diversity. With the mingling of the various ethnic groups have come various changes, involving the losing struggle through the generations of the ethnic groups to maintain their languages; the growth of "pidgin" English, with several variations, and its development into a dialect and the gradual assimilation, with major and minor problems, of the various peoples into one people, as shown by the spread of standard American English. Consequently, Hawaii has been a natural laboratory for the study of language. The new East-West Center at the University of Hawaii points to a renewed interest in languages other than English in Hawaii.

The world-wide interdependency caused by the impact of modern technology and industrialism suggests the vital importance internationally of language. Interdependency is complicated by the Iron Curtain and by the rapid political, social, and economic emergence of underdeveloped countries. This present international situation, coupled with the conditions in Hawaii favorable for the study of language, perhaps justifies our more concentrated treatment in this area.

In previous issues of Social Process in Hawaii, eight articles on speech and language have appeared, the earliest one dating back to the first volume, published in 1935. These articles are listed in the master bibliography, which also includes all references to the contributors to this issue.

The sociology of language has many facets. Although we do not pretend to cover them all, we feel that we have drawn together a representative group of interesting and informative articles.

We start with a set of general introductory articles. "Hawaii's Linguistic Situation: A Sociological Interpretation in the New Key," by Bernard L. Hornman, presents a point of view and a scheme for the consideration of the various aspects of speech and language as found in Hawaii and touched on by the articles in this issue. Dr. Hornman, Professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii, has long been interested in the sociology of language. A general sociological orientation to the phenomena of speech and language is presented by Dr. and Mrs. Tamme Witterman in their article, "Language in the Social Context." Dr. and Mrs. Witterman did research in Indonesia and the Netherlands before coming to Hawaii from the Netherlands. After a year as a visiting professor, Dr. Witterman has now become a regular member of the Sociology Department. The third article, "Motivation for Better Speech," presents excerpts from an address by Dr. Willard Wilson, Pro-rector of the University and Senior Professor of English, at a Pacific Speech Association convention in 1959.

The persistence of the island dialect continues to worry many persons including its users, to challenge teachers, and to call for interpretation by sociologists. Four articles are presented in this area. Andrew W. Lind, Senior Professor of Sociology, discusses his dissertation, "Communication: A Problem of Island Youth," on written statements from his students. From her many years of work on oral English in Hawaii's schools and research
on some of the perplexing problems engaging Mainland departments of linguistics, Dr. Elizabeth E. Curr, Associate Professor of Speech, draws a picture of the present state of the development of English in Hawaii in "A Recent Chang" in the Story of the English Language in Hawaii." Dr. Curr emphasizes the bilingual group, speakers who are able to slip back and forth from standard to dialectical English. Dr. Lawrence S. Kukunor and Dr. Madura Ram, collaboratively in their article, "Hawaiian Usage of Some Preparatory and Intermediate Boys' Work Schools in the Nation of Hawaii," show how the isolated mountainous language barriers break through the barriers of language and become accepted into his group of local boys. In another article in this series by Burton Wong, Elsie Hirama, and Maggie Hirama, will soon appear as a mimeographed report of the Romanz Adams Social Research Laboratory. It deals with the inhibitions of local students about oral participation in class.

The following two articles are concerned with speech pathology. "Speech Defects in Hawaii's Public Schools," by Ann B. Foster, Supervisor of Speech and Hearing for the Department of Public Instruction, discusses primarily the problem of non-dialectical speech defects. "Himettia K. Murata, formerly on the faculty of the Speech Department at the University of Hawaii, has sent an abstract of her book of Hawaii medical health's Manual (1940) "The Relationship Between Mental Activity and Child Health" from Alaska to the Speech and Hearing Consultant for the Department of Health. (A third article in this group on speech pathology, by Wesley Harvey, Assistant Professor in the University of Hawaii Speech Department, is scheduled for a publication by the Romanz Adams Social Research Laboratory. It summarizes several local studies on speech defects and physical anomalies.)

In the general area of foreign language in a group of four articles. In "The Foreign Language Program at Punahou School," Siegfried Reiner tells about the progress of the foreign language program, offering six major languages for study, some as early as the seventh grade. Reiner is Head of the Language Department at Punahou School. In "Some Aspects of the Teaching of the Japanese Language in Hawaii," Dr. Isao Yamada, Professor of Japanese at the University of Hawaii, offers the various current facilities for the instruction of the Japanese language in Hawaii. The Department of Public Instruction, the Japanese language schools, the University of Hawaii, and private schools other than the Japanese schools, reporting on the number of students in each. An informative historical account of "The Portuguese Press in Hawaii," now "extinct," is presented by Dr. Roger A. Knowlton, Associate Professor of European Languages at the University of Hawaii. Dr. Knowlton's translation of passages from these Portuguese newspapers indicate some of the feelings, interests, and activities of the early Portuguese immigrants. Albert Fong's personal account in "Language Notes of a Part-Hawaiian" shows that the growing awareness of her ignorance of the Hawaiian language and culture prompted her to pursue the study of that language. Albert Pong is a University of Hawaii graduate assistant in the Social Science Research Institute and a part-time instructor in Hawaiian.

Marion Wong Linley, recently of the Social Science Research Institute staff, has collected reviews of James Michener's best-seller, *Hawaii*, and summarized them for the reader.
A number of master's theses have been written recently involving a technical linguistic analysis of immigrant speech, for instance by Kihara, of (Hawaiian) Japanese speech, and by Kinney, of Puerto Rican Spanish.

Speech pathologists and therapists have through the years made a number of technical studies on the incidence of pathological speech and of physical anomalies such as lisp palate directly connected with speech pathology. (See Krantz in this issue.) In this field, too, there can be noticed "the new key." The local work of Merle Anthony and his associates of the Speech and Hearing Clinic at the University of Hawaii, as well as Amy Foster's current article, are representative of an approach to persons having speech and hearing difficulties where the basic assumptions are that they have the right and possibility, beyond what is now conventionally assumed, to be a part of the society of "normal" people, and that the quicker they start associating with "normal" people, the easier will be their participation.

The limited views which as long prevailed in American education towards foreign languages, towards substandard English speech of immigrant groups and lower-class people, and towards speech pathologies, is being superseded by the new approaches. My purpose is to attempt to define the common note which runs through all the disciplines concerned with speech, language, and communication. My interest lies in this common note rather than in the legitimate technical concerns of specific disciplines. More and more clearly, voices from various disciplines have sounded it.

Incomplete recognition of the new key. -- Yet it must be recognized that agreement among the various brands of experts is coming only gradually, and that understanding in the public is lagging. There has been an unawareness of the possibility of the new approach, and by some, disdain from it. There continues to be condemnation both of the "crude," "inadequate," "imperfect," "substandard" speech of the islands and of the "lisp" "retard" speakers as well, some critics going so far as to imply a kind of disloyalty and subservience. When the writer is a general address on Hawaii's people at a banquet of the Hawaii Library Association in 1955 made brief reference to the contribution of pidgin and the dialect to the assimilation of Hawaii's diverse peoples, this one point was singled out in the news report of the event and both newspapers carried editorials of reluctant agreement, which nevertheless argued that if pidgin had served a useful purpose in the past, "it would be unfortunate if Dr. Òzawa's proposals were not taken into account as well, and that the use of pidgin. There is a need for today's high school and college students to continue this language. It is, if anything, an impetus to... growth." (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, April 3, 1956.)

More recently (November 29, 1959) the same paper ran an article by a staff reporter, Richard S. Gims, in which this strong commendation is quite explicit:

Another warning in plain English has been issued against the use of not-so-plain pidgin English. A school principal is quoted:

"That pidgin is still used today is very unfortunate. Educators should double or triple efforts in a sincere effort to wipe out this abominable English."...Hawaii's school children possess a po-
tent weapon with which to knock out pidgin English. This weapon’s simply labeled: Correct English.

Resolution of multilingual to pidgin.—The dialect is quite naturally a problem to people from the Mainland when they first come to the islands. It is with amusement that these newcomers learn that they are hearing not a foreign tongue, but a variety of English. People entering the professions or business in Hawaii are particularly disconcerted. The following quotations are typical expressions of the confusion felt by the newcomer. The young wife of a teacher, newly recruited from the Mainland, describes, in her paper for my course, her first reactions to the local dialect.

We hadn’t completely realized the complexities of the racial structure nor the extent of the pidgin English until three . . . Oriental men came to painting our apartment. They came very early in the morning and painted all day . . . They talked to us. They wanted to know where we came from and what our hometown was like. They also wanted to know what we liked like most about Hawaii and whether we were going to stay here or not. Questions like these required about five repetitions before we could understand what they were asking. (57-241.)

A young man from the Mainland who comes to Hawaii to do professional work among young people, found it difficult to “understand” the local people. He had this to say:

There is still the matter of pidgin which I have not become reconciled to . . . At first I couldn’t really believe it when I heard it for it sounded so foreign . . . I felt out and talked about . . . I was sometimes amused, sometimes horrified, at these college students talking to each other in sentences such as . . . “You go movie tonight, yes?” or “Are, those puka puka?” But I was even more horrified when one evening I said to someone “Are, this was a junk day.” (58-250C-12.)

Public use of pidgin.—Thus pidgin remains a problem to many—and yet, paradoxically, there exist the deliberate, contrived, and artistic uses of the dialect, directed at the general public, for political satire and for clever a divertissement, as Remender’s Jap brought out, and now increasing-ly, in night club entertainment and literature, as witness Mickey’s best-selling novel Hawaii, we are told. Golden girls, frequently native to the dialect, are now being entertained by the other way . . .

We now have such musicals as, “Marry an American,” and plays written for the annual drama contest of the University of Hawaii Theatre Group, in which the dialect is used.

The use and appreciation of the dialect in ways such as these is of course not fully realized by persons who are truly bilingual, able to use both dialect and standard American English, and realistically and imaginatively able to participate in both worlds. (Some Island readers of Mickey would claim that his still rather recent identification with Hawaii is noticeable in that the Hawaiian in dialect do not quite ring true.)

Comparisons with Europe.—During a recent summer in Europe I was constantly reminded of our Hawaiian situation. Like the multilingual tourist in Hawaii, I had trouble understanding many native speakers in England and Germany, even though I was able to address them in standard English and standard High German. In Yorkshire and Bavarian villages, the natural language of many people was virtually incomprehensible, although everywhere there has been universal education for generations. Obviously the attempt to teach standard English or High German has still been meeting with resistance. In northern Germany a village school principal told me that in his Low-German-speaking community the need to communicate with recent Ost-german refugees from behind the Iron Curtain was finally leading the villagers to the more general use, outside the schoolroom, of standard High German. As a result the principal claimed that he had still consistently used Low German when away from the formal school atmosphere, even though the pressure from the school was that High German be used.

As in Hawaii, there is also in Europe the artistic use of dialect by novelists, satirists, entertainers. In Germany peasant dialects and the Berlin patois are thus used. In an evening of folk music and dances put on for the tourist trade in a South German tourist resort the master of ceremonies frequently lapsed into the Bavarian dialect, much to the delight of the tourists from various parts of Germany, who had, however, to strain to get the humor.

All this relates to Hawaii. The very possibility which multilingual have in understanding our local speech, the persistent use of this local speech by local people outside the schoolroom, the incorporation by artists to provide “local color,” the simultaneous concern that the local speech is provincial and retains Hawaii’s integration into cosmopolitan American society, all indicate that we are indeed confronted in Hawaii with a kind of dialect.

Online, data to be used—I should like now to look at the present-day speech of Hawaii by taking up the new approach in three aspects: 1) All speech is natural; 2) All speech is social and personal; 3) All speech is teachable. (The Wittermans’ article in this issue gives more a general sociological analysis of language.)

In order to give some indication of what the present situation is like, I am referring to some of the hundreds of student papers which I have read in the past three or four years, in which the students attempt to give a full, objective, and yet meaningful account of a slice of their own life. They write under a code number and a duplicate copy of their 1956-1960 writing papers is retained for the files of the Honolulu Adams Social Research Laboratory. It must be emphasized that while in terms of their social origins these students represent the diversity of our social structure, in intellectual abilities and in the amount of attention they are in above-average group. (A file of materials on speech taken from these student papers and from the priestly sources is available in the Adams Laboratory.)

All Speech is Natural

The serious student of language is interested in all kinds of speech, not merely the elegant as against the crude, the widely used as against the narrowly confined. His sole criterion is, do people actually use this speech? Passing this test, speech becomes a “natural phenomenon” worthy of attention by the linguist. So Emmerie accepts the local dialect.

It is rather well developed because of the isolation of the islands. . . . It possesses, as do all dialects, its own peculiar rhythm and its own special grammatical processes. . . . There is nothing inherently inferior in the Hawaiian dialect of English. A language, after all, is how people talk, not how someone thinks they should talk.
The word ibibsas for over-sophisticated, over-refined, highbrow (referring to language), which Reihenke listed, is now seldom heard. One of my student informants wrote that an expression now in vogue among speakers of Hawaiian Island dialect is "'Ma why habi?" meaning "That's why it's hard," but having the connotation, "I'm stumped. This needs special attention, special effort." It perhaps replaced, "Lose fight!" Fad is one influence preventing the full establishment of local speech as a dialect. However, it has not been subject to systematic research.

Varieties and subvarieties of speech. Reihenke's conception of a continuous recognized the pidgin of the first-generation immigrants, learned as a secondary language in trade or in the plantation or domestic employment, to be more different from the speech of families in their homes, and of children in the playground. This somewhat stabilized speech became the first and main language to which these children are exposed. It is what Reihenke called the Hawaiian Island dialect.

It is clear that such variety of speech has subvarieties. The plantation or creole pidgin varies somewhat according to the ancestral language of speakers. So the Chinese say, "Aaa maalak you?" and the Japanese, "Aaa maalak you?" The pidgin of the old Hawaiians, which Carr is trying to record before it dies out, has its own peculiar characteristics. Reihenke felt that the Chinese, Portuguese, and Hawaiian influences were strongest upon creole English, while the Japanese influence did not come to be strongly felt until the dialect developed among second-generation speakers. Frances Lincoln, however, gives conversations in this first-generation pidgin, as she learned it in Kona during the 1920's, larded with Japanese phrases and particles. Kona is a very Japanese community.

In present-day dialectal speech also, there may be differences depending upon the island on which it developed, upon whether the speakers are all of the same sex, general age-group, national ancestry, occupation, or whether they are mixed in those respects. If they are all of the same ancestry, the properties of low words from that ancestral language tend to be higher, "Oo hoomana waho-vah-out, but, "one Japanese fellow might say another, meaning, "But that Japanese girl is unpleasantly proud," and using the Japanese word lulli for neighbor. A Chinese man might add, "If you go down to the shore where his father, "I can't go down because I'm through eating!" Each man is Chinese for each. Boys show not only a greater tendency toward different dialectal speech but also, to pepper it with vulgar, obscene, and irrelevant expressions. Illustrations of linguistic variety in families. A few quotations are indicative of this linguistic variety of Hawaiians' people, to which the continuum gives some semblance of order.

a. My parents have always been interested in "things Japanese." When we were children, we were all required to go to language school. Yet during World War II, they bought it as a war bond, and had a little victory garden.

Now the more I talk with aroha, the more I am amused at his knowledge of and interest in politics, and other things with which I thought he was too narrow in his outlook to be concerned.

If I were to single one incident to symbolize the theme of this paper and of the life in our family, I would choose that time about a year ago when my father and I were sitting out on the lawn at night looking up into the sky. I had read in the papers that the
Russian spunkh would be visible to the naked eye that night. I told my father about it and he said I went out to wait for it. While we were waiting we discussed the situation... 

What was so special about this event? Well, my father was in a Japanese kimono and he was speaking Japanese, I was in aerry cloth bathrobe and I was speaking English (glibly, to be sure). 

To me, the two of us sitting outside in the night symbolized the entire process which, I think, is taking place today in Hawaii, the emergence from provincialism and the entry into the world society. (60-235)(-54, Japanese male.) 

b. My parents were both born in Canton, China... Since my parents speak very little English, I have to see "plagiar" in order to communicate with them. Although I can speak a little Cantonese, I can't carry on a conversation fluently. (60-235)(-5, Chinese male.)

c. There are eight persons in our household... Grandmother sometimes speaks to us in Hawaiian. She would often say, "Kamahi, pa'ani i loca." (Children play outside.) Grace before meals was always said in Hawaiian by grandmother. (60-235)(-35, Pali Hawaiian girl.)

d. Filipino was seldom spoken in the home mainly because my parents are of different dialects: my father is Scania and my mother is Visayan. The basic language of home was and still is English, in a crude form. (60-235)(-5, Filipino girl.)

These quotes also point to the relationship between the different types of speech and the processes in which they are involved. 

Linguistic Processes: Forward Development

Isolation and contact are the two contrasting situations which influence linguistic change. In Hawaii we find a curious and complicated interplay of both isolation conditions and barrier-breaking needs, so that isolation and contact become almost indistinguishable.

Isolation—Under conditions of marked social isolation the speech of people becomes set, their speech patterns established and uniform. Thus in the isolation of ancient Hawaii from its ancestral homeland in Tahiti, the Hawaiian developed a unique, spoken form of the Polynesian language. Then, because of the relative isolation before 1783 of each Hawaiian island from the others, there developed linguistic differences even among them, particularly distinguishing Kauai-Niihau from the other islands. Similarly, in rural Japan, prefectoral dialects grew up. Again, the local plantation or creole pidgin and its dialectal descendant developed in this way. In the plantation communities of Hawaii were somewhat isolated from one another, leading to some apparent differences, e.g., on Molokai. In big European cities, where an urban proletariat is socially too differentiated and isolated from the middle and upper classes, its speech, perhaps originally derived from the nearby groceries, remains or becomes a distinct public, Lower Cemetery, Berlimer-Denver. So now in Hawaii, the local dialect of English is a kind of class language, a local coney.

Contact—On the other hand, the dialect had broken the barriers separating ethnic group from ethnic group and thus undermined their social isolation, the only condition under which those separate ancestral languages could have maintained themselves in our racially mixed community. Hawaii pointed out the further development that while the dialect was attaining linguistic stability for a large number of people, their contact with standard English was giving increasing currency to the latter.

This development is now more advanced today. There are over more homes of local non-Molokai where standard English prevails. The process is difficult to document except by a continuous program of systematic and exhaustive recordings of local speech. It is referred to in this issue by Amy Foster and documented in the Smith-Kesuma study.

Paradox today—That, however, the Hawaiian island dialect is still the major language of many homes is also apparent, as witness the quotations above. Although from family to family there is great variation in the language or languages spoken, there continue in many families where dialectal pidgin is the major or virtually the sole means of communication.

This calls for a look at pidgin not so much as inadequate language, but as something worthy of being investigated by the tools of linguistic analysis. Helsa's pioneering analysis in "The English Dialect of Hawaii" is at last being carefully pushed forward by Elizabeth Cary.

Linguistic Processes: The Decline of the Ancestral Languages

Although all the ethnic communities of Hawaii there have been organized attempts to maintain the ancestral languages through language schools, newspapers, religious services, yet the isolation of the ethnic groups cannot be maintained and the languages decline, (see in this issue Hawaiian on the Portuguese language press in Hawaii and Uhuras on the Japanese language school.)

Going along with the process of change in the general direction of standard American speech is the attrition of the ancestral language, until by the third and fourth generations they linger on only in the form of a few phrases involving etiquette and basic objects and activities of daily living. (See in this issue Hawaiian vocabulary in second words, such as gu houa (sleep), mae'm (eat), and goh piku.) writes a Hawaiian student. (57-239).

Americanization and decline of immigrant languages—In addition to this there is a problem of the Americanization of the pronunciation of foreign words. In Japan multi-syllable proper names are pronounced with the stress firmly equally divided among the syllables. In Hawaii the Americanized practice is to stress the next-to-last syllable in Japanese names. This also holds for the Japanese character, becoming a sharded American z or j. In a private high school where Japanese is taught, it was found that the students of Japanese ancestry, whose bad habits have been established, have greater difficulty with authentic Japanese sounds than non-Japanese students starting school without already established speech patterns. Local Chinese students have trouble with Chinese tones.

The attrition of immigrant languages in Hawaii may be compared with what happened to speakers of European languages on the Mainland...
wuske Deutsch" is notorious for its deviation from any form of German spoken in Germany. One can speculate that perhaps rapid breakdown of the ancestral language goes with easy assimilation. Thus, in contrast, the German immigrants to Hawaii who in the 1880's settled at Lili'uokalani Park, where patrilineal German employers gave them a church and parochial school and thus made it possible for them for a generation, until World War I, to lead virtually a separate German community life, retained their language and passed it on to the second-generation children better than most German-American communities on the mainland, and more like mainland Chinese set apart in their Chinatowns as against Hawaii's assimilated Chinese.

The language school and the immigrant home. There are other aspects of the foreign language situation which deserve fuller study. When the children or the grandchildren of Oriental immigrants attend language school, they are taught standard forms of the ancestral language, which vary greatly from the colloquial in the home. The same Korean students write: "The Korean spoken in our home is a corrupted version of the low class type." There is thus the conflict between learning a standard form of the ancestral language and the dialectal or "macaronic" form used in the immigrant home. Furthermore, instruction in these schools is of too short duration, pedagogically too poor, or too concerned with the written language to lead the students to oral facility in their ancestral language. This comes out very clearly in the student reports. In a Chinese language school:

The teachers are not trained for teaching. Oral and written drill is the most widely used technique. Use of the Chinese brush began about grade four. The correct finger position in holding brush and the position of the arm on the desk were illustrated. After the introduction period, which had regular periods for practice, there were frequent, the influence of English school was felt here. The familiarity with English led to difficulty with Chinese insane. The students were more realistic in the afternoon because of attendance at English school. Activities after school made many late to their classes. Homework given by English school made some drop out of Chinese school. As for myself, I managed to graduate and have managed to forget most of what I learned at school. I considered English more important and studied it more intensively. I owe much to adequate motivation and regular use at home. The Korean students have been born well, I have not the privilege to having been born in Hawaii. Most of my attendance...is given for naught, but, I believe, is the important benefit of our experiences at school. (6-32025-01)"

A Japanese girl says, "The fault of the Japanese school system was that the main emphasis was on writing and not conversation." (60-32025-74).

In spite of the difficulties, many Oriental students have learned their ancestral language in the afternoon schools, and others as their mature, have come to regret their not taking advantage of these schools.

Marginal Languages: Pidgin and Standard

Because in Hawaii separate speech communities have not remained distinct but have rather been forced to find bridging modes of communication.

Hawaii is ideally suited for a study of marginal languages and speakers. A closer study of the manner in which the various forms of pidgin developed to serve social functions helps us to realize a sociological affinity of pidgin with standard language.

Similarities in function of marginal and standard languages. Standard speech and standard languages grow out of contacts between people speaking diverse dialects and languages. Functionally, standard speech and a larger group such as pidgin, the have much in common. (See Frances Liljehed, "The Horrible Pidgin Origin of Proper English.") The basic situation is the meeting of peoples of different speech who are unable to understand one another and they or their leaders are confronted with the need to engage in common activities and thus to reach all people involved, through some sort of a common language.

Martin Luther's translation of the Bible into his High German dialect made it possible for all Germans, and ultimately it became the standard. The New England missionaries reduced the Hawaiian language to writing and decided which sounds should prevail in the face of the real diversity of speech among the islands that they created modern standard Hawaiian. (Pauil and Gilbert, p. vii.)

Both these situations are sociologically similar to that faced by plantation laborers in constructing speakers speaking completely different languages. Thus Hawaii's schools have to find a bridge in the middle of the different classes of children who speak "a separate dialect, related to, but distinct from, standard." (Collins.)

Differences. - The differences between a linguistic or standard language and a standard language are also instructive. Luther and the New England missionaries did their educational work through a phonetically written language which made it possible for them to reach the most inclusive number of speakers of variously related dialects. They proceeded by making them non-literate people literate. The forgers of plantation pidgin, however, had to direct the work of non-literate speakers of non-related languages. This suggests that it is the use of phonetic writing that has been most influential in creating standard languages for people speaking different, but related dialects. The ideographic Chinese system of writing, which is non-phonetic, was not adapted for reaching the masses and so did not make for a common spoken language throughout China. (But since it transcended the Chinese, it may have been possible non-verbal written communication among the intellectual elite of the various dialectically distinct sections of China and even with Koreans and Japanese, whose spoken languages are unrelated to Chinese.)

Paradigm of the creole speech. - Plantation or creole pidgin would, if Hawaii was a whole had been not only geographically but also economically, politically, socially isolated from the mainland, have become the standard new language of Hawaii, especially had it received the sanction of becoming a written language. Instead, it developed into a sort of working-class language, reinforced by and in turn reinforcing real but not complete barriers between the three classes and the higher upper class. In this sense, it is an established dialect. But to the extent that it still helps people across barriers it is a marginal language. It is still both, the "pidgin-dialect." Barriers are reduced not only by marginal languages but also by marginal speakers. The existence of speakers able to switch easily from one form of speech to another has at last gained recognition and the speech of
these people is now being systematically recorded and analyzed. The social psychological aspects of multilingualism are discussed below.

All Speech in Social and Personal

As a sociologist I have already in the above inevitably related strictly linguistic phenomena to social processes and functions. The social embodiment of speech-language is the special interest of the sociologist and the most misunderstood aspect in Rauvai. To our last speech is socially embedded is to refer to the societies, to place speech in a social context, society, neighborhood, social class, family, where it is spoken naturally as a major means of communication. In the development of language we refer to the two contrasting situations, isolation and contact. Let us now look at the sociological aspects of these contrasting situations.

Groups isolated by Social Barriers

Domestication.—From the point of view of linguistic study we claimed that isolation speech develops established usage, and becomes distinct and even a distinct language. Sociologically, we might refer to a process whereby newly developing forms of speech become domesticated. When parents pass on a form of speech to their children, and it has become the language of the home and of family life, it has become domesticated. This usually occurs only when the two parents speak this way to each other, and this is in the result of the parents' using this speech in a predominant number of situations outside the home, as adolescents on the playground before marriage, later at work. There is much evidence, as we have indicated, that in this sense dialectical pidgin is a highly domesticated language in Rauvai. A quarter of a century ago Reincke estimated that over half the total population was using it as its major or sole language. ("English Pidgin.")

Language and the self.—The original domestic language to which one is exposed is the medium by which the child develops a self, in a process of role-taking as well described by George Herbert Mead. It is the language of warmth and intimacy, as Reincke noted. In it parents express their attention for each other and for the children, reprimand them, make their plans, enjoy themselves at bedtime and on outings. In 1926 I was hospital for a few weeks at a local children's hospital. After visiting hours I was distracted by the cries of forlorn children. Some cried, "I want my Mother; I want my Daddy." Others cried in pidgin, with the same agony, "I like my Mommy; I like my Daddy!" If dialectical pidgin continues to remain the major means of communication, the person's whole sense of identity becomes involved in it. That is what we find in Hawaii, where individualism first becomes socialized through the local dialect, and then reverts to have its more meaningful, warmer social contacts with dialect-speakers. One never feels so at home in a language until he has used it in natural social situations and has imaginatively taken the role of other people in that language. In Hawaii too, many people feel natural in only one speech situation, either where dialect is spoken or where standard is spoken, and for them the other situation is artificial, unnatural. Speakers of standard are socially distant from dialect-speakers, and vice versa. A local boy gives a vivid description of how he came to a realization of the two sides of the coin of social distance:

I remember years ago when I was a member of the Bay Scouts, we had a hike boy in our scout troop. He was made fun of, and was often the victim of some kind of cruel, childish practical jokes. In short, he hurried the shit out of him. He was never fully accepted. He was like the island, and we were the ocean. My experience in the Army made me realize fully how he must have felt. There were a number of times I felt like the island, isolated from the rest of the world. (50-23(1):6-6)

Reincke had predicted that, "For a considerable time to come, therefore, the present conjunction of class and race differentiation will affect attitudes towards English usage." ("Pigkin English.") And mount the progress of standard speech, particularly in the rural districts where the proportion of native speakers of standard English is small, is so much smaller. In Kona, in a population of 8,000, Reincke reported a count of 115 Englishes "including a few near-standards." ("English Pidgin.")

My student papers indicate that social identification still operates to maintain dialectical pidgins.

a. My environment was centered in our neighborhood. However, as I grew older, this sphere of mine became larger and larger until I had friends everywhere on the island. Although we were all of the same ethnic group, we played, performed miscellaneous acts, and enjoyed the same things together. Among friends our spoken language was pidgin. When one of the boys tried to speak good English we all tried to make him conform to our local standards. This was done by laughing, ridiculing, teasing, and calling him, "Yellow Rookie." We usually succeeded. Pidgin became a part of me and my sole means of communication, therefore it was very difficult to speak standard American even when it was necessary.

On my return to Hawaii after having been away in the military service and on the mainland for approximately four years, I found that hearing pidgin again after all those years brought back memories of bygone days which were both reassuring and comforting. , . . it didn't take me long to get back into the swing of the thing, as I began to hear it everywhere. Again pidgin soon became my own most effective means of association with the rough-thought or effort on my part. (50-23(1):26, Japanese boy)

b. We live in a rural community. Most of the people are not "white collar" workers. . . . Because of the kind of work they do, they seem to see no urgent need that they change from the mixed standard English to our standard English. (50-23(1):72, Hawaiian girl)

c. I, like some pupils, felt shame to speak good English when I was among friends. A feeling that I was not "one of the boys" through my ready - made English sounds, because I just wasn't fluent enough to express my thoughts in English well. The same goes for friends outside of school. In the district where I live, there is hardly any one who speaks well. Thus it is hard for me and others who are in this situation. I would not be able to practice speaking correctly if my friends were around. (50-23(1):50, Hawaiian boy)
d. During my earlier years, a certain amount of tension resulted from the contact with a.Hale. The contacts we had with the Hobees were limited due to the nature of our community which was predominantly Japanese, Filipino, and Portuguese. The Hobees constituted a very small minority and lived in a community of their own which was some distance away. Their children usually went to a private school. (60-283(1)-48, Japanese boy.)

Recruits such as these indicate the pervasiveness at the present time of the dialect as the major means of social communication and the medium for self-identification for large segments of the population, including even the present college-attending generation, particularly if they come from rural communities, or from lower-class urban neighborhoods.

How the problem of self is involved is amusingly and poignantly described by this Japanese youth:

I was in for a rude awakening. After every speech I delivered in class, my [university] instructor told me, "You consistently say gut for light," I groaned. One day, when we, the class, were told to evaluate each other's speech, I was shocked when given the same comment the instructor had previously given me.

I was confused. Did my speech classmates expect me to start saying father rather than fighter? Would they be able to understand me when they already seemed to understand me perfectly? Would my friends laugh at me...? Would they even notice?

Once outside the classroom, I found it exceedingly difficult to practice what was preached. It went against my nature to say, "Don't you go!" in lieu of "You never go!" because it was set in my speaking. My pidgin had become so much a part of me that the strange rhythm and choice of words made me uncomfortable and self-conscious. For the first time in my life, I found myself subconsciously rehearsing every bit of my conversation.

I tried speaking like a Halee. The harder I tried, the more difficult it became even to come close to it, for my tongue, trained to speak without awareness on my part, would not behave. In the privacy of my room, I felt frustration. My friend of long standing and a few years my senior laughed at my attempts. I laughed along with him. (60-283(1)-68)

The pidgin culture.--The dialect is further associated with a way of life. I have facetiously coined the phrase, the pidgin culture of Hawaii, and in response to this phrase one of my students described it as "Pidgin theology," in which Japanese and various non-Japanese features had been commingled.

Local young men have described the values associated with their dialect-using gang life:

At Alakona, I learned a new term, "local boy." Local boys referred to all the boys from Hawaii. Even the Hobees used this term in referring to others. The thing that amazed me most was the cleanliness of the local boys. There was always a friendly greeting from other local boys just as long as you looked like you came from Hawaii. We went out of our way to make friends with other local boys... When any "outsider" picks an argument with one of the local boys... he argues with all of them...

Our speech hardly improved any for we were always among local boys and could speak "pidgin" and be understood. (60-283(1)-86)

From other students one gets the impression that the local boys have the practice of taking turns treating one another when they go to the movies, and are disconcerted by the each-for-himself independence of the Halee fellows they meet in the service.

What these lads are talking about is reminiscent of the lower-class culture which Werner Cohn—following Allison Davis and others—discusses in a recent article, "On the Language of Lower Class Children," "What are the uses?" he asks, "of lower-class English?" and answers:

Intimate and satisfying personal communication among lower-class parents, children, and friends is carried on almost exclusively by means of lower-class speech... Further light is thrown on the division of labor between lower-class and standard English when we consider certain differences in values of lower and higher classes. A study... shows that middle-class boys generally held to a Puritan ethic of business obligation, while lower-class children were more prone to emphasize personal attachment and to display considerably more generosity in peer-group relationships... This difference would suggest that lower-class English, in its more casual grammatical habits, may carry less demanding, less competitive, and possibly more generous modes than the standard language.

Summary.—Thus it is possible to demonstrate that there is still today what Reinemc identified years ago as the dialect; that it is, as then, associated with both race and class, and perhaps even more than this, with a sort of lower-class non-Hawaiian way of life, that it is associated with the image which persons have of themselves, that, being thus socially embedded, it functions as a strong force which helps to maintain the barriers between Hobees and non-Hobees, between upper- and middle-class persons on the one hand, and lower-class persons on the other, and thus strengthens the provincialism which impedes the participation of many local people in cosmopolitan civilization.

Context

Discussing contact, I turn first to the marginal speakers, then to the contacts themselves by which the speech which is embedded in relatively isolated groups with local cultures gives way to the standard language embedded in mass society and cosmopolitan civilization.

Social psychology of marginal speakers.—In respect to bilingualism, Reinemc has expressed a somewhat negative judgment, that it was one of the major educational problems of Hawaii, for the evidence of the studies thus far made is that it retards the school children in their mastery of the body of knowledge offered in the English language schools. Possibly it may reard the school children to some harmful psychological effects upon some individuals making them timid, uncertain of themselves, and confused. ("Competition.")
Incidentally, the Territorial legislature used such reasoning to close the language schools during World War II, so, in the twenties, it had tried to restrict them on the ground of their being non-American. These various attempts never passed the ultimate test of constitutionalism.

Let us look more closely at the problem of these marginal speakers, for through them we can study the social psychology of both culture and class contact most intensively, as though through a microscope. Here we see intimately the focal points of social change.

My students write of experiences in the home, at school, at work, in the service.

In regard to the ancestral language, the present generation of youth seem to feel great inadequacy. Because of this inadequacy the parents can resort to the Old World language (1) when they wish to keep secrets from their children, or (2) when they wish to add to the impressiveness of a reprimand. "We [the children] call each other by our English names. . . . My mother calls us by our Japanese names . . . only when we do not want to hear her." (69-225(2)-92)

The children feel embarrassment when older-generation friends visit the home, addressing the children in ways which the children cannot cope with. "In many instances I have felt very uneasy and even embarrassed since I could not understand nor speak the Japanese language." writes a student, "That is why I want my children to have a background in the Japanese language." (57-2241)

On the other hand, the young people also describe a variety of multi-generational and multilingual families, in which the children find their parents or grandparents linguistically inadequate, where love has to be expressed "silently," and complicated subjects have to be avoided. The whole speech spectrum may be found, as we have seen, in a single home. These homes on the margin cause shame, embarrassment, confusion, conflict, frustration—anxiety curiously enough—at the same time love, pride, respect among the young people.

a. One of the things that has caused me some embarrassment is my parents' inability to speak standard English. This has proved to be quite disadvantageous when they visited schools, when they tried to speak to my friends, etc. (57-2250, Japanese girl.)

b. Though I have heard comments to the effect that college students are ashamed of their parents because they cannot speak well, I for one am proud of the fact that my parents speak at least pidgin. I can give them credit for at least trying and in Hawaii pidgin is almost a universal language. So I find nothing wrong with it. (58-225(1)-96, Japanese girl.)

c. Though the family as a whole understands both languages (Chinese and English) well enough to get by, we do not know enough of what the other is more versatile in or speaks on complicated matters. This often results in saying all one knows in the familiar language, but leaving the listener to guess at the idea as closely as he can. (60-22(1)-150, Chinese girl.)

d. I know of many girls who cannot speak very much to their parents though there might be rapport in silence. Most of them speak Japanese mixed with pidgin English . . .

Though I've often wished that I could go to my parents and tell them my most thought, I am thankful . . . for them as they are for I know that if everyone foresees me in this world, my parents would still love me in their silent understanding way. (58-225(1)-56, Japanese girl.)

These are the home situations. As the child leaves the home, participating ever more widely in the life outside, he is confronted with a succession of problems. (See Lind in this issue.) Let me quote from a few representative papers.

a. Since Japanese was spoken at home, I wasn't able to speak English well when I entered kindergartens, I used to hate school and cried every morning before I left home because nobody spoke Japanese here. (60-225(1)-77, Japanese girl.)

b. My hesitation to speak up in classes or at other places today is probably due to the language uncertainty, deeply implanted in me from my early socialization in my parents' language and the late start in the articulation of the English language. The early socialization to my parents' cultural values has left a deep and lasting scar; . . . children are to be seen and not heard, kind answers to questions, "Don't do that," were in direct conflict with public English school practices. This left me with much confusion and somewhat affected my emotional stability . . . . My peer group during the adolescent years played another distorting role. Boys using correct English grammar or pronunciation were considered snobs. (59-225(1)-5, Japanese male.)

c. I think that by using this form of English, hindered my ability to speak effectively in school as a high school student. I was afraid to participate in discussion since I was aware of my "pidgin." This was a class that was composed of the more intelligent students of whom 95 percent were Japanese students, the rest were Chinese and a few Filipinos. This was in a public school on an outside island. (60-225(1)-9, Chinese male.)

d. Shortly I was notified of my acceptance to Punahou, my spare moments were dominated by the following thoughts . . . I hope I don't pass the examinations and interviews, I have always hated Punahou and everything about it.

Oh, how uneasy and nervous, I was probably on the first day of school. My "big sister" mother had to take, and we attended the opening student assembly together. Sitting in the gymnasium, I felt an insecure seeing so many white students . . . I also felt inferior to my "big sister" and the other students because I couldn't express myself as well as they could.

In one week, I became adjusted to this strange and new environment. My classmates were very friendly and they accepted me not as a Japanese girl but as another student into the Punahou family . . . Within a month, I learned to speak standard English as fluently and naturally as my home classmates . . .

I often wondered what those public school students could show their ignorance by the way they reacted to the word Punahou. What was so different about Punahou students? They are just as human as students of any other school. It took me a minute.
or two before I realized I was one of those on the other side of the fence...

Through the years, the height of the fence between Punahou and other schools has been diminishing and may eventually disappear. Punahou has undertaken worthwhile tasks in having their students integrate with other students. (60-252(3)-76) Japanese girls whose public school teachers had urged her to go to a private school after her good record at a public school.)

Thus the ambivalence which is generated in contact is still to be found in Hawaii today in overload suggesting the continued influence of and at the same time the dissipation of barriers separating the ethnic groups and generations from one another, and more importantly, the families (or professional-managerial class) from the non-Hawaiians (other occupational classes).

Speakers moving from standard to dialect.--While the marginal people who are moving "forward" or "upward" towards standard speech are most noticeable, an often overlooked phenomenon concerns the people who, speaking only standard, come to accept and learn the local dialect. Here we see Mainland Hula children moving into dialect-speakers neighborhoods or local Hula children, whose parents speak only standard, but whose closest playmates speak the dialect. In order to be accepted, they enthusiastically pick up the dialect which for them symbolizes the speech native to play. Embarrassment for them and their parents arises when such children visit the Mainland or are visited by Mainland cousins or move to areas in which standard-speaking Hula families predominate and realize suddenly that standard too can be a natural language for children.

The Mainland Japanese girl who moves to the islands and is excluded from the group of local Japanese girls because she is a "hoteh" (the nickname for Mainland Japanese) finds herself adopting the local dialect in order to be included.

I started as a sophomore at a public high school. In my new surroundings I came across a seemingly insurmountable barrier---language! Everyone was friendly enough. Not being able to understand pidgin certainly hindered my efforts to make friends. They must have thought that I was rude because during the course of conversation I'd always say, "What did you say?" Because I was Japanese and spoke like a Hula they often laughed at me. It wasn't that I was Rotary Club-minded and "Haleakula" they were just curious. One teacher seemed to sense my uneasiness... and she told me, "Don't go down to their level!" But she was an idealist and I knew that would never work. My brother and sister were having as difficult a time adjusting themselves to the Hawaiian way of life as I was. My brother was in the fifth grade and one day he asked me if I didn't want to go to school anymore because he couldn't understand what his classmates were saying and his clothes were different...

We soon started making adjustments. The first thing we had to do was learn to speak pidgin! In the beginning it was easy. I just listened to how people spoke and tried to imitate their inflections. The difficulty was trying to learn the colloquial expressions, like, "all pac," "di kind," and the frequent use of Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, and Filipino words. Everyone was very helpful; they would always correct me when I made a mistake. Once I said, "Let's go, yokikida!" and a girl patiently said, "We're not kids." So I quickly said, "Let's go, you folks!"...

After living here for four years I feel that I have been accepted by everyone because I no longer feel different or consider myself an outsider. Being accepted is important because it gives a person a real sense of security. When I first started going to this high school, I wondered why this boy I just met never spoke to me. We have since become friends, so I asked why he wasn't friendly and he jokingly replied, "I didn't want to be caught talking to a stupid hoteh!" (60-252(3)-76)

I have been told that the more adaptable Mainland Japanese who during World War II served in the 442nd Regimental Combat Team with Hawaii Japanese, by whom they were compartmented, were adopted the local dialect.

A Hula student finds temporary employment in a tire-repairing plant in which all the other workers are Hawaiians who fear that he is being groomed by the Haleakula boss as the new foreman. He is finally accepted because he uses the dialect proves that he is a "local boy," able to perform on the level of the fellow-workers. (See Robert Boll)

A local Hula youth works on Wailea and finds the dialect and "polynesian culture" accepted by even the Mainland Indians stationed there and contributing to the morale of the place. (60-252(3)-4) [Hula male]

While the professional person is expected, by virtue of his position, to speak standard American English, even if he is of local dialect-speaking origins, yet he too finds uses for the dialect. One physician of Chinese ancestry explained that he has had to resort to various forms of pidgin to be sure his patients understood his instructions. At the hospital recently I noted just how a Hula physician ended up his bedside visit by pointing to the patient's feet and saying, "Buuk!" with unmitigated frown of dissection patients. I imagined that this audacious use of the dialect improved his bedside manner.

The author of the current article, "My Local Boys," describes the enthusiasm with which he fitted himself into an exaggerated use of the boys' dialect, as a way of identifying himself with them, of showing his acceptance of them and soliciting their acceptance by them. His spontaneous resort to the dialect helped him in establishing rapport which in turn made it possible for him to lead the boys into the wider cosmopolitan standard-speaking community.

Cohn goes so far as to argue that higher-class children would benefit if they learned the lower-class mode, by the "great power of lower-class language to express emotions," and by extending "the range of expressed feelings and perceptions."

Summary.--We may summarize this section by stating that those persons on the margin, involved directly in the contact between speakers of different languages and dialects, who find themselves able effectively to use two or three forms of speech derive therefore a sense of esthetic and social power, of an "emancipated" self, while those who are insularized in one form of speech, disinterested, who do not know or another, including monolingual speakers of English, no prestige, no advantage, are not, in general, finding that the power which comes from effective multilingualism of all sorts is easily attained will be the burden of my last section.
Increase in contacts and mobility.—The range and intensity of contacts between persons speaking primarily the local dialect and those speaking standard have greatly increased, as has the mobility of people in Hawaii. Thus, the barriers of class and race are breaking down. While auckland high school or going on for higher education, the evidence is that the proportion in the fifteenth state is equal to the national norm, higher education on the mainland. The occupational structure is no longer (Lind, Hawaii's People, ch. 6, Bagge, p. 157). Since the war, people of middle-class positions and for broad education, the educational system has been raising its sights, and a arising Big Five firms. While as yet not a single plantation manager is derived from the dialect-speaking population, people speak for a change in the generally conservative plantations, the educational work of the C.U.H. Hawaii's powerful multi-industrial union, has stressed the participation of local workers in civic affairs and trained them in handling themselves at meetings.

The domination of the Republican Party has been checked, and both parties present candidates of all racial groups and certainly many of dialect- and apposite, are often filled by non-Hawaiians. Since the war more and more outside-island people have moved to metropolitan Oahu and experienced more frequent use of standard English and a lesser realization that facility with standard improves job opportu-

For dialect-speaking young men the contacts throughout the world which have come by virtue of military service—in racially integrated units—have expanded their horizons in such a way that they realize the presence of standard American English in the action and even as a world-wide frame work. Service in the armed forces has reduced the resistance of boys as scripture to the use of standard. Prior to World War II and compulsory service, many local boys experienced more of a barrier towards Islands than girls, for whom girls, attention to the teacher's English did not range and who, through domestic service or leisure arrangements had earlier domestic services in Hawaii. But according to Carr today boys express pride in speaking background now their sons go to private schools to learn standard English.

More frequent travel of local people on the Mainland is an additional force in the direction of extending the range of contacts. The mass media.—One other influence must be briefly mentioned. Network had called attention to "hollies" and radio—as well as the sports pages. Amy Fowler, in this issue, speaks of these influences, adding the exposed to standard speech patterns. They might be listening to tapes of communication. They have also been used deliberately to teach standard

speech to local people. See U.S. Professor Morton J. Gordon's article dealing of his experiment with this technique in Hawaii.)

In the contemporary world the major mass media are spoken rather than written language, thus reflecting colloquial speech and habits and fashions in language perhaps more than do the media depending on writing. In this renewed dominance of the spoken word there are no doubt important social implications which it is still difficult to see. Perhaps it will put the present world languages into the kind of competition out of which will emerge, first a world-wide lingua franca, then in turn, a world standard language. In the meantime, the multilingual linguistic contexts in which the people of Hawaii are involved are working to democratize standard.

All Speech Is Teachable

Reference to the teaching of standard English brings us to the third point involved in the new approach to linguistic Hawaii.

Tending involves both motivation and technique, which in the final analysis, cannot be separated.

Motivation

Motivation for Better Speech was the theme of the Twelfth annual convention of the Pacific Speech Association on Punahou campus in November 1959. Excerpts from the address by Willard Wilson at that convention are to be found in the present issue. That this meeting of professional people was concerned with motivation is indicative of a feeling that there could be improvement in this area, that in spite of tremendous effort results were not satisfactory.

Motivation in always part of a social context. In the previous section we saw speech as socially embedded. Motivation for speech must therefore grow out of an appreciation of this social embeddedness.

The existence of a problem of poor motivation was pointed to by Reinecke who quoted public school students: "So use for us learn good English; the less will kill us if we talk good English to him, he say we're too fresh!" and: If we use "Pidgin English" the teachers should keep their mouths shut and mind their own business. . . . Pupils may promise to speak good English before the teachers, but after they are with their peers they will use "Pidgin English," so what's the use of lecturing the pupils? (Reinecke, "Pidgin English,"

Motivation of Oriental immigrants to learn English.—Before referring to the present situation, a reminder is in order that as against the first-generation European immigrants in the United States, Hawaii's Oriental immigrants have fewer language problems, also in that it is in their Central languages. The Oriental immigrants were looked at as the main as temporary and unsuitable labor force who would return to their homelands after the completion of a term of service on the plantations. They were furthermore aliens ineligible for naturalization, until the immigration/naturalization laws were changed in the post-World War II period, particularly by the McCarran
Walter Act of 1929. Suddenly Oriental aliens could become naturalized. The number of Japanese aliens naturalized in 1929 in the whole country was 5,126 as contrasted with 874 and 48 in the preceding two years. ("Immigration, Emigration and Naturalization," Britannica Book of the Year, 1933.) Going along with naturalization have been evening classes in citizenship and English. The pride of both the new citizens and their second- and third-generation descendants in this process is mentioned in a number of my student papers. (See also Edna Ohtiro, "The Americanization of My Mother.")

Motivation of present generation.—For the present school-attending generation, poor motivation for the learning of standard English continues to be a problem. Here for instance, is the reaction of a graduate of Lānaʻi Kāhakole School for children of Hawaiian ancestry:

The Speech Improvement Program ... was opposed by many students, especially at the Boys' School. ... was not effective in that it did not achieve anything of value. There were several reasons, two of which I would like to discuss briefly: 1) lack of interest; 2) relationship between students, friends and family.

Students lacked the spirit to learn good English because there seemed to be no consequences. What's the use of trying when you won't get anything? Look at those working (i.e., the people in the kinds of jobs we can acquire). Many of them can't speak good English. This I've heard from many people, and even I thought that way...

Some did not try hard enough to learn. Sure, they may have said they tried hard, but it was just enough to please the instructor and get a passing grade. At times, I found myself not liking speech because it was so dull. Therefore, I had no interest in bettering my speaking habits.

In regard to the second reason, you can see why students don't practice good English. They are discouraged by their fellow students who would call them names. My friends would call me a Hausol, or ask me why I'm acting like one. (50-232(293):28).

The painful self-appellation of a local youth in a University of Hawai'i speech class has already been cited. Further comments from that same student following his frustrating attempt to improve the speech of Hausol in order to attain the standards required for his speech instructor show his problem of motivation:

For many weeks there was pressure from the instructor to improve my 'g's, as well as indirect pressure from my friends, not to promote any basalism; in short, it fell down to the problem of having to choose either one or the other, and I chose the latter. The decision, however, was short-lived. Could I not meet my objectives and at the same time not be considered an oddity for being among the few who actually try to improve their speech? As far as I know, the vast majority of the students in school do a minimum of work speaking. (50-232(293):48).

Earlier quotations indicated how the prevalence of dialects in neighborhoods and work groups militated against the use of standard there. "As far as we," reports a boy who grew up on an isolated island, "and the rest of the family, we used plain pigpigs English most of the time. I didn't dare use any standard English as my papa would get the idea that I was trying to be Haole myself." (60-232(231):121).

While the use of standard English is accepted as inevitable in the classroom, there are classroom inhibitions which add to the difficulty of transfer to natural situations outside. One fellow wrote: "Like most Hawai'i people, we had two sets of speach. On, of course, was polite, and the other was the one which we used to converse with the teachers in school." (60-232(231):98).

Such those expressions are from college students it is clear that the academically more qualified young people of Hawai'i growing up today have been involved in problems of motivation.

Motivation and the social situation.—Both Reincke and Emerson had stressed that sharing and preaching do not serve to provide motivation, but rather shut it. Emerson's statement in 1926 was succinct and to the point:

In Hawai'i the great pressure on children is to give up their normal speech language because it is "bad" English. One result of this is that the children say as little as possible in class. This inhibition is carried over into college. The grade school teacher, of course, teaches in standard English, but the teachers would do well to encourage their pupils to express themselves freely in class without concentrating all their lives in how they express themselves. Some feeling of security is needed first.

Many attempts to induce standard English have been as (11) conceived as management notions about how to get labor to increase output. Research has shown that workers have sometimes responded to locative pay schemes by restricting output. (See, for instance, Roy.) So a misguided emphasis on better speech may induce reluctance to speak at all.

As motivation for work in now understood to be a part of the meaning which workers see in the whole work situation, so motivation for better speech can come only as we make speech a tool in a variety of natural situations. Students who somehow see themselves truly "in" natural situations where standard is used, will be motivated to use standard speech. If they can, sympathetically and imaginatively, take the role of people using standard speech, their will to use standard with them will be an almost spontaneous response. If, in this transition, people using standard can also sympathetically and imaginatively take the learners' role, and themselves feel natural in situations where the dialect is used, motivation to use standard will develop more easily.

Now motivation takes care of itself when the over-all situation of a person is changed was indicated in the account of the girl who transferred from a public school to Punahou. There is a similar change, to which the family where everyone spoke dialect moved from a "cane" in a neighbor-island town to a new suburbin lower-class interracial subdivision on that island.

I also noticed that, the language used in our home changed a little. From the ordinary local dialect, the standard English is being more used. The more active the parents become in community affairs, the more they will have to speak, and this helped tremendously in improving their speech. (60-232(231):129)
Obviously the teacher is not in a position to change out-of-school situations, nor to force bright but dialect-using computer or private school. Motivation for out-of-school use of standard speech is coming rapidly as the remaining status-true-class barriers in the community grow weaker and as people of prestige and influence change from wedge-driving shame-avoiding tactics to those that invite mutual role-taking and participation in common activities with self-resentment and security.

Motivation is the school setting. Within schools, Embree's advice is sound. The important thing is to overcome the inhibition about speaking us to class which we are perhaps allow us to attribute mainly to Oriental culture (respect for elders and teachers, emotional control and restraint, sensitivity about face), when it is perhaps more fundamentally due to the nascent experienced by students because of their language. We can learn from the foreign-language teachers. The muri-nor program of foreign-language teaching is a new key," which is gaining wider acceptance, focuses first on oral communication. Cardinal principles are to get the pupils to communicate in the foreign tongue, to use speech functionally and meaningfully from the beginning, occasionally overlooking errors for the time being in order to allow the spontaneity of the situation to elicit feeling, communicating speech, and to do this at an early age as possible, preferably starting at the preschool level. In this approach to foreign language, it is more important to get other inhibitions about speaking in strange ways than have one's natural inhibitions compounded by pedantic attention to details of pronunciation and grammar, which at that initial stage interfere with the attempt to achieve a smooth flow of expression. If the pupils have as their teacher a model of good range they will need, in the spontaneous process of give-and-take to assume the correct patterns of speech without being self-consciously aware of it. This happens through the role-taking to which we have referred. Motivation is inherent to the whole process.

These new key principles for foreign-language teaching are applicable to the teaching of standard English to speakers of dialect. What I am stress- ing is the single trait: Our language socially is a social use, the social use, the standard language socially is also a social use for social use. The stress should be on the positive advantage of learning the standard language and not negatively on the disadvantage of whatever "substandard" form of speech the child now has, no more than the foreign-language teacher seeks to root out the native language.

When any condition, a physical disability, a hearing difficulty, stammering, or better, "substandard" speech, is interpreted as the person involved acting as a handicap in the attainment of a goal it becomes a concern growth. On the other hand, when the stress is not on the handicap, but on full and meaningful participation in the social life of the people around one, the handicap as much tends to strengthen. Substandard speech is no longer a handicap but an irrelevance, and a physical disability is transcended or developed to a place where it no longer inhibits normal growth, no longer interferes with full living. But if our speech teaching we stress "defects," "isolated idiolects," "speech disorders," this becomes an important positive. If we are unaware of our presenting standards that seem rigid, artificial, unacceptable, the handicap continues to function strictly as handicap.

Attainability of multilingual. — Motivation is further encouraged by realization that it is possible to be multilingual, that to leave—or to learn more effectively—any natural form of speech is to add a social asset to existing assets. In polyglot Hawaii our young people should be able to appreciate that for them multilingualism is possible, including the simultaneous facility in dialectal and standard English, as well as in English and, say, Japanese.

The pupil cannot attain the realization unless the teacher has it before him. Reference to nations of Europe where several languages co-exist and multilingualism is common can help particularly the teacher. But both teacher and pupil can find the realization right here in Hawaii, although we have not taken enough advantage of our opportunities, as Anderson, Curriculum Visiting Professor of European Languages, pointed out in his 1959 address.

My own observation, even in Hawaii, as rich in linguistic and cultural resources, confirms "the characteristic American lack of speakers of foreign language, even among the children in our immigrant groups. Very few of my students speak any of the languages represented here, except English. My colleague, Pro- fessor Elizabeth Currie, points out that even the nature of the Eng- lish Island dialect is misunderstood, as proved by the beginner's "piggish." The Japanese and Chinese language schools are struggling highly to preserve these two languages, and there are some efforts to keep alive Hawaiian, the indigenous language of the islands. But great effort must be made if we are to bring the linguistic promise of the Islands to fulfillment.

In spite of past discouragement, Hawaii fortunately retains many linguistic resources, including a large number of competent bilingual speakers. These can be a constant demonstration of the possibility of bilingualism and of the way bilingualism enriches the person. There are countless bilingual speakers of dialectal pidgins and of standard American speech who are enriched by being competent in each. If at least an occasional teacher of speech would be able to demonstrate a similar competence, the pupil would be helped to a realization that he need not discard his natural dialectal speech in situations where it is an asset, but that bilingual competence, further enriching him, is attainable.

Kawailoa has quite obviously reflected the linguistic provincialism of our nation, which was threatened with monolingualism at the very time in history when she had become the dominant world power. In the past we Americans have justified our monolingualism on the theory that this was the only way in which we could build a unified nation whose people could speak the language competently. We have assumed that for most people multilingualism is both gnawing and devastating. Now we see that the contrary is true. Across the face of the nation as is a competence in several languages increases. Our new role in the world has suddenly shown us our own handiwork and we have acquired national motivation for competence in foreign languages. (Of course, this is The Ugly American, whose co-author, William Geller, has adopted Hawaii as his home, the contrast to the nation's—and Hawaii's—own motivation. But, in Geller's opinion, I am arguing that in Hawaii both the ancestral languages and the local dia- lect can be and should be developed in a linguistic community by sharing the ability to use language—grammer, intonation, etc.—in a sort of cooperative way. Anderson drew the challenge to us: Hawaii is an inspiration to her sister States and to the rest of the world because she has reduced prejudice in human relations to monolingual limits. A geographical and cultural bridge be- tween East and West, Hawaii is in a favored position to show the rest of our States how best to learn and use languages, with all
But that conclusion, for building of the kind of community of nations for which a peace-hungry world longs.

With a new appreciation of Hawaii’s linguistic resources, the “pigeon” part of her metropolitan society, of Hawaii’s role as East-West center, with a new understanding of multilingualism, with recognition in the nation of the importance of understanding the non-Western peoples of the world, of training ambassadors of goodwill, of learning the Asian languages, motivation need be no problem.

Techniques

As in the stepped-up national concerns about competence in mathematics and science, there have developed attractively more effective techniques, so too the new sociolinguistic approach in language teaching explores new techniques. The use of tape recorders in language laboratories is perhaps the most dramatic, but included are also: 1) new textbooks involving new ways of teaching grammatical principles by induction, by linguistic comparisons with the student’s mother tongue, by early familiarity with a variety of phonetically, semantically, grammatically correct patterns; 2) the use of situations as they come along in the classroom for encouraging the maximum use of the language being studied; 3) exposure of students to the foreign language resources available in their community: foreign students, foreign movies, foreign language press, language schools, homes and neighborhoods where the new language can be heard.

These techniques are applicable and have been used in speech-teaching in Hawaii, as they are also being rapidly introduced in the expanded foreign language teaching program here. (See Similar in this issue, Apia-wall in the bibliography, and the experiences of Vickers, Fujikawa, and McKinley, and of Hively and associates in developing ways of teaching Asian languages to Eastern students at the University of Hawaii and E. E. Gordon in the Department of Public Instruction.) These techniques will no doubt also be useful to the English Language features which the University is organizing because of the increasing number of foreign students here, faced with the problem of rapid acquisition of facility in English.

Hawaii’s U. S. Senator Cooke recently reported that the Federal Government is giving the University of Hawaii a two-year grant of $21,000 for an experiment in the teaching of speech improvement through television. (Leg. Capit. Comment, L 5 (June 22, 1969).) It is to be hoped that whatever program is used will be “to the new key.”

Conclusions

The strains of the modern world involve the relations among all kinds of peoples, social classes, ethnic groups, with varying, often greatly different, conditions of existence and perspectives, even within a small community like the Hawaiian Islands there are great differences. I see the various forms of speech as a reflection and even an accompaniment of these differences, but also as bridges, as Standard American speech, the expression of our whole cosmopolitan pluralistic society, to bridge the distances between the groups. Because Hawaii Hawaii is an increasingly cosmopolitan society, where social differences are not forbidden to be barriers; the increasing use of standard is inevitable. Hawaii’s high per capita income and the decreasing gap between upper- and lower-income levels, travel and study on the Mainland and abroad, service in the armed forces, the pervasiveness of the mass media of communication, the increasing exposure to secondary and higher educ-
LANGUAGE IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT

Tomman and Elizebeth Watersman

The Master said: "What is the good of being ready with the tongue? They, who most use with words of speech, for the most part prove themselves hated." (The Analects of Confucius, Drama, J. Legge)

1. VARIOUS APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE

Interest in language is not a recent development, as shown by the oldest grammar we know, the one written by Patreac, 300 B.C., in which he describes the speech sounds of Sanskrit and its grammatical structure. In the course of time the phonomenon of language has penetrated and attracted people's minds in so many different ways that it will be possible to mention only a few here.

Interest in the numerous languages of the world has led to the scientific study of linguistic phenomena, particularly in their morphological aspects. This has given rise to two main types of classification: a structural type, based on the relative degree of autonomy of the words and the way in which various parts of a word are attached to it, and a genetic type of classification, based on comparative studies with regard to phonetic and structural changes. Through a careful study of phonetic changes and changes in vocabulary, a theoretical reconstruction may be made of the original language from which the present existing languages have stemmed, or, since the interest is in the origin of languages has tended of the distribution of languages and dialects. These studies may also prove a valuable aid to studying the patterns of population changes.

Such studies necessitate thorough investigation not only of the phonetic or sound elements but also of the phonemes or functionally significant units which make up a language pattern. Apart from this scientific use, the study of speech sounds has its practical application in the field of language teaching.

The psychologists have studied language from a different angle. Their contribution lies in the psychology of communication. Generally this field ranges from the mechanical aspects (phonetics, perception of speech) to the socio-psychological patterns of communication and barriers to communication, learning habits, and distortion of testimony or of rumor.

For many the study of language means the only key to the world of literature. They struggle valiantly to master speech sounds, grammatical rules, idiom and vocabulary, but their ultimate aim is to enjoy the literary efforts of others or to express themselves in that way.

The various aspects of language are all interrelated. Therefore the special approaches should not be seen as separate fields of study but rather as a unified entity. The sociolinguistic emphasis on language as part of a social system. The quotation from Confucius at the end of this article aptly illustrates the point that language may be regarded not only as a tool but as social action calling forth counter-action.

In the subsequent paragraphs we shall discuss this approach more in detail.

2. COMMUNICATION

The communicative aspect of language has impressed various authors and indeed for many people the social aspects of language are predominantly contained in the manner of communication between individuals or groups. Such a statement however has to be qualified, for obviously communication is possible without the use of language while language may be used for other reasons than direct communication. There is in fact just a tendency to over-estimate communication as the basis of a more inclusive approach to language.

At the same time the concept of communication has been narrowed down to the practical component of transfer and exchange of information and ideas. Thus, language, and more particularly speech, is often popularly thought of as a kind of magic, hard to achieve but worth striving for in a perfectinistic manner, for the more refined the tool the better the communication. This however is only part of the picture. Preceding the concept of communication is the approach to language as an abstraction from the social situation, in other words as a system of significant symbols, referring to a social context.

The manipulation of these symbols makes out the main body of social activities. Language then is in the first place social action. It is a form of behavior, viz., symbolic behavior that (1) arouses the interest of social scientists. This approach is a natural concomitant of the development of the social sciences, in the same way that in earlier times the main interest in language was centered around the origins of languages or the question of whether language was divine or rational in character. The modern social scientist, studying language as social action, may distinguish more than one type of communication:

1. the direct external type of communication in which a message is communicated from one individual to one or more others;
2. a more indirect or diffuse external type in which communication takes place regardless of the message communicated;
3. the internal type, the communication taking place between an individual and himself.

External Communication

In Mead's terms, gestures (including language or vocal gestures) "become significant symbols when they implicitly arouse in an individual the same responses which they explicitly arouse or are supposed to arouse in other individuals." (Mead, p. 47) In this threshold relationship between (1) social situation, which serves as a referent, (2) symbols used by the speaker, and (3) response of the hearer, there are various levels of abstraction.

Thus a man pointing to a steaming dish of food may remark to someone else that it is hot. The hearer observing the same visual signs and bearing the remark will agree. The interpretation is based on the recurrence of a similar social situation or a whole series of similar situations in the past.

‡All references in the text are to items in the Master Bibliography, as explained in the Foreword.
Since both speaker and hearer have experienced similar social situations in the past, the slight of the steering disk will be interpreted by them in the same way. They both have internalized their experience the social situation and the symbol used as an abstraction of that situation. Because of their shared experiences the symbol "hot" may be used also if the visual signs are absent. A speaker may tell about hot dishes in a situation where no such dishes are present. Yet his symbol will not fail to arouse the desired response in his listeners. At a more advanced level of abstraction he will speak of a "hot" context or a "heated" argument and his listeners will understand the meaning of his words since the symbol arouses in them the picture of all previous referents.

Severely, if speaker and listener do not share the same internalized experiences, in other words, if they do not have the same frame of reference, the symbols used will fail to arouse the same response. Thus many fathers found that their pre-school age children could not interpret the symbol "office" since there was no adequate referent for it in the social situation the children could envisage. It is of course possible to refer the symbol to the office-building, but not to the whole complex of interpersonal relations the symbol stands for.

Such difficulties in interpretation of symbols caused by a lack of common internalized experiences are even more marked in the field of foreign languages. Words which seem the equivalents of words in a foreign language often turn out to refer to entirely different referents. This is e.g. illustrated by the word "family." When American or British speakers use this word, the symbol stands for a rather similar social unit in the U.S. and in Britain. In related Indo-European languages the words for "family" seem both in appearance and in sound so similar that they are usually regarded as interchangeable with the English word. However, the social unit to which these words refer may be a different one.

To cite just one example: if an American would say that he was travelling with his "family," the Dutch translation would not be "gezinsleden" but "familie" the latter word indicating the nuclear or simple family, whereas the word "familie" is used to indicate wider kin relations and would therefore have to be translated as "relatives." If between neighboring countries with a common socio-cultural background numerous differences of this kind are to be found, we can easily understand how extensive the gap may be between languages with widely diverging socio-cultural frames of reference.

Differences in socio-cultural background are not eliminated by the fact that both parties employ the same language as a medium of communication. For example, communication between Dutch social welfare-officers and Ambonese refugees in the Netherlands takes place either in Malay, a language of which most social welfare workers in this field have a good working knowledge, or in Dutch, which a good many Ambonese understand and often speak quite well. Between the parties in communication difficulties would be expected. Yet communication has failed several times because of verbal errors, if the Dutch make use of the same frame of reference for their own differing socio-cultural background. The simple fact, for instance, that the Dutch welfare workers in terms of the needs of the individual, thus thinking the individual from one of the many traditional groups of which he is an integral part, has often led to considerable confusion.

Modern methods of mass-communication entail their own specific problems. The use of mass-media permits an enormous increase in the total volume of external communication. The enlargement of scale however also sets its own limitations. Mass communication is directed to an anonymous mass and responses are correspondingly vague and often difficult to measure.

When discussing language as a means of communication, it is generally assumed that the emphasis falls on the transfer of a message. Models have been evolved explaining what factors are considered important in the process of communication while the message itself has been analyzed as being of an informative or expressive character.

There is however a second, more indirect type of external communication, the type that has been termed "contextual communication," i.e. the function of speech in more social situations. It is a fundamental tendency of humans to congregate, to be together. Speech binds them together, accentuates their sense of belonging. As Mallowski remarks: "another man's silence is not a reassuring factor, but on the contrary, something alarming and dangerous." (p. 214) Here, the mere fact that some conversation is going on, is the essential feature, not the information that is imparted. The communication is there but it is an indirect communication in the sense that it is not dependent on the meaning of the words. The sound of the words and the context in which they are spoken are sufficient to bring about the communication.

In this connection it has been remarked that the bond between speaker and hearer created by linguistic communication are not necessarily symmetrical. The speaker giving the information or uttering his idea, derives a far greater satisfaction from this act than the hearer. However, there is always an opportunity to reverse the roles so that the flow of words goes in the other direction, which will also change the pattern of satisfaction. (Mallowski) In this context it is also worth noting the importance of the play element in language. As Buglisi has pointed out, the play element is a function of culture, a given magnitude. "Existing before culture itself existed, accompanying it and pervading it from the earliest beginning right up to the phase of civilization we are now living in." (p. 4)

In language this play element is very prominent. Not only in language pre-eminently suited to convey humour and light-heartedness, but in many languages a placid element can be detected in some morphological aspects. Thus in Indonesian languages reiteration of words with or without vowel and/or consonant changes, often seem to reflect this play element. Thus the Malay/Indonesian word for scrunch or line is: tuan, but also "touan", "tuanai", "tuanan". Often words of other similar meaning are combined, apparently because the spoken words in combination have a pleasing sound, e.g.: "tuan tuan" = a person polite, same usage: bawang leuang, cowi roe. Here evidently both rhythm and sound of the spoken words bring about the play element and the satisfaction derived from prosanning or hearing the words comes very close to that derived from music. It shews that the harmonic basis upon which musical elements as music, dance and speech are very artificial. Here again we find communication through vocal gestures but independent of the meaning content.

Internal Communication

Thus far we have discussed some aspects of communication between persons or groups of persons. There is also the communication between an individual and himself, or between man and the supernatural in prayer or exhortation. Such communication between an individual and himself
is based on the existence of a system of linguistic symbols. "Only in terms of gestures which are significant symbols can thinking—which is simply an intermediated or implicit conversation of the individual with himself by means of gestures—take place." (Mead, p. 48)

This seems applicable also to the processes involved in memory. To remember something we need the guidance of signs. By means of language the individual can reach back into the past and generally he cannot reach further back than the period at which signs became possible. Events, feelings, sensations, experiences generally become associated with language symbols. By recognizing these symbols past experiences can be called back and future experiences imagined. In other words it is the named things, which play an important role in memory and imagination. Remembering and especially recalling is an act of reconstruction—of reorganizing symbols. By means of language an ordering is possible of the chaos of impressions. Objects or things become familiar even if we know little else about them but their names.

By naming or at least by attempts to describe them, we seem to get a hold on things. Things, which cannot be named, cannot be compared to other known things, cannot be described in any intelligible way, and, in fact, are things "out of this world." They do not develop beyond the stage of vague sensations, emotions, fears or forebodings. We are aware of "something," but we do not know what, and generally we fear the unknown, nameless things. As soon as the thing has been named our uncertainty disappears. We now "know" it. The process is one of labeling, which is fundamental to all social life. "...And whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof..."

All societies have their own way of labeling things, or ordering the raw material of experience according to a certain system. People become so accustomed to using these labels and to apply their way of ordering, that they become unconscious of the fact that the labels are not the things themselves, but only indicators, and that their way of ordering experience is for the most part arbitrary and inevitably distorts reality. Childhood experiences viewed in this light and especially the pre-language experiences, deal for the most part with "raw" experience material, not yet labeled and not or insufficiently systematized. This has been related to the phenomenon of childhood-amnesia, the fact that most individuals remember practically nothing of the period before their fifth year (Piaget).

Philosophers and ethnologists have likewise recognized the compelling force of linguistic categorization. Dewey states: "The chief intellectual classifications that constitute the working quotidian of society have been built up by us by our mothers." (Dewey, p. 230). Whorf goes even further and asserts that "no form of a person thought to be intelligible will be of patterns of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the imperceptible innate systematizations of a person's thought, which have been built up by us by our mothers." (Whorf, p. 232). Language not only embodies meaning, it also prescribes to a great extent the nature of the meaning we attach to our experiences.

3. LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The juxtaposition of these two terms is deceptive, it seems to imply that language and social structures are two separate entities, that language can be distinguished from its social context to be compared to what remains—the patterns of interpersonal relationship. Actually language is an integral part of social structure and any attempt to study either of the two in isolation entails a certain amount of distortion.

As a social phenomenon language consists of acts, temporal and transitory. Its function is to coordinate social behavior according to the demands of the situation. Language as an integral part of social process gives meaning to and at the same time derives its meaning from social behavior. The relationship between language, systems of thought, and other patterns of behavior can be traced back to the metaphysics underlying each culture. As Whorf has shown in his exposition of the Hopi world view, each society has its own mode of the universe and all observable phenomena of the universe can be accounted for and accurately described in the language of its people. Thus, whereas the metaphysics underlying western thinking and language imposes upon the universe the two separate concepts of space and time, the Hopi universe is described as comprising two different cosmic forms—the manifested and objective on the one hand and the manifesting or unmanifest and subjective on the other. The former comprises everything accessible to the sense without distinguishing between present and past, but excluding everything which in our thinking would be future. The latter concept deals with everything that is subjective, mental, and sacred. Hence it also includes notions of expectancy, desire, purpose thought into future action, a state or emerging fact manifestation which has been described as the "expective form" in Whorf's terminology of Hopi grammar. (Whorf, p. 69).

There is then obviously an intimate and complex interrelationship between language and social structure, which is of particular interest to the sociologist. As an illustration of how these phenomena may be observed in reality, let us assume that in a certain social situation, a number of individuals are engaged in discussion. The sociologist, observing this situation is not in the first place concerned with the speech sounds or the vocabulary of the speakers, unless these linguistic phenomena are sociologically relevant. What he wants to know is, for example, what is the topic of the discussion? What are the social roles of the different speakers and what is the nature of their interrelationship? What groups or categories do they express? Is their group membership or status reflected in their speech or is a specific terminology used in addressing them? Why does this particular person speak more often than others? Who listens attentively when he speaks? Who does not?

The observer may note that some societies have what has been termed a "talking culture," which in other social systems the "strong silent man" is valued. (La Pierre and Farnsworth) He may also find that specific types of linguistic behavior are consistently accompanied by specific other forms of symbolic behavior (gestures, facial expression, dress, ritual). The sociologist, it will be noted, interprets linguistic interrelation of terms of a network of interpersonal relationships, i.e., in terms of social structure.

Here two significant aspects may be distinguished. Studies of sociocultural systems have shown that all socially significant categories and processes have their linguistic counterpart. Thus we find that the well-known criteria of age, sex, occupation, etc., are found expression in terms for different age groups and of seniority (e.g., terms for older brother, younger brother) and social roles in the same societies, separate terms of address for male and female speakers. There are also terms for specific occupations and affiliations and terms expressive of kinship and affinity.
This notion of the power of the word is a general one, and not without reason. The very first contact a child makes with his social world is through vocal action. His cry for food or for comfort immediately brings response. Later on, his first words again start group action from the adult world. "Words are the child’s active forces, they give him an emotional hold on reality. ... The words act on the thing and the thing releases the word in the human mind." (Buhler, p. 52).

The conviction that words are powerful forces in the essence of verbal magic. It may take the form of the application of magical words to bring about health, growth, or fertility. It may also consist of avoidance of such value-laden, dangerous words. Thus many masking and hunting communities, special "occupational" or "secret" languages have developed. The obvious reason for this specialization is the desire to avoid taboo-words, which may frighten away the animals, or else to profane the delicacies of water, vital, rural and other unpredictable elements. The same magical function may be attributed to the jargon of criminal groups.

Although major emphasis has been placed on the conserving and perpetuating element of language, the same characteristics of language make it an excellent instrument to bring about or emphasize social change. The speech habits of the Religious Society of Friends, based on Biblical simplicity in speech, was part of a whole complex of social gestures expressive of the social reforms of George Fox, the founder of the Society. Many battles were fought before the offensive "Thou" and "Thou of the Friends were tolerated in their own social environment of non-Friends. The "hambah"-along, like their dress and other habits, similarly has a double function. Internally it serves to affirm and preserve group membership, externally it accomplishes a breaking away from the social standards, a rebellion against the socially approved habits.

The fascination of the new often takes a linguistic form, such as a scattering of foreign languages, newly coined words, or new expressions. The many forms and means of linguistic advertising illustrate the role of language as a means of pushing new ideas and forming new habits and needs.

Language is often manipulated as a means of exciting and stimulating non-symbolic action in processes of rapid social change. We hear and see slogans as a normal accompaniment of revolutionary movements such as "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite!" in France, "Mektek" (freedom) to Indonesians, "Hasta Marinis!" (ready for action) in Ambo, and "Alitos for the Africans." These slogans may be employed as an appeal to unite people speaking different languages, but in the case of Honduras, the national language of Indonesia in a country where over two hundred languages are spoken.

Here we might elaborate a little on the concept of a national language. For the linguist, all languages and dialects are of equal value and interest and the effort to codify a national language with a standard spelling, grammar and an artificially enlarged vocabulary of its own, does not mean much to him. For the ecologist, however, the motivations underlying the struggle to build up a national language and a national literature are highly significant. Such aims may accompany social movements and the language becomes a symbol of nationalism or tribal aims. Thus in India the proclamation of Hindi as the national
languages brought vehement protests from the Tamil-speaking people in South India. Hindi and Tamil belong to two different linguistic stocks, in Pakistan a similar struggle existed although the two languages, Urdu and Bengali, are related.

New concepts or ideas, after being launched by individuals or interest groups, may become the focal point of new specific vocabularies facilitating the introduction of changes. This process may run as follows. The observation of certain social phenomena stimulates attempts to describe, interpret and evaluate what has been observed in the light of a specific framework of interest. This linguistic process allows a characterization of those phenomena in definable terms. Often the complex of phenomena is captured under a label, a new name suggesting the indefinability of their existence, or, as often happens, desired changes are as it were crystallized in the new concept and it is upheld in shifting contrast to the existing situation. After the idea has been launched it appears that many others have been concerned with related problems. These problems are then discussed and interpreted in a novel way. Many old things fall into place. Thoughts and discussions are experienced as promoting insight. People derive great satisfaction from being among the first to introduce the new concept. Gradually it becomes the fashion to discuss related problems in these terms. It is at this stage that the idea seems to have acquired a power and a momentum of its own and thus a purely linguistic phenomenon has been transformed into a social force. The moment for its transition into direct non-symbolic action has arrived. The history of such ideas, depicting a general social process which runs its course from the concrete social situation via linguistic behavior back to direct non-symbolic action is illustrated by the career of emotionally charged terms as democracy, communism, socialismism, anti-Americanism, segregation, and desegregation, and so forth.

Linguistic changes may accompany, precede, or follow social changes. Seen from the viewpoint of the individual, change may result from the selection of a specific language or sub-language and the avoidance of others. In this process of selection and avoidance, it is worth studying the motivation behind these decisions. In discussing the Japanese sub-languages in which the hierarchical order is reflected, we noted, that these linguistic forms tended to reassert and perpetuate the status categories. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that many Jewsans, in order to escape "humiliated use of 'high' speech" will prefer to use Malay, a language in which such status distinctions are not expressed.

A person formulates his purposes and impels motives to his acts especially in situations where his intentions are questioned by others or when his conduct is not in accordance with the expectations of others or when he thinks this is so. Questions are raised especially in situations where acts are unexpressed purposes considered unusual or when alternative behavior exists. This shows the essential moral character of motivation. The observer who reported, that any one form of an explanation, depends on the vocabulary of motives which is acceptable in certain situations and by the social circles concerned and motives to motivation in terms of moral goodness is the most serviceable. Morally serviceable words like: unselfishness, altruism, generosity, cheerfulfulness, kindness, filial piety etc. are frequently used by the individual because they earn him the goodwill of his group. Depending, however, on the social group and not the situation, the emphasis may be more on generosity and hospitality than on industriousness and thrift or more on law and order than on generosity and refinement.

We have first dealt briefly with various approaches in order to specify our own. The communicative aspect of language has been discussed, not only because it is the most obvious but also to make a distinction between this and the following section dealing with the function of language in social politics and social dynamics. Our brief exposition is of course far from exhaustive. Language inevitably involves all aspects of social life, and the delineation of a sociology of language as a separate field of study, as proposed by further, seems justified. In this paper however, we have been concerned mainly with an elaboration of the concept of language as social action, a less obvious but highly significant concept. Its further development as a field of study in a sociological frame of reference will open interesting perspectives.

REACtIONS TO MICHENER'S HAWAII

Muriel Wong Laddley

Tutu with the celebration for statehood for Hawaii, a novel entitled Hawaii appeared in the bookstores toward the end of 1959. It is written by Pulitzer Prize winner James Michener and published by Random House. Clearly labelled fiction, it is predicted, nevertheless, with a declaration that it is "true to the spirit and history of Hawaii." The story begins with the volcanic formation of the islands and ends with the birth of the "golden mood" of today. It between four450-450450-page chapters about each of the four major racial groups of Hawaii: Hawaiian, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese.

It was not surprising that this panoramic saga immediately attracted widespread attention, not only here where it was produced but also on the Mainland. Hawaii has the greatest of the high wave of interest in Hawaii as the newest state and has been on top of the best-seller lists since the beginning of the year. Nevertheless, rumors keep coming from the literary rooms and out onto the sidewalks and into shops that this book is "terrible," "inauthentic," "malodramatic." My purpose here is not to evaluate, but to report the range of reactions to Michener's HAWAI.

A survey of reviews of this book will serve to indicate the variety and substance of the responses. Book reviews in major newspapers and journals, as well as relevant articles and letters-to-the-editor, were canvassed. Of special interest were the views of island residents as expressed in local newspapers.

Book reviews on the Mainland show, in general, a favorable response.

Very enthusiastic over Michener's Hawaii, Pam Foster of the Chicago Sun-Times praised forward for his belief that it is the novel that not only provides the general reader with a realistic picture of a place, but also a sense of the history and the future of the state. The book is "a vivid, well-written, picture of the Hawaiian Islands, their people, their culture, their history." He goes on to say that the book is "a vivid picture of the Hawaiian Islands, their people, their culture, their history." He goes on to say that the book is "a vivid picture of the Hawaiian Islands, their people, their culture, their history."

Hilton Hickey, Saturday Review's travel editor, found the book to be "a masterpiece of research, an absorbing performance of storytelling, and a monumental account of the present, and perhaps the most interesting, of the United States." The subject is so well covered that it may be a long

(Continues on Page 70)
MOTIVATION FOR BETTER SPEECH

Willard Wilson

Now to get to the specific subject of "motivation for better speech" and I take into account here that I am speaking to a great many teachers of speech who have very real and immediate problems in this regard. I am as idealistic as the next man, but I am aware of a great many of the modern analytical studies of psychology, psychiatry, and sociology. Sigmund Freud, you will recall, to over-simplify it to a great deal, based much of his work on the sheets which was derived from observation, that most of the drivers in human conduct and endeavor spring from sex, hunger, survival—basically perhaps closely related. In other words, they are animal drives. Now without being too crude about it, I am inclined to think that we had better begin to be very realistic about what we are telling our students with regard to speech and its utility to them if we want proper motivation. It's all very well in any to a high school student, "If you don't clean up your pigtails and learn how to sound a little more educated, you're not going to get into college, or you will make a bunch of it after you get there." But if this particular student isn't interested at all in going to college, and is definitely interested in running a small but profitable business in a part of town where good English at your standard is not the medium of ordinary interchange, this argument is not going to have much effect on him.

Strong motivation, if you are to attempt to improve his speech, must come from a realization that his sphere of activity is going to be limited by unacceptable speech, and that he doesn't realize the limits of the future development businesswise or otherwise that will thus be imposed.

I hope this is not too remote a point but what I am saying is that whatever the motivation involved here and springing basically as does from personal gratification, the desire to get more and better food, to get a more attractive mate, and to survive with two Cadillacs in the garage. If you want to be classed by it—however far he projects himself, whatever motivation you are saying. It seems to me you ought to make very clear to him that patterns of speech and abilities to communicate that are adequate today are not going to be adequate in Hawaii twenty years from now—and has habit of speech, effective or not, are being formed now.

I myself know of tragic cases in the business community of young men who have been held back repeatedly for promotion and public acceptance, because of their inability to stand up before even a small group of people and express their ideas in a clear and comprehensible way. In other words, in the words of those young men completed their formal education, they were not particularly inadequate. If my friends and acquaintances were to correct Jim's habits of being correct frequently—in another ten years we may have as many people walking around in Hawaii who are visitors as are native residents. I suppose we will have to admit to a few people around for local color who speak with a delightful brand of pigtails, for the rest of us I haven't the slightest objection to it. I do not believe in putting "pigtails" on an anti-social list with such overtones; but for the most part, the people who will be doing business with these visitors in stores, service stations, on tours, etc., must if they are to be successful in whatever line of endeavor be able to "speak it good."

On a recent trip through Japan and Southeast Asia I was repeatedly astonished at the excellence of the communication ability of taxi drivers and people whose business it is to make contact with English-speaking tourists. Mind you, these people are speaking a foreign language; and yet I give it as my very firm judgment, I am sure we will be backed up by experience from other quarters, that better and more successful English is being spoken by the cab drivers and hotel people in Asia today than is being spoken by the college professors who have studied English, and the diplomatic corps for the most part who travel widely. This is not meant to disparage anybody—it is merely a way of illustrating and strengthening the point I am trying to make that motivation for better speech in whatever language roots itself originally—such as those of us who are self-applied ideologists may dislike it—roots itself completely in self-interest and self-advancement.

What I have been saying up to now is that we are often being over-aspirant in our approach to the whole speech problem when we maintain that people should have better speech merely because better speech is a better Speech is good or bad for the person using it, depending solely upon its effectiveness in attaining the ends that are most important to him. Young students are not always capable of judging what their ultimate needs will be in most regards, and that is why we have teachers like you to convince them.

Now that would be a fine place to stop, but I have a few more things I want to get off my mind. These have to do for the most part with the idea that I mentioned at the very beginning—namely that good speech and better speech is far from an essential thing. Speech, which is the distinguishing mark of man, as has said, is merely a tool for the even greater distinguish-
ing thing—and that is the ability to think intelligently and constructively about a whole variety of things. For that reason I cannot let an opportunity of this sort go by without stating at it as my very deep conviction, that in motivating students toward better speech, a teacher isn't worth his salary if he does not attempt constantly and strenuously to get over to the student the idea that what a man talks about, the background from which he speaks, the maturity of his grasp of any of the independent subject but if his surrounding subject—these things are more important than the tone of voice he uses, the way he waves his arms or legs, or the emotions into which he divides his face.

We have heard a great deal of talk of late about the necessity for American people to study and learn to speak foreign languages so that they can communicate more adequately with the tourists when they travel abroad. They are using increasing numbers. Goodman knows this is a sound point and one that we can well afford to celebrate. However, in a considerable amount of foreign travel myself, I have quite frankly been often grateful that some of the American tourists I met did not know the language of the country in which they were moving, and hence were unable to communicate completely to the citizens of that country their own abysmal ignorance and unawareness of matters in general. In such cases limited ability to communicate was a blessing! Speech, in other words, is not always better the more it is more fluent, and a speech teacher who approaches his high profession without this thought clearly in mind is not a professional man but a tradesman; as Shakespeare said "a mere mechanic," and is not living up to his opportunities.

*Excerpt from an address by Provoit Willard Wilson at the opening session of the Pacific Speech Association, Honolulu, November 21, 1959.*
COMMUNICATION: A PROBLEM OF ISLAND YOUTH

Adolph W. Loy

In a community, consisting of such widely diverse ethnic and class groups as those in Hawaii, the problem of communication takes on new significance. A common medium of intercourse among immigrants from the various honoring was a first requisite of life on Hawaiian plantations and led to the emergence of the "island dialect," all of these "pikgin English," "plantation creole," "common creole" of the Hawaiian language, and some of the several immigrant tongues which of which natural youth has been as frequently criticized, is in fact a product of the plantation and differs functionally from the earlier pidgin or trade language.

1

A brief consideration of the origin and function of pidgin, creole, and island dialect may help to clarify somewhat the special problems which evolved during the first half of the 19th century as the medium of the islanders, was known appropriately as "State English." The "island"-English, Interpreted with Hawaiian words and influenced by the creole languages, was an instrument of patience. It is not an indication of English in a strong and beautiful language. It is growing in strength. Let us not define it with a bastardized language that is neither an improvement nor a acceptable substitute.3

1Reisecke indicated in his pioneering study of this subject in Hawaii (see "Competition") that these are in fact three distinct forms of English, which have somewhat evolved in the same order.

2An acute awareness of this fact is revealed in the account in 1934 by a young man of Oriental ancestry who had lived before this incident was reported from Honolulu for a subordinating of the distinction to the use of "piggin" as words Japanese, Portuguese, Koreans, Filipinos, or Puerto Rican immigrants to their own group. The result was a "pikgin" creole, which symbolizes a relationship of master and servant.

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Still more damning was the statement of a former professor of speech in a national newspaper.

If the standard speech continues to be pidgin English, Hawaiians will never fully become a cultural part of the U.S. Politically, it may become the 49th state, but its people...will be held in contempt.

Ten years later educators were still active in their attacks upon the "pidgin" dialect. For example, students at Kamehameha Schools were notified that they "would have to purge their speech" and that they "would not be graduated with pidgin English." A vigorous program was initiated at the time to induce the Department of Public Instruction to require a one-year or semester course in oral communications at all high school students as a means of using the child as a tool. Pidgin was used as a means of teaching the child. It was argued, as it had been many times before, that access to the preferred positions was necessarily restricted to persons with a full command of standard English, and that "wise and again brilliant math students [were enrolled] up with mediocre positions primarily because of inadequate language skill."

As already indicated, those who are critical of Hawaiian dialect find in the existence of the Island dialect convenient grounds for concluding that the Islands are below par—that they cannot justify claims to deserve equality with the other states of the Union, when our citizens cannot or do not speak standard English. This attitude is especially pronounced among visitors and Islanders also who find difficulty in comprehending what sounds like a foreign language. It is perhaps a natural tendency to assume that the use of the dialect is part of a deliberate conspiracy to keep those who do not understand it in ignorance, particularly when it is used in their presence by persons who can or should be able to use the standard language of the region. The opposition to the granting of statehood to Hawaii was frequently justified on the grounds that the residents could not speak understandable English and therefore were obviously not qualified for full participation in the American Union. Letters to the editor, both before and after the granting of statehood, carry scientifically critical references to the people of the region who prefer to speak "an unintelligible gobbledygook which passes for English."

The irritation at the use of the Island dialect is further intensified by the apparent satisfaction of the Island youth in its use. The Island dialect is sufficiently widespread at present so that, unless the child is consciously restricted in his associations by his parents, he acquires it naturally on the playground as a second language, if not in his own home as his native tongue. In fact, one prominent Island educator contends that, as a simple, street-based variant of communication, Pidgin is allied to the early speech of children. The child who is learning to talk does not speak in complete sentences, his speech is not inflected. Present and past, short and long, do not exist for him. Children who hear Pidgin find this language more congenial than English. It is closer to their early, natural

speech. A child exposed to both pidgin and English will acquire the former much more readily than the latter. This known fact was the reason for the establishment of the English standard school.

The very fact that Island dialect is widely understood within the Islands among the lower economic classes and that outsiders either do not understand it or do not appreciate it, gives it a certain respectability which the educators can readily comprehend. Indeed the resistance to the creole dialect by professional educators and the economic elites frequently strengthens this stubborn determination to use it. It only as a gesture of protest and of in-group loyalty. If the upper class disapproves of Island "pidgin," one can derive a certain sense of superiority by几年前 before them a long time in which they are obviously at a disadvantage. By the same token, the use of standard English becomes an affront to the in-group and a sign of disloyalty. Especially among one's peers, failure to use the dialect is likely to be interpreted as an attempt "to put on airs" or to "high-brow" one's fellows and may afford grounds for ostracism.

II.

This somewhat abstract and abbreviated account of Island English provides some of the necessary background for the more detailed consideration of the problems of communication faced by Island youth. An even more abbreviated statement of the problem, but one which is wholly consistent with the foregoing, appears in a statement based upon the observations of a group of social workers and educators in 1939:

"Island Dialect: The Island dialect, which originated as a "pidgin English," is communication between the numerous ethnic groups in Hawaii, has paradoxically served to widen the barriers between the "locals" and the outsiders. For those who use the dialect naturally and effectively, it is a language of intimacy and warmth, but it obviously excludes those who do not feel at home in its use or who regard it solely as a language for dealing with the lower classes.

The attempts of newspapers and "educators" to exterminate Island dialect by forbidding its use in school or by poking fun at it as the language of those with inferior intelligence or ability, tend frequently to reinforce its use.

On the other hand, the inability of Island youth to communicate effectively in standard English is frequently a serious obstacle to occupational advancement and to easy participation in wider social circles.

A lack of care in social relations expresses itself in the reluctance of local youth, especially those of Oriental ancestry, to participate freely in decisions outside their own group, thus contributing further to the stereotype of the "glassy Oriental."

Most of the data in the following pages of this article are derived from the reactions of a group of 140 college students—most of them prospective
teachers—who were asked to comment on the above statement in terms of their own experience. Although it is obvious that such a highly selected group of young people could not reflect the experiences of the entire youth of Hawaii, it is reasonable to assume that they would provide a more thoughtful and critical approach than would be true of a general cross section of the population. With few exceptions, these young people are themselves fully acquainted with the island dialect, both as users and observers of the reactions of others to its use.

The area of difficulty in oral communication which was most readily recognized by the University students is related to the association with persons outside their own particular ethnic group or social clique. Insofar as the island dialect symbolizes lower class status, college students at least have been made conscious of the fact that its use may constitute a handicap when associating with persons of higher status. So deeply ingrained is this awareness, as a consequence of the formal indoctrination by their teachers and the public press, that the person thoroughly grounded in pidgin may be psychologically inhibited from speaking freely in standard English when occasion demands it.

The widely recognized existence of island youth, particularly of Oriental ancestry, in speaking their minds in the presence of Holland is in large part, so they themselves concede, a consequence of an undefined fear that their expressions may reflect a flavor of pidgin and hence of lower-class status. The difficulty encountered by high-school and college teachers, and especially those teachers, in "drowning out" their students of Oriental ancestry may be in part a vestige of their ancestral culture which places the "snail" or teacher in a prestige position to be approached only with the greatest deference and respect, but it is probably much more a consequence of the fear that out of their mouths the students will condemn themselves. A young man of Japanese ancestry expressed it as follows:

Oriental youths are afraid to speak up. These youths lack social ease, in that they feel that they will be laughed at every time they open their mouths. They feel that people will not accept them, and that a mistake will show their intelligence. This sense of insecurity is very real. A great number of youths express this fear, although they may have (conductive and) prudential motives for doing so.

Many times, a youth has refused to attend a certain social gathering because he wasn't sure as to how he should act or what he must do. Unless he went with a familiar group he had no social assurance. I have seen youths actually perspire, while speaking.

Youth have hesitated to date because of the lack of social confidence. I have been asked many times as to how to ask a date, and even as to what to do or where they should go in the dates by my friends. — Japanese.

It is quite clear, of course, that such hesitance does not spring wholly from a hyper sensitivity to the possibility of self-derision through the use of the island dialect. But, as the following statement indicates, under the conditions which still prevail in Hawaii, young people find it pidgin a reasonable explanation for their self-consciousness.

I, myself, am afraid to go out and meet people or to stand in front of a group to speak unless I know them very well. I'm not a shy person and when started can talk your ear off. But when I first met people I'm afraid my English won't be correct and I'm afraid people will laugh at me. I'm trying to overcome this habit of being scared of saying what other people think but I can't. The more I try to speak correctly in front of people, the more mistakes and pidgin comes into my speaking. The harder I try the worst (sic) I get. Maybe this is because I'm more conscious of my mistakes when speaking to strangers than when speaking to friends. — Japanese female.

Quite inevitably a variety of other sentiments and social attitudes become associated with this anxiety of island youth regarding their deficiencies in the use of standard English. Especially noticeable in this respect is a combined aloofness and envy toward the Holland who are typically assumed to possess a superior command of the English language. This condition appears to be more pronounced in the plantation areas where the Holland are always present in positions of power and prestige and where class distinctions are still preserved more effectively than in the urban areas.

We are aware that the Holland were the "superior" during the earlier days of the plantation. They were the bosses and the Orientals toiled in the fields under their direction. Because of this, the Oriental children have always felt a sort of bitterness, perhaps, or a feeling of rivalry toward Holland in general.3

The Oriental children now compete against these Holland who have some advantages over them, including their fluent use of the English language, their open aggressiveness, and their free-flowing personalities. The majority of Oriental youths still have strong ties with the customs of their parents—their holding back of emotions and restraint and their prejudices. There is a feeling of "I'll show the Holland I'm better than they are," and yet there is the conflicting feeling of wanting to be like the Holland.

For example, there was a Japanese girl at school who had a bad idea to attain status among her classmates—Japanese and Holland alike. She started talking like a Dutch, which turned off the other Japanese youth. The Oriental classmates began making fun of her and her "Holland-talk." Kinzo was a bright student, and by her "Holland-talk" she received good grades in English and in Speech. Because she didn't talk like the other Oriental youths she became a scape-goat with her own ethnic group.

Blindly as this is true, it has a fairly recent origin resulting from the spread into the plantation areas of the freer competitive standards of the city as well as the egalitarian ideals of the public schools. There is ample evidence that at an earlier date, less than a generation ago, the Oriental children on the plantations were disposed to accept as natural and inevitable the superior status of the Holland.

40
This open hostility of the Orientals is really a conflict among themselves. They want to be like the Haudsa and yet they are not. — Japanese female.

One cannot fail to recognize an element of prissiness in much of the strong attachment to the Island dialect. Questioningly, at times the identification provides a certain sense of superiority, however slight and precarious, the same fashion to express contempt toward those outside its charmed circle.

As teenagers rebel against parental controls and restrictions, so do the users of pidgin English. They feel that they are keeping in touch with each other by means of this unique system of communication. — Haudsa female.

Hence the widely noted pressure among Islanders, especially in the lower classes, to maintain the in-group solidarity. Often one hears the Island young people teasing each other by such remarks as, "Don't make like that. You think you one Hauda, or what?" or "You trying to talk like one Haudsy?" Such remarks stem from someone trying to speak good English, or trying to dress neatly, or being polite. — Chinese female.

Certainly this note of protest toward Haudes standards of speech, as well as of general conduct, stands out prominently in many of the student observations regarding Island dialect, although it would be quite impossible to place any quantitative evaluation upon this tendency.

Thus, an ambivalent sentiment toward both pidgin English and standard English reveals itself in the private expressions of Island youth. As informed earlier, the young people of non-Caucasian ancestry may be apologetic or defensive regarding their Island dialect in the presence of strangers, particularly Haudaes, who might judge them adversely. In the presence of fellow Islanders, on the other hand, the dialect is a boast of the courageous and in-group feeling. By the same token, the use of standard English, particularly among or even in the presence of those who have difficulty with it, is, as an evidence, not only of bad taste, but the grounds for severe criticism.

The situation among the Haudes is, in general, very much the reverse of the foregoing. The Makahilis or Coast-Haudes may be apologetic or defensive about their inability to use the dialect. In the presence of an Islander, the newcomer's efforts to ingratiate himself with them by attempting to acquire the dialect and thus symbolize that he "belongs" frequently incur the scorn of both his fellow Haudes and the non-Haudes Islanders. The and pidgin English, one perhaps afford to be somewhat tolerated at this situation, although under the present social circumstances the condemnation may turn to contempt.

III.

The one most obvious handicap in communication which Island youth commonly recognize as resulting from even the slightest use of the dialect is discrimination in the preferred occupations and the associated social relations.

So much of our Island employment requires the employee to meet the public and to be able to speak as that others understand them, Island speech is too localized and too rigid and it may be a handicap where meeting the public is the major element in the job, such as mail clerk, interviewer, etc., in which clear speech is vital. — Japanese female.

Frequently mentioned in the student papers was the poor performance of Islanders—always other than themselves—in vocational tests because of their major dependence upon their island and their inability to respond readily in standard English.

Language difficulties involving comprehension will undoubtedly interfere with the ability of Island youth to rate higher in various intelligence and vocational tests. Most of these standardized tests are based on language ability, involving verbal and reading comprehension. — Korean female.

It is by no means certain, of course, that the ability to use pidgin has anything to do with poor performance on tests, but it should be obvious to the most casual observer that even an occasional lapsing into the dialect on the wrong occasion, and much more, an exclusive dependence upon pidgin would constitute very serious obstacles to employment in many of the preferred occupations and especially to advancement within them.

On the other hand, Island students, and especially the recently arrived Haudes from the Mainland, are quite conscious of the fact that the ability to use the Island vernacular is still a desired asset in certain occupations. A recent arrival from the Mainland reports the comments to him of an employee of the State Employment office as follows:

Jobs where the employee is dealing with people from all economic classes usually require a knowledge of pidgin as well as English. My job is a good example. I must know how to converse in pidgin. A secretary in a construction office is another. She must know good English, but still be able to talk to the construction workers during interviews. Among the other jobs requiring a knowledge of pidgin are plantation foremen, dock clerks, and clerks in local grocery stores, where it is an absolute necessity. — Haudsa female.

Speaking for himself, this same student is apparently impressed by the success of certain radio and TV personalities who "can readily switch from the local dialect to good standard English." He also cites the use of pidgin in the advertisements of successful merchants as evidence of the emotional and economic significance which is still attached to local dialect.

The more common disposition among the recent arrivals from the Mainland is to decry the use of the Island dialect as a serious handicap to advancement in school, as well as in the business and industrial world.

I am afraid I feel superior to the "local" owing to my ability to speak and to express myself, but I also think they have a feeling of inferiority for the same reason. — In classes of the
University, very few "locals" make any comment or ask questions. The Oriental men seem to be especially shy in this area. In a philosophy class last year, a Japanese boy tried to ask a question but was criticized by the professor for not speaking English, and as a result he didn't say a word for the rest of the semester. — Hānalei male.

The classroom situation is represented as a traumatic experience of more serious proportions by another observer.

This lack of social ease—the fumbling about for simple words, the halting speech, and abortive hand gestures—is all too evident, especially in the speech classes at the University. Part of the reason that this occurs is because many of these youth have spoken the island dialect up to the university level and then are confronted with the necessity of changing their whole mode of speech in a very short time. If the white being assured that the Island dialect is sub-standard speech, I am not convinced that deep-rooted habits can be forcibly supplanted without long-range ill effects on the persons involved. — Hānalei male.

The average Hānalei student is probably less perceptive than either of the two foregoing and is likely to interpret the remoteness of the loyal students as evidence of inferior intellectual ability. As frequently happens, the inhibitions of the laisiders are chiefly oral and the more vocal members of the class may find it difficult to accept the fact that the "mouse-like Orientals" have greatly excelled them in the examinations and other written assignments.

Similarly both Hānalei and non-Hānalei students find in the island vernacular an embarrassment, if not a justification, for the alleged discrimination in employment and the failure of laisiders to advance more rapidly with the large Hānalei employers.

What employer would want an office manager or even a receptionist who speaks pidgin and cannot communicate with his associates? Language always holds a person back or advances him. — Hānalei male.

As suggested in some of the earlier citations, the students of Oriental ancestry, while recognizing that a serious limitation in speech is a legitimate basis for withholding certain types of employment or delaying advancement, also contend that the deficiencies in communication are frequently more of an excuse for discrimination than a valid reason.

Finalh the island students—at least at the college level—while recognizing the practical urgency of a thorough command of standard English as a basis of social and economic acceptance, are impressed with the necessity of approaching the problem with greater sensitivity and finesse than has characterized the direct frontal attack upon the local dialect in the past. Somewhat more than a third of the students, it is true, believed that the traditional methods of disparaging or forbidding the use of the dialect still have merit, contending that only a vigorous and drastic attack upon the problem will sufficiently impress the native youth with the enormities of their deficiencies. The far larger proportion of the students, although fully sensitive to the significance of local language limitations, insist that legalized devices or ridicule will not avail.

Island dialect is a carry-over from the plantation era. Today most of the teenagers use it as a medium of friendly intercourse with each other. Insofar as its use interferes with their occupational and social advancement, educators should be concerned, but I don't think they should belittle it. If left alone the dialect will pass away of itself, but the more the newspapers and professional educators make an issue of it, the more the teenagers will hold on to it. — Japanese female.

Now most of the residents of Hawaii are capable of speaking good English but cling sentimentally to Island dialect as a unifying element. They still take offense and are easily provoked to defend their use of a dialect which they see more as a symbol of belonging than as communication per se. — Japanese female.

Some even go so far as to state that the Island dialect is part of Hawaii's unique cultural contribution to the nation and the world, which ought to be preserved within the narrow limits of its usefulness. This is clearly a minority position and reflects the exaggeration something of the prevailing protest and irritation toward those who affect an attitude of superiority in matters relating to Island speech.

The foregoing analysis of the peculiar problems of communication encountered by island youth has drawn heavily for its evidence upon the observations of the young people themselves, deriving from that fact whatever merit it possesses, as well as involving a certain loss in objectivity. The data derived from other sources have served chiefly as background for the presentation of the point of view of a group of critically minded college students toward a problem with which they are especially concerned. The author has sought chiefly to systematize as best he could a highly diversified and sometimes highly subjective set of "participant observations." Sociologically conceived, the peculiar problems of oral communication encountered by Island youth today originate in the antecedent conditions of race and class existing on the plantations in a previous generation. Although many of these barriers to communication either have been or are being removed, formidable obstacles to understanding still exist between those who do and those who do not use the Island dialect.
Although the English language first arrived in Hawaii in the British accounts of Captain Cook and his men in 1778, there was no real teaching of the language until after the arrival of the American missionaries in 1820. During their first year in the islands the missionary teachers taught English with such zeal that more than 200 Hawaiians are said to have learned to read. A few became very good at it and acted as interpreters for the other people who later undertook the difficult problem of mastering English. During that half-century, before the arrival of the next major wave of emigrants from the Orient, the situation linguistically speaking must have been conducive to the development of language. The speech of the missionary teachers (the Easterners) and the patience of the teachers who were trying to teach the language was admirable.

The situation, in regard to language-learning, was entirely different after the influx of plantation laborers began. It is well known that the plantation workers brought to Hawaii for the commercial development of the pineapple and other foreign languages arrived in Hawaii, on the plantation. The arrival of these languages--Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, and Korean, along with two dialects of English language--presented a challenge of the standard form of those languages arriving like tidal waves in striking contrast in the structure of the English language, only two of them being of the Indo-European family of tongues. The languages got down so close to each other in the limited area of Hawaii represented a number of widely different languages--stocks. Besides the Indo-European languages, there were Polynesian and Tagalog, representing the Malayan-Polynesian family. Several families of Asian languages were represented, for, in spite of popular belief to the contrary, wide variation in language structure was presented a hazard to the learning his learning of any subsequent language.

Another reason the laborers had difficulty in learning English was that their teachers were often different from the missionary teachers. The language-pattern for the laborers was set in place. Rapid and simple communication meant. The Polynesian first form from which the language was used was the Polynesian 7, out of the Polynesian, that was known as the "pilgrim language," because of its simplicity, and passed on to wives and children by the laborers. This pattern, once set and self-propagating, ruined years and years of effort of later teachers of standard English.

In the public schools the teachers found this persistent "pilgrim" pattern of speech to be a thing almost too strong to cope with. It interfered constantly with the lessons in grammar and usage they were trying to instill. Any linguist will tell you (especially if he is a polyglot himself) that the closer two languages are to each other, the more difficult they are to keep apart. "Pilgrim" and standard are relatively close to each other (at least from the linguist's point of view) and hence they interfere with each other constantly. Had modern methods of language instruction been known during the early years of the public schools in Hawaii, educators might have helped the teachers to work out the critical points of difference between the two forms--phonetically, grammatically, stylistically, and rhythmically--treating the "pilgrim" as a language in itself with scientific objectivity. The change-over to standard forms might have been much more efficient and much more rapid had this been done.

Unfortunately, this is not what happened. For some reason--probably that language is close to personality and personality is close to racial tension--an emotionalism crept into language teaching that has at times flared up to the heat of hatred. It is still evident to this day. The subject of "pilgrim" is almost always good for a heated argument whether it comes up at a PTA meeting or in the columns of the local papers. Since the teaching of English was hard-going, school teachers often fall into the habit of avoiding and shaming the children for their "pilgrim" expressions, threatening them with failure in school if they did not "learn speaking good English at once and speak it all the time." Since the difference between "good English" and "pilgrim" involves innumerable tiny points that must be taught (and learned) patiently over a period of years, many of the children were frustrated by this angry frontal attack of the teachers and other onlookers and they reacted by (1) silence and fear; (2) a tentative allegiance to the "pilgrim" and a hatred for "bunch-kid talk," or (3) some combination of these two.

II

From a scientific point of view, it is a pity that the study of language in Hawaii should have become mixed up with sharp emotional overtones. The result has been that few research studies have been made in a field which is rich for study. Descriptive studies of what the dialect actually is are almost non-existent. A few good sociological studies have been made, particularly by Paul K. Hatt (1929), (Kohonen, "Pilgrim English"). But descriptive linguistic studies are now only beginning to be made. The unfortunate thing is that we cannot go back and fill in the unrecorded stages of language development. It may, even now, be impossible to write in the missing segments. It has become a task requiring time, money, and perseverance to make tape recordings of anything even resembling the old plantation "pilgrim." Unless it be done from play by play in which the language is actually used, it will be very difficult to get the true story of the old speech. As the old speech was changed, children who have had a good teacher will be needed to record it, and when I have heard of old-timers who might possibly be persuaded to have tape-recordings made, it is often turned out that they have improved their speech and will present a polished-up version for the tape-recorder, or they are too old and ill to record, or they are too much too essay to be embarrassed by the criticisms that have been heaped upon the heads of "pilgrim" speakers because they are willing to take a chance on putting their accents into permanent form. Thus, while physical scientists have been inductively studying phenomena in Hawaii for years, describing carefully every minute bit of plant or animal life in the islands, the linguists
have missed the boat at almost every stage of the development of English in Hawaii. Of course if tape recorders had been as easy to obtain and to have been preserved. The availability of recording devices has not stood score and validation held by large numbers of language purists toward the to be of scientific interest. It has come about, then, that even the "sang..." while a language-form developed for human communication has been considered too "bad" to be of scientific interest.

Sociologists in Hawaii have evidenced a scientific attitude toward the language situation here. Writing in Social Process in Hawaii in 1947, Bernhard Horman said, "it may be that the aim of establishing standard and appreciation of the local dialect can be worked out inductively by the pupils. These..." (Horman, "Speech, Predication, and the School in Hawaii,") bringing years the American public has taken the new methods of language on even in elementary schools. This utilization has spread from the of all ages. The structure of the target language and of the native language sounds, its grammar, in vocabulary, and in rhythm. Language-learning by the linguistic one and the common-reuse one.

This scientific method, applied to the teaching of standard English in the dialect by reports, on phonetics, grammatical, and textual levels; (2) more real linguistic work on the part of those capable of demonstrating the once worked out, to be transmitted to teachers in the schools. (3) more time arranged in the curriculum for the regular practicing of standard speech forms.

The purpose of this article is to give a sketch of what the English-language situation is in Hawaii today. It is a statement of a view after a quarter of a century of work on oral English in the Language for the assurance of the perpetuating problems. For groups: (2) persons who speak standard English at all times; (2) persons personal contact with the local dialect; (3) back and forth between standard English and the local dialect in the languages in Hawaii.)

In the first group given above are educated Haole and non-Haole, including those born in Hawaii, those who have lived in Hawaii for a long

time, and those newly arrived. Examples of different types of Mainland standard speech can be heard—The Eastern, the Southern, and the General American. (The General American or "western" seems to be strongly in the majority as to speakers.) British, Australian, and New Zealand types can also be heard. The interesting point for this study is that more and more of the locally born non-Haole are falling into this group each decade. As witness to this contention is the fact that increasing numbers of non-Haole are teaching in the speech department of the University and as English teachers in other schools. They usually speak a type of American English which is western in character, although some of them retain slight vowel-colorations possibly passed down to them by early missionary teachers from the New England speech area. A graduate assistant recently made a tape-recording to be used as a model teaching tape in classes of dialect speakers. A number of the administrators of the University who happened to listen to the tape, judged the girl to be a Haole who had grown up in the Bay Area. In reality she is of pure Chinese ancestry and has never left the Islands. She is a product of one of the local public high schools.

My second group of speakers is not an important one for this paper, except that it should be recognized for reasons of comparison. These are the persons in Hawaii who speak Mainland types of standard English. If for no other reason, this group should be mentioned here as a means of recalling to ourselves that our so-called "pidgin" is only one of many existing varieties of standard English scattered over the face of the earth. Substandard speech forms exist in every language area.

The third group are those people, elders and youngsters, who cannot speak anything but the local dialect. There is no real means of estimating how many persons are in this group at the present time. Our observer might estimate that 40 per cent of all non-Haole speakers in the Islands would fall into this category. Other observers might put the percentage above or below that. It is of great importance to note, however, that these speakers are not all alike. Each is represented on an imaginary language map with a separate colored pin, representing his own particular dialect or progress in the drift of the whole group toward the main stream of standard English. Some are near; some are a long way off. This group rightly deserves our concern, pedagogically, for, with the changing front of the landscape under statehood (with the advent of jet airplane and of increasing numbers of speakers of the standard English) these dialect-speaking citizens will find jobs to their satisfaction. Each careful English teacher is often content that there are plenty of jobs for the speakers of "pidgin." Although this is true, the youngsters in our schools are learning is like white-collar jobs more rapidly than the learning the standard language that goes with them. Some of us, long in the teaching game, think that the students in modern, sharp-pointed techniques of instruction, and in more enlightened motivation. As the number of dialect speakers grows smaller, the methods can grow more inclusive. Dialect speakers with a will to learn ought to be able to do so in a comparatively short time.

The fourth group I have named above, the bilingual group, is one about which little has been written. It is the segment which is probably increasing the most rapidly. It is composed of those locally born people, mostly youngsters, who can speak acceptable English inside the class-room or across the counter at a business establishment, but who can, and do, switch to the dialect on school grounds, in dormitories, in powder rooms.
and across the tables during coffee breaks. These are Hawaii's bilingual
book. (Literacy in Contact.) (Washington, Language), that the speaker
same language as an example of bilingualism in one of its community.
who can speak both standard English and the local dialect—but always,
deliberately choose to drop back? The best guess is that the dialect
world of one's peers—delightful to return to for a few minutes of relaxation
the dialect is spoken to those already accustomed to release kommt as
success, to drop into the dialect too, often to the consternation of their
parents but always to the delight of the children themselves.

A regular observer is forced to conclude that whereas the old forms
increasing in popularity and in use, several things back up the belief that
creative works appeared written in the dialect. (Original Play at the Uni-
“pidgin.” Audience have shown delight in this dichotomized. Much more
high schools, written and delivered by speakers who would themselves speak
material in dialect are few. What does it mean to being, the latter, for the true
article brought with dialectical re-tellings of established stories for children.
Those established, that is, in the new phase of our language development.
or would illustrate the point being
written appearances of “pidgin” are being made in places where they
called this current language “non-English.” (McKee, "A Final Word on-
 Authentic Pidgin.")

IV
Although I have stated that large numbers of island students fall into the
bilingual group, speaking standard or dialectal English as the occasion
wishes. In plantation days there was a wide gap between “pidgin” and rec-
ceived usage. Not quite. It becomes more and more difficult for the fully
English-speaking child to fall which of the phenomena “pidgin” belongs to the
English language. The “non-English” phenomena belong to the English
language. The process of the former takes place when the child
the time}

At English teacher in one of the local intermediate schools asked me
the other month to come to her class in order to test the differences between
dialect and standard English. She followed my setup immediately with an assign-
ment. If the pupils to translated in the meaning of “pidgin.” She asked me to
back to school the next day in a paper, reporting (1) the expressions, (2) the
"translations," and (3) the places in which they were heard. She turned
over the resulting papers to me, I shall use some of these recently gathered
examples as illustrations for the rest of this study.

Two or three of the intermediate school students seemed to observe
with clarity, moving easily back and forth in their perception of levels of
language. Others were not so accurate, and in their following they discovered
some of the difficulties between the “approximated” and the "disappeared.”
(McAfee, Year-old reported the following sentence as a bit of "pidgin.")
"Aw, take long time, boy?" She followed by giving four reasons why this
was (she said) a sentence ("a dialect.") She ended with the translation of
the statement into standard English as follows: "Go, it sure takes a long time!",
leaving the reader a little surprised that this should be perceived by
her as "standard," and with a new sense of the relativity of the levels.

The same student reported a second "pidgin" sentence as follows:
"Oh, do n’t say it,” translating it as "oh, it’s very pretty!" She "reasons why
it is a dialect." She said among other things, "Nitty indicates the presence
of another language." The American slang word (originally from the
theatrical world but entirely English) is a behind popularity in "non-English-
in Hawaii, and is apparently perceived as a loan-word.
Another teen-ager’s comments upon the language heard on the buses
of Honolulu included the following statement: "If you ever ride the bus after
school you hear a lot of conversations and groups going on, but most of
those usually have pidgin language in it."

Some youngsters seemed to have a marked degree of clarity of per-
ception concerning the language situation. One wrote: "I heard so many
(‘pidgin’) words on my way home that I can’t remember them all. I
heard my friend talking to, other boys and girls, and I said some myself.
My friend and I always seem to try to talk like that but it just comes out
in classes. We don’t talk like that but as soon as we step out of class,
we do. Another wrote: "I think I could fit in the bilingual group and
am quite successful in switching from dialect to standard English. I try
to speak pidgin too much. It’s not only for fun. It is fun to listen to others
speak the language, though."

The best comment was written by a boy of Japanese ancestry, who, after
reporting his experience in “listening to” on playground groups, gave a
colorful list of "pidgin" expressions. He ended his paper with the following
admonition: "As students of English, it is important to be aware of the
language. It may be difficult to be successful in the use of the
languages. The problem is that the world is getting less and less "pidgin"
spoken in schools. It is actually looking less, as I did today. This assignment gave me a few pretty pronunciations, for instance, "pronounced (pronounced)
and "even pronounced (isn’t)."

V
What are the characteristic of "non-English"? In its most diver-
gent form it may have, phonetically, as many as four or five vowel-confus-
ions or substitutions, along with consonant problems such as the use of

A woman reported putting a large plate of spaghetti in front of her little son and hearing him exclaim: "Oh, da long, Mommay?" Knowlton referred to these adjectives as "quasi-substantives" and reported that they too had a parallel form in Portuguese. (Knowlton, "Portuguese in Hawaii.") However, the word which is most curious in this phrase is actually the article the pronounced as *da*. The expression "Oh, the pretty" seems to be parallel to "Oh, how pretty!" in standard speech, yet the substitution of the for here is hard to explain.

Some inclusive gang-terms never heard on the Mainland, as far as I know, are shown in the sentences below, a conversation between two girls in which the term guys seems to have lost its gender:

First girl: "You going library with Alice-them?" ("Are you going to the library with Alice and her crowd?")

Second girl: "Yes, is Thelma going with you-guys?" ("Yes, is Thelma going with all of you too?")

The ubiquitous "da kine" is said to be largely a development of recent years and rarely have to be heard a quarter-century ago. It may stand for many parts of speech, for example:

"He's da kine about her." ("He's in love with her.")

"Go get da kine sweep floor." ("Go get the broom.")

"Oh, you know da kine..." ("You know what I mean--the what-you-may-call-it.")

"He's a little bit da kine." ("He's a little bit crazy.")

"Da kine talk." ("Pidgin English.")

An unusual use of lazy is made in expressions such as this one:

"Hold my books. I lazy carry 'em." ("Hold my books. I'm too lazy to carry them.")

Shame is used in the same construction, with the meaning of "afraid" or "embarrassed," e.g. "I shame anna da question." The use of loan words in Hawaiian has had some preliminary study but much more remains to be done. In the present brief account, I shall include only one:

First boy: "Oh, sandwiches?"

Second boy: "You like 'em?" ("Do you want one?")

First boy: "Nah, dis kine maunual?" ("No, these are too little, too stingy."--from the Hawaiian word maunual.)

Next to its rhythm, which is impossible to suggest in a paper, the most striking feature of this "neo-pidgin" is probably its extreme reduction in structure. The cut-down, telegraphic communication does not always mean that the speakers cannot use the fuller forms when they choose to do so. On the University campus I heard a four-word conversation recently.

"Oh, da pretty?" ("Oh isn't it pretty?)

"Oh, da cute?" ("Oh, isn't it cute?")
which put its point across, although in its expanded form it might have included from twelve to twenty words. One student, standing on the grass outside a classroom building called to his friend who was just coming down the steps from a ten o'clock class:

Student on the grass: "Check roll!" ("Did the professor take the roll today?"")
Student coming from class: "No, check!" ("No, he didn't take the roll today. I could have cut class too, as you did!")

SUMMARY

It is difficult to give, with a few examples, an idea of the nature of the English dialect of Hawaii and the way it sounds in actual use. A conscientious description, point by point, would make a book, and the book would run into a present stage of the development of English in Hawaii and particularly to speakers of today.

It seems to me to be clear that local young people are more or less aware of what is taking place in the drift of their language from the standard to the non-standard American, more of them are probably motivated to speak at the standard level, more of them are probably motivated to speak at the non-standard level, than we give them credit for. These problems come in the developing world, and in the indelible fact that the "neo-pidgin" heard everywhere is colorful, warm, and full of vitality. It laces, therefore, into the "neo-pidgin"... [text continues]
It would follow that since the children incorporate few foreign words in their every day speech, few sentences would be classified as mixed. One per cent of the Japanese and urban Filipino children's sentences fell into this category and 1.9 per cent of the rural Filipino children used mixed sentences (see Table I). One child asked his father to carry him piggy-back by saying, "Daddy, ogh (colloquial Japanese) me." Thomas asked his playmate, "You like see Ba Polki?" (Hawaiian for excrement) as they were looking for his dog. Cyrilh invited the observer to accompany her by saying, "Nanging, come." (Nanging is roughly the Ilocano equivalent of Mai). toolbox was playing a Japanese card game and said to her playmate, "No, because you going kill (use the joker) my cover (playing card with a picture of a cherry blossom on it)."

The error indices number of errors per 1,000 words shown in Table I for the three samples reflect an approximate 50 per cent reduction in the number of errors. The 1958 Japanese children made the fewest number of errors, followed by the urban Filipino and the rural Filipino. All differences in the error indices of the 1958 and 1959 samples are significant at least at the .01 level. Many of the errors made by the children in the 1958 study can be attributed to their use of pidgin. The speech of these children reflects the influence of pidgin, which is spoken by most of their parents and playmates. It is interesting to note that in the few cases where the parents did not speak pidgin, most of their children did make some pidgin errors. When comparing the members of the samples in the current study with monolinguals, their performance in this area is below the three-year-old level.

Listed in Table II are the pidgin English errors which the children made. Some of the uses of these words, although not exactly incorrect, occur very rarely in standard English usage. Since there might not be occasion to use many of the particular phrases frequently during the limited period of observation, comparisons in Table II are shown according to the number of children making the specific error rather than by frequency of occurrence of the error.

It is interesting to note that in the present study few of the errors are peculiar to any one of the three samples. This general lack of differentiation of error types in the use of pidgin may be attributed to the decrease of the influence of ancestral languages and specific structures peculiar to them. In addition, there now appears to be a generalized pidgin dialect in Hawaii rather than types of pidgin such as Japanese, Filipino, Portuguese, and Hawaiian pidgin that was common twenty years ago.

The errors made by more than 10 per cent of the children are listed in rank order in Table III*. These errors, discussed in detail in the following paragraphs, are usage errors exclusively, not errors of mispronunciation such as "zaz" for "that's."* 

1. The most common of all specific errors is the use of go for gid, which is made by 117 of the 151 children whose records were examined. This error was also the most common in the 1958 study. Typical examples of this usage are as follows: "My brads and iis go to school; but I no go." "I no like beer." "You no can catch me." "No blow, Bubba, no good."* 

*For a discussion of the probable origin of these errors, see M. Smith, "Some Light."
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Error</th>
<th>Japanese</th>
<th>Filipino</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see why -- become</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>born (for past tense)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broke</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broke -- break</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by-o-by</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come big -- become</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>every time -- always</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find (egg) -- seek</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got -- have there is</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got -- had or is</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go -- will or should</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go to (inf or redundant)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hold (used redundantly)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>little more -- soon</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make or made -- do or fix</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me for us we</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>once big, bigger or better</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no -- for not</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no more -- haven't any</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no sound -- not necessary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>somebody (usually no)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one (or the)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one time -- once</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open -- turn on</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plenty -- many or much</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small -- little</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some -- hurt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stay -- is present or here</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>talk -- say</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tell -- say</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the -- how</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>try (for emphasis)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waste time -- don't care to</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>went (for past tense)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Used sometimes to express simple past time, sometimes redundantly for emphasis.**

**It was counted only when it was erroneously used.**

3. Got for hay or there is is used erroneously by over half of the children. In the 1938 study this error ranked third. The following are some examples of their error: "I like doughnuts, Andy." "I like ride your bicycle." "He not like me." "Come on, I like play."  

4. Go for will or will should be used incorrectly by over half of the children. In the 1928 study this error ranked second. Only when it is used incorrectly to form the future tense was it counted as an error. A redundant use of the word go seems to have crept into the children's speech, and this usage was classified separately. The following sentences are examples of the use of go in place of will or should: "I go stand up." "We go make tent with this one." "C'mon, we go call Damar." "I go make some water."  

5. Went or went go is still commonly used to indicate the past tense. This error ranked ninth in the 1938 study. At that time, the Japanese did not make this error as often as other racial groups; and in the present study, it was used by a larger proportion of Japanese children, but not to the same extent as the two Filipino groups. This increased usage of went to indicate the past tense lends support to the statement that there is now one general pidgin dialect. Many of the children, of course, use the past tense correctly and some use it incorrectly at times and employ went at other times. Typical examples of this error are as follows: "I went eat." "The man go went fall down." "People went kill one passy already." "She went go party with his mother." "Who went go drop all this?" "Andy went go cook my head."  

6. Make for do or fix is used by slightly less than one-third of the children. This error ranked fifth in the 1938 study and was made by for few Japanese children than Filipinos. Table II shows that, although not as many Japanese children employ this usage, the differences are not great. The following sentences illustrate this usage: "You can make like this." "I said no make!" "Hey, you can make like this."  

7. Stay for is present or here is used by 28 per cent of the children. In the 1938 study it ranked eighth, and was used by many Japanese children. This infrequent usage holds true in the present study. Examples of this error are as follows: "They staying stay." "Andy stay catching bee." "Stay bea, the cow." "When somebody stay, he no talk." "I stay more up."  

8. Try, employed for emphasis (usually as an auxiliary), is used by slightly less than one-fourth of the children. This usage ranked eleventh in the 1938 study and was employed by a little more often by the Japanese than it is now. Examples of this usage are as follows: "I like try." "Do, try lock." "Try stand up, Suzanne." "Try come, we go make tent."  

9.5. Kind for way or way is used redundantly or where it would appear that the child is at a bias for a word to express himself more adequately. In the 1938 study this error ranked sixth. Typical examples of this error are as follows: "This is marble kind again." "You make this kind?" "I brought home big kind dolly." "What kind she doing?"
9.5. Oft used generally as a substitute for 2 or 3, was counted as error. It is not always wrong, as when the child says, "If I see a man," but it sounds strange, for in standard English, "I see a man" would be more usual. In the 1938 study this error ranked third and was made by more than 10 per cent of the children. The urban Filipinos made this error most frequently; in the present study it is made twice as often by the rural Filipino children as by either of the other groups. Examples of this error are as follows: "We get one pussy." "Yes one monkey?" "Mine one hard, you know."

11. Plenty for many is used by approximately 12 per cent of the children. In the 1938 study it ranked twelfth and was used by less than 1 per cent by the Japanese children; in the present study, it was used most frequently by the rural Filipino children. The following are examples of this error: "The house." "I get plenty machine." "Plenty good come my home."  

12. No more is another negative error that is used frequently enough by 11 per cent of the children) to be listed separately. In the 1938 study Japanese children, in the present study, the Japanese and rural Filipino following are examples of this stage: "Mary eat no more teeth." "Pun, air." "Dopey no mo' head."  

III. Rank Order Listing of Pilgrim Errors Made by More Than 10 Per Cent of the Japanese and Filipino Children in the 1938 and the 1938 Studies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Error</th>
<th>1938 Rank</th>
<th>1938 Rank</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>9.5</td>
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<td>9.5</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

FAMILY BACKGROUND OF THE CHILDREN

When analyzing the father's occupation, the Barr Rating Scale was used. Even though this scale is somewhat obsolete in terms of modern occupations, its use was necessary to permit comparison with the earlier study. The urban Filipinos had a higher Barr rating, 9.29, as contrasted with the urban and rural Filipino groups, 7.06 and 7.26 respectively. These ratings reflect the fact that, since the Japanese immigrated to Hawaii earlier than the Filipinos, they therefore have had more economic opportunities.

This conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that 95 per cent of the Japanese parents were born in the United States as compared with the two Filipino groups -- urban, 50 per cent and rural, 33 per cent. In the urban Filipino group, 50 per cent of the fathers and 70 per cent of the mothers were born in the United States. In contrast, the 1938 figures for the three groups of parents were 41 per cent, 13 per cent, and 2 per cent respectively.

The parents of the children in the present study are better educated than those of twenty years ago. Table IV reflects school attendance in the United States only. The average education is 11.8 years for the parents of the Japanese group as contrasted with 2.7 years twenty years ago. The urban Filipinos' average is 9.3 years of schooling as against 4.1 years, and the rural Filipinos' average 9.6 years versus 3.3 years in 1938.

English is now spoken almost exclusively in the children's homes. (see Table IV). However, in 1938, the ancestral language was generally used by all three groups, and by the Japanese at least as often as English. The languages rated as home (see Table IV) reflects the Anglicizing of speech. The language rating, ranging from 3.3 to 3.9 on a five point scale, primarily reflects the amount of pidgin now spoken rather than an ancestral language.

In the thirties, the urban Filpino were more proficient in English than the rural Filipinos. Now the reverse is the case. The probable reasons for the change may be suggested. (1) After World War II, many of the Filipinos who migrated to Hawai'i sought work in the city rather than on the plantations where the number of jobs had been decreased; (2) the degradation of races in plantation villages had been abandoned so that there are few Filipino families who do not have neighbors of other races; and (3) increasing mechanization on the plantations has resulted in greater demand for skilled labor.

In thirty-six of the fifty Japanese homes, no one prefers to use Japanese although all of the parents had attended after-school Japanese language classes and a few had received all or part of their education in Japan. In eleven homes, a grandparent who prefers to speak Japanese resides and in only three homes does one parent prefer that language. Even the child's name reflects the tendency toward Anglicization. In the earlier study, almost all of the children's given names were Japanese; now some are, and in only one case did a child call a playmate by a Japanese name. This use of Anglo-Saxon given names was influenced by conditions during World War II.
Johnny, die is oki! (orchid)
What?
Ai, he stay talk just like one Chinese.
Wait, come!
If you want to put you flowers, come.
Die is oki!
O.K. Come on, sell um?
How much do you sell um?
Two what?
One! (She would only pay two toy dollars for the flowers.)
Ah--an you give me change?
No, give him one stuff an' one money.
As all! (Talking to her friend as she waits for more flowers and money)
Wal (where) his money?
He lost. (He didn't have any money left.)
May I have one da kind? (Pointing to a blue flower)
Da blue flower.
Gimme change.
Nice, huh?
No! (Her reply when her playmate gave her the money.)
You give him da blue kind now.
Who's dat hanging clothes?
Ahh, may I buy da little flowers?
Give us dolla, too.
Dolla, I like dolla too, dolla.
No! I like blue kind.
My gardenia. (Holding the flower to her nose.)
Ah, I drop my change.
We gars get too go sleep now.
I going, going a 1, going we da phone.
Hello! (Speaking into an imaginary phone)

The second record was taken while a five-year-old Filipino boy was playing with two brothers and four other playmates. This boy lives in a village on the island of Hawaii. His mother attended school through the seventh grade. His father, a native of the Philippines, had no formal education and is employed on a sugar plantation.

Oh, you fat bulb. (Playing with older brother.)
C'mon, we go play airplane kind.
Superman, I got big muscles.
Okay, borate kind.
No push um. (Neighbor pushed a little brother.)
Ahh, no can go outside. (Gate was locked.)
Where you going? (Neighbor was leaving yard.)
We go play Indian kind.
That boy went on the road.
As you. (Talking with the neighbor.)
Yeah--as right, them like go sea beach.
I like drink soda.
Watch this. (Threw grass in the air.)
Button, come. (Called playmate.)
Benny say he going talk you something. (Talking with playmate.)
Like I whack you? (To neighbor who was bothering his little brother.)
You make arrow. (Talking with playmate.)
MY LOCAL BOYS

Walter F. Balancy

... The city looked much as it had in the National Geographic and Holiday articles. In Waikiki we wandered through the shops. It was much like Miami. The lei sellers and exotic girls seemed like movie dressing room tour-ists. Waikiki has never felt "real" to me—more like a movie set than a community. I was disappointed. This was not romantic and mysterious. This was just another resort town.

I stayed with my friends nearly two weeks. We took in hula, Tahitian dancers, native wood carvings, and the Pali. Then not wanting to overstay my welcome, I moved out and found a place of my own in Waikiki.

After looking for two weeks I was eager to find a job. I started work immediately at a Waikiki shop as an evening clerk. At the same time I heard of an opening as a day camp counselor for the Nuuanu YMCA's summer program. I jumped at the chance. The "V" was located in the heart of town. I had made several expeditions downtown and had difficulty making myself understood in the shops. The pace downtown was quicker. The races were more varied. And most interesting were the many, many children. I'd always been fond of youngsters, and enjoyed being around them. Except for a few shoe shine boys, Waikiki is nearly childless.

At the end of my first day at the "V" I wondered if I hadn't made a mistake. I was in charge of twenty-three Oriental boys with only a Junior Leader to help me. I couldn't pronounce their names, I couldn't understand their questions, and they couldn't understand me

For the first few weeks I was confused. I could hear them talking but it seemed as though my ears were plugged; I couldn't understand them. Then came the awakening. Early one morning, one of my boys came and asked, "We go dakid?" For the first time I didn't mistake a statement for a question. The different inflection had not fooled me, and wonder of wonders, I even guessed what "dakid" was—the plan for the day, a visit to the Matsui's. "Yahh. We go, o-ni, brodryak." The kid was delighted at my answer. "Hey, you make like local boy." The rest of the day I prac- ticed my pidgin. It was music to my ear, a symphony. I was in at last! I was in with my local boys.

That evening I went to work at the Waikiki shop as usual. For the first time the people sounded strange to me. After a day of pidgin, these people sounded as an Englishman of the old school to an American. Everything was over-ennuised. And the customers were asking me to repeat things. They couldn't understand me!

After surmounting the language barrier, I gathered courage to move downtown closer to the "V." I decided I'd really get to know the local people. But things didn't change very much at first. I found the people around

---Editors.
attractive and charming, but I didn't get close to anyone. I made acquaintances, talked to and from, but I felt I was living at a distance, in a separate country.

In the presence of "beauties" these local people, I began to bend over backwards, and with many of the others I made the most of them. One day the guy was sitting in the yard, discussing the beauty to get. "Hey, sexy makeup, sexy, sexy," I started calling Raquel. "Hey, Raquel, I know you."

And one of the kids joined, "Oh!

At the end of the summer I was hired to work full time for the "T," which was to be my first job ever. I was sent to develop mentally, physically, and spiritually. I was with a goal to work in the Shadows, to be a "mysterious" man. I made a decision to forget my background.

For the most part I ignored these experiences, but once they got my boys to make or smoke. They were all for the idea until we played a few rounds. Then they said they one of the kids spoke up, "We're not for us."

This was a kind of test for me. I enjoyed my boys' ability to go around without me. This sort of ingrained respect for the people in the Shadow was not to get any place in the future. Only a few months later, some people are now working to get out of prison. They may live in a different country. I'm not sure I do, but it's one of the kids. "Some of the people I know are just having a good time, but they are also learning to真是只

The first time I saw them in the back yard, I was shocked. They were all unshaven, dirty clothes. I was surprised to see them working, but they were happy to do it. I'm not sure I do, but it's one of the kids. "Some of the people I know are just having a good time, but they are also learning to..."

The Multilead readers/viewers regard Miecher's "Hawaii" as a social history as well as a novel. The book for granted that careful research had presented the writing of the book.

It is only the local reviews that one finds criticism of the book from the point of view of historical accuracy. For instance, Kathleen Molle, author of many published books on Hawaii, charged Miecher with having "reconstructed history" to fit his own theories and purposes, hence the many historical inaccuracies... 

These adverse criticisms arise, perhaps, from the fact that the book Hawaii: Island as a fiction, is in some ways naturalized by the author to be "true to the spirit and history of Hawaii."

Writers of historical novels are not likely to spend their money and thought on the collection of scientific data. They are usually satisfied with personal interviews, observations and some book research sufficient to enable them to introduce events and places with the lives of their charac-

(continued from page 41)

In the book review's section, the New York Herald Tribune commended the author on his reconstruction and effectiveness of conditions in Hawaii. "Mr. Miecher has written a map of the land that was his home with the rest and freshness of a cartographer's render, the particularity of a novelist, and the depth, painted, realistic, exploration of many fields." (Nov. 14, 1938)

Glenn H. Weaver, a former longtime resident of Hawaii and now Secretary for Hawaii and Cultural Relations, Council for Christian Social Action, Hawaii, and founder of the "Miecher's Hawaii" was born in Hawaii and was raised in the South. He wrote..." (This is an interesting story of one of the most successful uses of the book, Miecher's Hawaii as a social history as well as a novel."

(See book review for Council for Christian Social Action)
SPEECH CORRECTION IN HAWAII'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Amy Foster

Much emphasis has been placed upon the local speech variants common to Hawaii. One cannot venture very far along a street in any part of the State without being aware of the "Hawaiian Dialect." For this reason it is not uncommon for a Mainland Teacher's College student to receive in her "teaching American English to foreigners." It is with surprise that they read our reply that our schools are not full of "foreigners" but that most of our children speak English both at home and at school!

Our problem has been quite similar to that of cities in Texas and other border states which have been assimilating thousands of Mexican-American, Puerto Rican, and American children. In Hawaii today, most of our children speak the English language fluently and communicate with English-speaking people from all over the world. They hear and understand British, from rural Oklahoma, Arkansas, Alabama, or Maine! Concentrated effort on the part of the University of Hawaii, the State Department of Public Instruction, and the thoroughly Americanized population has resulted in a remarkably rapid development of speech correction. However, the pure, clipped vowel sounds and the that speech is characterized by "more British than Boston." To others, it sounds as if we speak "with a foreign accent."

Watching our small island children playing "cowboy" one becomes aware of the influence of television upon this generation in Hawaii as in all areas. It shows that the children, like the rest of the world, have been influenced by television and living variants from all English dialects in the State with a peculiar island characteristic of the speech problem, it is generally assumed that the children have been influenced by television and living variants from all English dialects in the State with a peculiar island characteristic of the speech problem.

In a recent survey of the secondary schools, it was interesting to find that many of our children who stutter express relatively little embarrassment to the country for a stuttering child to go to school. There is a minimum less tolerance from peers in the average small-town school in less cosmopolitan places. The incidence of stuttering appears to be the same as accepted facts and tolerance for differences.

Surveys by the Department of Public Instruction and the Department of Health speech-hearing specialists have shown high agreement between the classroom teacher referrals and those selected by a speech correction program by specialist-teachers trained in Hawaii or on the Mainland.

Of course, in any state, if minor deviations within vowel phonemes such as "cheekers" for "children," deviant "do" sounds as in "did" for "this" (which are easily understandable and prevalent within the community) were included in the speech correction list, the numbers would be overwhelming. In Hawaii, children with minor deviations are handled by the classroom teacher who is given training in speech improvement at the University of Hawaii.

Disagreement as to the degree of deviation to be termed as a "speech defect" is reflected in recent reports in American Speech and Hearing Association (ASHA) magazine from numerous mainland regional meetings. There is much discussion nationally as to how we are to meet the need for trained speech correction teachers in the face of explosive population trends. If teachers especially qualified in speech correction are to spend much of their time working on very minor deviations (open which even the experts cannot agree), they will not be able to serve the large numbers of children with obviously severe problems in intelligibility and communication such as hearing losses, deaf palate, etc.

We should not overlook the fact that our children deserve a far more complete program in speech correction and speech improvement than the State Department of Public Instruction is at present able to offer them with its small staff of specialist-teachers. Each year many schools in all districts receive no help at all beyond consultation and evaluation of the most severe problems by the itinerant-speech specialist. Recently established summer school centers help by gathering together the most severe and neglected speech problems for an intensive six-week's seminar. Future plans include scheduled itinerant speech correction teachers in all elementary schools, and made available in severe or long-term cases in secondary schools. Speech improvement is to be stressed in the elementary curriculum, included as a part of the secondary school curriculum, and available among other speech electives in most high schools.

At present the itinerant speech correction specialist is able to give help to only half of the referrals she receives from teachers. There is no question about priority. It is given to the most severely and conspicuous cases and to the large bulk of speech-mature, elementary school children (above second grade) having conspicuous defective articulation of a non-diabetical nature or with speech disorders (often of psychological nature) conspicuously poor voice or non-fluency problems.

Most of the children are eager for help and look forward to speech class. The high motivation of the children, the excellent cooperation from classroom teachers, and the enthusiastic support of parents make public school speech correction teaching one of the most rewarding and interesting jobs in Hawaii.
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MATERNAL ANCESTRY AND CLEFT PALATE

Author's Name: Harvey C. Korn

Will My Second Child Have a Cleft Palate? Since the etiology of cleft palate was, in 1943, largely a matter of conjecture, an investigation of a high incidence of the congenital malformation—2.25 per 1000 live births in Wisconsin—had been noted for the thyroid disease in the Jews. An apparent inverse incidence of hypothyroidism in the incidence of cleft palate. In the study reported the incidence of cleft palate in Wisconsin is not as high as in the state of New Jersey. The correlation of the incidence of cleft palate and the degree to which the high incidence of the congenital anomaly was attributed to this condition. An investigation of hypothyroidism in the Incas and the degree to which the high incidence of congenital anomalies were attributed to this condition.

Despite the fact that hypothyroidism occurs not to be a problem in Hawaii, two studies did cite incidences of low metabolic rates for women of the Chinese, Chinese-Hawaiian, and Japanese groups, rather study, however, attributing the cases to hypothyroidism. (See Carey Miller and Sh них. I If a correlation were to exist between the incidence of cleft palate and low metabolic rates in mothers, the findings should have suggested that women of the races that have lower metabolic rates would produce no apparent in this study. (See Table I)

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Groups</th>
<th>Cleft Palate Births</th>
<th>Metabolic Rates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese-Hawaiian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part Hawaiian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The original is a Master’s thesis. See master bibliography for this and other references.

With the admitted fact that hypothyroidism in Hawaii is so rare that it may be eliminated as a possible cause for cleft palate in this area and with the lack of evidence to support any contention that the etiology might be related to the metabolic rate among women, a closer inspection of racial groups seemed indicated, since the statistics seemed to indicate a possible negative relationship between the incidence of cleft palate births from mothers of unmixed ancestry as against that from blended ancestry.

Since small samples are inadequate for an exploratory study, mothers from the two large (unblended) racial groups were chosen for particular treatment: the Caucasian, the Chinese, the Filipino, the Hawaiian, the Japanese, and the Portuguese. Blends of mothers involving various combinations of all of these six categories were studied and percentages of cleft palate causes for all of the groups computed. The cleft palate births for the whole population in the five-year period gave a percentage of 0.872, confirming Henderson’s 196.

A graph of obtained percentages (see Figure 1, derived from Krantz and Reim) suggests that cleft palate rates vary for offspring according to their mothers’ unmixed ancestry, and for offspring according to the mothers’ varying blended ancestry, and that the incidence is greater for offspring from mothers with blended ancestry than from mothers with unmixed ancestry. The rates range from 0.05 per cent for Caucasian to 0.25 per cent for Filipinos, and from 0.05 per cent for Japanese blends to 0.06 for Portuguese blends, with a relative difference, much smaller for the blended group. Most significant, perhaps, is the fact that in every instance there is a higher rate for the blends than for the corresponding unmixed group.

Figure 1

Maternal Ancestry, Percentages of cleft palate in children of various unmixed and blended maternal ancestries, 1937-1941.

Unfortunately, because of the infrequency of cleft palate in live births with the resultant limited sampling, the significance of the findings is subject to questioning. In any event, one may conclude that in Hawaii cleft palate rates differ for some unmixed races and that cleft palate births are more frequent in offspring from mothers of blended ancestry than in offspring from mothers of unmixed ancestry.
AN INTERPRETATION OF THE FINDINGS

With a study of the findings, the possibility seems to emerge that the comparatively high rate of cleft palate is due to the fact that the racial composition of the population in the Islands since the last census shows a trend away from the Polynesian type. The incidence of cleft palate in the Polynesian type was lower than in the other races. The trend away from the Polynesian type means a trend toward a cleft palate rate higher than the Polynesian type. Therefore, it is possible that the high rate of cleft palate is due to the fact that the racial composition of the population in the Islands since the last census shows a trend away from the Polynesian type.

The high rate of cleft palate in the mixed race group may be considered as due to the high rate of cleft palate in the Polynesian type. ThePolynesian type is characterised by a high rate of cleft palate, and the mixed race group is characterised by a high rate of Polynesian type. Therefore, it is possible that the high rate of cleft palate in the mixed race group is due to the high rate of cleft palate in the Polynesian type.

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAM

AT PUNAHOU SCHOOL

Siegfried Runler

A visitor strolling down the first floor corridor of Punahou School's Griffith Hall on any school day may come to hear fragments of one or six different languages coming out of the classrooms. The intensively foreign language program at Punahou has reached in the offering of Russian, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese in addition to the traditional Spanish, French, and German. The instructors are either native speakers of the language or persons who have lived and studied abroad long enough to acquire fluency and correct pronunciation. Each foreign language classroom also serves as a language laboratory and is equipped with tape recorder, amplifier, and earphones for every student. Tapes are coordinated with the textbook, and pronunciation drills, listening, repetition, and completion exercises are practiced during class time and after school.

Punahou requires a minimum of two years of study of a single foreign language for graduation. However, a longer sequence of study (three to six years) is preferred as the best preparation for advanced work in college. If their schedule permits it, capable students are encouraged to elect a second or even a third foreign language, provided they are studying the first language in length. The choice of language depends largely on the individual student's tastes and interests, his educational ambitions and opportunities, and his probable vocation. Each language offers its particular challenge and reward.

French is offered for six years, beginning in grade seven. It is offered in several classes in the upper grades and is required for admission to the university of a foreign language. French is generally used in many countries, particularly in France, and is a popular language. French is also found in many other countries, such as Canada, Belgium, and Switzerland. French is a Romance language, and it is related to Italian, Spanish, and Romanian.

German is also offered for six years, beginning in grade seven. German is offered in several classes in the upper grades and is required for admission to the university of a foreign language. German is a Germanic language, and it is related to English, Dutch, and Scandinavian languages. German is also found in many other countries, such as Austria, Switzerland, and Belgium. German is a Romance language, and it is related to Latin, Spanish, and Italian.

Spanish is also offered for six years, beginning in grade seven. Spanish is offered in several classes in the upper grades and is required for admission to the university of a foreign language. Spanish is a Romance language, and it is related to Italian, Portuguese, and Romanian.

Russian is also offered for two years in the Punahou Academy. Before being admitted to the study of Russian, a student must demonstrate satisfactory achievement in other subjects, particularly in areas where verbal proficiency is a factor. The reasons for offering Russian are obvious. Russia's dominant position in Eastern Europe and Asia indicates that this language will increase in general currency as well as scientific importance. After Russian studies have been firmly established at Punahou, it is hoped to increase the offering to three and four years.

Dr. M. S. Ambery, of the University of Hawaii, speaks and portion of first-generation children of Caucasians and Polynesians, who have speech problems and severe hearing impairments. He is conducting a pilot study of the relationship.
Two years of Japanese are offered in the Punahou Academy, Hawaii, a logical area for the study of Oriental languages. As travel increases and as Orient, a knowledge of Japanese will be increasingly important. A survey Japanese, as well as the important of this language to our students cannot be over-emphasized. It is hoped eventually to increase the offering of Japanese to three and four years.

Mandarin Chinese will be offered for two years for the first time in the school year 1940-1941. Although the Cantonese dialect is spoken among the Chinese population of Hawaii, Mandarin has been chosen for instruction at Punahou, since it is considered the national dialect of China by both the thousands of million people and the importance of this language to our students cannot be over-emphasized. Again admission to the study of Mandarin will be restricted to students with a high predictability of success.

Modern languages at Punahou are presented through the direct method, with the teacher speaking the target language in class from the very beginning, and attention is paid to language patterns, and attention to the practice of conversation, speaking and writing. At the second or higher grade level the textbook in conversation patterns have already been mastered. Grammar is taught in the study of the language. Advanced courses aim at a survey of literature, giving the students a familiarity with major periods, types, and exponents of the literature in the target language. Selections, complete, and in sequence, are read, and intensive instruction is given in composition.

As in many other schools, Punahou has already in course in foreign language. Already in the first year of basic course, the students study the language, and concentrate on the structure of the language, and the students begin in with language. Already in the first year of basic course, the students learn the target language, and concentrate on the structure of the language. At the second or higher grade level, the textbook in conversation patterns have already been mastered. Grammar is taught in the study of the language. Advanced courses aim at a survey of literature, giving the students a familiarity with major periods, types, and exponents of the literature in the target language. Selections, complete, and in sequence, are read, and intensive instruction is given in composition.

In these days the study of a foreign language is most frequently justified on grounds of expediency. The nation is concerned with greater political effectiveness through the use of limbs abroad, and the individual thinks about improved career opportunities through the mastery of a foreign language. These goals, to be sure, are valid. More important, however, is the notion that in learning another language there comes discovery of another culture, a broadening of one's intellectual horizons, and, in a sense, a learning of another culture's—its language is a gateway to another culture, a broadening of one's intellectual horizons, and, in a sense, an entrance to the world of another culture.
SOME ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN HAWAII

Izuru Kyōshirō

The first teaching of the Japanese language in Hawaii in an organized institution is usually dated as 1854 when a Japanese language school was department at the University of Hawaii, followed by the offering of Chinese in 1857. Japanese language has been offered in the curriculum of a very limited number of public and private schools other than the Japanese language schools. The present paper deals with the teaching of the Japanese language in Hawaii.

The teaching of Japanese in the public schools in Hawaii at the elementary level was unofficially started in January, 1940. The revitalized Foreign Language Program of the Department of Public Instruction was made possible by the National Defense Act of 1940, with Japanese as one of the five languages which has been selected for instruction. Approximately 1,500 fourth grade children in fourteen schools (Kauai, Hawaii, etc.) are now studying Japanese for a period of about half an hour per day in five classes a week, under the supervision of the teacher specializing in the language. These classroom teachers, who are specializing in the language, are selected from those who are well-versed in the language.

The Japanese Language Schools are

Discussion of the history of the Japanese language schools in Hawaii figures. According to the Japanese Language School Association of Hawaii made in May 1940, the total enrollment of children in the schools belonging to the association was 13,315, of whom 10,600 were male and 2,715 female. There were 366 members of the school association with a total of 611 teachers.

The Japanese language schools reopened in 1940 after being closed during and after the war. The following statistics showing the present status of these schools do not include a few which are non-members of the Japanese Language School Association of Hawaii.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schools</th>
<th>Teachers</th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,363</td>
<td>1,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauai</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maui (includes Molokai and Lanai)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>396</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>771</td>
<td>974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>5,438</td>
<td>7,018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Japanese language school classes are conducted one hour per day, five times a week. Lower grade children meet between three and four in the afternoon and the older ones begin their study a little after four. This two-shift system is used by the schools to adjust their class schedule to the diurnal hours of the public and private English schools. The highest grade levels of these schools range from eighth to twelfth.

The following figures show that the total enrollment during the 1940-41 school year was only 32 percent of that of pre-war 1939-40. An interesting fact revealed in the comparative study of data for these two dates is the change in the ratio of male and female students. For the year 1939-40, the boys constituted only 51 percent of the enrollment while the 1940-41 figure shows that they are outnumbered by the girls, 44 to 56 percent.

Since accurate figures are not available to show the trend of enrollment in the Japanese schools of all the islands in all of the recent years, an attempt has been made here to limit the survey to Honolulu schools whose registration is estimated at slightly over 50 percent of the total number in the islands. According to a very recent report of the Honolulu Japanese Language School Association, the following changes have occurred in the number of children and teachers during the past several years.

1See Hawaii Kyōshirō; Koichi Harada; Kataumi Onishi and Masahiko Shima; Kyōshirō Wakahama.

2This is based on the report made by the Hawaii Kyōshirō as of May 1, 1959, the latest available for this study. If the enrollment in the non-member schools is added, the total number of language school children in Hawaii could very well be close to 13,000.

3Material gathered from the files of the Honolulu Japanese Language School Association dated February 20, 1965. The enrollment would be slightly higher if the registration in the non-member schools were added.
The post-war peak in enrollment up to the current year was 1956-57, of about five per cent over the previous school year. This increase, though small compared to the administrative of the language schools, because of the impending Japanese program in the public schools.

This rise, which no doubt is partially the result of the studies increases in the participation of non-Japanese children during the last several years. With rare exceptions, it was uncommon to find non-Japanese children in the composition of the district in respect to its location, and other factors to be considered, the following instances may give some idea of this phenomenon. The Maui Japanese School with a total enrollment of 296, includes two Caucasian-Japanese, two Caucasian-Japanese, six Filipino-Japanese, three Chinese, one Hawaiian, and one Kewai, The Paipala School, the largest of all the Japanese schools in the islands, with a total enrollment of 1,417, consists of ten Chinese-Japanese, nine Filipino-Japanese, five Caucasian, four Hawaiian, Japanese School has one Caucasian among its twenty-seven children.

Instruction in Japanese at the University of Hawaii

Ever since the establishment of the Japanese language department at the University of Hawaii in 1920, the number of students of Japanese has grown steadily along with the over-all growth of the campus population, 60 per cent above the 270 of the previous year. This figure is greater than institutions of higher learning in the entire state of Hawaii, with a total of 88,000, according to the 1950 census. This is understandable, where 37.8 per cent of the freshman students enrolled in September are students of Japanese ancestry. (See Arthur Dale and Yamaki, p.3)

Among the factors which obviously contribute to this increase are the Japanese courses, the division of elementary Japanese into the advanced level, and the inclusion of courses offered by the College of General Studies and the Hawaii Branch of the University of Hawaii.

Two, and also making it possible for those who so desire to register in both classes concurrently. Although no research has been conducted on the subject, there is no doubt that some students have been stimulated to study Japanese because of the current interest in Asian studies, particularly in Japan and on "Things Japanese." Moreover, students of Japanese ancestry have begun to realize that they need no longer apologize for studying the language which was once "an enemy tongue," lest that rubric the study is now endorsed and encouraged by the government and by public opinion. There are in addition some students who are interested in becoming potential teachers of Japanese with the Department of Public Instruction or to seek employment in other occupations in which their language training could be utilized.

The following summary of the students at various levels in the Japanese classes at the University of Hawaii in September, 1958, may be of interest, particularly in comparison with the number of non-Japanese in the language schools, mentioned earlier. It is especially interesting to note that the ratio of non-Japanese students in classes beyond the Third-Year level is 13 per cent, although the over-all percentage in all classes is 14.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Non-Japanese</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First-Year Conversational</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First-Year Reading</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-Year</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third-Year</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary Style</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary Literature</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directed Reading for Graduate Students</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*includes 3 port-Japanese

Japanese Language Instruction in Private Schools and Other Groups

A few private schools have initiated Japanese instruction as a part of their regular curricula. For example, the senior high division at Punahou School in Honolulu inaugurated a class in elementary Japanese in September 1958. The course is conducted five days a week, each period lasting forty-five minutes, and not all students enrolled in 1,100 per cent of students of non-Japanese ancestry. The school plans to add a second-year class in September, 1959.

St. Anthony Girls' School at Waikiki, Maui, has added Japanese to its regular school program in September, 1959, although it has for years had a well-established after-school-hour program of lessons in the language to grades one through high school. The University of Hawaii Pre-School and the kindergarten at St. Paul's Lutheran Day School in Honolulu are experimenting with some Japanese lessons for fifteen minutes each two days a week. There are other private schools and community organizations which carry on Japanese classes, but no further listing will be attempted here.

The teaching of Japanese in Hawaii's schools is definitely in a state of transition under the impact of new forces in a community which has become highly language-conscious. Although no research has been conducted to determine the extent of the change, it is evident that the study of Japanese is now more widely represented, and that its teaching is now more carefully planned and supervised.
THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE PRESS OF HAWAII

Edgar Kwanloon

There is little in print to describe the history of the changing role of the Portuguese press (no longer extinct) in Hawaii.

The fullest account of the history to which I have had access is found in pages 207 and 208 of John E. Reisacker's master's thesis.1 His summary is a brief sketch, based on the Hawaiian Annual, the Honolulu Directory and Agency Directory for various years. Reisacker mentions O Lono Hawaiian, The Society Hawaiian, A Hula Lehua-Hawaiian, A Beta, O Paio, and O Lono, provides approximate dates for some of the papers, but gives no number of editors, and makes no detailed reference to other than the external history of these newspapers, which were printed between 1886 and about 1957, according to his survey.

Leo Pup gives an outline 2 (pp. 29-30) of the United States Portuguese language newspapers and journals; he mentions two such newspapers published in Hawaii, but gives neither names nor details.

Gerald A. Estep says 3 (p. 59) that "in Hawaii the Portuguese have but a single small newspaper today, its circulation is confined, for the most part, to first-generation Portuguese." O Paio, published in Honolulu until about 1937, seems to have been the last of the Portuguese language newspapers of Hawaii; Estep may have been relying on out-of-date materials.

The situation is more favorable now than it was in 1935, in 1939, or in 1941 for study by scholars and students of the Portuguese language press in Hawaii. Both the Honolulu Advertiser (D 3-6) and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin (G 1-4) of September 24, 1932 carried the announcement that Dr. Charles H. Hunter of the Department of History of the University of Hawaii was seeking copies of old Portuguese language newspapers, printed in Hawaii. As a result of his efforts, both the Hawaiian Historical Society and the University of Hawaii have in their libraries microfilms of a number of these newspapers, a storehouse of material for research by students of the history of the Portuguese in Hawaii.

Because these files are incomplete, it may never be possible to make a completely detailed, accurate list of the names of the different newspapers, their editors, and their founding and terminal dates. Present data permit the making of this tentative list:

Published in Honolulu:


2. Aurora Hawaiian, edited by Manuel José de Freitas, 1898-1901.

1 Refer to Master Bibliography.
2 For the convenience of students wishing to consult these materials, an alphabetical list of the newspapers available at the University of Hawaii. Library has been prepared as an appendix to this article and may be consulted in the files of the Rumanos Adams Social Research Laboratory.

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7. **A Liberalidade**, edited by C. Pereira, 1900-1906; J. F. Durães, 1910-1911; C. Pereira, 1911-1916; (The Hawaiian Gazette of February 25, Liberalidade, to be edited by M. A. Silva, but we have found no further mention of this paper. It may have been O Popular.)


Published in Hilo:

9. **A Pe De Dida**, edited by G. F. Alfonso, 1899-1899


Date of publication and editorships are tentative, and details are subject to correction.

The editors of these papers were representative leaders of the Portuguese colony. The editor of the earliest one was born in France, and a special interest in the Portuguese colony was apparent. The biographical data assembled below show that the editors were a truly representative group:

1. **Godfrey (Godofroy) Ferreira Alfonso** (July 26, 1875 in Funchal, Madeira—November 7, 1920 in Honolulu). Arrived in Honolulu aboard the Princípe in 1878; long a reporter for the Honolulu Advertiser.

2. **Augusto Souza Couto** (August 20, 1887 in Angra do Heroísmo, Terceiro, Azores—July 8, 1929 in Fullerton, California). Came to Hawaii in 1900; supervisor, 1903-1909; Hawaiian Herald. Later manager, the Honolulu Advertiser.

3. **Pedro Antonio Dias** (July 16, 1855, Funchal, Madeira—December 25, 1894, New Bedford, Massachusetts). Came to New Bedford about 1870; manager of the Portland Iron and Steel Company.

4. **Joseph Ferreira Durão** (July 31, 1869, Lisbon, Portugal—February 23, 1942 in Hilo), Portuguese lawyer from New Bedford, Board of Water Supply.

5. **Professor Manuel José de Freitas.** He seems to have come to Hawaii some time in 1895; he gave lectures in English to Portuguese in Hawaii, and taught at the T.M.C.A.; in 1897 (August 9) became member of the Board of Election for Ward 2. The Friend (CCVIII, no. 3, p. 229) says that he belonged to the Central Union Church. He left Honolulu for San Francisco on the bark Allure, June 20, 1893.

6. **Augusto José Baptista Marques** (November 17, 1844 in Tomelin, France—March 15, 1929 in Honolulu). Arrived in Honolulu on December 24, 1875. Served the first term election well in Honolulu, 1880; taught French, Pas, 1911; member of Hawaiian legislature, 1880-1881; studied medicine at the University of Paris; Doctor of Science, University of Lisbon; Consul of France, 1912-1929, and 2 years of Russia, Panama, and Belgium. Chevalier de la Légion d’Honneur.

7. **António (Antonio) Carvalho Oak** (c. 1860—May 18, 1896 in Hilo). There is record of Mr. Oak’s having received a retail store license on the Island of Hawaii (1st Dep. 6-4, May 2, 1888).


9. **Camilo Pereira** (September 6, 1858 in Fural de Beleia, Arganha, Portugal—October 10, 1911 in Honolulu). See 1st Light on October 14, 1911. Came to Hawaii in 1882.

10. **José de Sousa Ramos** (c. 1857 in Só Miguel, Azores—May 14, 1918 in Honolulu). Lived in Honolulu for upwards of 30 years. His widow, Jacinta C. Ramos died on October 9, 1921.

11. **Antonio José de Rego** (Anton (António) J. Rego; August 14, 1859 in Só Miguel, Azores—August 14, 1899 in Honolulu). Came to Hawaii about 1851. He was a cabinet maker for many years.


14. **Manuel A. Silva** (c. 1869 in Madeira—September 4, 1940, Huntington, California). Came to Hawaii in 1879. Engaged by the H.S.P.A. to make trips recruiting agriculturalists in Portugal, Madeira, the Azores, and Spain.

15. **Augustus Honorio (or Orsino) B. Vieira** (April 24, 1874 in Funchal, Madeira—October 6, 1956). Came to Honolulu in 1893, School teacher; worked for R. F. Wichmann for 7 years. Jeweler for 4 years.

16. **John (John) Marques Vieira** (c. 1843 in Madeira—November 9, 1912 in Waialua, Maui) Described in Friend (CCXVIII, no. 3, October 18, 1925, p. 229) as “leading lawyer in Hawaii among the Portuguese” as of September 20, 1925. Came to Waialua in 1849, August, 1879, later completed military service in a regiment in Madeira; studied law under Judge Dolph in Honolulu for about 1895. See obituary in the Laranj on November 9, 1912.”
Portuguese newspapers in Hawaii were then general weekly publications, largely in Portuguese, although some items were sometimes items in English. In composition and contents, the newspapers were quite similar to those published in Portugal. One of the editors of A Setta, in his opinion, stated that there was not much difference between the newspapers in Hawaii and those in California, and went on to say that the editors of A Setta, published in Hawaiian, by the editor, Mr. August A. Coia, who was also the editor of the English-language newspaper, G. F. Affonso of the Honolulu Advertiser and A. S. experience working on A Honolulu Advertiser, edited by his father, Camillo Pereira, Honolulu Star-Bulletin. The impression derived from reading accounts of his early life and education is that these newspapers were of high quality and well-written. The Daily Advertiser of January 3, 1889, pp. 3, confirmed this.

The last issue of the Honolulu Advertiser has made an announcement of the sale of the newspaper, stating that the sale was due to a change in the ownership of the newspaper. The newspaper has been in the hands of the same family for several years, and the new owners have decided to sell the newspaper.

This feature runs counter to the conservative language policy of foreign language newspapers. Pop on page 24 of the book has characterized the recent foreign language press as being a "propaganda organ in the defense of the Portuguese language against English." But here we see the newspaper giving support and encouragement in the young readers to master English. This is why so many an island Portuguese has been taught in English, and thereby progress has been made in the language of the dialect reading newspapers.

Mr. August A. Coia, in a personal letter to the author, has summarized briefly for us the English sections in the Portuguese papers as follows:

...the largest "ruth" under this title was conducted by A Setta. It had to do mostly with comments on local matters: A Setta also advocated with some success the opening of Public Land on the Island of Hawaii for homestead purposes.

Further evidence of interest given to the Portuguese press by non-Portuguese newspapers in Hawaii was revealed in the December 31, 1888, issue of the Hawaiian Advertiser, which appeared in Honolulu newspapers of Hawaii, the Honolulu Advertiser for November 14 and the Hawaiian Advertiser for December 31.

An editorial in the latter, December 31, . . . written in reply to an attack on Portuguese immigration in the Argus of the 14th inst., did some interesting statements that were in the condition of the Portuguese settlers in these islands.

The article in the Argus had warned their countrymen at home not to come here, as they would find themselves in a hopeless state of "vassalage," and had urged them to emigrate to Brazil or North America or even Africa in preference to these islands.
This editorial shows an interest beyond the Portuguese group in what these two newspapers (note the abbreviated names used in the editorial) view expressed in the Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser that there were considerable advantages for the immigrant in Hawaii.

O Luso was undoubtedly the most important Portuguese newspaper in Hawaii for many years. It is distinctly mentioned on page 345 of Hawaii (Monter, 1934), a historical account by Ralph S. Buckland, with the assistance of Leon Ther Gill, in which Hawaii's leading newspapers are listed for having kept before the public eye the 1814 "Christmas Ship Fund."

O Luso is described as the "influential Portuguese language newspaper" in the Honolulu Advertiser's editorial notice of O. F. Affonso on page 3 of the November 3, 1909 issue.

We should like to add a few representative quotations in translation from some of these papers, in the hope of introducing an estimate of the studies of the Portuguese in Hawaii—material preserved in archives in two Honolulu libraries.*

We all know that salaries have gone down and that the number of Japanese already in the country and the plan to introduce many more will certainly make them go down still more. The Portuguese will have to struggle with the existence...—O Luso Hawaiian (August 19, 1885, p. 3)

(The editor of the newspaper at this time was A. Marques, a fact that the Portuguese are here referred to objectively and in the third person.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

...besides the great number of Portuguese who do not know how to read, those who do know are uninterested and not generous in a neighborhood or the house of the priest...—O Luso Hawaiian (August 25, 1885, p. 1)

(Evidence of the attitude of the Portuguese toward the newspaper, and of their relationship with the priests.)

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The Chinese Theater is going to open again, and a visit is worth while. The program is completely new, and the actors who have

*A copy of the original Portuguese text for these excerpts has been prepared as an appendix to the manuscript of this paper, kept in the files of the Rosario Adams Social Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii, and it may be consulted there. Easily marks of accentuation, and misprints are frequent.

...on board the Almadia are considered the best to have come to Honolulu. —O Luso Hawaiian (August 25, 1885, p. 2)

(Cultural activity on the part of the Chinese at this period, and interest of the editor in the drama.)

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It is something noted by everybody, and we say so with the greatest pleasure that extremely infrequently does one see a Portuguese intoxicated, which does not happen with the other foreigners...—O Luso Hawaiian (August 25, 1885, p. 2)

(Subsistence of the Portuguese immigrants.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

...of the new Catholic church in Punalu'. In the morning there were four sermons in different languages, that is, in Hawaiian, English, and Portuguese.—O Luso Hawaiian (September 29, 1885, p. 2)

(The use of different languages at this period in the Catholic church services. In this sense, the Portuguese text uses "Hawaiian" as the name of the language.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

On the 22nd and 23rd at nightfall all the Chinese exploded fireworks, which caused an infernal racket. The explanation is as follows:—On the first day was celebrated the Full Moon of Autumn, and on the second as Eclipse of the moon took place, and the Chinese, when this happens, say that a dragon wants to eat the moon and to prevent this terrible calamity, make the racket that we all heard, to frighten the monster: when the eclipse is over, then they have a great celebration. We do not wish them ill on this account.—O Luso Hawaiian (September 29, 1885, p. 3)

(Need for explanation to the Portuguese of the exotic customs of their Chinese neighbors.)

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The Catholic religion counted on last May 1st according to the Mission's census 21,254 adherents, among whom are 10,000 Portuguese. The others are almost all Hawaiians.—O Luso Hawaiian (October 19, 1885, p. 2)

(The groups comprising the Catholics in Hawaii this year. The Portuguese text has the Hawaiian word "Kana'akua" for the last word in the quotation.)

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

We are informed that there is an attempt to organize another Portuguese music band in this city besides the first one we have already spoken of. We do not agree with this excess of enthu-
sixth, which once again proves the difficulty in these being any union among the Portuguese. One band of forty or fifty persons Hawaiian (October 23, 1885, p. 2)

(interest in music among the Portuguese; lack of unity or failure to band together for a common purpose.)

* * * * * * * * *

... a large number of Hawaiian women are married to foreigners, white or Chinese. It is too bad that this takes place, because Portuguese is marrying native women... We deem on this account compromises their prosperity. -- O Lono Hawaiian (October 25, 1885, p. 2)

(an early attitude toward intermarriage. "Kanehumuline" is the expression used in the text, which we have translated as "Hawaiian women.")

* * * * * * * * *

We notify the faithful Catholics that in the Cathedral there will be every other Sunday a sermon given in Portuguese, at the ten o'clock mass and every Sunday at three in the afternoon Lecomte. The hymns are also sung in Portuguese. The Hawaiian (November 23, 1885, p. 2)

(Interesting information about the provision made for Portuguese services at the Cathedral.)

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We received from M. L. Malos, company 3-12 Drum Street, San Francisco, a collection of the first six numbers of a novel in French, entitled: "The Mysteries of an Inhospitable plantation where life is so monotonous." Translation made by Mrs. T. Malos. A book for The agent for this publication is Honolulu Mr. A. G. Silveira. -- O Lono Hawaiian (November 2, 1885, p. 2)

(Purchase of Portuguese for translations from French literature, and the reputation for monopoly of plantation life.)

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... we are grateful for the support which has been given to us up to the present by our faithful friends. However, with regret who received the paper with great pleasure until the moment when it was a question of paying for the subscription, but then they are obliged. Since the Lono gives exclusively on subscriptions what these gentlemen are doing is shameful, and they would deserve that their names be published in the news.

paper, which we shall certainly do at the appropriate time... -- O Lono Hawaiian (March 5, 1886, p. 2)

(Source of income for this pioneer newspaper; a way of dealing with readers who do not pay for their subscriptions.)

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Professeur Manoel José de Freitas, who recently arrived from San Francisco... intends to open a class for the teaching of English. -- O Lono Hawaiian (April 6, 1886, p. 3)

(The teaching of English to Portuguese; Professor de Freitas was an editor of one of the newspapers; information about him is not abundant.)

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We are grateful to our colleagues, The Independent of Macao, for its exchange and for its favorable expression towards our modest Lono. -- O Lono Hawaiian (April 13, 1886, p. 2)

(Evidence of exchange among different Portuguese language newspapers; the tendency to refer to the newspaper by the short name Lono.)

* * * * * * * * *

Even the poor Hawaiian, with his knowledge of reading and writing in two languages, considers himself exceedingly superior to the ignorant Portuguese, who does not even know how to read his own language. -- O Lono Hawaiian (May 5, 1886, p. 2)

(Knowledge of English and Hawaiian on the part of the Hawaiians was common; many of the Portuguese were not literate. The word Hawaiian in our translation corresponds to "Kanaka" of the original Portuguese text.)

* * * * * * * * *

Joseph de Freitas, accused of having abandoned his wife, was condemned to go back to her and to pay three dollars for costs. Be careful, fellow countryman! In this country the laws are very favorable to women, and here the weaker sex is almost always right before the law. -- O Lono Hawaiian (May 5, 1886, p. 3)

(A difference in the position of a wife before the law in Hawaii from that in the homeland.)

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Some days ago, in Punchbowl, Portuguese quarter in Honolulu... -- O Lono Hawaiian (May 25, 1886, p. 3)

(In early reference to Punchbowl as an area inhabited by the Portuguese of Honolulu.)
All Portuguese are drinkers of wine and they like to have a bottle at home. —The_Lato_Hawaiiano (May 25, 1886, p. 3)

(Selection of a kindness for wine as a beverage.)

King Kalakaua. was very friendly to the Portuguese, and hoped that our countrymen would amalgamate with his people. But they say that after he saw that few Portuguese married Hawaiians, his love for our race greatly decreased. —The_Lato_Hawaiiano (June 5, 1886, p. 2)

(An alleged attitude of the monarch towards the Portuguese; evidence of little intermarriage between Portuguese and Hawaiians.)

In Wailuku, Maui, the case against Mr. W. C. Crook, schoolteacher, accused of having whipped a Portuguese boy, was heard. The boy was sometimes, very lacking in discipline. We are sorry that our countrymen permit their children to behave badly. —The_Lato_Hawaiiano (June 15, 1886, p. 3)

(The problems of school-teachers of the day with their students.)

For the information of our most respected fellow editor in Rio de Janeiro, we declare that Mr. A. Marques stopped being chief editor of the Lato_Hawaiiano, published in Honolulu, from the last of May, 1888. —The_Lato_Hawaiiano (May 10, 1889)

Knowledge of this Hawaiian newspaper in Brazil; reference to the date when the first editor of the newspaper gave up his post.

As we are informed, Mr. Pedro A. Dias, the co-editor of the fifty year old periodical called the Lato, intends to leave. —The_Lato_Hawaiiano (December 14, 1889)

(Rivalry between the Portuguese newspapers; mention of an early editor.)

The Lato, in its Saturday issue seeking to show off its wit, in the editorial commends about our Thursday supplement says that in the compounding we did not find a Portuguese blood word to greet the travelers, and sees the word Mohele to designate that place. The word which in spite of not being Portuguese is used in the language as a 'neologism' since there is no other
Although my birth certificate and all subsequent records list my racial ancestry as Part-Hawaiian, I have had very little contact with Hawaiian, their culture, or their language, until quite recently.

My Hawaiian ancestry is traced from my maternal grandmother who was half Hawaiian and one-half English. As a baby she was taken by a German family, who had a bakery in Honolulu, and raised as their own child, although she was never legally adopted. From what I can gather by looking through her photo albums and papers, her playmates and acquaintances were almost all Hawaiians or Hapa-Haole. My grandmother and her husband had settled for a more prosaic existence as electricians. Their union resulted in six children, one of whom was my mother.

My mother’s playmates were the children of her grandfather’s friends. She was one of the few who grew up to be fluent in English and Hawaiian. My mother had one important contact with an Hawaiian: that was her grand- mother. Her name was not Hawaiian. It was a support system of sorts, as she had no one else to turn to for help.

Furthermore, my mother went to school in Honolulu, but she felt out of place there and went to a farm in Kailua where she was boarding with the family. I am the youngest of six children.

Now, if I were to look back at my childhood, I would say that English and Hawaiian were the languages most spoken in my home. However, the culture patterns at home were not in any way representative of Hawaiian culture. Our home could probably best be described as a mix of Hawaiian and Western style, though perhaps more casually than most Hawaiian homes, ours was the only house where no one took the time to clean it up.

The elementary school I attended was an English school, and since it was the only one in town, most of the other students were Hawaiian. Most of the other students were from middle-class families. The names had been passed down from the families. We all played together and shared the same toys and games. The socialization was more informal than in the mainland.

The elementary school was followed by a high school, which had a more structured environment. We were taught in a split environment, and we were taught in both English and Hawaiian. I maintained my association with the church, particularly Kailua, which had a very diverse group of people.

Even in high school where there were many more Hawaiians than in my previous school years, I had little contact with Hawaiians. Friendship after graduation, however, started with the kids who went to church with me and it was there that I had my first contact with the Hawaiians.

REATIONS TO MICHENEF’S (Continued from page 83)

more uncertain in tone, thinner in feeling, and hackier in its message.”


This survey of published reviews and articles on Miheneh’s book shows a polarity of reaction. We have an enthusiastic reception of the book at one pole and a somewhat contradictory reaction at the other. Naturally, there are always reactions in between those extremes of appreciation and criticism. It is clear that it is a book that provokes controversy. It is clear that it is an important book, and it is clear that it is a book that provokes controversy. It is clear that it is an important book, and it is clear that it is a book that provokes controversy.
Master Bibliography

All bibliographical references of the writers in this issue are consolidated in this list, which is in alphabetical order by author, and further specifically mentioned in the articles of this issue of Social Process. Some of the references are from Laura Shot, who is working on a Master's Thesis on bilingual speakers of English and standard English in Hawaii.

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