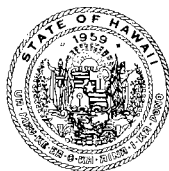


SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

Published Jointly by the
ROMANZO ADAMS SOCIAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
and the
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
University of Hawaii

SOCIOLOGY OF SPEECH AND LANGUAGE

FOREWORD	<i>Godfrey Chang and Jean Wetzel</i>	3
HAWAII'S LINGUISTIC SITUATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE NEW KEY	<i>Bernhard L. Hormann</i>	6
LANGUAGE IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT	<i>Tamme and Elizabeth Wittermans</i>	32
REACTIONS TO MICHENER'S <i>HAWAII</i>	<i>Marion Wong Lindley</i>	41
MOTIVATION FOR BETTER SPEECH	<i>Willard Wilson</i>	42
COMMUNICATION: A PROBLEM OF ISLAND YOUTH	<i>Andrew W. Lind</i>	44
A RECENT CHAPTER IN THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN HAWAII	<i>Elizabeth Carr</i>	54
PIDGIN USAGE OF SOME PRESCHOOL CHILDREN IN HAWAII	<i>Lawrence M. Kasdon and Madorah E. Smith</i>	63
MY LOCAL BOYS	<i>Walter F. Dulaney</i>	73
SPEECH DEFECTS IN HAWAII'S PUBLIC SCHOOLS	<i>Amy Foster</i>	76
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MATERNAL ANCESTRY AND CLEFT PALATE	<i>Henrietta C. Krantz</i>	78
THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAM AT PUNAHOU SCHOOL	<i>Siegfried Ramler</i>	81
SOME ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN HAWAII	<i>Yukuo Uyehara</i>	84
THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE PRESS OF HAWAII	<i>Edgar Knowlton</i>	89
LANGUAGE NOTES OF A PART-HAWAIIAN	<i>Alberta Pung</i>	100
MASTER BIBLIOGRAPHY		102



Price \$1.00

VOLUME 24, 1960

HONOLULU, HAWAII, U.S.A.

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII

PUBLISHED JOINTLY BY THE
ROMANZO ADAMS SOCIAL RESEARCH LABORATORY
AND THE
SOCIOLOGY CLUB
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII •

STAFF

Editors

Godfrey Chang
Jean Wetzel

Business Manager

Burton Wong

Circulation Manager

John Shinkawa

Wilfred Masumura
Sally McCarthy
Jacqueline Miyahira
Kats Tamanaha
Jean Yamamoto
Paul Yukumoto

Editorial Advisers

Bernhard L. Hormann

Andrew W. Lind

SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII is published annually by the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory and the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii. Articles in SOCIAL PROCESS do not necessarily represent the views of either the editorial staff or the advisers who do not share the author's responsibility for fact or opinion.

Copyright, 1960 by
The Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory
and
The Sociology Club, University of Hawaii

*All rights reserved—no part of this publication may be
reproduced in any form without permission
in writing from publishers.*

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 commingling 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 of 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 Bernhard L. Hormann, 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. Hormann, 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 Wittermans in their article "Language in Its Social Context." Dr. and Mrs. Wittermans did research in Indonesia and the Netherlands before coming to Hawaii from the Netherlands. After a year as a visiting professor Dr. Wittermans 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, Provost 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, bases his discussion, "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 B. Carr, Associate Professor of Speech, draws a picture of the present state of the development of English in Hawaii in "A Recent Chapter in the Story of the English Language in Hawaii." Dr. Carr emphasizes the bilingual group, speakers who are able to slip back and forth from standard to dialectical English. Dr. Lawrence M. Kasdon and Dr. Madorah E. Smith, collaborating in their article, "Pidgin Usage of Some Preschool Children in Hawaii," compare the findings of their 1958 follow-up study with that of Madorah Smith's original study made in 1938. They describe the persistent errors made in the use of English, among three local groups showing the greatest retardation in the use of English. Dr. Kasdon is Director of English and Remedial Reading with the State Department of Public Instruction; Dr. Smith is a former professor of education and psychology at the University of Hawaii. "My Local Boys" by Walter F. Dulaney, Intermediate Boys' Work Secretary at the Nuuanu Y.M.C.A., shows how speaking pidgin enabled him to break through the barriers of language and become accepted into his group of local boys. (Another article in this series by Burton Wong, Elsie Hirasu, and Meggie Hirasu, will soon appear as a mimeographed report of the Romanzo 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 Amy B. Foster, Supervisor of Speech and Hearing for the Department of Public Instruction, discusses primarily the problem of non-dialectical speech defects. Henrietta Krantz, formerly on the faculty of the Speech Department at the University of Hawaii, has sent an abstract of her University of Hawaii master's thesis (1943) "The Relationship Between Maternal Ancestry and Cleft Palate" from Alaska where she is Speech-Hearing Consultant for the Department of Health. (A third article in this group on speech pathology, by Wesley Herve, Assistant Professor in the University of Hawaii Speech Department, is scheduled as a report by the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory. It summarizes several local studies on speech defects and physical anomalies.)

In the general area of foreign language is a group of four articles. In "The Foreign Language Program at Punahou School," Siegfried Ramler tells about that private school's intensified foreign language program, offering six major languages for study, some as early as the seventh grade. Ramler is Head of the Language Department at Punahou School. In "Some Aspects of the Teaching of the Japanese Language in Hawaii," Yukuo Uyebara, Professor of Japanese at the University of Hawaii, gives 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. Edgar C. Knowlton, Associate Professor of European Languages at the University of Hawaii. Dr. Knowlton's translations of passages from these Portuguese newspapers indicate some of the feelings, interests, and activities of the early Portuguese immigrants. Alberta Pung'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. Alberta Pung is a University of Hawaii graduate assistant in the Social Science Research Institute, and a part-time instructor of Hawaiian.

Marion Wong Lindley, recently of the Social Science Research Institute staff, has collected reviews of James Michener's best seller, Hawaii, and summarizes them for the reader.

We are grateful to many persons for their help, Mrs. Mary Chong, Secretary in the Adams Laboratory, Hubert Boyd and Martha Matsusaka of last year's Social Process staff, Dr. Clarence Glick, Chairman, and other members of the Sociology Department.

HAWAII'S LINGUISTIC SITUATION: A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION IN THE NEW KEY

Bernhard L. Hormann

Introduction

"Why Johnny Can't Read" has been bothering people in recent years. The intensity with which the discussion has been carried on gives this concern the earmarks of one of the multiple fads which successively grip the public of our mass society. The sudden enthusiasm for foreign languages, like the interest in science and mathematics teaching, too, is so intense that one who endorses the newly revived emphases in our curriculum dreads the inevitable waning in public interest.

The new key.--In Hawaii there has been a periodic rise and fall of excitement as well as a chronic concern about the inability of local people to speak good American English and about the assumed responsibility of pidgin and the immigrant tongues for this condition. Unfortunately the public has not been clearly enough aware that among professional and scientific specialists who have through the years looked at linguistic Hawaii there has developed an increasing agreement about an approach which I shall call "in a new key." It is my major purpose to indicate how this consensus has emerged and to state as clearly as I can what this approach in a new key is.

The bibliographical references of *Social Process* indicate a history of sustained scientific interest in several aspects of the linguistic situation of Hawaii. The foreign language schools have for long been the subject of investigation. (See the work of Lai, Wakukawa, and Lind, and now of Uyehara in this issue.) Sociological analyses of "pidgin" English and local dialect by William C. Smith and John Reinecke began over a quarter of a century ago and thus early made Hawaii's marginal speech an object of scientific interest. The psychological studies of Madorah Smith and her students on the speech of the children of Hawaii were also done primarily in the 1930's and were recently rechecked in research reported by her and Kasdon in this issue.

In the middle forties the anthropologist, John Embree, and the present writer expressed themselves on the subject of pidgin, advocating a more permissive approach to the local dialect in the teaching of standard English. In reviewing acquaintances this summer with George Axtelle, who was principal of Kawanakoa Experimental School in the late 20's, I was reminded by him how the school had succeeded in overcoming the classroom diffidence of Hawaii's youth which today still worries educators. "When people asked me how I got pupils to talk freely, I explained that my teachers encouraged the children to talk when they had something interesting to say, and did not inhibit them by constantly calling attention to their errors." More recently Elizabeth Carr from the field of speech and some of her students have done intensive work which is culminating in a book on the subject of the Hawaiian Island dialect. She has also been interested in new directions in pedagogy. A contribution from her is in this issue. S. I. Hayakawa, the semanticist, visiting Hawaii this summer, has expressed great interest in pidgin as an "instrument of communication." Linguists identified with the modern language teaching program "in a new key," including Theodore Andersson, the national authority, and Sam Elbert, our local

authority, have also shown a positive interest in all the various languages of Hawaii, including the local dialect of English.

A number of master's theses have been written recently involving a technical linguistic analysis of immigrant speech, for instance by Kitamura, of Okinawan Japanese speech, and by Kindig, 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 cleft 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 Ansberry 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 so 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 is in this common note rather than in the legitimate technical concerns of specific disciplines. Ever more insistently, ever 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 possibilities of the new approach, and by some, dissent from it. There continues to be condemnation both of the "crude," "inadequate," "broken," "substandard" speech of the Islands and of the "lazy" "stubborn" speakers as well, some critics going so far as to imply a kind of disloyalty and subversiveness. When the writer in a general address on Hawaii's people at a banquet of the Hawaii Library Association in 1958 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. Hormann's remarks are now taken as an indorsement of pidgin. There is no need for today's high school and college students to continue this jargon. It is, if anything, an impediment to... growth." (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, April 3, 1958.)

More recently (November 29, 1959) the same paper ran an article by a staff reporter, Richard S. Gima, in which this strong condemnation 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. The weapon's simply labeled: Correct English.

Reaction of malihinis to pidgin.--The dialect is quite naturally a problem to people from the Mainland when they first come to the Islands. It is with amazement 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 paint 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 like the most about Hawaii and whether we were going to stay here or not. Questions like those required about five repetitions before we could understand what they were asking. (57-2411.)

A young man from the Mainland who came 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 very foreign. . . I felt shut out and talked about. . . I was sometimes amused, sometimes horrified, at these college students talking to each other in sentences such as, "You go Haole movie tonight, yeh?" or "Aw, these junks pencils!" But I was even more horrified when one evening I said to someone "Aw, this was a junk day." (58-250(2)-12.)

Public use of pidgin.--Thus pidgin remains a problem to many--and yet, paradoxically, there exist also the deliberate, contrived, and artistic uses of the dialect, directed at the general public, for political satire and for clever advertising, as Reinecke long ago brought out, and now increasingly, in night club entertainment and in literature, as witness Michener's best-selling novel *Hawaii*, whose golden men, frequently resort to the dialect. 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 most 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 Michener would claim that his still rather recent identification with Hawaii is noticeable in that his conversations 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 malihini visitor 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 resettled post-war 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 lad this 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 inability which malihinis 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 retards Hawaii's integration into cosmopolitan American society, all indicate that we are indeed confronted in Hawaii with a kind of dialect.

Outline, 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 a more 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 1500-2500 word-long papers is retained for the files of the Romanzo 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 ability and attainment they are an above-average group. (A file of materials on speech taken from these student papers and from the printed 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 in 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 Embree 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.

Thus instead of repelling the student of language, Hawaii fascinates him. When the many ancestral languages are included, Hawaii becomes a rich and complicated linguistic treasure-house. It was Reinecke who attempted to put some order into the diversity.

Hawaii's Speech Continuum

Reinecke's systematic study of the linguistic variety in Hawaii resulted in his description of a speech continuum, consisting primarily of the original native and immigrant languages at one end, American standard English at the other, and trade jargon or pidgin, plantation creole, and the dialect, between the extremes. As he indicated, it is impossible to adhere to clearcut distinctions among these forms. There is too much overlap at the edges and no local kinds of speech have become fully established.

Definitions of concepts.--At this point, a word about terms is appropriate. The term pidgin, which Reinecke and later students of language have tried to eliminate, is so widely used that it is difficult to remove it from one's discussions. It is thus perhaps more realistic to refer to the following types along the continuum: the various ancestral languages and dialects; trade or primitive pidgin (the first marginal language or lingua franca); plantation or creole pidgin; dialectal pidgin (the Hawaiian Islands dialect or the "local" dialect); and finally standard American English. I use lingua franca (plural linguae francae) and marginal language to mean a secondary intergroup language which is not yet anyone's primary language. Dialect, on the other hand, is established as a primary language.

The term substandard speech is often used particularly by professional persons concerned with speech correction. While from the standpoint of linguistic science any spoken form of a language which restricts the speakers geographically or by age-group or by social class from the whole standard speech community is a substandard variety of that language, the term substandard unfortunately all too frequently connotes "inferior" speech and easily becomes a term of disparagement, leading to a moralistic or hortatory approach. I would be inclined not to use it in any but technical discussions.

The term slang has been occasionally applied to the non-standard speech of local young people. Slang, however, while it often prevails among young people, including Hawaii's youth, is primarily a matter of almost playful and constantly changing fad and fashion and is therefore in direct contrast to more stabilized dialectal speech. (It would be appropriate to refer to users of dialect as tradition-directed and users of slang as other-directed, in Riesman's terminology.) In Hawaii we are dealing with dialect to the extent that a form of speech has become established in the home and is therefore the first form of speech which a child learns. There is to be sure an element of slang or fashion in the local speech. Expressions do become dated and new ones arise. For instance, the term tutu for grandmother, was, to my knowledge, not in use when I was a child, but is among local people now frequently used. The Pukui-Elbert Hawaiian-English Dictionary lists it under kuku and states:

(Usually pronounced tutu.) Granny, grandma, grandpa; . . . (often said affectionately; apparently a new word as it has not been noted in legends and chants). (p. 163.)

The word hibolic for over-sophisticated, over-refined, highbrow (referring to language), which Reinecke listed, is now seldom heard. One of my student informants writes that an expression now in vogue among speakers of Hawaiian Island dialect is "as why hahd!" 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.--Reinecke's conception of a continuum recognized that the pidgin of the first-generation immigrants, learned as a secondary language in trade or on the plantations or in domestic employment, is more makeshift than the speech of families in their homes, and of children on the playground. This somewhat stabilized speech becomes the first and main language to which these children are exposed. It is what Reinecke called the Hawaiian Island dialect.

It is clear that each variety of speech has subvarieties. The plantation or creole pidgin varies somewhat according to the ancestral language of speakers. So the Chinese say, "Assa mallah you?" and the Japanese, "Assa maddah you?" The pidgin of the old Hawaiians, which Carr is trying to record before it dies out, has its own peculiar characteristics. Reinecke 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 has developed, upon whether the speakers are all of the same sex, general age-group, national ancestry, occupation, or whether they are mixed in these respects. If they are all of the same ancestry, the proportion of loan words from that ancestral language tends to be higher. "Da tonari wahine stuh-ckup, but," one Japanese fellow might say to another, meaning, "But that neighbor girl is unpleasantly proud," and using the Japanese word tonari for neighbor. A Chinese son might ask his father, "I can go show when I pau yak fun?" (May I go to the show when I'm through eating? Yak fun is Chinese for eat.) Boys show not only a greater tendency to use dialectal speech but also, to pepper it with vulgar, obscene, and irreverent expressions.

Illustrations of linguistic variety in families.--A few quotations are indicative of this linguistic variety of Hawaii's 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 U.S. war bonds, and had a little victory garden.

Now the more I talk with my father, the more I am amazed 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 out 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 sputnik would be visible to the naked eye that night. I told my father about it and he and I went out to wait for it. While we were waiting we discussed the satellite. . .

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

To me, the two of us sitting out there 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. (60-232(2)-54, Japanese male.)

b. My parents were both born in Canton, China. . . Since my parents speak very little English, I have to use "pidgin" in order to communicate with them. Although I can speak a little Cantonese, I can't carry on a conversation fluently. (60-232(2)-9, Chinese male.)

c. There were eight persons in our household. . . Grandmother sometimes spoke to us in Hawaiian. She would often say, "Kamali'i, pa'ani i loko." (Children play outside.) Grace before meals was always said in Hawaiian by grandmother. (60-232(1)-32, Part Hawaiian girl.)

d. Filipino was seldom spoken in the home mainly because my parents are of different dialects; my father is Ilocano and my mother is Visayan. The basic language at home was and still is English, in a crude form. (60-232(1)-5, Filipino girl.)

These quotations also point to the relationship between the different types of speech and to 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 isolating conditions and barrier-breaking needs, so that isolation and contact become inextricably interrelated.

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 Hawaiians developed their spoken form of the Polynesian language. Then, because of the relative isolation before 1778 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, prefectural dialects grew up. Again, the local plantation or creole pidgin and its dialectical descendant developed in the days when the plantation communities of Hawaii were somewhat isolated from one another, leading to some apparent differences, e.g., on Maui. 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 peasantry, remains or becomes a distinct patois, London Cockney, Berliner-Deutsch. So now in Hawaii, the local dialect of English is a kind of class language, a local cockney.

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 these separate ancestral languages could have maintained themselves in our racially mixed community. Reinecke 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 even more advanced today. There are ever more homes of local non-Haoles where standard English prevails. The process is difficult to document except by a continuous program of systematic and extensive recordings of local speech. It is referred to in this issue by Amy Foster and documented in the Smith-Kasdon 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 to be many families where dialectical 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. Reinecke's pioneering analysis in "The English Dialect of Hawaii" is at last being carefully pushed forward by Elizabeth Carr.

Linguistic Processes: The Decline of the Ancestral Languages

Although in 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 Knowlton on the Portuguese language press in Hawaii and Uyebara 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 languages, 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. "Most of my Korean vocabulary is command words, such as nu-buja (sleep), mogo (eat), and ga (go)," writes a Korean student. (57-2396.)

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 fairly equally divided among the syllables. In Hawaii the Americanized practice is to stress the next-to-last syllable in Japanese names. The r also loses its Japanese character, becoming a slurred American r or l. 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 fresh 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. "Mil-

waukee 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 Lihue, Kauai, where paternalistic 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 student writes: "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 the brush and the position of the arm on the desk were illustrated. After the introduction period, we had regular periods for practice. . . In various ways, the influence of English school was felt here. The familiarity with English led to difficulty with Chinese tones. The students were more restless 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. Due to lack of adequate motivation and regular use at home, my Chinese learning has been given back to the teacher. Most of my attendance. . . has gone for naught, but the friendships formed at school are still continuing. This, I believe, is the important benefit derived from my experiences at school. (60-232(2)-61.)

A Japanese girl says, "The fault of the Japanese school system was that the main emphasis was on writing and not conversation." (60-232(2)-75.)

In spite of the difficulties, many Oriental students have learned their ancestral language in the afternoon schools, and others as they 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 languages.

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 lingua franca such as pidgin thus have much in common. (See Frances Lincoln, "The Horrible Pidgin Origins 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 of it the bridge to 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. They thus created modern standard Hawaiian. (Pukui and Elbert, p. vii.)

Both these situations are sociologically similar to that faced by plantation lunas in directing workers speaking completely different languages. Today Hawaii's schools have to find a bridge to a large number of lower-class children who speak "a separate dialect, related to, but distinct from, standard." (Cohn.)

Differences.--The differences between a lingua franca or marginal 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 varying but closely related dialects. They proceeded by making these non-literate people literate. The forgers of plantation pidgin, however, had to direct the work of non-literate speakers of unrelated 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 not phonetic, was not adapted for reaching the masses and so did not make for a common spoken language throughout China. (But since it transcended sound, it made possible non-oral 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.)

Paradox of the creole speech.--Plantation or creole pidgin would, if Hawaii as 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 this class and the Haole 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 Is Social and Personal

As a sociologist I have already in the above inevitably related strictly linguistic phenomena to social processes and functions. The social embeddedness of speech-language is the special interest of the sociologist and the most misunderstood aspect in Hawaii. To say that speech is socially embedded is to refer to the speakers, 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 referred 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 in isolation speech develops established usages, and becomes dialect 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 in turn is 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 dialectal pidgin is a highly domesticated language in Hawaii. A quarter of a century ago Reinecke estimated that over half the total population was using it as its major or sole language. ("English Dialect.")

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 so well described by George Herbert Mead. It is the language of warmth and intimacy, as Reinecke noted. In it parents express their affection for each other and for the children, reprimand them, make their plans, enjoy themselves at mealtime and on outings. In 1956 I was hospitalized for a few weeks at a local children's hospital. After visiting hours I was distressed by the cries of forlorn children. Some cried, "I want my Mommy; I want my Daddy!" Others cried in pidgin, with the same agony, "I like my Mommy; I like my Daddy!" If dialectal 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 individuals first become socialized through the local dialect, and then continue to have their more meaningful, warmer social contacts with dialect-speakers. One never feels fully 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-users, 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 Boy Scouts, we had a Haole boy in our scout troop. He was made fun of, and was often the victim of somewhat cruel, childish, practical jokes. In short, we harassed the hell 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. (60-232(1)-68.)

Reinecke had predicted that, "For a considerable time to come, therefore, the present conjunction of class and race differentiation will affect attitudes towards English usage" ("Pidgin English.") and curtail the progress of standard speech, particularly in the rural districts where the proportion of native speakers of standard English, that is, Haoles, was so much smaller. In Kona, in a population of 8,000, Reinecke reported a count of 150 Haoles "including a few near-whites." ("English Dialect.")

My student papers indicate that social identification still operates to maintain dialectal pidgin.

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 not all of the same ethnic group, we played, performed mischievous 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 Haole." We usually succeeded. Pidgin became a part of me and my sole means of communication, therefore it was very difficult to speak standard American 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 by-gone days which were both reassuring and comforting. . . It didn't take me long to get back into the swing of the lingo, as I began to hear it everywhere. Again pidgin soon became my sole means of communication without much thought or effort on my part. (58-250(2)-48, Japanese boy.)

b. We live in a small 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 their dialectal English to our standard English. (60-232(1)-73, Japanese 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" ran through my thoughts because I was the only one trying to put into practice things that I learned in speech. So back again to that Pidgin English.

The same goes for friends outside of school. In the district where I live, there is hardly any one that 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. (58-259(3)-29, Hawaiian boy.)

d. During my earlier years, a certain amount of tension resulted from the contact with a Haole. The contacts we had with the Haoles were limited due to the nature of our community which was predominantly Japanese, Filipinos, and Portuguese. The Haoles 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. (60-232(1)-68, Japanese boy.)

Excerpts 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 dat for that." Ignored her remark. 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 given previously.

I was confused. Did my speech classmates expect me to start saying father rather than fudder overnight? Would they be able better 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, "Didn't you go?" in lieu of "You never go?" because it was not I 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 subvocally rehearsing every bit of my conversation.

I tried speaking like a Haole. 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 faced frustration. My friend of long standing and a few years my senior laughed at my attempts. I laughed along with him. (58-250(2)-48.)

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 his "pidgin wedding," 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 Alameda, I learned a new term, "local boys." Local boys referred to all the boys from Hawaii. Even the Haoles used this term to refer to us . . . The thing that amazed me most was the closeness 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. (60-232 (1)-89.)

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 Haole 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 . . . showed 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 Reinecke identified years ago as the dialect; that it is, as then, associated with both race and class, and perhaps even more than then, with a sort of lower-class neo-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 Haoles and non-Haoles, 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.

Contact

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, Reinecke had 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 also have 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, as, in the twenties, it had tried to restrict them on the ground of their being un-American. These various attempts never passed the ultimate tests of constitutionality.

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 listen to her." (60-232(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 useless 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." (57-2341.)

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--and 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. (57-2290, 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. (58-250R(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 to speak on complicated matters. This often results in saying all one knows in the familiar language, but leaving the listener to catch on or guess at the idea as closely as he can. (60-232(1)50, 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 innermost thoughts, I am thankful . . . for them as they are for I know that if everyone forsook me in this world, my parents would still love me in their silent understanding way. (58-250(3)-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 kindergarten. I used to hate school and cried every morning before I left home because nobody spoke Japanese there. (60-232(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 indoctrination to my parents' cultural values has left a deep and lasting scar: . . . children are to be seen and not heard, blind obedience to elders. . . But these 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 disturbing role. Boys using correct English grammar or pronunciation were considered sissies. (59-232(3)-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." Yet I was in a class that was composed of the more intelligent students of whom 95 per cent were Japanese students; the rest were Chinese and a few Filipinos. This was in a public school on an outside island. (60-232(2)-9, Chinese male.)

d. Before I was notified of my acceptance at Punahou, my spare moments were dominated by the following thoughts . . . I hope I don't pass the examination and interview. I have always hated Punahou and everything about it.

Oh, how uneasy and nervous I appeared to be on the first day of school. My "big sister" met me by my locker, and we attended the opening student assembly together. Sitting in the gymnasium, I felt so insecure seeing so many Haole 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 Haole classmates . . .

I often wondered how 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. (60-232(2)-78, Japanese girl 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 to an extent suggesting the continued influence of and at the same time the dissolution of barriers separating the ethnic groups and generations from one another, and more importantly, the Haoles (or professional-managerial class) from the non-Haoles (other occupational classes).

Speakers moving from standard to dialect.--While the marginal people who are moving "forward" or "upwards" towards standard speech are most noticeable, an often over-looked phenomenon concerns the people who, speaking only standard, come to accept and learn the local dialect. Here we see Mainland Haole children moving into dialect-speaking neighborhoods or local Haole 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 natural 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 Haole 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 "kotonk" (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 unconquerable 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 ask, "What did you say?" Because I was Japanese and spoke like a Haole they often laughed at me. It wasn't that they were unkind about my "Haole-ness"; 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 out. 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 announced that he 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 to learn to speak pidgin! In the beginning it was easy. I just listened to the way people spoke and tried to imitate their inflections. The difficulty was trying to learn the colloquial expressions, like, "all pau," "da 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 mis-

take. Once I said, "Let's go, you kids!" 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 the boy I sat next to 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 'kotonk!'" (60-232(2)-70.)

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 outnumbered, soon adopted the local dialect.

A Haole student finds temporary employment in a tire-recapping plant in which all the other workers are Japanese who fear that he is being groomed by the Haole boss as the new foreman. He is finally accepted because his use of the dialect proves that he is a "local boy," able to place himself on the level of the fellow-workers. (See Robert Bean.)

A local Haole youth works on Wake and finds the dialect and "pidgin culture" accepted by even the Mainland Haoles stationed there and contributing to the morale of the place. (60-232(3)-4, Haole 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 origin, 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 how a Haole physician ended up his bedside visit by pointing to the patient's foot and asking, "Soah?" with the unmistakable inflection of dialectal pidgin. I imagined that this judicious use of the dialect improved his bedside manner.

The author of the current article, "My Local Boys," describes the enthusiasm with which he flung 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 his acceptance by them. His spontaneous resort to the dialect did help to break inhibiting barriers 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 patois, 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 therefrom a sense of exhilaration and power, of an "enlarged self," while those who are inarticulate in one form or another, including monolingual speakers of standard, who do not know dialect, experience exclusion, shame, inner conflict, frustration. 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 Reinecke found a disproportionately small number of Hawaii's children completing high school or going on for higher education, the evidence today seems to be that the proportion in the fiftieth state is equal to the national norm. (Donald J. Bogue, pp. 754-756.) A large number of Hawaii's students seek higher education on the Mainland. The occupational structure is no longer so dominated by unskilled labor and is more like the national structure. (Lind, *Hawaii's People*, ch. 4; Bogue, p. 757.) Since the war, people of Oriental ancestry have been selected for executive positions and for board directorates in old kamaaina, so-called Big Five firms. While as yet not a single plantation manager is derived from the dialect-speaking population, the fact that near-top plantation positions are now frequently filled by local people speaks for a change on the generally conservative plantations.

The educational work of the ILWU, Hawaii's powerful multi-industrial union, has stressed participation of local working-class people 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-speaking background. Therefore prominent political positions, both elective and appointive, are often filled by non-Haoles.

Since the war more and more outside-island people have moved to metropolitan Oahu and experienced more frequent use of standard English and a keener realization that facility with standard improves job opportunities.

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 preeminence of standard American English in the nation and even as a world-wide lingua franca.

Service in the armed forces has reduced the greater resistance of boys as against girls to the use of standard. Prior to World War II and compulsory service, many local boys experienced more of a barrier towards Haoles than girls, for whom strict attention to the teacher's English was not "sissified," and who, through domestic service or live-in arrangements had earlier contacts of intimacy with Haoles. (See Lind, "The Changing Position of Domestic Service in Hawaii.") According to Carr today boys express pride if their local girl friends speak acceptable standard. Fathers of dialect-speaking backgrounds now want their sons to 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. Reinecke had called attention to "talkies" and radio--as well as the sports page. Amy Foster, in this issue, speaks of these influences, adding the newer influence of TV. Through mass media local people are constantly exposed to standard speech patterns, as though they were listening to tapes in a foreign-language laboratory. Few local people escape these mass media of communication. (They have also been used deliberately to teach standard

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

In the contemporary world the major mass media are in spoken rather than written language, thus reflecting colloquial speech and fads 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 manifold linguistic contacts in which the people of Hawaii are involved are working to domesticate standard.

All Speech Is Teachable

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

Teaching 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 is 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: "No use for us learn good English; the luna will wild 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 pals 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 had far less motivation for the learning of English and a much greater technical problem of learning it, both as an oral and a written language, completely unrelated as it is to their Oriental languages. The Oriental immigrants were looked at in the main as temporary and unassimilable labor importees 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 1952. Suddenly Oriental aliens could become naturalized. The number of Japanese aliens naturalized in 1954 in the whole country was 6,750 as contrasted with 674 and 40 in the preceding two years. ("Immigration, Emigration and Naturalization," Britannica Book of the Year, 1955.) 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 Oshiro, "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 Kamehameha School for Boys to the speech program to which he was exposed at that private boarding 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 incentives. What's the use of trying when you won't gain anything? Look at those working [i.e., the people in the kinds of jobs we can aspire to]. Many of them can't speak good English. This I've heard from many pupils, and even I thought that way.

Some did not try hard enough to learn. Sure, they may have said they did try, 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 to better 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 Haole, or ask me why I'm acting like one. (58-232(3)-29.)

The painful self-appraisal of a local youth in a University of Hawaii speech class has already been alluded to. Further comments from that same student following his frustrating attempt to imitate the speech of Haoles 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 pronounce my th's, as well as indirect pressure from my friends, not to pronounce them. In my mind, it boiled 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 possibly meet my objectives and at the same time not be considered an oddity for being among the few who actually do try to improve their speech? As far as I know, the vast majority of the students in school do a minimum of work speechwise. (58-250(2)-48.)

Earlier quotations indicated how the prevalence of dialect in neighborhoods and work groups militated against the use of standard there. "As for me," reports a boy who grew up on an outside island, "and the rest of the

family, we used straight pidgin English most of the time. I didn't dare use standard English as my pals would get the idea that I was trying to Haolefy myself." (60-232(2)-122.)

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 Hawaii's people, we had two sets of speech. One, of course, was pidgin, and the other was the one which we used to converse with the teachers in school." (60-232(1)-89.)

Since these expressions are from college students it is clear that the academically more qualified young people of Hawaii growing up today have been involved in problems of motivation.

Motivation and the social situation.--Both Reinecke and Embree had stressed that shaming and preaching do not serve to provide motivation, but rather stunt it. Embree's statement in 1946 was succinct and to the point:

In Hawaii the great pressure on children is to give up their normal speech 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 should, of course, teach in standard English, but the teachers would do well to encourage their pupils to express themselves freely in class without concentrating all their fire in how they express themselves. Some feeling of security is needed first.

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

As motivation for work is now understood to be 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 speech 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.

How 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. Here is a similar change, in which the family where everyone spoke dialect moved from a "camp" in a neighbor-island town to a new suburban middle-class interracial subdivision on that same 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 often used. The more active (the parents) became in community affairs, the more they had to speak, and this helped tremendously in improving their speech. (60-232(2)-122.)

Obviously the teacher is not in a position to change out-of-school situations, nor to send bright but dialect-using youngsters to private school. Motivation for out-of-school use of standard speech is coming rapidly as the remaining ethnic-race-class barriers in the community grow weaker and as people of prestige and influence change from wedge-driving shame-arousing tactics to those that invite mutual role-taking and participation in common activities with self-respect and security.

Motivation in the school situation.--Within schools, Embree's advice is sound. The important thing is to overcome the inhibition about speaking up in class which we are perhaps all too wont 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 insecurity experienced by students because of their language.

We can learn from the foreign-language teachers. The aural-oral program of foreign-language teaching "in a new key," which is gaining ever 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 flowing, communicating speech, and to do this at as young an age as possible, preferably starting at the pre-school level. In this approach to foreign language, it is more important to get over inhibitions about speaking in strange ways than to 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 usage they will tend, 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 I 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 stressing is the simple truism: One learns language socially--in 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 deficiency, stammering, or plain "substandard" speech, is interpreted to the person involved simply as a handicap in the attainment of a goal it becomes a cancerous 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 such tends to atrophy. Substandard speech is no longer a handicap but an irrelevance, and a physical disability is transcended or devalued to a minor place where it no longer inhibits further social growth, no longer interferes with full living. But if in our speech teaching we stress "defects," isolated drills (which in the right context have an important place), if we are premature in our presenting standards that seem rigid, artificial, unattainable, the handicaps continue to function strictly as handicaps.

Attainability of multilingualism. -- Motivation is further encouraged by realization that it is possible to be multilingual, that to learn--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 dialectical 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 Andersson, Carnegie Visiting Professor of European Languages, pointed out in his 1959 address:

My own observation, even in Hawaii, so 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, Professor Elizabeth Carr, points out that even the nature of the English Island dialect is misunderstood, as proved by the misnomer 'pidgin.' The Japanese and Chinese language schools are struggling mightily 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 dialectical pidgin 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 dialectical speech in situations where it is an asset, but that bilingual competence, further enriching him, is attainable.

Hawaii 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 unattainable and disadvantageous. Now we see that the contrary is true: linguistic facility grows as competence in several languages increases. Our new role in the world has suddenly shown us our handicap and we have acquired national motivation for competence in foreign languages. (Another best-seller, The Ugly American, whose co-author, William Lederer, has adopted Hawaii as his home, has contributed to the nation's--and Hawaii's--new motivation. See also Uyehara's article.) I am arguing that in Hawaii both the ancestral languages and the local dialect can be used to develop our linguistic competence by arousing the ability to see language--grammar, intonation, etc.--in a sort of stereoscopic way. Andersson threw the challenge at 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 manageable limits. As a geographical and cultural bridge between 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

that that connotes, 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, of the "pidgin" part of her metropolitan society, of Hawaii's role as East-West center, with a new understanding of multilingualism, with recognition in the nations of the importance of understanding the non-Western peoples of the world, of training ambassadors of good will, of learning the Asian languages, motivation need be no problem.

Techniques

As in the stepped-up national concern about competence in mathematics and science, there have developed startlingly more effective techniques, so too the new aural-oral 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, idiomatically, grammatically correct patterns; 2) the use of situations as they come along in the classroom for extracting 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 begun to be used in speech-teaching in Hawaii, as they are also being rapidly introduced in the expanded foreign language teaching program here. (See Ramler in this issue, Aspinwall in the bibliography, and the experiments of Uyebara, Fujioka, and McElrath, and of Elbert and associates in developing ways of teaching Asian languages to Eastern students at the University of Hawaii and of E. E. Gordon in the Department of Public Instruction.) These techniques will no doubt also be central to the English Language Institute 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 Oren E. Long recently reported that the Federal Government is giving the University of Hawaii a two-year grant of \$21,600 for an experiment in the teaching of speech improvement through television. (Long, *Capitol Comment*, I, 5 (June 22, 1960).) It is to be hoped that whatever program is used will be "in the new key."

Conclusion

The strains of the modern world involve the relations among all kinds of peoples, social classes, ethnic groups, with varying, often grossly 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 accentuator of these differences, but also as bridges. Standard American speech, as the expression of our whole cosmopolitan pluralistic society, acts to bridge the distances between the groups. Because Hawaii itself is an increasingly cosmopolitan society, where social differences are not allowed 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 educa-

tion, Hawaii's new role as fiftieth state in the Union and East-West center of learning -- all these betoken cosmopolitan perspectives, declining provincialism.

Provincialism, insularity, parochialism, all meaning the same thing, contrast with cosmopolitanism. They reflect social isolation, the geographical isolation of provinces, islands, local parishes, the social isolation of minority groups and of the underprivileged, and, in the world, of the underdeveloped nations. In Hawaii the forces making for the breaking of barriers and for the widening of horizons have been and are stronger than those intensifying barriers and isolation. Even pidgin, in its many forms, has contributed to Hawaii's cosmopolitanism, although now emerging as dialect it threatens a new provincialism of the multi-ethnic non-Haole non-white-collar class with its neo-Hawaiian "pidgin culture." Yet the strong forces of mobility and education are preventing this provincialism from completely isolating the speakers of the dialect from the wider world in which they have the right and obligation to participate.

Pidgin and standard speech, marginal language and cosmopolitan world language, function as bridges, overcoming even the greatest social gulfs. But it would be unfortunate if these bridges from one social world to the other merely destroyed the various social worlds, rather than making it possible to communicate effectively in several such worlds. Multilingual speakers are effective in fostering mutual relations between diverse social worlds, a give-and-take of people on both sides of barriers, without destroying what is of value. To insist on the sole use of some one standard language, even a world language, is itself a kind of provincialism, for it implies an inability and unwillingness to transcend one's existing horizons, to appreciate and understand the social worlds in which the forms of pidgin and the many other languages of the world are embedded. This provincialism of cosmopolitan people, somewhat akin to the intolerance of the tolerant, the spiritual arrogance of the righteous, must be recognized and mitigated if we are to succeed in opening wider worlds to people of narrower worlds and in bridging linguistic barriers. The true cosmopolitans are "multilingual," and this implies both linguistic facility and a state of mind.

LANGUAGE IN ITS SOCIAL CONTEXT

Tamme and Elizabeth Wittermans

The Master said: "What is the good of being ready with the tongue? They, who meet men with smartnesses of speech, for the most part procure themselves hatred." (The Analects of Confucius, trans. 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 Panini c.a. 300 B.C., in which he analyses the speech sounds of Sanskrit and its grammatical structure. In the course of time the phenomenon of language has puzzled 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 synthesis of the words and the way in which various parts of a word are attached to it, and a genetic type of classification.

The genetic classification is 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 in the origin of languages has faded) of the distribution of languages and dialects. These studies may also prove a valuable aid in 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 specific emphasis. The sociological emphasis is on language as part of a social system. The quotation from Confucius at the head 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 those 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 at present a tendency to over-estimate the communicative aspect at the cost of a more inclusive approach to language.

At the same time the concept of communication has been narrowed down to its 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 perfectionistic 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 as a form of behavior, *viz.* symbolic behavior that (it) 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 origin 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 *viz.* the communication taking place between an individual and himself.

External Communication

In Mead's terms, gestures (including language or vocal gesture) "become significant symbols when they implicitly arouse in an individual making them the same responses which they explicitly arouse or are supposed to arouse in other individuals." (Mead, p. 47)¹ In this threefold 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 hearing 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.

¹All 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 sight of the steaming dish will be interpreted by them in the same way. They both have internalized in 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" contest 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.

Reversely, 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-Germanic 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 *familie* but *gezin* 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 by "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 must 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 no communication difficulties would be expected. Yet communication has failed several times because both parties employed the foreign tongue with reference to their own differing socio-cultural background. The simple fact, for instance, that the Dutch welfare workers think and speak in terms of the needs of the individual, thus isolating 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 analysed 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 "phatic communion," i.e. the function of speech in mere sociabilities. It is a fundamental tendency of humans to congregate, to be together. Speech binds them together, accentuates their sense of belonging. As Malinowski remarks: "another man's silence is not a reassuring factor, but on the contrary, something alarming and dangerous." (p. 314) 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 bonds between speaker and hearer created by linguistic communication are not necessarily symmetrical. The speaker giving the information or uttering his ideas, 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. (Malinowski). In this context it is also worth noting the importance of the play element in language. As Huizinga 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 is language pre-eminent suitable to convey humour and lightheartedness, but in many languages a playful 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 scratch or line is: *tjoret*, but also *tjoreng*, *tjorek*, *tjorat-tjaret*. Often words of rather similar meaning are combined, apparently because the spoken words in combination have a pleasing sound, e.g.: *lemah lembut*, *gelap gulita*, *sopan santun* *bengkang bengkung*, *sajur majur*. Here evidently both rhythm and sound of the spoken words bring about the play element and the satisfaction derived from pronouncing or hearing the words comes very close to that derived from music. It shows that the borderlines between such cultural elements as music, dance and speech are often 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 internalized 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 available to him. Habits, feelings, sensations, experiences generally become associated with language symbols. By reorganizing 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 materials, 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 (Schachtel).

Philosophers and ethnolinguists have likewise recognized the compelling force of linguistic categories in the processes of ordering experience. Dewey states: "The chief intellectual classifications that constitute the working capital of thought, have been built up for us by our mother tongue." (Dewey, p. 235). Whorf goes even further and asserts that "the forms of a person's thoughts are controlled by inexorable laws of patterns of which he is unconscious. These patterns are the unperceived intricate systematization of his own language." (Whorf, p. 252). 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 structure are two separate entities or that language can be disentangled 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 model 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 senses 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, purposive thought into future action, a state or emerging into manifestation (which has been described as the "expective form" in Whorf's terminology of Hopi grammar). (Whorf 59/60)

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 represent? Is their group membership or status reflected in their speech or in 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," while in other social systems the "strong, silent man" is valued. (LaPiere 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 acts in terms of a network of interpersonal relationships, i.e. in terms of social structure.

Here two significant aspects may be distinguished. Studies of socio-cultural 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. have found expression in terms for different age groups and of seniority (e.g. terms for older brother, younger brother) and special terms for male and female roles and, in some societies, separate types of address for male and female speakers. There are also terms for specific occupations and affiliations and terms expressive of kinship and affinity.

Status, perhaps the most important differentiating principle in society, is not only expressed in all languages, but the regular use of status terms continuously reaffirms existing differentiations. In some languages, for example Javanese, a number of specific sub-languages expressing the hierarchical order, are regularly used by the members of these status categories. Thus A, a member of a Javanese lower status group, will use "high" speech in addressing B, a member of a higher status group. Reversely, B will reply in a lower type speech. In many European languages also, although not in modern English, a status distinction is made in terms of address. That such terms constitute actual barriers is evident from the fact that it is considered bad manners to use informal terms if this has not been agreed upon in advance.

Language actively influences social relationships. The influence of language is evident both with regard to social continuity and social change. A common language is a common bond. This common language may be standard English, Island dialect, thieves' "cant," or "beatnik" slang. Its function, of which the speaker may or may not be conscious, is often that of creating or perpetuating a we-group. This process may come about directly, in communicating with one another and sharing the we-group feeling, or indirectly, when speaking about the in-group. The group's unity and its *raison d'être* may be symbolized in a myth, a tale in which ideal values are embodied and which is being recreated over and over again, often at ritual occasions.

Language in its various forms expresses and preserves the values of the group and serves both as an outlet and as a justification for action. This conserving and justifying character of a common language is particularly manifest in religious and political types of speech, but it is to some degree a function of all group languages. For the individual seeking self-assertion, use of a group language means the affirmation of his group-membership. It gives him support and a feeling of security.

This is one of the reasons for the persistence of dialects. For many dialect-speakers, the standard language lacks precisely this quality of group-affirmation. It remains the cold vehicle for the transfer of knowledge and for the maintenance of formal relations. It may be coveted as an essential asset for social progress, but it fails to convey the warmth, the feeling of familiarity and the sense of belonging conveyed by the dialect bound up with one's childhood memories.

The conserving nature of language is also manifest in magic and ritual. It has been said, that the first studies in language and particularly in speech, were prompted by the crucial role of language in ritual. Parts of the ancient Sanskrit Vedas had to be memorized by officiating priests and there was a strong conviction that the effect of the ceremonies depended to a large extent on the perfection of the performance. Therefore an exact rendering of the words was essential. No mistakes were permissible nor any changes in the text. Ritual language, like other forms of ritual, is static.

Gladys Reichard describes the use of ritual language among the Navajo, where chants and prayers were memorized in order to invoke the blessing of the deity. A single mistake would not only invalidate the prayer but might also bring the wrath of the deity upon the unlucky suppliant. Since, incidentally, the Navajo are a very realistic people, there was also a "covering prayer" to correct all errors made either by the chanter or the patient on whose behalf the prayer was said.

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 entail prompt action from the adult world. "Words are to a child active forces, they give him an essential hold on reality. . . . The word acts on the thing and the thing releases the word in the human mind." (Malinowski, p. 321)

The conviction that words are powerful forces is 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 among many fishing 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 propitiate the deities of water, wind, rain 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 "Thee" and "Thou" of the Friends were tolerated in their own social environment of non-Friends. The "beatnik"-slang, like their dress and other habits, similarly has a double function. Internally it serves to affirm and preserve group membership, externally it accentuates 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 smattering 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 "*Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité*" in France, "Merdeka" (freedom) in Indonesia, "Mena Muria" (ready for action) in Ambon, and "Africa for the Africans." These slogans may be employed as an appeal to unite people speaking the same language ("Ein Volk, ein Führer, eine Sprache!") or it may take the form of an attempt to unite people speaking different tribal or regional languages such as Bahasa Indonesia, 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 efforts to codify and build up one language as a national language with a standard spelling, grammar and an artificially enlarged vocabulary of its own, does not mean much to him. For the sociologist 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 nationalistic or tribal aims. Thus in India the proclamation of Hindi as the national

language 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 ensued 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 focus of interest. This linguistic process allows a characterization of those phenomena in unfavorable terms. Often the complex of phenomena is captured under a label, a new name suggesting the undesirability of their existence, or, as often happens, desired changes are as it were crystallized in the new concept and it is upheld in striking 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 odd things fall into place. Thought and discussion 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 translation 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, colonialism, un-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 Javanese sub-languages in which the hierarchical order is reflected, we noted, that these linguistic forms tended to reaffirm and perpetuate the status categories. Consequently it is not surprising to learn that many Javanese, in order to escape "humiliating" 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 imputes 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 unexpected or purposes considered unusual or when alternative behavior exists. This shows the essentially social character of motivation. Therefore the words used, the way one formulates an explanation, depends on the vocabulary of motives which is acceptable in certain situations and by the social circles concerned. In most societies motivation in terms of moral goodness is the most serviceable. Morally serviceable words like: industriousness, ability, generosity, cheerfulness, kindness, filial piety etc. are frequently used by the individual because they earn him the goodwill of his group. (Burke) Depending, however, on the social group and 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. Then the communicative aspect of language has been discussed, not only because this aspect is the most obvious but also to make a distinction between this and the following section dealing with the function of language in social statics 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 Hertzler, 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

Marion Wong Lindley

Timed with the celebration of 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 prefaced, 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 men" of today. In between are four novelette-size 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. It has caught the crest 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 inner rooms and out onto the sidewalks and into lounges that this book is "terrible," "inaccurate," "melodramatic." My purpose here is not to evaluate, but to report the range of reactions to Michener's Hawaii.

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, Fanny Butcher of the Chicago Sunday Tribune pressed forward her belief that it is one novel that must not be missed. She called it "one of the most enlightening books ever written, either of fact or fiction, about the integration of divergent peoples into a composite society. . . . What makes the novel unforgettable is not only the deep understanding of national dreams and ways of life, not only the exciting panorama of events, but the human beings who were the motivators and the movers in the creation of today's Hawaii." (Nov. 22, 1959)

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

(Continue on Page 75)

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 also aware of a great many of the modern analytical studies of psychology, psychiatry, and sociology. Sigmund Freud, you will recall, to over-simplify it a great deal, based much of his work on the thesis which was derived from observation, that most of the drives 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 crass about it, I am inclined to think that we had better begin to be pretty 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 to say to a high school student, "If you don't clean up your pidgin and learn how to sound a little more educated, you're not going to get into college, or you will make a botch 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 of 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 it 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 classy about it!--however far he projects himself, whatever motivation you are using, 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 his habits 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 explain their ideas clearly and forcefully. And yet at the time those young men completed their formal education, they were not particularly inadequate. If (my friend) James Shoemaker's predictions are correct--and Jim has a nasty habit of being correct fairly frequently--in another ten years we may have about as many people walking around in Hawaii who are visitors as are island residents. I suppose we will have to retain a few people around for local color who can speak a delightful brand of pidgin--and so long as they can communicate adequately with the tourists and with the rest of us I haven't the slightest objection to it. I do not believe in putting "pidgin" on an anti-social list with snob overtones; but for the

*Excerpts from an address by Provost Willard Wilson at the opening session of the Pacific Speech Association, Honolulu, November 21, 1959.

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 taxicab 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, which I am sure 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--much as those of us who are self-styled idealists may dislike it--roots itself completely in self-interest and self-advancement....

What I have been saying up to now is in effect that we are often being over-squeamish in our approach to the whole speech problem when we maintain that people should have better speech merely because better speech is 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 a mechanical thing. Speech, which is the distinguishing mark of man, as I have said, is merely a tool for the even greater distinguishing thing--and that is the ability to think intelligently and constructively about a wide variety of things. For that reason I cannot let an opportunity of this sort go by without stating 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 not only of the immediate subject but of its surrounding subjects--these things are even more important than the tone of voice he uses, the way he waves his arms or legs, or the contortions into which he twists 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 will communicate more adequately when they travel abroad, as they are doing in increasing numbers. Goodness knows this is a sound point and one that we can well afford to belabor. 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 merely because 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.

COMMUNICATION: A PROBLEM OF ISLAND YOUTH

Andrew W. Lind

In a community, consisting of such widely diverse ethnic and class groups as those in Hawaii, the problem of communication inevitably assumes more significant proportions even than in Continental United States. Some common medium of interchange among immigrants from the contrasting cultures of China, Portugal, Japan, Puerto Rico, Korea, and the Philippines was a first requisite of life on Hawaii's plantations and led to the emergence of what has variously been called "pidgin English," "plantation creole," and "Island dialect."¹ All of these makeshift languages appear to possess a common core of simplified English grammatical construction with varying admixtures of words from Hawaiian and the several immigrant tongues which have figured prominently in Hawaii. The Island dialect of today, for the use of which Hawaii's youth have been so frequently criticized, is in fact a product of the plantation and differs functionally from the earlier pidgin or trade language.

I.

A brief consideration of the emergence and function of pidgin, creole, and Island dialect may help to clarify somewhat the special problems of communication encountered by our Island youth today. The Hawaiian pidgin, which evolved during the first half of the last century as the medium of interchange between the traders and sailors who visited the Islands and the natives, was known appropriately as "Hapa Haole" (half-foreign or white). This form of broken English, interspersed with Hawaiian words and influenced by Hawaiian grammatical forms, was as impersonal and utilitarian as the trade or business, from which the term pidgin is probably derived, and it carried no implication of superiority or of class difference between those who used the language.

This was the language which was carried over to the plantations after their extensive development in the second half of the last century and was there converted into a "language of command" from the Haole planters to the native and immigrant workers. The clearly marked class or caste distinctions between the planter group and the large mass of unskilled workers was reflected also in the forms of communication between them. The "pidgin" which had once symbolized a relationship of equality between those who used it, began to express, by its intonations and conditions of use, the inequality of the master-servant relationships on the plantation.² With the appearance of the varied immigrant labor groups to man the plantations, there also came into being, a number of different plantation "pidgins" as words and expressions from their native tongues were added by the Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Korean, Filipino, or Puerto Rican immigrants to their own particular version of the makeshift language.

These became in time the plantation creole languages as each was firmly adopted within the homes of the workers and served as a medium of communication between the laborer and his Hawaiian-born children. Thus, the plantation creole, which symbolizes a relationship of master and servant

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

²(See page 45)

when used between groups, becomes a language of intimacy and warmth when used within the group.

The third phase in the development of what is still commonly called pidgin English in Hawaii is the emergence of an Island or creole dialect. This represents the gradual merging of the distinctive racial creoles into a common *lingua franca* which permits of easy communication across racial and cultural lines. Because of its direct emergence from the plantation creole, however, this modern dialect carries the stamp of its earlier lower class status, and to be confined to its use clearly marks the individual as outside the pale of polite society. Moreover, its limited vocabulary and modes of expression, as well as the virtual lack of any literature, give to this language a restricted sphere of usefulness.

The Island dialect has assumed a particularly odious character to those who are especially concerned about Hawaii's reputation as a sophisticated and civilized community--newspaper editors, educators, school teachers, and public administrators. To them it has breathed of a raw frontier era and a colonial status on the part of those who use it. Servility, illiteracy, and slovenliness are of its essence and Hawaii's claims to maturity appear to be controverted by its widespread use. The following comment of an Island journalist, shortly after the close of World War II, is fairly typical of the carping public criticism of the Island-born who persisted in the use of "pidgin."

There is some excuse for pidgin spoken by immigrants who are having difficulties with the language. There is no excuse for pidgin spoken by natives of Hawaii who have had the advantages of American education. Perhaps I have a mania on the subject, but I am convinced that unless a person can speak well, he cannot think well. Substituting the expression "da kine" for every word lacking in one's vocabulary is not only an indication of verbal poverty, but of limited capacity for thought as well. . . . English is a strong and beautiful language. It is growing in strength. Let us not defile it with a bastard language that is neither an improvement nor an acceptable substitute.³

²An acute awareness of this fact is revealed in the account in 1934 by a young man of Oriental ancestry who had shortly before this incident been recruited from Honolulu for a subordinate technical post in a plantation laboratory. It was only after his employment that he discovered the racial and class distinctions then prevalent on the plantations and that "pidgin" was used by the Haole elite only in speaking to their subordinates. When therefore he was addressed in pidgin by a Haole field luna (boss), who was looking for the laboratory chief, "Boss no stop?" the young man immediately sensed that the Haole was placing him in the same social plane as the unskilled workers. The young man had only recently graduated from the University, could speak perfectly good English, and therefore interpreted the use of pidgin in asking him a question as an affront. He reported therefore that he simply glared at his questioner for a few seconds and then literally spat out the reply in pidgin, "Yeah, boss no stop!" and turned away.

³Honolulu Star-Bulletin, (December 13, 1947)

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

If the standard speech continues to be pidgin English, Hawaii 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.⁴

Ten years later educators were still active in their attack 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."⁵ A vigorous program was initiated at about the same time to induce the Department of Public Instruction to require a one year or semester course in oral communication of all high school students as a means of combating the use of pidgin.⁶ It was argued then, 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 "time and again brilliant math students [have ended] up with mediocre positions primarily because of inadequate language skill."

As already indicated, those who are critical of Hawaii on other grounds find in the existence of the Island dialect convenient grounds for concluding that the Islands are below par--that they cannot justly claim 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 scathingly critical references to the people of the region who prefer to speak "an unintelligible gibberish 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 carefully 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, stream-lined means 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, singular and plural, 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.⁷

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 disapprove of its use, gives to it a winsome quality which the outsiders can rarely comprehend. Indeed the resistance to the creole dialect by professional educators and the economic elite frequently strengthens a stubborn determination to use it, if only as a gesture of protest and of in-group loyalty. If the upper classes disapprove of Island "pidgin," one can derive a certain sense of superiority by flaunting before them a tongue 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-hat" 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 1959:

Island Dialect: The Island dialect, which originated as a "pidgin English" for 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 ease in social relations expresses itself in the reluctance of local youth, especially those of Oriental ancestry, to participate freely in discussions outside their own group, thus contributing further to the stereotype of the "clannish 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

⁴Time, (December 1, 1947).

⁵Honolulu Advertiser, (September 28, 1956)

⁶Honolulu Star-Bulletin, (August 28, 1958).

⁷Honolulu Advertiser, (April 7, 1955).

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 experience 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 entrenched 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 reticence of Island youth, particularly of Oriental ancestry, in speaking their minds in the presence of Haoles is in large part, so they themselves confess, a consequence of an unfounded fear that their expression may reflect a flavor of pidgin and hence of lower-class status. The difficulty encountered by high-school and college teachers, and especially Haole teachers, in "drawing out" their students of Oriental ancestry may be in part a vestige of their ancestral culture which places the "sensei" 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 in social relations has stopped many youths from expressing themselves, although they may have (conducive and) pertinent points to bring up.

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 has no social assurance. I have seen youths actually perspire, while speaking.

Youths have hesitated to date because of the lack of social confidence. I have been asked many times as to how to act, how to ask for a date, and even as to what to do or where they should go on a date, by my friends. -- Japanese male.

It is quite clear, of course, that such hesitance does not spring wholly from a hypersensitivity to the possibility of self-betrayal through the use of the Island dialect. But, as the following statement indicates, under the conditions which still prevail in Hawaii, young people find in 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 meet 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 or caring 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 Haoles 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 Haoles 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 Haoles 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 towards Haoles in general.⁸

The Oriental children now compete against those Haoles 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 animation and their prejudices. There is a feeling of "I'll show the Haoles I'm better than they are," and yet there is the conflicting feeling of wanting to be like the Haoles.

For example, there was a Japanese girl at school who had a strong drive to attain status among her classmates--Japanese and Haoles alike. She started talking like a Haole, which irritated the other Japanese youths. The Oriental classmates began making fun of her and her "Haole-talk." Kimie was a bright student, and by her "Haole-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.

⁸Insofar 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 equalitarian 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 Haoles.

This open hostility of the Orientals is really a conflict among themselves. They want to be like the Haoles and yet they are hostile to the Haole ways and speech. -- Japanese female.

One cannot fail to recognize an element of protest in much of the strong attachment to the Island dialect. Unquestionably, at times the identification with the dialect is somewhat comparable to that of children with pig-Latin. It provides a certain sense of superiority, however slight and precarious, on the part of those who know its mysteries and it can be utilized in somewhat 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 contact with each other by means of this unique system of communication. -- Haole 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 taunting each other by such remarks as, "Don't make like that. You think you one Haole, or what?" or "You trying to talk like one Haole?" or "Don't be so Haolified." 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 Haole 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 indicated earlier, the young people of non-Caucasian ancestry may be apologetic or defensive regarding their Island dialect in the presence of strangers, particularly Haoles, who might judge them adversely. In the presence of fellow Islanders, on the other hand, the dialect is a basis of camaraderie 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 an evidence, not only of bad taste, but the grounds for severe criticism.

The situation among the Haoles is, in general, very much the reverse of the foregoing. The malihini or Coast-Haole may be apologetic or defensive about his inability to use the dialect with the non-Caucasian Islander, and 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 Haoles and the non-Haole Islanders. The kamaaina Haole youth in Hawaii insofar as he is well versed in both standard and pidgin English, can perhaps afford to be somewhat tolerant of the dialect and condescending toward those who are confined to its use, although under the proper social circumstances the condescension 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 so that others understand them. Island speech is too abbreviated and too rapid and it may be a handicap where meeting the public is the major element in the job, such as saleswork, interviewing, 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 pidgin 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 occasions, 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 Haoles from the Mainland, are quite conscious of the fact that the ability to use the Island vernacular is still a decided 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 with 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. -- Haole male.

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 "locals" 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 at 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. -- Haole male.

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

This lack of social ease--the floundering about for simple words, the halted 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 youths 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, all the while being assured that the Island dialect is sub-standard speech. I am not convinced that deep-seated habits can be forcibly supplanted without long-range ill effects on the persons involved. --Haole male.

The average Haole student is probably less perspicacious than either of the two foregoing and is likely to interpret the reticence of the loyal students as evidence of inferior intellectual ability. As frequently happens, the inhibitions of the Islanders 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 Haole and non-Haole students find in the Island vernacular an explanation, if not a justification, for the alleged discrimination in employment and the failure of Islanders to advance more rapidly with the large Haole 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. -- Haole 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.

Finally 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 subtlety 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 apathetic youth with the seriousness of their deficiencies. The far larger proportion of the students, although fully sensitive to the significance of local language limitations, insist that legalistic 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 will not tolerate forceful measures to eradicate their use of a dialect which they use 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 by its 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 Hawaii's 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 resolved, formidable obstacles to understanding still exist between those who do and those who do not use the Island dialect.

A RECENT CHAPTER IN THE STORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE IN HAWAII

Elizabeth Carr

I

Although the English language first arrived in Hawaii in the British accents 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 speak it to some degree. A few became very good at it and acted as interpreters. Thus the Hawaiians actually had a "head-start" of a half-century over the other peoples who later undertook the difficult problem of mastering English. During that half-century, before the arrival of the next major language-group, the situation linguistically speaking must have been comparatively simple in the Islands, with Hawaiian and English as the two dominant languages. The speech of the missionary teachers (the Eastern American variety of English) served as a model for the imitation of their charges, and the patience of the teachers in trying to teach the language well was admirable.

The situation, in regard to language-learning, was entirely different after the influx of plantation laborers began. It is well known that between 1876 and 1907 other foreign languages arrived in Hawaii, on the tongues of workers brought to Hawaii for the commercial development of the plantations. The arrival of these languages--Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Puerto Rican, Spanish, and Korean, along with two dialects of the Philippine languages--upset the progress of the standard form of the English language here. There were at least two reasons for this: First, the languages arriving like tidal waves were in striking contrast, in structure, to the English language, only two of them being of the Indo-European family of tongues. The languages set down so close to each other in the limited area of Hawaii represented a number of widely different language-stocks. Besides the Indo-European Portuguese and Spanish, there were Ilocano and Tagalog, representing the Malayo-Polynesian family. (Hawaiian too is a branch of this family.) Several families of Asian languages were represented, for, in spite of popular belief to the contrary, Japanese, Chinese, and Korean belong to different language-groups. The wide variety in language-structure alone presented a hazard to the learning of English, since the structure of the learner's own language influences his learning of any subsequent one.

Another reason the laborers had difficulty in learning English was that their teachers were far different from the missionary teachers. The language-pattern for the laborers was set by plantation foremen whose main objective was the most rapid and simple communication possible. Teaching standard English was the thing farthest from their minds. A deliberately cut-down and telegraphic form of English was used as the quickest method of getting the men to know what to do. This, soon known as "pidgin English" because of its similarity to the "pidgin" or "business English" of the China ports, was taken home and passed on to wives and children by the laborers. This pattern, once

set and self-propagating, caused years and years of exasperation to later teachers of standard English.

In the public schools the teachers found this persistent "pidgin" 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 language-forms are to each other, the more difficult they are to keep apart. "Pidgin" 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, supervisors might have helped the teachers to work out the critical points of difference between the two forms--phonetically, grammatically, idiomatically, and rhythmically--treating the "pidgin" as a language-in-itself with scientific objectiveness. 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 tensions--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 "pidgin" 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 fell into the habit of scolding and shaming the children for their "pidgin" expressions, threatening them with failure in school if they did not "begin speaking good English at once and speak it all the time." Since the difference between "good English" and "pidgin" 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 furtive allegiance to the "pidgin" and a hatred for "haole-kind 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 over-tones. 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 Reinecke in the 1930's, (Reinecke, "Pidgin English"), but descriptive linguistic studies are only now beginning to be made. The unfortunate thing is that we cannot go back and fill in the unrecorded stages of languages 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 "pidgin," unless it be done from plays in which bilinguals imitate the old speech as they imagine it must have sounded. When I have heard of old-timers who might possibly be persuaded to have tape-recordings made, it has 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 much too thoroughly embarrassed because of the criticism that has been heaped upon the heads of "pidgin" speakers to be willing to take a chance on putting their accents into permanent form. Thus, while physical scientists have been industriously studying the phenomena in Hawaii for years, describing carefully every minutest 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 operate in plantation days as they are now, many valuable records might have been preserved. The availability of recording devices has not stood in the way of scientific recording as much, however, as has the attitude of scorn and vilification held by large numbers of language purists toward the locally developed forms of speech--the attitude that they were too "low" to be of scientific interest. It has come about, then, that even the "snapping shrimp" of Kaneohe Bay has received the most dedicated attention, 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 Hormann said, "It may be that the aim of establishing standard English can actually be best accomplished by a more complete understanding and appreciation of the local dialect. . . . for instance, the structure of the local dialect can be worked out inductively by the pupils. These . . . rules can then be used to bridge the gap to the structure of standard English. This is the way many of us learn a foreign language when it is efficiently taught." (Hormann, "Speech, Prejudice, and the School in Hawaii.") Hormann's words now sound like the voice of prophecy, for, in the intervening years the American public has taken the new methods of language teaching to its heart, with the result that foreign language learning is going on even in elementary schools. This enthusiasm has spread from the Mainland to Hawaii and language laboratories have been set up for learners of all ages. The structure of the target language and of the native language are compared and the key points of difference are worked out--in speech sounds, in grammar, in vocabulary, and in rhythm. Language-learning is tremendously speeded up by this approach which is at the same time the linguistic one and the common-sense one.

This scientific method, applied to the teaching of standard English in Hawaii, would necessitate several things: (1) more descriptive studies of the dialect by experts, on phonetics, grammatical, and lexical levels; (2) a considerable amelioration of the conventional attitude toward "pidgin"; (3) more real leadership on the part of those capable of demonstrating the comparative method; (4) more opportunities for the comparative method, once worked out, to be transmitted to teachers in the schools; (5) more time arranged in the curriculum for the regular practicing of standard speech forms.

III

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 my own personal point of view after a quarter of a century of work on oral English in the schools of Hawaii and after a number of trips to Mainland departments of linguistics to look for answers to some of the perplexing problems. For this survey, let us think of the speakers in Hawaii as falling into four groups: (1) persons who speak standard English at all times; (2) persons who speak Mainland (or British) varieties of substandard English; (3) persons who can speak only the local dialect; (4) persons who can switch back and forth between standard English and the local dialect as the occasion demands. (No account is here given of speakers of foreign languages in Hawaii.)

In the first group given above are educated Haoles and non-Haoles, 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-Haoles are falling into this group each decade. As witness to this contention is the fact that increasing numbers of non-Haoles 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 English speech area. A graduate assistant recently made a tape-recording to be used as a model teaching tape in classes of dialect speakers. A member of the administration 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 substandard English. If for no other reason, this group should be named here as a means of recalling to ourselves that our so-called "pidgin" is only one of many existing varieties of substandard English scattered over the face of the earth. Substandard speech forms exist in every language area.

The third group are those people, oldsters 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. One 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 should be represented on an imaginary language map with a separate colored pin, representing his own particular degree of progress in the drift of the whole group toward the mainstream of standard English. Some are near; some are a long way off. This group rightly deserves our concern, pedagogically, for, with the changing face of the landscape under statehood (with the advent of jet airplanes and of increasing numbers of visitors of the standard-English-speaking classes) these dialect-speaking citizens will find jobs to their liking increasingly hard to obtain and hold. Foes of careful English teaching often contend that there are plenty of jobs for the speakers of "pidgin." Although this is true, the youngsters in our schools are learning to like white-collar jobs more rapidly than they are learning the standard language that goes with them. Some of us, long in the teaching game, think that the answer lies in modern, sharpened techniques of instruction and in more enlightened motivation. As the number of dialect speakers grows smaller, the methods can grow more incisive. 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 classroom 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 bilinguals of 1960. Uriel Weinreich of Columbia University has pointed out in his book, *Languages in Contact*, (Weinreich, *Languages*), that the speaker who exhibits the ability to slip back and forth between two dialects of the same language is an example of bilingualism in one of its commonly occurring forms. Each decade Hawaii seems to have more and more people who can speak both standard English and the local dialect--not always, it is true, with complete success.

But why should anyone who has mastered the standard language deliberately choose to drop back? The best guess is that the dialect represents the warmth of relationship, the intimate atmosphere, of a world of one's peers--delightful to return to for a few minutes of relaxation and fun between stretches of academic or business life. The gusto with which the dialect is spoken in these intensely savored moments of release testifies to the nature of the experience. Haole children try, with questionable 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 of "pidgin" have died out, this new form is not only not dying, but is actually increasing in popularity and in use. Several things back up the belief that we are in a new phase of development. For example, only recently have creative works appeared written in the dialect. Original plays at the University of Hawaii have appeared within the last ten years with parts written in "pidgin." Audiences have shown delight at this objectification. Much more recently a few original stories in dialect have appeared at speech events in high schools, written and delivered by speakers who would themselves speak entirely standard English. Radio programs include stories and bits of other material in dialect or pseudo-dialect--too often the latter, for the true article cannot be approximated by Mainland commentators. Greetings cards can be bought with dialectal re-tellings of established stories for children. These are not always in good taste, of course, but they illustrate the point being established, that in this new phase of our language development, oral and written appearances of "pidgin" are being made in places where they would have been taboo a few years ago. Frances Lincoln, of Kona, has called this current language "neo-pidgin." (Lincoln, "A Final Word on--and in--Authentic Pidgin.")

IV

Although I have said that large numbers of Island students fall into the bilingual group, speaking standard or dialectal English as the occasion demands, I do not maintain that they all move back and forth with equal ease. In plantation days there was a wide gulf between "pidgin" and recognized English. In recent years, the substandard has been drawing nearer and nearer to General American speech (itself by no means always "pure"). It becomes more and more difficult for the locally born non-Haole youngster to tell which words and expressions belong at the standard level and which belong below that level, particularly when he does not hear a standard pattern at home. Learning to speak the standard is not merely a matter of taking speech courses and learning to pronounce the *th* sounds, the *ng*, and the difficult vowels of English. The long-drawn-out aftermath comes in what the youngster has to do for himself--in learning to sort out which pronunciations and which expressions belong at a certain level. A college freshman said to me, "I had never heard 'glove' pronounced (gluv) until I came to the University. I had always heard it pronounced (gläv). I had always heard 'onion' pronounced (änion) and 'oven' pronounced (även)."

An English teacher in one of the local intermediate schools asked me last month to come to her class to talk about the differences between dialect and standard English. She followed my visit up immediately with an assignment to the pupils to go out and listen for "pidgin" expressions to bring 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 secure, and in their faltering they disclosed some of the difficult zones between the "approved" and the "disapproved." One fourteen-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 (as she expressed it) "a dialect." She ended with her translation of the statement into standard English as follows: "Gee, 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: "Oo, da nifty!" translating it as "Oh, it's very pretty!" In her "reasons why it is a dialect" she said among other things, "Nifty indicates the presence of another language." This American slang word (originally from the theatrical world but entirely English) is having a belated popularity in "neo-pidgin" in Hawaii, and is apparently perceived as a loan-word.

Another teen-ager's comments upon the language heard on the busses of Honolulu included the following statement: "If you ever ride the bus after school you can hear a lot of conversations and gossips going on, but most of them usually have profane language in it."

Some youngsters seemed to have a marked degree of clarity of perception concerning the language situation. One wrote: "I heard so many ('pidgin') words on my way home that I can't remember all of them. I heard my friends saying them, other boys and girls, and I said some myself. My friend and I always say we'll try not 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 start." Another wrote, "I think I would fit into the bilingual group and am quite successful in switching from dialect to standard English. I try not to speak pidgin too much. I do it only for fun. It is fun to listen to others speak the language, though. It's sometimes quite humorous, too."

The best comment was written by a boy of Japanese ancestry, who, after reporting his experiences in "listening in" on playground groups, gave a colorful list of "pidgin" expressions. He ended his paper with the following editorial comment concerning the language he had heard around school: "Today was worse than usual, so you don't have to worry about delinquents taking over the world by burning it up with speech. It does go to show, however, that this world is getting to be less and less poetical in speech when slang and pungency (which he spelled "pugency") is actually looked for, as I did today. That homework assignment gave me some pretty gruesome memories when I think of Shakespeare and Longfellow but hardly bothers me at all when I think of Hemingway."

V

What are the characteristics of this "neo-pidgin"? In its most divergent form it may have, phonetically, as many as four or five vowel-confusions or substitutions, along with consonant problems such as the use of *t*

and d for the difficult th sounds, n for ng, and the un-voicing of the final consonants, which, in the case of final inflectional s often gives an un-English effect. It shows a simplification of the final consonant cluster that interferes with grammar in the case of final inflectional ed (in past-tense verbs). Yet rarely, if ever, are all of these sound divergences found in one and the same speaker. In spite of what some discouraged teachers may believe, the th sounds are being learned. Initial th's are being learned a great deal more rapidly than final and medial ones. The th in the middle of a simple phrase such as "to the door" is one of the most difficult to teach, and the last to be learned.

Bilinguals who slip back and forth "for fun" do not employ all of the possible sound-substitutions, by any means. Once having learned the phonemes of English, they tend to keep them, employing only a few of the most obvious vowel substitutions and using a few d's for th's to obtain the dialectal effect. They seem to depend upon a sharp change in rhythm more than upon anything else. Definitive studies have yet to be made of the rhythm of Island speech. When these are made and the contours are plotted, it will be easier to write of the difference between standard and dialect, and--if we are good pedagogues--it will be easier to teach the children the difference.

Characteristics of "neo-pidgin" that can most easily be pointed out in a brief treatment such as this are (1) changes in grammar and (2) divergences in usage. The verb is a good starting-point. An interesting feature of the grammar of the local dialect is that it has developed a new set of auxiliary verbs. For the present progressive tense, stay takes the place of is, so that "He stay go" is used rather than "He is going." Reinecke pointed this out in 1934, suggesting the possibility that stay might have come from the Portuguese estar. (Reinecke, "The English Dialect of Hawaii.") Much more recently Edgar Knowlton of the University of Hawaii's Department of European Languages, in a study of the Portuguese in Hawaii, has noted the fact that the use of stay for the present progressive in dialectal English has a parallel in Portuguese usage. (Knowlton, "Portuguese in Hawaii.")

The auxiliary used for the past tense is went as in "I went forget my towel and blouse in my brodda's car." The meaning of this form is more often the simple past than the past progressive. Went in such instances often shows loss of the final t, as in "I wen' go." The following sentence illustrates both the present progressive and the past tenses:

"Ey, you wen' call Asato?" ("Did you call Asato?") "Yea, but he stay sleeping now. His daughter wen' go ansaa da phone."
("Yes, but he is sleeping now. His daughter answered the phone.")

The dialectal auxiliary for the future tense is go, exemplified in such sentences as "Igo make one dress,"--often also, "I going make one dress." The past negative has a form of its own: "I nava see," for "I didn't see," and the double negative is frequent: "I nava do notting," for "I didn't do anything." The absence of the subjunctive can be noted in the following:

First girl: "Where da bus?" Second girl: "I wish it comes quick."

Exclamatory expressions on the pattern of the following are very popular:

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

A woman reported putting a large plate of spaghetti in front of her little son and hearing him exclaim: "Oh, da long, Mommy!" 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 the phrase is actually the article the (pronounced above as da). The expression "Oh, the pretty" seems to be parallel to "Oh, how pretty!" in standard speech, yet the substitution of the for how 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: "Yea, 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 to have been 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 'um." ("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 ansa da question."

The use of loan words in Hawaii 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?" ("Do you want one?")

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

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

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: "Nava 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 new editions with the years. I have attempted to give some notion of the present stage of the development of English in Hawaii and particularly to write something concerning the group rarely recognized, the bilingual speakers of today.

It seems to me to be clear that local youngsters are more or less aware of what is taking place in the drift of their language from the sub-standard over into the mainstream of standard or near-standard American speech. More of them are probably motivated to speak at the standard level than we give them credit for. Their problems come in the difficulties they have in perceiving the infinite number of details which keep the levels apart, and in the undeniable fact that the "neo-pidgin" heard everywhere is colorful, warm, and full of vitality. They lapse, therefore, into the "neo-pidgin" for various reasons and do not get enough practice in the oral production of the sounds and rhythms of the standard level to crystallize them and make them automatic. I should like to prophesy that this will be remedied by more modern methods of teaching, borrowed from recent experiences of teachers of modern languages on the Mainland of the United States and in the Islands. (Aspinwall, "Foreign Languages in Hawaii")

PIDGIN USAGE OF SOME PRESCHOOL CHILDREN IN HAWAII*

Lawrence M. Kasdon and Madorah E. Smith

Introduction

While engaged in a follow-up study on the use of English among preschool children of the three ethnic groups in Hawaii showing the greatest retardation in the use of English, the writers were impressed with the continued influence of pidgin among the members of these groups. (See Smith, Kasdon, "Progress in the Use of English.") The purpose of this paper is to describe some of these errors and particularly those which have persisted in these children's speech since the original study was made. (Madorah Smith, "Some Light.") It is not within the scope of this paper to describe pidgin English as used in Hawaii except to point out that Hawaiian pidgin is quite different from the pidgin spoken in other parts of the Pacific.

Although the preschool children of Japanese and Filipino ancestry in Hawaii are now, with few exceptions, no longer bilingual, for the most part, they come to school speaking pidgin to some degree. This persistence in the use of pidgin by children of Japanese and Filipino ancestry results in an estimated group of more than 50 per cent of the pupils entering kindergarten being retarded slightly more than a year in their use of English. (Smith, Kasdon, "Progress in the Use of English.") Despite the gain in the command of English since 1938, this retardation in the use of the form of English in which instruction is given imposes an important task on the school in general and on kindergarten teachers, in particular, if these young children are not to experience a considerable handicap in their later academic work. Also the teacher training institutions, which prepare teachers for the public schools of Hawaii, must prepare teachers to help the children learn standard English.

In the first part of this article we shall describe some of the more common pidgin usages by preschool children of Japanese and Filipino ancestry. The groups of children studied in this investigation also made errors which might be made by young Mainland children; no attempt will be made to describe these errors. The second part of this article compares some facets of the family background of the children in both the 1938 and 1958 studies.

The comparison between the two groups can be made only in a general way, except for the error index, because most of the original data of the 1938 study was lost during World War II. In the 1938 study, the subjects were between 18 and 78 months of age while the 1958 study includes only children between 42 and 66 months of age.

The 1958 study was limited to the three groups that showed the greatest retardation in the use of English in the 1938 study. These three groups are Japanese, Filipino residing in Honolulu (hereafter referred to as urban Filipinos), and Filipinos residing in rural areas in Hawaii (hereafter

*This study was made possible by a grant from the McNerny Foundation, whose generosity is gratefully acknowledged. The authors also wish to extend their appreciation to Mrs. Myrna Ishimoto, Misses Angelita Reyes, Shirley Bargamento, and Betty Naito for doing the field work. Bibliographical references are in the Master Bibliography.

referred to as rural Filipinos). The rural Filipino sample was selected from children living in rural sections of the islands of Oahu and Hawaii.

In both the 1938 and 1958 studies twenty-five children of each age level of the same ethnic background were studied, so that fifty children of Japanese ancestry, fifty urban Filipinos and fifty rural Filipino children were selected as the population for the 1958 study. The children in both the 1938 and 1958 studies were selected so that the distribution of their fathers' occupations was similar to that given in the latest United States census.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHILDREN'S SPEECH

As was found in the case of the children of Chinese ancestry, (See Madorah Smith, "Progress.") those of Japanese and Filipino ancestry no longer speak their ancestral tongues. A majority of the children comprising the three samples might be considered bilingual only if pidgin English is classified as a language rather than a dialect. Many children use no language other than a form of English, although a few included one or two commonly used Hawaiian words such as pau, puka, okole, and kaukau.*

Only three Japanese children used more than five Japanese words while being observed by the recorder. One of these children had travelled and lived in Japan. She used such terms as uchi (at home), gichan (grandfather), omotai (heavy), and mata kina sai (come again). No Filipino children, urban or rural, used as many as five words of any Filipino dialect.

As shown in Table I, in the 1958 study the percentage of English words spoken by the Japanese children is 99.0 per cent and 99.4 per cent by the urban and rural Filipino children. In 1938, the percentage of words spoken in English was 49, 94, and 75.5 respectively.

I. Comparison of the Language Behavior of Hawaiian Children of Japanese and Filipino Ancestry in 1938 and 1958

	1938		1958		Differ- ences		t	
<u>JAPANESE</u>								
At Age	4		5	4	5	4	5	4
Per cent Words								
Spoken in English	49			99		50		
Per cent Sentences								
Mixed	29			1.1		27.9		
Error Index Average	465	486	207	184	-258	-302	-6.74*	-8.60*
M	37	33	10	12				
<u>FILIPINO - Honolulu</u>								
Per cent Words								
Spoken in English	94			99.4		5.4		
Per cent Sentences								
Mixed	13			1.0		-12.		
Error Index Average	437	402	284	243	-153	-159	-7.96*	-6.40*
M	15	19	12	16				
<u>FILIPINO - Rural</u>								
Per cent Words								
Spoken in English	75.5			99.4		23.9		
Per cent Sentences								
Mixed	23.5			2.2		-21.3		
Error Index Average	538	540	291	269	-247	-271	-9.21*	-10.10*
M	24	24	12	12				

*Significant at less than the .01 level

*Technically speaking, kaukau is not a Hawaiian word but is slang. In a conversation, Mary Pukui expressed the opinion that kaukau is a corruption of chow.

*Significant at less than the .01 level

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 1.8 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, opah (colloquial Japanese) me." Thomas asked his playmate, "You like see the kukai?" (Hawaiian for excrement) as they were looking for his dog. Cynthia invited the observer to accompany her by saying, "Manang, come." (Manang is roughly the Ilocano equivalent of Miss). Sandra was playing a Japanese card game and said to her playmate, "No, because you going gaji (use the joker) my sakura (a 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 Filipinos and the rural Filipinos. All differences in the error indices of the 1938 and 1958 samples are significant at less than .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 monoglots, 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 "ass" for "that's."

1. The most common of all specific errors is the use of no for not, which is made by 117 of the 151 children whose records were examined. This error was also the most common in the 1938 study. Typical examples of this usage are as follows: "My brada and and sista go school, but I no go." "I no like." "I no like hear." "You no can catch me." "No blow, Barbara, no good."

*For a discussion of the probable origin of these errors, see M. Smith, "Some Light."

II. List of Pidgin Errors of the 1958 Samples

	Number of Children Making Each Error			
	Japanese	Filipino		Total
		City	Rural	
already*	5	1	1	7
ass why -- because	1	3	3	7
been (for past tense)	1	1	0	2
broke -- break	4	1	3	8
broke -- tear	0	0	1	1
by-n-by	3	0	1	4
come big -- become	3	0	2	5
every time -- always	6	2	0	8
find (ing) -- seek	1	0	0	1
get -- have or there is	22	23	38	83
got -- had or is	4	1	2	7
go -- will or should	24	29	29	82
go (as infin. or redundant)	5	2	2	9
kind (used redundantly)	10	10	8	28
like -- want	27	34	42	103
little more -- soon	1	1	0	2
make or made -- <u>do</u> or <u>fix</u>	13	16	19	48
me I or us we	1	1	0	2
more big, bigger or better	5	3	5	13
no -- for not	34	38	45	117
no more -- haven't any	4	8	5	17
no need -- not necessary	4	2	0	6
anclitic (usually no)	5	3	5	13
one** (a or the)	7	6	15	28
one time -- once	1	0	0	1
open -- turn on	1	1	2	4
plenty -- many or much	3	7	8	18
shame -- ashamed	2	1	2	5
small -- little	1	1	0	2
sore -- hurt	1	0	0	1
stay -- is (present or here)	5	18	19	42
talk -- say	0	4	1	5
tell -- say	1	0	0	1
the -- how	2	0	3	5
try (for emphasis)	16	8	11	35
waste time -- don't care to	3	0	0	3
went (go) (for past tense)	15	23	18	56

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

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

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

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

2. Like for want is used by more than two-thirds of the children. In the 1938 study this error ranked third. The following are some examples of their error: "I like doughnuts, Aunty." "I like ride your bicycle." "He not like let me." "Come on, I like play."

3. Get for have or there is is used erroneously by over half of the children. In the 1938 study, it ranked fourth and was rarely employed correctly. Three-fourths of the rural Filipino children favor this usage while slightly less than half of the other two groups use it. The following illustrate this usage: "Get mail on the floor." "I get one record." "You get pencil?" "I get one cousin name Clifford." "You folks get television?" "I get plenty marbles." "I get more big kind."

4. Go for will or should is used incorrectly by over half of the children. In the 1938 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 Junior." "I go make somersault."

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 correctly 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." "Spotty went kill one pussy already." "She went go party with his mother." "Who went go drop all this?" "Judy went go conk 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 far fewer 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 no can make like this."

7. Stay for is present or here is is used by 28 per cent of the children. In the 1938 study it ranked eighth, and was not used by many Japanese children. This infrequent usage holds true in the present study. Examples of this error are as follows: "They mommie stay." "Andy stay catching bees." "Stay hea, 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 a little more often by the Japanese than it is now. Examples of this usage are as follows: "I like try, John." "Roy, try look." "Try stand up, Suzanne." "Try come; we go make tent."

9.5. Kind for type or way is used redundantly or where it would appear that the child is at a loss 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 agate." "You make this kind?" "I brought home big kind dolly." "What kind she doing?"

9.5. One, used generally as a substitute for a or the, was counted an error. It is not always wrong, as when the child says, "I see one man," but it sounds strange; for in standard English, "I see a man" would be more usual. In the 1938 study this error ranked tenth and was made by more than 10 per cent of the children. The urban Filipinos made this error most frequently then; 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." "You 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 10 per cent of the children. At that time, the error was made least frequently 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: "She got plenty holes." "Plenty grasshopper here." "Plenty guys come my house." "I get plenty marbles."

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 this error ranked seventh. Then, it was made least frequently by the Japanese children. In the present study, the Japanese and rural Filipino children made this error somewhat less than the urban Filipino children. The following are samples of this usage: "Mary Ann no more teeth." "Pau, no more already." "After dat da ada guy when (went) die, no mo' 'nough air." "Dopey no mo' head."

III. Rank Order Listing of Pidgin Errors Made by More Than 10 Per Cent of the Japanese and Filipino Children in the 1958 and the 1938 Studies

	1958 rank	1938 rank
no -- not	1	1
like -- want	2	3
get -- have or there is	3	4
go -- used to form the future tense	4	2
went (go) -- for past tense	5	9
make or made -- do, fix	6	5
stay -- is (present)	7	8
try -- used for emphasis	8	11
one -- a or the	9.5	10
plenty -- many or much	11	12
no more -- haven't any	12	7
kind -- used redundantly	9.5	6

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 comparisons with the earlier study. The Barr rating of the fathers' occupations of the 1958 samples reflect an average increase from .66 to 1.86 points. The data in Table IV shows that the rural Filipino fathers made the greatest gain, reflecting the increased amount of mechanization in pineapple and sugar cane plantations.

The general rise in the Barr ratings of the three groups is indicative of their upward occupational movement in the last two decades. Currently, the Japanese have a higher Barr rating, 9.28, as contrasted with the urban and rural Filipino groups, 7.00 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, 83 per cent. In the urban Filipino group, 30 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, 18 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 11.5 years for the parents of the Japanese group as contrasted with 2.7 years twenty years ago. The urban Filipinos' average is 8.8 years of schooling as against 4.1 years; and the rural Filipinos' average 9.6 years versus 3.2 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 language ratings of homes (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 Filipinos 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 Hawaii sought work in the city rather than on the plantations where the number of jobs has been declining; (2) the segregation 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 a 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 children's names reflect the tendency toward Anglicization. In the earlier study, almost all of the children's given names were Japanese; now none 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

when many adults of Japanese ancestry changed their first names or added an Anglo-Saxon name. Since then children are usually given names in both languages.

Among the rural Filipinos, only one parent speaks a Filipino dialect as the preferred language. In these homes there are twenty grandparents who prefer to speak a Filipino dialect and sixteen others who speak pidgin. Among both Filipino groups, our data indicate that pidgin is more commonly spoken than standard English.

TABLE IV
Comparison of Background of Hawaiian Children of Japanese
and Filipino Ancestry in 1938 and 1958

Parents' of Children	JAPANESE (Honolulu)			FILIPINO (Honolulu)			FILIPINO (Rural)		
	1938	1958	Difference	1938	1958	Difference	1938	1958	Difference
Number of Children	50	50		50	50		50	51	
Barr Rating of Father's Occupation	8.62	9.28	.66	6.23	7.00	.77	5.50	7.26	1.76
% of Parents Born in U. S.	41	95	54	18	50	32	2	83	81
Average Educ. of Both Parents in Years (U. S. only)	2.7	11.5	8.8	4.1	8.8	4.7	3.2	9.5	6.4
Language Rating of Homes	2.0	3.9	1.9	2.2	3.8	1.6	1.9	3.3	1.4

In order to appreciate the full flavor of the children's language and the type of errors we have discussed, it is interesting to examine the fifty sentence record of two children. The first is from a little girl, the daughter of a truck driver for the Federal government, who lives in the Palolo section of Honolulu. She is four-and-a-half and was playing with three playmates when the record was made of her language.

No, no, give him!
He going keep um.
No, no, give him!
Da las time I wen' give him; he wen' keep um. (Referring to toy money.)
You know when I bring _____
Iris, you know when I _____
Iris! Iris!
You know when I was going by da _____
You know when I was going play docta, heh?
Da girl wen' put something in my mout.
How much you sell da kind flowers? (Pretending to buy flowers from her sister.)
Hey, hey, no let Johnny!
Hey, pu da flowa up hea.
O. K. much do you sell _____
A-a-a, how much do you sell da yella flowa?
Dat kind?
No, no! (Her sister took too much toy money for the flowers--so she's protesting.)
I gonna put _____ (then places the flowers on the washing machine.)

Johnny, dis is okit! (orchid)
What?
Ai, he stay talk just like one Chinese.
Wait, come!
If you want to put you flowa, come.
Dis is okit!
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.)
An--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.)
Wah (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 flowa.
Gimme change.
Nice, heh?
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 flowa?
Give us dolla, too!
Dolla, I like dolla too, dolla.
No! I like dis kind.
My gardenia. (Holding the flower to her nose.)
Ah, I drop my change.
We gara (got to) go sleep now.
I going, going a, I going use 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 bull. (Playing with older brother.)
C'mon, we go play airplane kind.
Superman, I got big muscles.
Okay, horsie kind.
No push um. (Neighbor pushed a little brother.)
Ala, no can go outside. (Gate was locked.)
Where you going? (Neighbor was leaving yard.)
We go play Indian kind.
That boy went go on the road.
Ass you. (Talking with the neighbor.)
Yeah--ass right, them like go sea beach.
I like drink soda.
Watch this. (Threw grass in the air.)
Button, come. (Called playmate.)
Benny said 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.)

We going make.... (Stalk of grass.)
 I'm Commando Coliss. (Did not complete the sentence.)
 Flying Command 2.
 Watch this.
 Yeah--the guys stay drunk. (Referring to noise from nearby.)
 I going make one small cage. (Playing with cut grass.)
 Eah--what's the big idea? (Someone took some of his grass.)
 I making one cage.
 I going get one eggs.
 I going get one worm and eat it.
 No blow, Barbara, no good. (Playmate blew on a dandelion.)
 How come no come off? (Dandelion tuft did not blow off.)
 Bring um. (Addressed to girl to bring grass.)
 I lick you folks.
 I laying eggs. (Sitting in the grass.)
 I going kick um off. (Kicked his pile of grass.)
 You like mine?
 What my name? (Acting silly with playmates.)
 Me Superman.
 He the baby.
 Ah, I saw one small agate (marble.)
 Hey, this mine. (Playmate tried to take the marble away.)
 I going push um down, broke um.
 I going make this house.
 I can broke this bolo-head house.
 But you going need gasoline. (Talking with playmate.)
 And you too.
 Eh, look. (Found a firecracker.)
 What's this--going get something.
 Get powder.

MY LOCAL BOYS*

Walter F. Dulaney

. . . 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 sales girls seemed like window dressing for tourists. 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 luaus, 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 loafing 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 "Y" 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 shoeshine boys, Waikiki is nearly childless.

At the end of my first day at the "Y" 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 dakind?" For the first time I didn't mistake a statement for a question. The different inflection had not tossed me. And wonder of wonders, I even guessed what "dakind" was--the plan for the day, a visit to the Matsonia. "Yahh. We go, e-sily, Bruddah." The kid was delighted at my answer. "Hey, you make like local boy." The rest of the day I practiced 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-enunciated. 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 "Y". 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 Nuuanu

*The following is an abridged account of the manner in which a young college graduate from California succeeded in breaking through the barriers of language which first prevented effective communication with Island youth, particularly of lower class status. It serves to illustrate the means to which the outsider will sometimes resort in order to establish rapport with the Islanders.
 --Editors.

attractive and charming, but I didn't get close to anyone. I made acquaintances but not friends. I felt I was being kept at a distance, in a separate category, "non-local."

In the pleasure of "reaching" these local people, I began to bend over backward to be "local." I wore slippers everywhere. I spoke nothing but pidgin. And with many of the boys I think I erased my own ancestry. I was one of them. One day the gang was sitting around discussing the behavior of some servicemen who had just passed by. They started discussing Haoles in general. How "they" were pushy, noisy, etc. After a few minutes I spoke up, "Hey, fellows, I'm Haole, you know." And one of the boys replied, "Oh, no, you're Irish."

At the end of the summer I was hired to work full time for the "Y." It was my job to recruit and organize clubs in the churches and schools. The club experience is designed to help a boy learn to get along with his fellows, to develop mentally, physically, and spiritually. Now with a goal to work for in my relationships with my boys, I re-examined my thinking. After consideration it seemed unwise completely to forget my own background. Perhaps I would better serve as a bridge between their world and the "mysterious" Mainland. After this decision I began to take my boys to places they hadn't been before. Whenever possible I encouraged them to meet new situations.

For the most part the kids enjoyed these excursions, but once they got balky. It was after attending a late Waikiki movie. I offered to treat my four boys to sodas or sundaes. They were all for the idea until we parked and approached a fancy Waikiki ice cream parlor. Then they said they weren't hungry after all. I asked, "How come?" After several questions one of the kids spoke up, "It's not for us. It's just for Haoles."

This was a kind of test case for me. I expect my boys to be able to go anywhere their ambition takes them. This sort of imagined inferiority would surely hold them back. After a great deal of discussion I got them to enter the parlor but they made for the table in the farthest corner. Once seated there they hunched down in their seats. Then I gave them the word. "Now look, fellows, these people are no different from you. They may live in a different part of the world, or belong to a different race, but those are just surface differences." "Oh, but da rich," said one of the boys. "Some of them are, but most are just hardware-store owners, secretaries, and other ordinary people who've saved up for years to vacation here." For the next few minutes we discussed the people at the neighboring tables, guessing where they were from, what they did, how much money they had. My boys sat up straighter, but I wasn't sure that I'd made my point until the next time we went to a Waikiki movie. After the show the group decided they wanted something to eat. The first and only place suggested was the same ice cream parlor. They chose a table in the middle this time. I ate my sundae with a great deal of satisfaction that night. My boys had gone over one hurdle.

Since that time I've had several other experiences with imagined boundaries to my boys. It seems clear that those limits are just mental remnants of an earlier time when there were real limits that held in the local people. The boys have been increasingly eager to go to new places, and do new things. They seem eager to broaden their horizons.

As I grew closer to my boys they asked a million and one questions about the Mainland. I found they had as many misconceptions of the States as Mainland people hold about the Islands. Their geography was sketchy but sufficient, but their Hollywood concept of the wealth of the average per-

son was surprising. They were sure that money was "easy" on the Mainland. They were especially curious about the South. They wanted to know why the Southern people treated the Negroes so badly. An unspoken question seemed to lie behind that question, "How would they treat Orientals, and dark Hawaiians and Filipinos." It's a question they've never asked openly, but often implied. It's a question I wouldn't like to answer.

REACTIONS TO MICHENER'S (Continued from page 41)

time before anyone essays another major work on the islands." (Nov. 21, 1959)

In its book review section, the New York Herald Tribune commended the author on his perceptiveness and the concrete portrayal of conditions in Hawaii. "Mr. Michener has written a saga of the land that is now his home with the zest and freshness of observation of a convert, the particularity of a novelist, and insight gained, one suspects, from laborious exploration of many fields." (Nov. 22, 1959)

Galen R. Weaver, a former long-time resident of Hawaii and now Secretary for Racial and Cultural Relations, Council for Christian Social Action, N. Y., also received the book with praise, although he regretted the preoccupation with sex and other sensational aspects of life. "This is an amazing story by one of the most perceptive and well-known contemporary writers on the South Seas and the Orient . . . What a fascinating kaleidoscope of races, nationalities and cultures is presented . . .!" The feeling of the times and the people is admirably conveyed but, he cautioned, the reader must not look for strict historical fidelity. (Book review for Council for Christian Social Action)

The Mainland reviewers tended to regard Michener's Hawaii as a social history as well as a novel. They took for granted that careful research had preceded the writing of the book.

It is only in the local reviews that one finds criticism of the book from the point of view of historical authenticity. For instance, Kathleen Mellen, author of many published books on Hawaii, charged Michener with having "reconstructed 'history' to fit his own theories and purposes, hence the many historical inaccuracies . . . The unfortunate thing for Hawaii in this book is that the author addresses a world-wide forum and even though labelled fiction it is being advertised as 'the real Hawaii' and will be accepted as such by many readers." (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Dec. 9, 1959) Dr. Charles H. Hunter, professor of history at the University of Hawaii since 1936, was reported in a newspaper as having accused Michener of "tedious editorializing, frequent propagandizing, and ignoring historical fact." (Honolulu Advertiser, March 4, 1960)

These adverse criticisms arise, perhaps, from the fact that the book Hawaii, intended as fiction, is at the same time asserted by its author to be "true to the spirit and history of Hawaii."

Writers of historical novels are not likely to spend their energy 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 interweave events and places with the lives of their characters. (Continue on Page 83)

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 far along a street in any part of the State without being aware of the "Island Dialect." For this reason it is not uncommon for the office at the State Department of Public Instruction to receive inquiries from a Mainland Teacher's College asking if we need teachers expert in "teaching American English speech to foreigners." It is with surprise that they read our reply that our schools are not full of "foreigners" but American boys and girls; 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 children; and of New York City, with its current problem of educating over 50,000 Puerto Rican-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 subjects from Australia and New Zealand, more frequently than Americans from rural Oklahoma, Arkansas, Alabama or Maine!

Concerted effort on the part of the University of Hawaii, the State Department of Public Instruction, and the thoroughly American-minded parents of the children has resulted in a remarkably rapid Anglicization of speech patterns in Hawaii. However, the pure, clipped vowel sounds and the unusual inflection and melody gives some visitors the initial impression that speech in the new State is "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 states. The childish drawling imitation of the traditional "southwestern bad man" shows that our children hear and imitate the various American English variants (often the most provincial ones!) with the sharp ears that come from "tuning in" on television and living variants from all English dialects in cosmopolitan Hawaii.

Because of the general impression we have created of ourselves as a State with a peculiar language and speech problem, it is generally assumed that we must have a staggering enrollment in our school speech correction classes. Actually if one eliminates the purely dialectal problems (as public school speech correction programs usually do), the percentage of speech defective children is remarkably close to national norms.

In a recent survey of the secondary schools, it was interesting to find how many of our children who stutter express relatively little embarrassment about it. It might be said that Hawaii would be one of the best states in the country for a stuttering child to go to school! There is a minimum of isolation from the group due to speech variation. There might be far less tolerance from peers in the average small-town school in less cosmopolitan places! The incidence of stuttering appears to be about the same as in other states; however, in Hawaii variations in manner of speaking are accepted facts and tolerance for differences is great.

Surveys by the State Department of Public Instruction and the Department of Health speech-hearing specialists have shown high agreement be-

tween the classroom teacher referrals and those selected for 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 "cheeken" for "chicken," deviant "th" sounds as in "dis" for "this" (which are easily understandable and prevalent within the community) were included in the speech correction load, 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 various 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 (upon 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, cleft 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-specialist. Recently established summer school centers help by gathering together the most severe and neglected speech problems for an intensive six week's session. 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 severe and conspicuous problems and to the large bulk of speech-mature, elementary school children (above second grade) having conspicuously defective articulation of a non-dialectal nature or (with medical or psychological clearance) 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 Abstract

Henrietta C. Krantz

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 factors relating to this defect in Hawaii seemed particularly appropriate. A high incidence of the congenital malformation--2.35 per 1200 live births as against 1.3 in Wisconsin and 0.57 in New Jersey--had been noted for the Territory by Florence Henderson and an apparent infrequent incidence of thyroid dysfunction in the Islands had prompted a question as to Brown's hypothesis that a positive correlation exists between the frequency of cleft palate and the incidence of hypothyroidism.

In the study reporting the incidence of cleft palate Henderson found almost twice as many cleft palate births in Hawaii as in Wisconsin and four times as many as in the state of New Jersey. The contention that hypothyroidism might have been responsible for the incidence in Wisconsin, largely a glaciated area, prompted a question concerning the amount of hypothyroidism in the Islands and the degree to which the high incidence of the congenital anomaly could be attributed to this condition.

An investigation of hypothyroidism in the Islands revealed little scientific basis for the theory that it might be a possible factor in the high incidence of the defect in this region. Studies relative to the iodine content of both foods and water gave no evidence of insufficient iodine content for physiological needs. (See Hammond; Shinkawa; and Harry.)

Despite the fact that hypothyroidism seemed not to be a problem in Hawaii, two studies did cite instances of low basal metabolic rates for women of the Chinese, Chinese-Hawaiian, and Japanese groups, neither study, however, attributing the cause to hypothyroidism. (See Carey Miller and Benedict.) If a relationship were to exist between the incidence of cleft palate and low metabolic rates in mothers, the findings should have suggested that women of the racial groups that have lower metabolic rates would produce more children with cleft palates. Such a circumstance, however, was not apparent in this study. (See Table I.)

Table I

Racial groups in Hawaii ranked according to their rank in the two categories: cleft palate births (lowest to the highest rates) and metabolic rates (lowest to the highest).

Racial Groups	Cleft Palate Births	Metabolic Rates
Caucasian	1	4
Chinese	2	1
Japanese	3	3
Chinese-Hawaiian	4	2
Part Hawaiian	5	5

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

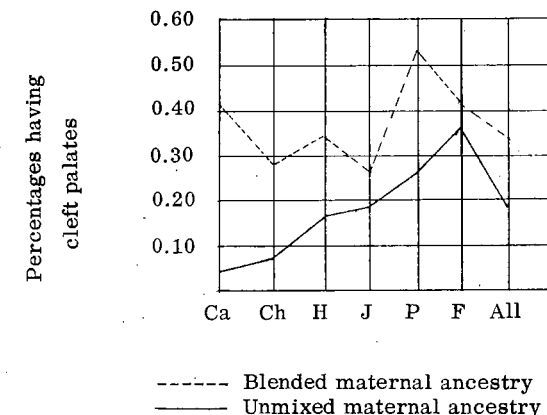
With the admitted fact that hypothyroidism in Hawaii is so rare that it may be eliminated as a possible cause for cleft palate in this area and with the lack of evidence to support any contention that the etiology might be related to the metabolic rate among women, a closer inspection of racial groups 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 six large (unmixed) 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 cases for all of the groups computed. The cleft palate births for the whole population in the five-year period gave a percentage of .1972, confirming Henderson's 196.

A graph of obtained percentages (see Figure 1, derived from Krantz and Henderson) 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 0.35 per cent for Filipinos, and from 0.25 per cent for Japanese blends to 0.56 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 Ancestries, 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 we 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 in Hawaii may be somehow linked with the racial composition of the population in the Islands since not all races show the same rates. The key to the problem seems to be the fact that offspring from mothers of blended ancestry are more likely to have children with cleft palates than are mothers of unmixed ancestry.

The high rate of the Filipino unmixed mothers may be accounted for by the fact that the Filipinos are actually a hybrid race, certainly more so than Caucasians, who have the lowest rate. (See Zaide.) Consequently the great difference in the cleft palate rate in these two groups may be an index to the relative difference in color blending. Another item of evidence pointing in the same direction, is the fact that there was sufficient difference between the rate for the unmixed Caucasian mothers, and those who are Caucasian blends, to suggest some change in prenatal factors either modifying the nutritive systems of the mothers or the developmental processes of the offspring. In contrast there seems to be only a slight difference between the rates for the Filipino and the Filipino blends, both of which are greatly mixed. Here the Portuguese, Part Hawaiian, and Japanese unmixed maternal groups, whose rates fall in the middle, will not be discussed, as there seems to be uncertainty about the kind of mixing they had been exposed to before coming to Hawaii. The Caucasian and the Chinese, probably the least mixed groups, both show low cleft palate rates. There is enough consistency in the emerging pattern to suggest the hypothesis that the incidence of cleft palate may be correlated with the variety and age of racial fusion in maternal ancestry.

Since there was no evidence to support a correlation between metabolic rates for racial groups of women and the incidence of offspring with cleft palates we must conclude that if hypothyroidism has been found elsewhere to be positively correlated with the anomaly there must, so far as Hawaii is concerned, be some other factor involved, since the rarity of hypothyroidism in that area has been demonstrated. Whatever the prenatal factor concerned, the embryo seems more likely to encounter difficulties resulting in a cleft palate when the maternal ancestry involves racial mixing.

Recommendations indicated by this study should include:

1. A similar study of other groups and follow-up studies of the same groups.
2. A study of the relationship between the paternal ancestry and the incidence of cleft palate in order to determine whether the connection between cleft palate and the degree of blending is due to a prenatal factor that affects only the nutritive system of the mother or is one that is transmitted through the genes.
3. A study of offspring from the union of Chinese and Caucasians as compared with unmixed offspring from Chinese parents and Caucasian parents respectively in order to determine whether cleft palate births are more common in a union of parents of relatively pure but different stock than in parents of the same stock.
4. A similar study involving other congenital anomalies such as club foot, a deformed ear, webbed fingers and toes, and extra digits.*

*Dr. Merle Ansberry, of the University of Hawaii Speech and Hearing Clinic, has become interested in an apparently high proportion of first-generation children of Caucasian-Oriental mixture who have speech problems and severe hearing impairments. He is conducting a pilot study of the relationship.

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PROGRAM AT PUNAHOU SCHOOL

Siegfried Ramler

A visitor strolling down the first floor corridor of Punahou School's Griffith Hall on any school day this autumn is likely to hear fragments of one of six different languages coming out of the classrooms. The intensified foreign language program at Punahou has resulted in the offering of Russian, Japanese, and Mandarin Chinese in addition to the traditional French, Spanish, and German. The instructors are either native speakers of the language they teach or Americans 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. In addition, several classes in the earlier grades are getting instruction in conversational French on an informal basis, depending on the interest of the class and the availability of a teacher. French is a very popular language at Punahou and is elected for academic and social reasons, for its importance in the appreciation of literature, and its usefulness in travel and international communication.

German is also offered for six years, beginning in grade seven. German is chosen by many Punahou students who are interested in careers in medicine, science, and engineering. There has been a steady increase in the enrollment in German classes since 1950, when this language was offered again at Punahou after its temporary disappearance from the curriculum during and immediately after World War II.

Spanish also begins in grade seven and is offered for six years. At Punahou it ranks immediately after French as the most frequently chosen language. As the "good neighbor" language it is of general cultural and economic value, and is spoken by a vast population.

Russian is 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 use. After Russian studies have been firmly established at Punahou, it is hoped to increase the offering to three and four years.

Two years of Japanese are offered in the Punahou Academy. Hawaii is a logical area for the study of Oriental languages. As travel increases and as Hawaii assumes to a greater degree the role of America's gateway to the Orient, a knowledge of Japanese will be increasingly important. A survey made of representative mainland colleges has shown that, with few exceptions, Japanese is accepted as a high school foreign language credit. As with Russian, only students with a high predictability of success are admitted to Japanese. 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 1960-1961. 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 Taiwan and Peking governments. Chinese is spoken by over four hundred million people and the importance of this language to our students cannot be over-estimated. 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. The language course usually begins with the practice of conversation patterns, and attention is paid to correct pronunciation. Speaking and hearing precedes reading and writing, and at the seventh grade level the textbook is not opened by the students until the end of the first semester, when basic conversation patterns have already been mastered. Grammar is taught functionally through usage and not as an end in itself.

After having acquired a basic oral competency the students begin to read short stories and simple novels in the target language. Discussion on the reading is conducted in the target language, and with increased vocabulary and knowledge of the structure of the language the students begin to write compositions.

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 excerpt, are read, and intensive instruction is given in composition.

As in many other subjects, Punahou has ability grouping in foreign languages. Already in the first year of instruction the teacher recognizes outstanding and highly motivated students and recommends them for special grouping, so that they may proceed according to their talents and abilities. These "fast" classes usually read additional material, write more compositions, converse more in the target language, etc. Eventually this program leads to the Advanced Placement Course in the fifth year of foreign language instruction. This is a college-type course, culminating in an examination which, if passed successfully, assures them of advanced standing in college. Only outstanding teacher-selected students are able to take this examination, since it sets extremely high standards. To be successful in this program a student must start doing additional work as early as the second year of language instruction. The Advanced Placement Program Examination should not be taken unless there has been a minimum of two years of preparation leading up to it. To challenge the gifted student sufficiently is perhaps the greatest responsibility of the foreign language teacher.

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 linguists abroad, and the individual thinks about improved career opportunities through the mastery of a foreign language. These grounds, 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 horizon, and, in a sense, a learning of a new pattern of behavior. A student of foreign languages develops sensitivity to other cultures--a quality of vital importance in our times.

REACTIONS TO MICHENER'S (Continued from page 75)

ters. To the novelist, what is meaningful is the person--not the recorded facts per se nor the publicized happenings, but the inward feelings, dreams, and reactions. In projecting upon the written pages the image and life of a Chinese immigrant, for example, the writer is in a sense filling in the details of a fragmentary "life history." And he is trying to connect these with the peculiar historical and cultural context of the locale.

In "A Preface to a Novel", Clarice B. Taylor told of her association with the author as technical advisor for Hawaii. "Since the only good literature on the cultures of the people of Hawaii is contained in scientific works, I threw these at him by the dozen . . . I found he was like a Hawaiian--he didn't want to read typewritten dissertations on a subject. He wanted the story told." Michener wanted from her the kind of information, comments, and "little side stories" which would help him to create characters that talked and behaved in an authentic way. (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, June 6 1959)

Are the characters in Hawaii authentic and convincing? Michener's defenders said Yes. Tomi Knaefler in his book review for the Honolulu Star-Bulletin was of the opinion that he "comes as close as anyone has ever gotten in bringing to proper perspective the complex Hawaiian personality. . . ." (Oct. 12, 1959) William E. Huntsberry, assistant professor of English at the University of Hawaii, thought that Michener "managed to make a relatively few characters individually believable and at the same time reveal the essential pattern of the group." (Honolulu Advertiser, Oct. 25, 1959) Of the favorable Mainland reviews not yet mentioned, the New Yorker noted that the author definitely tried to "lend personality to a few of the many people who find voice in his work." (Dec. 12, 1959) And to the Booklist, Kirkus, and Library Journal, the characters were "outstanding," "enormously interesting," and "memorable."

In contrast, the San Francisco Chronicle felt that the chief weakness of the book lay in its shallow characterizations. "Michener's characters are prototypes rather than people. As he has adjusted details in Hawaii's history to adapt characters to suit his fiction, the author is forced to adapt characters to fit into the big historical picture. . . Michener sacrifices drama for pageantry, true characterization for literary showmanship." (Nov. 24, 1959) The most outspoken critic, writing in Time, called Michener a melodramatist. "His characters do not run deep, but they move fast--through an incredible gauntlet of rapes, murder, tidal waves, human sacrifices, Chinese food, whale-thrashings, leprosy, volcanic eruptions and pineapple blights. . . He strives hard for lyric quality. . . But after all the blood and gusto, such gentle music is hardly audible." (Nov. 23, 1959)

Other critics acknowledged that Michener showed, on the whole, imagination and narrative skill, but they regretted the intrusion of editorial opinions in the last part of the book. "As this large novel draws into the modern period, and particularly in the World War II episodes, it becomes

(Continue on Page 101)

SOME ASPECTS OF THE TEACHING OF THE JAPANESE LANGUAGE IN HAWAII

Yukuo Uyehara

The first teaching of the Japanese language in Hawaii in an organized institution is usually dated as 1896 when a Japanese language school was established in Honolulu. In 1920, Japanese was added to the foreign language department at the University of Hawaii, followed by the offering of Chinese in 1922. Japanese has also been included in the curricula of a very limited number of public and private schools other than the Japanese language schools, either somewhat intermittently or without thorough organization.

The current picture of the various facilities of instructing the Japanese language in Hawaii may be divided into the following four major categories: the Department of Public Instruction, the Japanese language schools, the University of Hawaii, and the private schools and groups other than the Japanese schools.

Japanese in the Public Schools

The teaching of Japanese in the public schools in Hawaii at the elementary level was officially started in February, 1960. The revitalized foreign language program of the Department of Public Instruction was made possible by the Legislature with the financial assistance from the United States government under the National Defense Act of 1958, with Japanese as one of the Asian languages which has been selected for instruction. Approximately 1,500 fourth grade children in fourteen schools (Oahu 6, Hawaii 4, Kauai 4) are now studying Japanese for a period of about half an hour per day five times a week, under the so-called traveling teacher specialists. The classroom teachers of the children who are studying the language sit in with the children for the first four classes of the week, and they in turn take over the instruction on the fifth day. These classroom teachers naturally have been selected from those who are well-versed in the language.

This language program of the Department of Public Instruction is being conducted under a projection plan. That is, the traveling teacher specialists will follow through with the present classes and handle the fifth graders during the next school year, while the presently participating classroom teachers themselves will take over the new fourth grade children in September of this year. This projection will continue so that with each new school year there will be more children, more grades, and more teachers participating in the program. According to Dr. Erwin E. Gordon, who directs this project, several senior high schools will also become pilot schools for the instruction of Japanese in September of 1960.

The Japanese Language Schools

Discussion of the history of the Japanese language schools in Hawaii will not be attempted here except to present some pertinent statistical figures.¹ According to the annual report of the Hawai Kyōikkai (The Japanese Language School Association of Hawaii) made in May, 1940, the total enrollment of children in the schools belonging to the association

during the 1939-40 school year was 38,515 of whom 19,600 were male and 18,915 female. There were 166 member schools of this association with a total of 631 teachers.

The Japanese language schools reopened in 1948 after being closed during and after the war. The following statistics concerning the present status of these schools do not include a very few which are non-members of the Japanese Language School Association of Hawaii.²

	Schools	Teachers	Boys	Girls	Total Enrollment
Honolulu	22	113	2,729	3,671	6,400
Oahu (other than Honolulu)	14	46	1,363	1,576	2,939
Kauai	6	13	175	215	390
Maui (includes Molokai and Lanai)	14	30	398	582	980
Hawaii	22	46	771	974	1,745
Total	78	248	5,436	7,018	12,454

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 dismissal hours of the public and private English schools. The highest grade levels of these schools range from eighth to twelfth.

The foregoing figures show that the total enrollment during the 1958-59 school year was only 32 per cent 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 51 per cent of the enrollment while the 1958-59 figure shows that they are outnumbered by the girls, 44 to 56 per cent.

Since accurate figures are not available to show the trend of enrollments 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 per cent 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.³

²This is based on the report made by the Hawai Kyōikkai 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, 1960. The enrollment would be slightly higher if the registration in the non-member schools were added.

¹See Hawai Kyōikkai; Koichi Harada; Katsumi Onishi and Madorah Smith; Ernest Wakukawa.

	Teachers	Boys	Girls	Total
1953-54	109	2839	3884	6723
1954-55	111	2910	3794	6704
1955-56	121	3050	3945	6995
1956-57	121	3040	3982	7022
1957-58	117	2843	3663	6506
1958-59	109	2666	3502	6168
1959-60	112	2708	3769	6477

The post-war peak in enrollment up to the current year was 1956-57, and then it gradually declined until the fall of 1959 when it showed a rise of about five per cent over the previous school year. This increase, though slight, was a mild surprise to the administrators of the language schools. Some of them had feared a further drop in the enrollment of their schools because of the impending Japanese program in the public schools.

This rise, which no doubt is partially the result of the sudden increase in the participation of non-Japanese children during the last several years, seems to be a reflection of the present language-conscious local community. With rare exceptions, it was uncommon to find non-Japanese children in the language schools prior to the war. Although the size of the school, the racial composition of the district in respect to its location, and other factors are to be considered, the following instances may give some idea of this phenomenon. The Manoa Japanese School with a total enrollment of 494, includes in its registration a total of twenty-three non-Japanese children--ten Caucasians, two Caucasian-Japanese, six Filipino-Japanese, three Chinese, one Hawaiian, and one Korean. The Palama Gakuen, the largest of all the Japanese schools in the Islands, with a total enrollment of 1,407 currently has a total of thirty-two non-Japanese or part-Japanese pupils, including ten Chinese-Japanese, nine Filipino-Japanese, five Caucasians, four Hawaiian-Japanese, three Caucasian-Japanese, and one Cosmopolitan. Koko Head 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, until the fall of 1959 when the enrollment suddenly increased to 454, or 68 per cent above the 270 of the previous year. This figure is greater than the total number of students registered in Japanese classes in all other institutions of higher learning of the U. S. combined.⁴ This is understandable in view of the ethnic distribution of the students at the University of Hawaii, where 57.5 per cent of the freshmen students enrolled in September of 1959 were of Japanese ancestry. (See Arthur Dole and Iwakami, p.3)

Among the factors which obviously contribute to this increase are the over-all increase in enrollment on the campus, the offering of new advanced Japanese courses, and the division of elementary Japanese into conversational and reading classes thereby facilitating freedom of choice between the

⁴Reported by Professor Joseph Yamagiwa to the Conference on Developing Teaching Materials in Chinese and Japanese, Modern Language Association, New York, 1960. Moreover, this figure does not include enrollment in courses offered by the College of General Studies and the Hilo 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," but that rather 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, 1959, 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 53 per cent, although the over-all percentage in all classes is only 14.

	Non-Japanese	Total Enrollment
First-Year Conversational	38*	260
First-Year Reading	13	70
Second-Year	2	80
Third-Year	2	22
Literary Style	5	6
Contemporary Literature	2	9
Directed Reading for Graduate Students	2	2
	64	449

*includes 3 part-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 1959. The course is conducted five days a week, each period lasting forty-five minutes, and out of the total enrollment of 20, seven are students of non-Japanese ancestry. The school plans to add a second-year class in September, 1960.

St. Anthony Girls' School at Wailuku, 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 from 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 by no means a thorough survey, this report does indicate that the study of the Japanese language in Hawaii is no longer a monopoly of those of Japanese ancestry, but is pursued increasingly by all racial groups.

While it is not possible to foresee the exact extent of the future language program in the public schools of Hawaii, an extensive projection plan seems to be on its way, and there is reason to believe that a similar trend is also in the making for the private schools. In the case of the traditional Japanese language schools, whether the language program in the public and private schools will curtail that of the language schools, or whether they will supplement each other, is at present beyond conjecture.

The enrollment in Japanese courses at the University of Hawaii is expected to rise, not only because of the anticipated over-all increase in the campus population, but also owing to the newly established and pending programs within the University which focus their attention on Asian studies, and other influencing factors mentioned elsewhere in this paper. Not only is the Japanese language program expected to grow in size, but also in the complexity of problems such as are found at practically no other American institution of higher learning because of the varied background of the students in Japanese. But this situation should be a new challenge to all participants in the program. To meet this challenge, some definite steps have already been taken such as the increase in instructional staff, the reorganization of the lower-division courses, and the addition of new advanced courses. The preparation of new textbooks, with financial aid from the Office of Education, will begin this summer (1960).

THE PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE PRESS OF HAWAII

Edgar Knowlton

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

The fullest account of its history to which I have had access is found on pages 207 and 208 of John E. Reinecke's master's thesis.¹ His summary is a brief sketch, based on the Hawaiian Annual, the Honolulu Directory and Ayer's Directory for various years. Reinecke mentions O Luso Hawaiiano, the Aurora Hawaiiana, A União Lusitana-Hawaiiana, A Setta, O Facho, and O Luso, provides approximate dates for some of the papers, but gives no names of editors, and makes no detailed reference to other than the external history of these newspapers, which were printed between 1886 and about 1927, according to his survey.

Leo Pap gives an outline¹ (pp. 29-36) 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 says¹ (p. 65) 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 Facho, published in Hilo until about 1927, 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 (II 2:6) and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin (27:4) of September 24, 1953 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.²

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:

1. O Luso Hawaiiano, edited by A. Marques, 1885-1888; P. A. Diaz, 1888-1889; J. A. M. Osorio, 1889-1891

2. Aurora Hawaiiana, edited by Manoel José de Freitas, 1889-1891

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 Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory.

3. A União Lusitana-Hawaiiana, the amalgamation of 1 and 2, edited by A. Marques, 1891-1892; C. Pereira, 1892-1896

4. A Sentinella, edited by J. M. Vivas, 1892-1896

5. O Luso, amalgamation of 3 and 4, edited by J. S. Ramos, 1896-1911; G. F. Affonso, 1911-1912; M. A. Silva, 1912-1913; M. G. Santos, 1913-1918; A. H. R. Vieira, 1918-1923; G. F. Affonso, 1923-1924

6. O Directo, edited by A. J. Rego, 1896-1898

7. As Boas Novas, edited by A. H. R. Vieira, 1896-1898; E. Silva, 1898-1899; A. H. R. Vieira, 1899-1905

8. A Liberdade, edited by C. Pereira, 1900-1906; J. F. Durão, 1906-1907; C. Pereira, 1907-1910. (The Hawaiian Gazette of February 25, 1910, p.1,c.3, announced a new Portuguese paper to replace O Luso and A Liberdade, to be edited by M. A. Silva, but we have found no further mention of the paper. It may have been O Popular.)

9. O Popular, edited by J. S. Ramos, 1911-1913

Published in Hilo:

10. A Voz Publica, edited by G. F. Affonso, 1899-1904

11. A Setta, edited by M. G. Santos, 1903-1904; G. F. Affonso, 1904-1911; A. S. Costa, 1911-1914; M. A. Silva, 1915-1918; E. G. da Silva, 1919-1921

12. O Facho, edited by Antonio (Antone) (C.) Oak, 1906-1927

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 was a Frenchman, who had learned to speak and write Portuguese and had a special interest in the Portuguese of Hawaii. Another editor was presumably the child of immigrants from Portuguese territory to British Guiana, but the biographical data assembled below show that the editors came from the Azores, Madeira, and from the European continent as well; so that they are a truly representative group:

1. Godfrey (Godofredo) Ferreira Affonso (July 26, 1875 in Funchal, Madeira--November 7, 1950 in Honolulu). Arrived in Honolulu aboard the Priscilla in 1878; long a reporter for the Honolulu Advertiser.

2. August Souza Costa (August 20, 1887 in Angra do Heroísmo, Terceira, Azores--living in San Leandro, California). Came to Hawaii about 1898. County Supervisor, 1903-1908. Hawaii Herald, Hilo; O Reporter, Oakland. Later President and Manager, Wailea Milling Company.

3. Pedro Augusto Diaz (Dias) (c. 1855, Funchal, Madeira--c. 1908, Oahu(?).) Came to Honolulu September, 1878 aboard the Priscilla. Manager of Waipahu Store before his death.

4. Joseph Ferreira Durão (July 21, 1869 in Lisbon, Portugal--February 26, 1942 in Honolulu). Came to Hawaii about 1900 with a group of Portuguese laborers from New Bedford. Board of Water Supply.

5. Professor Manoel José de Freitas. He seems to have come to Hawaii some time in 1886; he gave lessons in English to Portuguese in Hawaii, and taught at the Y.M.C.A.; in 1887 (August 3) became member of the Board of Election for Ward 6. The Friend (XCVIII, no. 9, p. 229) says that he belonged to the Central Union Church. He left Honolulu for San Francisco on the bark Albert, June 30, 1891.

6. Auguste Jean Baptiste Marques (November 17, 1841 in Toulon, France--March 13, 1929 in Honolulu). Arrived in Honolulu on December 24, 1878. Bored the first artesian well in Honolulu, 1880; taught French, Punahou, 1883; member of Hawaiian legislature, 1890, 1891; student of medicine at the University of Paris; Doctor of Science, University of Lisbon; Consul of France, 1912-1929, and consul of Russia, Panama, and Belgium. Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur.

7. Antone (Antonio) Carvalho Oak (c. 1856--May 18, 1936 in Hilo). There is record of Mr. Oak's having received a retail store license on the island of Hawaii (Int. Dep. 35-481, May 2, 1888).

8. José Augusto Monteiro Osorio (November 13, 1858 in Celorico da Beira, Portugal--February 6, 1947 in Hilo). Came to Honolulu on the Bordeaux, October, 1888. Listed in Pan-Pacific Who's Who for 1940-1941.

9. Camillo Pereira (September 6, 1858 in Foral do Botelho, Arquinha, Ponta Delgada, São Miguel--October 10, 1911 in Honolulu). See O Luso of October 14, 1911. Came to Hawaii in 1882.

10. João (de) Sousa Ramos (c. 1857 in São Miguel, Azores--May 14, 1918 in Honolulu). Lived in Honolulu for upwards of 30 years. His widow, Jacintha C. Ramos died on October 8, 1921.

11. Antonio José (de) Rego (Antone J. Rego) (c. 1851 in São Miguel, Azores--August 14, 1929 in Honolulu). Came to Hawaii about 1881. He was a cabinet maker for many years.

12. Manuel G. Santos (September 23, 1871 in British Guiana--December 25, 1932). Came to Hawaii about 1900. Ordained minister in 1906.

13. Ernest Gomes de Silva (c. 1875 in Madeira--March 9, 1955 in Hilo). Came to Honolulu in 1888 aboard the Thomas Bell; ordained minister, June 12, 1899; pastor of Portuguese Christian Church, Hilo, 1899-1939.

14. Manuel A. Silva (c. 1868 in Madeira--September, 1940, Huntington Park, California). Came to Hawaii in 1879. Engaged by the H.S.P.A. to make trips recruiting agriculturists in Portugal, Madeira, the Azores, and Spain.

15. August(o) Honório (or Onório) R. Vieira (April 24, 1874 in Funchal, Madeira--October 8, 1934). Came to Honolulu in 1883. School teacher; worked for H. F. Wichman for 7 years. Jeweler for 24 years.

16. João (John) Marques Vivas (c. 1863 in Madeira--November 5, 1912 in Wailuku, Maui). Described in Friend (XCVIII, no. 9, October, 1928, p. 228) as a "leading lawyer in Hawaii among the Portuguese" as of September 20, 1890. Came to Hawaii on the Ravenscrag, August, 1879; later completed military service in a regiment in Macao; studied law under Judge Dole; left Honolulu for Maui about 1903. See obituary in the Luso for November 9, 1912.

Portuguese newspapers in Hawaii were in general weekly publications, largely in Portuguese, though there were sometimes items in English. In addition, there were numerous advertisements, letters from readers, verse compositions describing events of the day, and special announcements. Selections from Portuguese literature, as for example, the Portuguese novel by Julio Diniz: Os fidalgos da casa mourisca, were also published in some of the papers. August Souza Costa, one of the editors of A Setta, also associated for a time with O Reporter of Oakland, California, gave as his opinion that there was not much difference between the Portuguese language newspapers in Hawaii and those in California, and went on to describe the mission of these papers in the following words, in a personal letter to the author, dated April 25, 1960:

In my opinion their primary goal was or still is (for those that yet exist on the Mainland) to disseminate news of interest to the Portuguese people irrespective of whether the items are of local origin or from Portugal, and to see to it that the newspaper sustains itself financially for none have ever been subsidized insofar as I know. Of course, it may be assumed (or propagandized) that to read Portuguese or speak it in a foreign country keeps things Portuguese in focus and thereby postpones its forgetfulness. This no doubt is true, but that one can generally learn or improve much on the language by just reading newspapers, is quite remote. Time has proven this.

Several of the editors of these newspapers also served on English language newspapers: G. F. Affonso of the Honolulu Advertiser and A. S. Costa of the Hawaii Herald of Hilo. Mr. George S. Pereira said that his experience working on A Liberdade, edited by his father, Camillo Pereira, was invaluable to him in his work for both the Honolulu Advertiser and the Honolulu Star-Bulletin. The impression derived from reading accounts of the individuals who edited these papers is that these were men of high ideals and of education and ability.

An analysis in T. H. Wooster, Jr.'s Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life (New York, London, 1933), pages 223-224, says that English sections in immigrant newspapers, with the exception of bilingual English-Spanish newspapers of the American Southwest, are a recent development. Pap cites this analysis and gives 1922 as the date of the first English section observed by him in an American Portuguese publication. This analysis stated that two groups of people were approached as readers for this English language section in the foreign language papers: the Americanized immigrants, and the young generation made up of American born or American raised readers. Pap accepts this summation and says that the latter group is the main audience.

The situation in Hawaii was different. English was used in a Portuguese newspaper very early, comparatively, and for what were perhaps different reasons.

The Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser of January 3, 1889 (p. 3, c. 2), has this announcement:

The last Luso Hawaiiano has made an enterprising new departure in the shape of select English reading for the young Portuguese. Mr. Dias has recognized in this way the fact that the rising generation of his nationality are securing an English education in our schools, public and private, and therefore will be benefited by agreeable home exercise in that language.

This feature runs counter to the conservative language policy of foreign language newspapers. Pap on page 32 of his book has characterized the recent Portuguese language press as being a "propaganda organ in the defense of the Portuguese tongue against English," but here we see the newspaper giving support and encouragement to the young readers in their efforts to master English. This is by no means an isolated phenomenon in the history of the foreign language press. Carl Witke¹ (p. 22) has called attention to the policy of printing similar material to help its readers learn English in the Staatsbote of Philadelphia of 18th century American colonial days. The Luso Hawaiiano was following in this tradition, in the attempt to focus the attention of its readers on the chief language in use in Hawaii of the day. It did not, however, establish itself as a permanent part of the paper. We find no such feature in available issues of the Luso Hawaiiano in either 1889 or 1890.

April 7, 1905 there was an English Section, so denominated, in A Setta, published in Hilo, under the editorship of G. F. Affonso. The first item of the section is as follows:

More Portuguese Leave. Five more families left Hilo last week for California and more are still getting ready to depart on account of low wages and high cost of life.

The managers of our surrounding plantations can prevent their departure by paying them decent wages. It is to their interest that the Portuguese stay in the country.

This item was addressed--directly or indirectly--to the managers of the plantations, rather than to the Hawaiianized immigrant or to his Hawaii born or reared child. Linguistically, Hawaiianized in this instance is close in meaning to Americanized. English was the language used generally in Hawaii, and was the language of the schools.

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

...the longest 'run' 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 Lands on the Island of Hawaii for homestead purposes.

Further evidence of attention given to the Portuguese press by non-Portuguese is easy to find. The Daily Pacific Commercial Advertiser of December 28, 1889 summarizes editorials which appeared in Portuguese newspapers of Honolulu, the Aurora Hawaiiana for December 14 and O Luso Hawaiiano for December 21:

An editorial in the Luso of December 21st... written in reply to an attack on Portuguese immigration in the Aurora of the 14th inst., contains some interesting statements in regard to the condition of the Portuguese settlers in these islands.

The article in the Aurora 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) were printing; the stand of the Luso-Hawaiiano was in harmony with the 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 the only one mentioned on page 218 of Hawaii in the World War (Honolulu, 1928), a historical account by Ralph S. Kuykendall, with the assistance of Lorin Tarr Gill, in which Hawaii's leading newspapers are listed for having kept before the public eye the 1914 "Christmas Ship Fund."

O Luso is described as the "influential Portuguese language newspaper" in the Honolulu Advertiser's obituary notice of G. F. Affonso on page 8 of the November 8, 1950 issue.

We should like to add a few representative quotations in translation from some of these papers, in the hope of introducing to students the material available for historical, linguistic, sociological, and journalism studies of the Portuguese in Hawaii--material preserved in microfilm 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 are now here in great number and have to struggle with the terrible Chinese competition, which handicaps them in every area of existence.--O Luso Hawaiiano (August 15, 1885, p. 3)

(The editor of the newspaper at this time was A. Marques, a Frenchman with a knowledge of Portuguese. This may explain the 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 indifferent and not generous in subscribing. They would prefer to go ask for the newspaper from a neighbor or the house of the Priest.--O Luso Hawaiiano (August 25, 1885, p. 1)

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

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 Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory of the University of Hawaii, and it may be consulted there. Early newspapers were handicapped by the virtually complete absence of marks of accentuation, and misprints are frequent.

come on board the Alameda are considered the best to have come to Honolulu.--O Luso Hawaiiano (August 25, 1885, p. 2)

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

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 Hawaiiano (August 25, 1885, p. 2)

(Sobriety of the Portuguese immigrants.)

...of the new Catholic church in Pahala. In the morning there were four sermons in different languages, that is, in Hawaiian, English, and Portuguese.--O Luso Hawaiiano (September 25, 1885, p. 3)

(The use of different languages at this period in the Catholic church services. In this item, the Portuguese text uses "Hawaiiano" 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 an 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, they then have a great celebration. We do not wish them ill on this account.--O Luso Hawaiiano (September 25, 1885, p. 3)

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

The Catholic religion counted on last May 1st according to the Mission's census 21,293 adherents, among whom are 10,000 Portuguese. The others are almost all Hawaiians.--O Luso Hawaiiano (October 15, 1885, p. 2)

(The groups comprising the Catholics in Hawaii in this year. The Portuguese text has the Hawaiian word "Kanakas" 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-

siasm, which once again proves the difficulty in there being any union among the Portuguese. One band of forty or fifty persons is preferable to two of twenty, and in union lies strength.--O Luso Hawaiiano (October 15, 1885, p. 3)

(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 for hygienic reasons known to us all, in no wise do we advise Portuguese to marry native women... We deem on this account it suitable that Portuguese not marry native women, so as not to compromise their posterity.--O Luso Hawaiiano (October 25, 1885, p. 2)

(An early attitude toward intermarriage. "Kanakas mulheres" 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 there will be a service, with Portuguese prayer by Father Leonoro. The hymns are also sung in Portuguese. The sermon next Sunday will be on the Last Judgment.--O Luso Hawaiiano (November 25, 1885, p. 2)

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

* * * * *

We received from M. L. Mello's company, 3-15 Drum Street, San Francisco, a collection of the first six fascicles of a novel translation from French entitled "The Mysteries of an Inheritance," translation made by Mrs. T. Magalhães. A book for pleasurable reading on the plantations where life is so monotonous. The agent for this publication in Honolulu is Mr. M. A. Gonçalves.--O Luso Hawaiiano (November 5, 1885, p. 2)

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

* * * * *

... we are grateful for the support which has been given to us up to the present by our faithful friends. However, with regret we are obliged to say that there are in Honolulu some individuals who received the paper with great pleasure until the moment when it was a question of paying for the subscription; but then they use different excuses to refuse the payment to which they are obliged. Since the Luso lives exclusively on subscriptions and advertisements 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 Luso Hawaiiano (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.)

* * * * *

Professor Manoel José de Freitas, who recently arrived from San Francisco... intends to open a class for the teaching of English.--O Luso Hawaiiano (April 5, 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.)

* * * * *

We are grateful to our colleague, The Independent of Macao, for its exchange and for its flattering expressions towards our modest Luso.--O Luso Hawaiiano (April 15, 1886, p. 2)

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

* * * * *

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 Luso Hawaiiano (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 "Kaneke" 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 countrymen! In this country the laws are very favorable to women, and here the weaker sex is almost always right before the law.--O Luso Hawaiiano (May 5, 1886, p. 3)

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

* * * * *

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

(An 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.--O Luso Hawaiiano (May 25, 1886, p. 3)

(Retention of a fondness 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 Hawaiian women and that no Portuguese woman married a Hawaiian, his love for our race greatly decreased.--O Luso 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 school-teacher, accused of having whipped a Portuguese boy, was presented. He was absolved by the jury... Portuguese boys are, sometimes, very lacking in discipline... We are sorry that our countrymen permit their children to behave badly.--O Luso 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 'Luso Hawaiiano', published in Honolulu, from the last of May, 1888.--O Luso 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 ex-editor of the filthy bit of indecent literature called the Luso, intends to leave...--Aurora Hawaiiana (December 14, 1889)

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

* * * * *

The Luso, in its Saturday issue seeking to show off its wit, in its famous comments about our Thursday supplement says that we used the word 'wharf' (the H was left out because of an error in the composing) because we did not find a Portuguese word to indicate where the distinguished reception committee went to greet the travelers, and uses the word Molhe to designate that place... The word Wharf in spite of not being Portuguese is used in the language as a 'neologism' since there is no other

one which so completely expresses the idea...--O Popular (December 23, 1912)

(Rivalry between the two papers; a conflicting attitude toward the introduction of English words into the Portuguese text.)

* * * * *

What have the Portuguese done, and what are they doing, in this regard in more than forty years?! Nothing, absolutely nothing.--O Facho (February 2, 1927)

(Antonio Oak is commenting on the activities of various groups in Hawaii in regard to entertainment, such as the drama, and criticizes the Portuguese for what he considers to have been their failure to accomplish anything in this direction.)

It cannot be pretended that this gives a full picture of the material to be found in the Portuguese newspapers, but it is hoped that these specimens may increase the human interest of our account of the Portuguese language press of Hawaii.

LANGUAGE NOTES OF A PART-HAWAIIAN

Alberta Pung

Although my birth certificate and all subsequent records list my racial ancestry as Part-Hawaiian, I have had very little contact with Hawaiians, their culture, or their language, until quite recently.

My Hawaiian ancestry is traced from my maternal grandmother who was one-half Hawaiian and one-half English. As a baby she was taken by a German family who had a bakery in Hilo on the island of Hawaii and was 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 Haoles or Hapa-Haoles. My grandmother married a Scotchman who had come to Hawaii on a whaler searching adventure and who had settled for a more prosaic existence as an electrician. Their union resulted in six children, one of whom was my mother.

My mother's playmates were the children of my grandmother's friends and so again the peer group was mainly Haole and Hapa-Haole. My mother did have one important contact with an Hawaiian; that was her grandmother who was pure Hawaiian. However she died when my mother was still a child and my mother soon forgot what little Hawaiian she had learned. Later, in her early teens, my mother was sent to Honolulu to attend Kamehameha School for Girls, but she felt unhappy and out of place there and returned to Hilo after a year. When she was old enough she married a Chinese boy from a farm in Kohala who had been boarding with the family. I am the youngest of their six children.

Now if you have been following closely, you will know that I am one-half Chinese, one-fourth Scotch, one-eighth English, and one-eighth Hawaiian. However the culture patterns at home were not in any way proportional to this racial distribution. Our home could probably best be described as localized American. The only language ever spoken was English. Food was usually Haole or Oriental, with rice as the staple. The house was furnished Western style though perhaps more casually than most Haole homes, and social behavior was Haole, too. I remember being embarrassed because ours was the only house where no one took his shoes off before entering.

The elementary school I attended was an English standard school, and since it was the only one in Hilo, most of the Haole kids in town went there. Most of the other students were Orientals from middle-class families. The few Part-Hawaiians were those from well-to-do Hapa-Haole families whose names had long been distinguished in Hilo society. We all played together and went to each other's birthday parties and picnics, but as we approached adolescence the Haole and the Oriental groups separated socially. This separation was accelerated when we entered intermediate school, which had a much larger enrollment, and we found ourselves in different classes. At this time I maintained my association with the Orientals, particularly Japanese; in fact, at church I was the only person who was not Japanese. (Hilo has very few Chinese.)

Even in high school where there were many more Hawaiians than in my previous school years, I had little contact with Hawaiians. Friendship groups had already crystallized and there was not much mixing. The summer after graduation, however, I started associating with the kids who went to Haili, the Hawaiian Congregational church in Hilo. Soon I was going to church with them and it was there that I had my first contact with the Hawai-

ian language, other than the songs I had heard over the radio all my life. It was an experience both exciting and yet annoying; exciting because the sounds were very satisfying to me and annoying because everyone else seemed to understand and yet no one could translate. It made me feel different from the rest, a feeling which was intensified by my unfamiliarity with other Hawaiian ways.

Soon after this I went to the Mainland to college. My general ignorance of Hawaiian culture and especially of the language became even clearer and more annoying to me as I was always expected to be able to rattle off a speech for interested groups. This growing awareness of my ignorance of my cultural heritage (it was only then that I began thinking of myself as being Hawaiian) plus an acute case of homesickness prompted me to return to the University of Hawaii and start studying Hawaiian. It is here that I have begun to have contact both with Hawaiian people and the language and to identify myself with them.

REACTIONS TO MICHENER'S (Continued from page 83)

more uncertain in tone, thinner in feeling, and hortatory in its message."
(New York Times Book Review, Nov. 22, 1959)

This survey of published reviews and articles on Michener's Hawaii shows a polarity of reactions. We have an enthusiastic reception of the book at the one pole and a scornful rejection at the other. Naturally, there are also some reviews in between these extremes of appreciation and castigation. It is here in Hawaii that the book has provoked controversy. It is clear that it is being assessed, not so much on literary merits, as on the question of whether it is "true to the spirit and history of Hawaii." In the face of such criticisms, Michener's Hawaii should be of unquestionable value in stimulating local writers to produce accounts that reflect intimately and accurately our peoples and the cultural context. James Michener himself said, when the book was completed, "If a series of writers spent all their time for the next twenty years they could not begin to exhaust the richness of story material existing in Hawaii Writers of Hawaii! Get to work!" (Paradise of the Pacific, annual holiday edition, 1960, p. 156)

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 contains many references to the language and speech situation of Hawaii not specifically mentioned in the articles of this issue of Social Process. Some of the references are from Laura Shon, who is working on a master's thesis in speech on bilingual speakers of dialectal and standard English in Hawaii.

Andersson, Theodore. "Foreign Languages and the National Interest," Mimeographed manuscript of address given April 14, 1959, in Honolulu.

Aspinwall, Dorothy Brown. "Languages in Hawaii," Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, LXXV, No. 4, Part 2 (Sept. 1960), pp. 7-13.

Bean, Robert. "My Race Relations Experience at Work," Social Process in Hawaii, XVIII (1954), pp. 26-29.

Bishop, Sumie Clara. "A Descriptive Study of Students with Mandibular Facet Slips." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1959.

Bloomfield, Leonard. Language. New York: H. Holt and Company, 1933.

Bogue, Donald J. The Population of the United States. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959. (Chapter 25 on Alaska and Hawaii.)

Brigance, William Norwood. "Speaking in Two Tongues," The Friend, CVI (December, 1936).

Briggs, Harold E. Language, Man, Society: Readings in Communication. New York: Rinehart, 1949.

Britannica Book of the Year, 1955. "Immigration, Emigration and Naturalization," p. 397.

Brooks, Nelson. Language and Language Learning. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960.

Brown, Janet. "Hypothyroidism as an Etiology of Cleft Palate," Journal of Speech Disorders, IV (September, 1939), pp. 247-253.

Burke, Kenneth. Permanence and Change, an Anatomy of Purpose. New York: New Republic, 1935.

Carr, Elizabeth. "'Da Kine' Talk," Professor's Notebook, Honolulu Star-Bulletin, (April 17, 1960).

Cassirer, Ernst. An Essay on Man. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949.

Coale, Willis B. "Successful Practices in the Teaching of English in Hawaii," Hawaii Educational Review, XXVI (November, 1937), p. 69 ff.

Cochran, Betty Ann. "An Analysis of the Term 'Pidgin' as Used by College Freshmen and an Explanation of Their Attitudes." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1953.

Cohn, Werner. "On the Language of Lower-Class Children," School Review, (Winter, 1959), pp. 435-440.

Coleman, Floy Elizabeth. "A Study of Lipping among Freshmen at the University of Hawaii." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1950.

Costa, Robert O. "Beginning Studies in Linguistic Geography." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1958.

Dewey, John. How We Think. Boston: D. C. Heath, 1933.

Dole, Arthur A., and Iwakami, Eileen. "Statistical Profile of a Freshman Class; A Survey of University of Hawaii 1959 Freshmen," University of Hawaii, Bureau of Testing and Guidance Study, No. 6 (1960). (Mimeographed.)

Embree, John. "In Possession of Our Faculties: You No Like Heem Yah," Ka Leo o Hawaii, (October 15, 1946).

Estep, Gerald A. "Portuguese Assimilation in Hawaii and California," Sociology and Social Research, XXVI (September-October, 1941), pp. 61-69.

Fox, Lester. "A Survey of Speech Difficulties in Selected Schools of the County of Kauai, Territory of Hawaii." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1951.

Gerth, Hans, and Mills, C. Wright. Character and Social Structure. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953.

Gima, Richard S. "Pidgin English Use Explained, Deplored," Honolulu Star-Bulletin, (March 29, 1959).

Gordon, Morton J. "Better Speech: An Educational Television Course in Group Speech Improvement." Projected for publication by the Speech Teacher.

Hall, Robert A., Jr. Hands Off Pidgin English!. Sydney Pacific Publication Pty. Ltd., 1955.

Hammond, Wesley Haskins. "Iodine in the Air, Waters, and Foods of the Hawaiian Islands." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1923.

Harada, Koichi G. "Survey of the Japanese Language Schools in Hawaii." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1934.

Harry, John Vernon. "An Investigation of the Iodine Content of Hawaiian Marine Foods." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1943.

Hawai Kyōikkai. Hawai Nippongo Kyōiku Shi (History of Japanese Education in Hawaii). Honolulu: Hawaii Japanese Language School Association, 1937.

Hayes, Robert. "A Phonological Study of the English of Selected Japanese Speakers in Hawaii." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1958.

Henderson, Florence M. "The Incidence of Cleft Palate in Hawaii," Journal of Speech Disorders, V (September, 1940), pp. 285-287.

Hertzler, J. O. "Toward a Sociology of Language," Social Forces, XXXII (December, 1953), pp. 109-119.

Hervey, Wesley. "A Review of Several Studies Dealing with Speech Defects and Related Physical Anomalies among Samples of the School Population in Hawaii," projected for publication as a report, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii.

Hervey, Wesley. "A Survey of Speech Defects in Selected Schools in Honolulu, Territory of Hawaii." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1951.

Hervey, Wesley. Unpublished annual survey, Speech and Hearing Clinic, University of Hawaii, 1955.

Ho, Gwendolyn and Inn, Evelyn. Unpublished project report, University of Hawaii, 1952.

Hormann, Bernhard L. "Speech, Prejudice, and the School in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, XI (1947), pp. 74-80.

Huizinga, J. Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture. New York: Roy Publishers, 1950.

Kenn, Charles W. "Some Hawaiian Relationship Terms Reexamined," Social Process in Hawaii, V (1939), pp. 46-50.

Kimura, Yukiko. "Sociological Significance of Japanese Language School Campaign in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, XX (1956), pp. 47-51.

Kindig, Maita M. "A Phonological Study of the English Speech of Selected Speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish in Honolulu." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1960.

Kinney, Rubellite Kawena. "Changes in the Social Setting of the Hawaiian Oral Tradition," Social Process in Hawaii, XXI (1957), pp. 25-33.

Kitamura, Samuel H. "An Accentual Study of the Japanese Speech in Hawaii: Lexical Pitch Patterns of Selected Okinawan Speakers." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1959.

Knowlton, Edgar C., Jr. "Portuguese in Hawaii." Paper presented at the Portuguese Section of the Thirteenth University of Kentucky Foreign Language Conference, Lexington, Kentucky (April 28-30, 1960), Kentucky Foreign Language Quarterly, VII, No. 4 (1960), pp. 212-218.

Krantz, Henrietta C. "The Relationship Between Maternal Ancestry and Cleft Palate." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1943.

Krantz, Henrietta C. and Henderson, Florence M. "Relationship Between Maternal Ancestry and Incidence of Cleft Palate," Journal of Speech Disorders, XII (September, 1947), p. 270.

Lai, Kum Pui. "Attitudes of the Chinese in Hawaii toward Their Language Schools," Sociology and Social Research, XX (November-December, 1935), pp. 140-144.

Lai, Kum Pui. "The Natural History of the Chinese Language School," Social Process in Hawaii, I (1935), pp. 40-42.

Lai, Kum Pui. "The Natural History of the Chinese Language School in Hawaii." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1935.

LaPiere, Richard T. and Farnsworth, Paul R. Social Psychology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1949.

Lewis, Helen. "The Speech Attitudes of University of Hawaii Freshmen." M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1949.

Lincoln, Frances. A Puni o Kona, Honolulu Star-Bulletin: "Defense of Authentic Pidgin," (December 27, 1959); "The Horrible Pidgin Origins of Proper English," (January 3, 1960); "Inferior Substitutes Threaten True Pidgin English," (January 10, 1960); "A Final Word on--and in--Authentic Pidgin," (January 17, 1960); Some Footnotes on Pidgin Grammar," (January 24, 1960).

Lind, Andrew W. "The Changing Position of Domestic Service in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, XV (1951), pp. 71-86.

Lind, Andrew W. Hawaii's Japanese. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946.

Lind, Andrew W. Hawaii's People. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955.

Lind, Andrew W. "Japanese Language Schools, 1948," Report No. 15 (December 7, 1948), Hawaii (now Romanzo Adams) Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii. (Mimeographed.)

Malinowski, Bronislaw. "The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages," in: Ogden, C. K. and Richards, I. A. The Meaning of Meaning. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1953, pp. 296-337.

Mead, George Herbert. Mind, Self, and Society. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934.

Miller, Carey D. and Benedict, Francis G. "Basal Metabolism in Normal Young Men and Women of Various Races in Hawaii and Basal Metabolism of Samoan Men," University of Hawaii Research Publication, No. 15, 1937.

Miller, George A. Language and Communication. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951.

Mizuta Iwao. "Changing Attitudes towards the Japanese Language in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, IV (1938), pp. 28-36.

Onishi, Katsumi and Smith, Madorah E. "Comparison of Attitudes towards Japanese Language Schools Expressed by Young Americans of Japanese Ancestry in 1937 and 1942," The Journal of Social Psychology, XXL (May, 1945) pp. 209-218.

Oshiro, Edna. "The Americanization of My Mother," Social Process in Hawaii, XVIII (1954), pp. 30-32.

Pap, Leo. Portuguese-American Speech. New York: King's Crown Press, 1939.

Pukui, Mary Kawena and Elbert, Samuel H. Hawaiian-English Dictionary. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1957.

Reichard, Gladys. "Prayer: the Compulsive Word," in: Mandelbaum, David G. (ed.), Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951.

Reinecke, John Ernest. "The Competition of Languages in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, II (May, 1936), pp. 7-10.

Reinecke, John Ernest. "Language and Dialect in Hawaii," M. A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1935.

Reinecke, John Ernest. "'Pidgin English' in Hawaii: A Local Study in the Sociology of Language," The American Journal of Sociology, XLIII (March 1938), pp. 778-789.

Reinecke, John and Tokimasa, Aiko. "The English Dialect of Hawaii," American Speech, IX (February and April, 1934), pp. 48-58.

Roy, Donald. "Quota Restriction and Goldbricking in a Machine Shop," American Journal of Sociology, LVII (March, 1952), pp. 427-442.

Sapir, Edward. "The Nature of Language," in: Mandelbaum, David G. (ed.), Selected Writings of Edward Sapir in Language, Culture, and Personality. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1951.

Schachtel, Ernst. "On Memory and Childhood Amnesia," in: Mullahy, P. (ed.), A Study of Inter-personal Relations. New York: Heritage Press, 1949.

Schwartz, Henry Butler. "The Foreign Language Schools of Hawaii," School and Society, XXIII (January 23, 1926), pp. 98-104.

Shinkawa, Shigeo. "An Investigation of the Iodine Contents of Hawaiian Meats and Poultry." M.A. thesis, University of Hawaii, 1943.

Smith, Madorah E. "Progress in the Use of English after Twenty-two Years by Children of Chinese Ancestry in Honolulu," Journal of Genetic Psychology, XC (1957), pp. 255-258.

Smith, Madorah E. "Some Light on the Problem of Bilingualism as Found from a Study of the Progress in Mastery of English among Preschool Children of Non-American Ancestry in Hawaii," Genetic Psychology Monographs, XXI (1939), pp. 119-284.

Smith, Madorah E. "A Study of Five Bilingual Children from the Same Family," Child Development, II (September, 1931), pp. 184-187.

Smith, Madorah E. "Survey of English Usage in the Public Schools of Hawaii," Hawaii Educational Review, XXVI (October, 1937), pp. 42-43.

Smith, Madorah E. and Kasdon, Lawrence M. "Progress in the Use of English after Twenty Years by Children of Filipino and Japanese Ancestry in Hawaii," Journal of Genetic Psychology, in press.

Smith, William Carlson. "Pidgin English in Hawaii," American Speech, VIII (February, 1933), pp. 15-19.

Symonds, Percival M. "The Effect of Attendance at Chinese Language Schools on Mobility with the English Language," Journal of Applied Psychology, VIII (December, 1924), pp. 411-423.

Tsunoda, Kensaku. "Language Backgrounds of Japanese in Hawaii," Social Process in Hawaii, III (1936), pp. 20-26.

Wakukawa, Ernest K. A History of the Japanese People in Hawaii. Honolulu: Toyo Shoin, 1938.

Weinreich, Uriel. Languages in Contact. New York: Publications of the Linguistic Circle of New York, No. 1, 1953.

Whorf, Benjamin L. "Language, Thought and Reality," in: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf. Cambridge: Technology Press of M. I. T., 1956.

Wilson, Willard. "Speech Problems in Hawaii," Quarterly Journal of Speech, XXIII (February, 1937), pp. 106-119.

Wilson, Willard. "Vocabulary Poverty--The Problem in Hawaii," Hawaii Educational Review, XXV (February, 1937), pp. 165-166 ff.

Wittke, Carl Frederick. The German-Language Press in America. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957.

Wong, Burton; Hirasa, Elsie Meiko; and Hirasa, Meggie Katsuko. "Oral Classroom Participation of Local Students," projected for publication as a report, Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory, University of Hawaii.

Zaide, Gregorio F. Philippine History and Civilization. Manila: Macaraig, 1938.

AVAILABLE BACK ISSUES

Vol. XXIII (1959) COMMUNITIES, OLD AND NEW (\$1.00)

Articles include: "Community Types in Hawaii," "Lana'i--Lanai A Culture Lost--A Culture Gained," "Kohala, A Rural Microcosm," "Statehood and the Native Hawaiian Homesteader," "Population and Housing Characteristics of Honolulu's Racial Groups, 1957," "On Facing Eviction from Public Housing," "Kalaheo Village, A New Community," "Hawaii's Puerto Ricans: Stereotype and Reality," "The Impact of Chronic Illness on the Community: Hawaii and the Nation," "The Surfing Community: Contrasting Values Between the Local and California Surfers in Hawaii."

Vol. XXI (1957) RACE RELATIONS AND ACCULTURATION (\$1.00)

Articles include: "Integration in Hawaii's Schools," "Racial Bloc Voting in Hawaii," "Ethnic Factors in Oahu's 1954 General Election," "Changes in the Social Setting of the Hawaiian Oral Tradition," "Some Characteristics of American and Japanese Culture," "Some Patterns of Mate Selection Among Na'ichi and Okinawans on Oahu," "The Filipino Wedding: A Comparison of the Past and Present," "The Transition from Japanese Hospital to Kuakini Hospital," "One Navy Wife in Hawaii," "Race Relations in the U.S. Army," "New Hawaiiana--Books and Reports."

Vol. XX (1956) (\$1.00)

Articles include: "Dating Preferences of University of Hawaii Students," "A Comparison of Hawaiian and Mainland Attitudes Towards the Negro," "Certain Ecological Patterns of Honolulu," "A Study in Social Stratification in Hawaii," "A Century of Hawaiian Out-Migration," "Sociological Significance of Japanese Language School Campaign in Hawaii," "My Experience with Other Ethnic Groups," "Attitudes of Asiatic Students to Orientation in Hawaii."

Vol. XIX (1955) SOCIAL PROCESS IN HAWAII MIRRORS THE WORLD (\$1.00)

Articles include: "Sociological Research at the University of Hawaii," "The Conference on Race Relations in World Perspective," "Social and Cultural Differentiation and Race Relations in Hawaii," "The Melting Pot in the Pacific," "Interracial Trends and the Desegregation Decision," "Inter-ethnic Friendship and Dating Practices," "Sociological Note on the Preservation of the Portuguese Folk Dance," "A Day in the Life of My Family," "The Problem of Assimilation," Book Review.

Vol. XVI (1952) SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION IN HAWAII (\$1.00)

Articles include: "Religion in Higher Education on the Mainland and in Hawaii," "Religious Diversity in Hawaii," "The Religion of Pre-European Hawaii," "Kahuna and Kohen: A Study in Comparative Religion," "The Churches in Hawaii," "A Protestant Church in Honolulu," "Chowado," "A Religious and Cultural Calendar for Hawaii."

Vol. XV (1951) INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY IN HAWAII (\$1.00)

Articles include: "Hawaii's Industrial Revolution," "Unionization and the Plantation," "Paternalism in Industry," "The ILWU as a Force for Interracial Unity in Hawaii," "Labor--An Undercurrent of Hawaiian Social History," "Changing Ideas of Success and of Roads to Success as Seen by Immigrant and Local Chinese and Japanese Businessmen in Honolulu," "The Changing Position of Domestic Service in Hawaii."

Vol. XIII (1949) THE COMMUNITY (\$.50)

Articles include: "Japanese-Americans on the Mainland Post-War Status and Problems," "A Korean Immigrant," "Conversations Around the World," "My Neighborhood," "Housing: An Investment to Citizenship," "Filipino Plantation Adjustments," "Waimea, Hawaii: First in Cattle, First in Vegetables," "Supplementary Notes on Waimea with Special Reference to the Japanese," "Camp Four," "Kona--Haven of the Peoples."

Vol. XI (1947) (\$.50)

Articles include: "Recent Social Trends in the Pacific," "Post-War Attitudes Regarding Race Relations in Hawaii," "Race Relations in Hawaii, 1946," "War-time Passage," "Problems of Defense Workers in Post-War Hawaii," "A Summary of the Activities of the Territory of Hawaii Employment Service," "Speech, Prejudice and the School in Hawaii," "A Note on the 1946 Elections in the Territory of Hawaii," "Rumor Among the Japanese," "Service-Civilian Tensions in Honolulu," "Post-War Trends in the Island Attitude Toward the Negro."

Make Checks Payable to
Social Process in Hawaii
University of Hawaii