GLISSEMEYER, Gloria, 1921–
A TAGMEMIC ANALYSIS OF HAWAII ENGLISH CLAUSES.

University of Hawaii, Ph.D., 1970
Language and Literature, linguistics

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A TAGMEMIC ANALYSIS OF HAWAII ENGLISH CLAUSES

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN LINGUISTICS

DECEMBER 1970

By

Gloria Glissmeyer

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A TAGMEMIC ANALYSIS
OF HAWAII ENGLISH CLAUSES
By Gloria Glissmeyer

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Division of the University
of Hawaii in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

ABSTRACT
The purpose of this study was to formulate a portion of the
grammar (specifically, clause structure) of the speech of the one
area Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii. The tagmemic model was chosen for
comparability with language systems already similarly analyzed,
including Susumu Nagara's dissertation on the 'Pidgin English of
Japanese in Hawaii' (A Bilingual Description of Some Linguistic
Features of Pidgin English Used by Japanese Immigrants on the
Plantations of Hawaii: A Case Study in Bilingualism, University
of Wisconsin, 1969). This description of Keaukaha English clause
types is in accord with Kenneth L. Pike's recommended scheme as
revised in 1967 in Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of
the Structure of Human Behavior, incorporating filler classes
('internal distribution') into his 'feature mode'.

The number of speakers used in this research was twenty-
three children (under twelve years of age) and nine adults (over
twelve years of age). The recorded conversations provided more than three thousand extracted clauses, the data analyzed here. The recordings were made in the context of informal speech exchanges in homes, in a car, at the beach, at a restaurant, or in a motel, generally with two or more individuals from Keaukaha. The analysis represents conversation which Keaukaha residents of different ages carried on with each other and with the researcher according to the ordinary shifting of attention and circumstances. It is assumed to be representative of a range of varieties of English in use by the Keaukaha community in 1965-1966. It does not assume to be representative of a homogeneous style or dialect.

The dissertation first reviews the history of English in Hawaii, and of research regarding it. Then, through the use of tagmemic formulas and matrices (or tables, for displaying facts in a compact way), three separate chapters present details of the 'feature mode,' 'distribution mode,' and 'manifestation mode,' respectively. (These three 'modes' characterize a unit by analytic definition according to specific identifying features, by synthetic definition involving relationships outside the entity originally in view, and by exemplification, which approaches the actual as far as it is symbolically possible.)

The final chapter singles out eight features in Keaukaha English which speakers of some other dialects of English may either not use at all or not be conscious of using. These are (1) nominal predications, (2) optional subject, (3) optional object, (4) frequent appositives, and discontinuous appositives related to
permutations, (5) double nominal phrase, (6) 'reverse' nominal phrase, (7) peripheral fillers without as well as with prepositions, and (8) distinctive interrogative intonation. The chapter includes a limited comparison of Keaukaha English with the declarative and interrogative clause structures in Nagara's study. It also summarizes a comparison of certain types of usage, differentiating children and adults.
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Chapter One

BACKGROUNDs

1.1 History of English in Hawaii

The brief history of English in Hawaii of course is interwoven with an intricate social and linguistic drama. For thirty or more years before the missionaries' time, sailors had been leaving ships and bringing their English where Hawaiian had been spoken for 800, and possibly 1800, years. And Hawaiian was being heard on British and American vessels calling at Hawaii, both in port and out, because Hawaiians were even then leaving as sailors (Kuykendall-Day 1948: 44). The life of one young Hawaiian among these linked his people irrevocably with the Connecticut and other New England missionaries. In 1809 Opukahaia (Henry Obookiah) swam out to Captain Caleb Brintnall's Triumph, in the same bay, Kealakekua, where Cook's vessels had lain offshore thirty years earlier still. At the end of the voyage that took Opukahaia first to the Seal Islands of northwest America, to Hawaii again, then China and around the Cape of Good Hope to New York, he went with Brintnall to his home in New Haven. There he met a son of a minister from Torringford, Connecticut, and went to live with his family. He continued learning to read and write English (and studied arithmetic, geometry, geography, some Hebrew and Latin) at different locations in New England. He became a member of the religion and the Mission, and, before dying
of typhus fever in 1818 at Cornwall, wrote the Memoirs credited with launching the Thaddeus, which brought the first missionary group within sight of Mauna Kea in the spring of 1820 (Obookiah 1968).

Within the following thirty years or so the New Englanders learned Hawaiian, devised a Hawaiian orthography (Wise and Harvey 1952: 313–325), and in the earliest part of this period began teaching Hawaiian adults and children to read and write Hawaiian. But almost from the beginning this sixty-year period belonged linguistically to both English and Hawaiian. Although the first sheet printed on Elisha Loomis' press in 1822 was part of an eight-page spelling book in Hawaiian, 'government documents, reports, laws, and papers generally' were printed biliterally, and English increasingly became the main language of trade and government (Reinecke 1969: 32; Lind 1967: 87). It was in this period, in the middle half of the century, that a 'Hawaiian-based' pidgin known as hapa haole ('half English') — now among the lost — is reported to have been in use (Reinecke 1969: 34–35; 87–89, 91, 92, 109–110, 144, 194). The Chinese workers who were first brought to the cane fields in 1852 are supposed to have learned this makeshift Hawaiian. It seems most likely that the language systems of these years included hapa haole and Chinese pidgin (or another makeshift between these, or between hapa haole and the Chinese dialects). At any rate, it is thought that the Portuguese, who came in the 1880's and '90's,
were the group that precipitated the formation of plantation pidgin English (Reinecke 1969: 92). Whatever may be the case, the Portuguese contracts had guaranteed free schools for their children. Some intelligible linguistic compromise was a necessity therefore, and from 1876 on, there was a tremendous increase of 'English' instruction. By 1890 Hawaiian was all but supplanted as the language of instruction (Reinecke 1969: 49-50).

In the heyday of pidgins there was a rainbow of other languages, besides the Portuguese dialects, which were added to the Hawaiian and Chinese on the sugar cane and the later pineapple plantations. Most numerous of all the groups were Japanese, of whom the strongest inflow was between 1885 and 1907 (Reinecke 1969: 58). The next largest group were speakers of Philippine languages, mainly Ilocano, who came after 1907 (Reinecke 1969: 63). Others were Puerto Ricans, South Sea Islanders, Spanish, Norwegians, Germans, Galician Poles, Koreans, and Russians (Reinecke 1969: 59-67). The appended thumbnail sketch (Table I) brings this language history into focus. The highlights are

(a) Between 1820 and 1880

hapa haole, a Hawaiian-based pidgin, arose, at the same time that Hawaiian, English, and Chinese were the languages of the land.
(b) From 1880 on
an English-based pidgin developed among the speakers of all the various languages on the scene.

(c) By about 1910
a Hawaiian English dialect was established (Reinecke 1969: 166).

Reinecke points out that the plantation speech was a lingua franca which supplemented but did not supplant the language of each group of speakers — as long as they maintained an ethnic spirit and community life of their own (Reinecke 1969: 143). But public school experience, begun in 1840 and broadly extended in the 1880's, as well as growing economic opportunities, led to the increased use of a 'dialectal' English (Lind 1967: 90; Kuykendall 1924: 80; Reinecke 1969: 69-82). In the crucible of this developing system, of course, has been the speech of other American and British evangelists, businessmen, teachers, and tourists. But, however it may vary from island to island and from decade to decade, Hawaiian English is still the language of descendants of speakers of all the dozen or two dozen languages, of groups who continue to foster ethnic identity in varying degrees. Hence the marvelously teleidoscopic nature of English in Hawaii today — multiple and changing and undoubtedly with an organization of
its own.

1.2 History of the Study of Hawaii English

Table II indicates briefly the extent and nature of systematic studies that have been made of different aspects of English in Hawaii up to the present. Inasmuch as this particular study is a tagmemic analysis of one variety of Hawaii English clauses, the works indicated in the syntax column are relevant here.

Reinecke-Tokimasa seem to use creole dialect, plantation creole, and pidgin (Reinecke-Tokimasa 1934: 49, 50) as Hall defines the single term pidgin. They designate what Hall later defined as creole by the terms colonial dialect, local dialect, Island dialect, Hawaiian Island dialect, Hawaiian dialect, and dialectal speech. The object of their study is the latter phenomenon, namely, creole in Hall's terms, and as the table shows, their discussion seems to assume a general dialect undifferentiated as to other-language orientation or background.

Parenthetically, it should be acknowledged that the use of the terms 'dialect' and 'language' in the preceding paragraphs and elsewhere partakes of the inexactness inherent in all usages of the terms. The most telling word in Greenberg's statement in his discussion of variation of language (1968: 37) is roughly:

We ... have a sequence of concepts; idiolects, individual speech, dialect, the speech of a linguistically distinguishable set of speakers roughly congruent with some group defined in
nonlinguistic terms, and, most inclusively, the total language community.

Gleason (1961: 398) describes the state of affairs regarding features of linguistic variation and terminology regarding them in this way:

When the differences are small, these are known as dialects. When larger, they are known as languages. However, no exact definition of these two terms is feasible. They have for so long been used in widely varying meanings that it is really hopeless to impose any uniformities on their usage, even if some suitable criterion could be found.

The most analytical statement by Reinecke-Tokimasa regarding syntax is that the two predominant Island characteristics 'appear to be wholesale confusion of the verbal forms of tense, number, and person, and wholesale omission of particles and other words not absolutely necessary in a sentence' (Reinecke-Tokimasa 1934: 122). This is abundantly amplified by examples, but their article for the most part is an extended presentation of sound variations, words, phrases, and full expressions which are cited without much elaborate linguistic analysis. However, what is most significant regarding this and Reinecke's *Language and Dialect in Hawaii* is that non-linguists should preserve such a considerable amount of data concerning problems still to be considered thirty-five years later.

Although Chun's study is an investigation of effects of bilingualism among very young children in Chinese families, she makes generalizations on some matters of syntax, and these are
Kindig's work with three generations of speakers of Puerto Rican Spanish concentrates on phonetics and refers only briefly to lexical or syntactic matters. As to syntax, she lists fifteen or more examples of utterances, some of which suggest similarities with Spanish usage, and does not attempt further systematic treatment.

Shun chose the speech of a small proportionate cross-section of the Honolulu population for her study. Her informants were in their twenties and were bilingual in 'standard English and the substandard Island dialect' (Shun 1961: 11). Her concentration was also on phonetics, especially having to do with terminal contours of questions. (It is to be regretted that in so thorough a treatment the suprasegmentals indicated were only pitch and juncture, and not the fullest possible transcription of stress as well.) Her statements regarding syntax concern questions only and are formulated to compare Hawaiian Island standard and Hawaiian Island dialect 'deviations' from 'General American English' (Shun 1961: 140 ff). These were classified overall as 'omissions' and 'incorrect verb forms,' with a total of 32 such in the standard and 329 in the dialect. For standard, the omissions were mainly of the word it, and the verb forms were different uses in agreement and tense. For dialect, omissions consisted of be (simple predicate), of be and do (auxiliaries), and of prepositions, pronouns, and conjunctions.
The range of variant verb forms was likewise greater than for standard. Shun reports meticulously on these points, but also does not present an extended analysis. A main strength of her work for syntactic purposes may still be untouched, in the approximately two hundred pages of transcribed material.

Knowlton's article in 1967 provides an inventory of sixteen features of conversational Portuguese which are similar to Hawaii's English dialect, along with a similar catalog of seventeen features of Chinese Pidgin English which are also characteristics in some varieties of English in Hawaii. While the majority of these items in Hawaii English are individual lexical items, six syntactic features similar to Portuguese are, in this order,

(1) \[\text{what} \quad \text{where} \quad + \text{verb} \quad + \text{subject}\]

Where was Gabriel she did not know.

What means 'irony'?

(Reinecke-Tokimasa 128)

(2) \[\text{to} \quad \rightarrow \quad \phi \quad /\quad \text{infinitive}\]

I like go.

(Reinecke-Tokimasa 125)

(3) 'double negative'

(4) \[\text{with phrases for certain adverbs}\]

(5) \[\text{the 'where it would not be used in idiomatic standard English'}\]
The bus came on the Saturday.
(Reinecke-Tokimasa 126)

(6) a + adjective

a dumb
(Reinecke-Tokimasa 55)

And those items in Hawaii English similar to Chinese Pidgin English (Knowlton 1967: 230):

(1) noun + side (locative)
(2) noun + time (temporal)
(3) predicate without subject
(4) interrogative clauses with the same order as declarative

In his earlier article Knowlton had also mentioned two additional items in Hawaii English which have a parallel in Portuguese: ambiguity through the use of an identical form for both present and past participle functions, and the use of the + adjective in expressions like 'Ooh, the sassy!' (Knowlton 1960: 216).

In 1967 Tsuzaki proposed substitution frames useful for establishing grammatical classes in Hawaii English, and he presented approximately one hundred sample words for each class (Tsuzaki 1967a: 7-12). 'These frames, and resultant categories, apply primarily to the pidgin and creole ... varieties of Hawaiian English. To a certain extent, however, they also seem to be applicable to the less sophisticated, less assimilated (to Standard English) subvarieties of the dialect...' (Tsuzaki 1967a: 7). The
frame for nouns is

No more ______

and that for verbs,

No can ____.

In support of his argument for coexistent language systems in Hawaii English, Tsuzaki adduces six 'representative features' (Tsuzaki forthcoming: 13-14) which are characteristic of other pidgins:

1. copulaless equational clauses
2. juxtaposition of nouns without the possessive suffix or the preposition
3. lack of definite and indefinite articles
4. generalized third person pronoun _em as direct object of the verb
5. lack of inflectional suffixes
6. small inventory of prepositions, usage of which is highly restricted

He also presents an analysis of a verbal phrase in Hawaii English which resembles other creoles (Tsuzaki forthcoming: 19-20). The sequence of the component categories and their markers follows the order here.

1. Negative (no/never)
2. Auxiliary (can/might(?)/must(?)/etc.)
3. Past tense (been/went/had)
4. Future or contingent mood (go)
Progressive aspect (stay)

Habitual aspect (Ø = unmarked stem)

Verb stem, nucleus or base

Nagara's dissertation includes a substantial analysis of Japanese Pidgin English in Hawaii. To date it is the only known study of this particular variety. For his diaphonic description of segmental phones, phonotactics, and the suprasegmentals of stress and junctural patterns, Nagara modified Haugen's design to clearly distinguish phonemic, allophonic, and free variant distributions. He uses tagmemic formulas to enumerate 12 sentence level, 20 clause level, and 8 phrase level syntagmemes, for each of which he cites one example. For the morphemic level there is extensive paradigmatic treatment in the 11 tables showing neutralization of contrasts in number, case, person, tense, aspect, and comparison. A continuing impression from the work as a whole derives from the numerous citations of similarities in both phonology and syntax between this pidgin English and the Japanese language. Nagara notes, through Hall, two possible borrowings from nineteenth-century Chinese Pidgin English beyond those Knowlton mentions. These are the copulaless clause and the use of the lexeme number to indicate ordinals (Nagara 1969:271, 311). For the present study, of course, his tagmemic presentation has prime interest and will be included in consideration in the final chapter.
1.3 General Orientation of This Study

The preceding review suffices to indicate the fact of a multitudinously complex linguistic situation, only slightly investigated qua language. As I said in 1967,

In the summer of 1965 when I began assembling a bibliography for this work, it became increasingly evident that systematic study or even passing consideration or awareness of Hawaiian dialects was up to then almost nonexistent. Even Robert A. Hall's comprehensive volume on pidgin and creole languages published in 1966 presents only a single paragraph giving general information about 'Hawaiian Pidgin English'.[12] English in Hawaii: An Annotated Bibliography, issued in 1966 by Stanley M. Tsuzaki and John E. Reinecke, emphasizes the fact that 'most of the best technical writing about English in Hawaii has been sociological' and that the few theses that approach a scientific description of the Island dialect have been mostly phonologically oriented.[13] In the April 1967 Quarterly Journal of Speech is an article entitled 'Prosodic Features of Hawaiian English',[14] which generalizes regarding certain phonological features.[15] But as to syntax and lexicon, its authors can only cite the Reinecke–Tokimasa treatment in 1934.[16]

Hall's statement in 1966 seems to have been based on a fairly general impression only. But little information is abroad because to date little more than minimal studies have been carried on. Only at the time of this writing is additional extensive field work being pursued (by William Labov) beyond Nagara's work and the investigation being reported here. This study then is the second grammatical description yet undertaken.

The desirability of having a detailed account such as this
(and of having it supplemented by a great many others, similar and diverse) seems almost axiomatic at this point. 'The investigation of urban speech is surely one of the most important tasks confronting the student of American English' (Kurath 1968:2). However, it is not only urban language that is the subject here, but the variety of language system that fits Hall's definition of creole. He wrote in 1966, 'As of now, only a few pidgins and creoles have been studied with any approach to accuracy or completeness,' and he maintained that pidgins and creoles ought to furnish some decisive evidence pertaining to 'one of the major problems under discussion in linguistics for over a century ... the nature and extent of substratum influences.' 'From the scientific point of view,' he said, 'a great deal of interesting light is cast on language history by the origins of pidgins and creole languages, and the study of their structure is of great value for the general theory of language' (Hall 1966:viii, 107-108, xv).

Although this study of Keaukaha English is not occupied with the field of creoles generally, some of the information given here may eventually help fill out a picture that is now very sketchy. Hall's view regarding creole languages is that they have evolved from different pidgins. This view is known as the polygenetic theory (DeCamp 1968:31). Other linguists are entertaining a monogenetic theory. According to DeCamp, Keith Whin-
non suggested in 1965 (in 'The Origin of the European-based Creoles and Pidgins,' Orbis 14;509-527) 'that Sabir, the famous Lingua Franca of the Mediterranean, was the proto-creole, the source of all the European-based pidgins and creoles of the world' (DeCamp 1968:32). Sabir is reported to be at least as old as the Crusades. It was described by Hugo Schuchardt in 1909 in 'Die Lingua franca,' Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Volume 33, 441-461. But, as DeCamp says regarding the monogenetic theory, as yet it 'rests on many assumptions and very little documentary evidence' (ibid.;33). This dissertation does not assume to make any direct contribution to solving the very large problem involved in this field, but it does constitute possibly relevant documentary evidence within its scope.

Values in addition to the specific linguistic description are included as well in the perspective in which this work has been carried on. It seems that in too many quarters the current attitude toward dialects very closely parallels that referred to by Hall when 'in the Renaissance, with the rise of the vernaculars of Western Europe -- Italian, French, Spanish, English -- as literary vehicles, the defenders of these latter languages worked hard to demonstrate that they, too, had "grammar"' (Hall 1966;105). Even though the colonial currency of superior-inferior dialect may seem merely counterfeit to some, to those who are born into the situation where the dialect has been derogated, such coin can mean educational, even psychic bankruptcy.
It is hoped that this study might signal the beginning of comprehensive language analyses in Hawaii, especially on the part of kamaainas, that is, of those born to the land, and that it and all such studies will contribute to the enlarging of understanding and self-respect by the speakers regarding their own systems.

This work and others that would help attain a clearer and respectful understanding of Hawaii English could serve in another way also. Inasmuch as the differences between Hawaii English and other American English dialects seem to be taken as obstacles by some newcomers to Hawaii (Dulaney 1960:73-75), published materials could hasten understanding across dialects. It is the opinion of the writer that a particular need exists for such materials to be made available to individuals who come to Hawaii to teach.

These linguistic and human desiderata were in view at the inception and throughout the development of the analysis. As to linguistic considerations, the use of the tagmemic model as the overall framework for the description recommends itself for making the system of Keaukaha English available for immediate comparison with systems already similarly analyzed. As was noted on page eleven, Nagara used tagmemic formulas for his presentation of syntax in his dissertation on Japanese Pidgin English in Hawaii. Tagmemics has been the model for many studies of languages in Central and South America (Pike 1967:679-729). Nagara (1969:194) reports an unpublished dissertation completed at the

Moreover, it has seemed highly desirable to present the description in accord with Pike's recommended scheme as revised in 1967 (460), especially since such recent tagmemic works as Ruth Brend's *A Tagmemic Analysis of Mexican Spanish Clauses* (1968) and Liem's *English Grammar* (1966) are not clear exemplifications of Pike's trimodal system of analysis (which will be discussed at the beginning of Chapter Two) nor of his 1967 thinking regarding the components of the three modes (see Section 2.5).

Regarding the two objectives mentioned on pages 14 and 15, for both native and non-native speakers of Hawaii English, it seems to this writer that Pike's use of matrices for description constitutes one means which may assist in helping a person visualize more convincingly the existence of grammatical structure and system. Displaying grammatical information in a matrix for classes of college students has seemed to focus and to speed the perception of system and structure.
It remains to delineate the present study. Its aim is to formulate a portion of the grammar of the speech of the one area Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii. It was hinted above that such description seems long overdue. For the Eastern States we have some record in the Linguistic Atlas of the oldest varieties of English accessible to direct observation as of the 1930's, which provides basis for study of linguistic change. But, as Labov observed, 'the simplest data that will establish the existence of a linguistic change is a set of observations of two successive generations of speakers -- generations of comparable social characteristics which represent stages in the evolution of the same speech community' (Labov 1965:94). The present data can constitute a beginning at filling one gap in the American scene.

The phrase 'portion of grammar' in the preceding paragraph acknowledges the general understanding that a full grammar means the inclusion of phonology, lexicon, and syntax. It must be interpreted further because a description of the full range of syntax in the tagmemic view embraces all so-called levels from the morpheme through sentence, paragraph, discourse, and beyond. Here, the analysis undertakes a comprehensive description of clauses similar in scope to Ruth Brend's dissertation, A Tagmemic Analysis of Mexican Spanish Clauses (1968). As it will become evident, analysis on any level interlocks with the analysis of levels 'above' and 'below'. As it is necessary,
then, phrase and sentence levels will be involved in this study. But clause level analysis is the center of the study. 'The clause level in tagmemics is the heart of the analytic process' (Cook 1969:67). 17

It was stated above that this is to be part of the 'grammar of the speech' of Keaukaha residents. It has been the aim to report upon actual human speech, that is, upon 'living speech' as Fries phrased it (1952:12). As Labov said, casual speech would occur when a person is paying no attention to his own speech (1966:91). On this point, Chao's opinion is that 'any statistical study of linguistic forms would be much more significant if we could gather speech data from real life instead of, as has usually been necessary, from composed discourse or from question and answer between the linguist and the native speaker' (1968:12). Stockwell's thought seems the same: 'Examples are real in the sense that they are caught on the fly, not constructed' (1962:51). The recordings for this analysis were made in the context of quite ordinary speech exchanges in homes, in a car, at the beach, at a restaurant, or in a motel, generally with two or more individuals from Keaukaha. A measure of the nature of the speakers' relationship with the researcher is suggested by the approximately one hundred items of correspondence directed to her from nine individuals in the years since the field work was done. Appendix I will afford some objective evaluation in the sample transcriptions. In short, the language samples approximate as
natural a recording situation as to date has seemed possible in this tradition where the researcher is not a native speaker of the subject language. The following analysis is presented as representative of the language which Keaukaha speakers (all of at least part Hawaiian ancestry) used in 1965 and 1966 with one non-Keaukaha resident, but in the unstructured discourse of a human-to-human situation.

A word is in order at this point regarding the evolution of that situation. My acquaintance with the community began in the Christmas season, when Professor Stanley M. Tsuzaki accompanied me to Keaukaha, on December 23, 1965. I returned the following week, and again at the end of January 1966. Professor Tsuzaki again went over from Honolulu with me in June, when he assisted by arranging introductions to teachers, who consented to call together groups of small children for some recording sessions. This trip and the following ones in July, August, September, November, and December, 1966, were for a few days each. Transcriptions were obtained during these times. The portable recorder I was able to use through the Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, was a kind of third arm, ubiquitous, almost always with me. In my opinion the children and I came to think little of its presence. The Hilo Language Project office was the place of our introduction, and in the summer I met some of the children for the first time in school rooms. But we moved from there, outside, onto the steps of the school, the school grounds, and then away,
walking around the area, to the corner store, stopping at the
playing area around Kawananakoa Hall, into homes. Sometimes when
it was raining, a full load of us would be in front of one of
their homes, in the small car I had rented, or driving from Keau-
kaha to town and back, with a stop at the drive-in. Sometimes I
would go around to the baseball playing field and get 'all
swapper and docked' (as Mr. Kauhi says in Appendix I-18). One of
the young girls visited her married sister and her brother in Hau-
ula on Oahu in August 1966, and invited me first to visit at the
home and at the Crouching Lion where the sister and brother
worked, and then to the brother's wedding luau. Later, I was in-
cluded in the family's Thanksgiving. I also brought Lovette to
the East-West Center, which she wanted to see. In November and
December when I was staying at the Plumeria Motel, which is in the
center of the community, the children congregated in my room, and
we had some Christmas celebrations in groups of four to six.

In addition to the tape recorder, at each visit I carried one
or two things like a soprano recorder, ukelele, teleidoscope,
'plastiskop' (from Mittenwald, Germany, with scenes that can be
viewed successively by the push of a button at the bottom of the
1\1/4" x 2\1/4" gadget), a plastic slate, tapes of singing and conversa-
tion from my brother's family in Stockton (California), family
pictures, a Brownie camera, games, construction toys, and books --
of the regular format as well as of the pop-up or 'stand-up' form.
I had the Swadesh list with me from time to time, but it was one among these other items. Working with the Swadesh list was the occasion sometimes for the children and me to get together, but interest and talk moved about easily and in many directions. The children in one family went to their first Japanese movie in town with me, and others to dinner in town and out.

In the tapes that are being filed in conjunction with the dissertation can be heard the continual bubbling up of laughter (which Labov (1966:110) notes as one of the 'channel cues' of casual style) as well as some of the spontaneous singing by both boys and girls.

The speech upon which this analysis is made was all recorded in informal situations. The analysis represents conversation which Keaukaha residents of different ages carried on with each other and with me according to the ordinary shifting of attention and circumstance. During the development of our mutual acquaintance in more than a year's time, the informality of our speech together no doubt increased. The one definite constant was my presence on all occasions. (The speech data for this work excludes all that elicited in working with the Swadesh list. It excludes as well all sound sequences which I was not able to transcribe and also those which according to my best understanding could not be analyzed grammatically without ambiguity or indeterminacy.) This analysis, then, is assumed to be representative of a range of varieties of English in use by the Keaukaha
community. The analysis does not assume to be representative of a homogeneous style or dialect. The description which follows, including all matrices, interprets the conversational data only.

The number of speakers used in this study tallies fairly well with Labov's estimation that ten to twenty individuals can be expected to establish a reliable pattern (1966:181), and exceeds the fifteen speakers represented by initials in Ruth Brend's transcriptions (1968:79-126). Twenty-three Keaukaha children (under twelve years of age) constitute part of the sample here, and nine adults (over twelve years of age), the remainder of the total thirty-two. The recorded conversations provided more than three thousand extracted clauses, the data analyzed here.

A general disclaimer regarding the use of the term Keaukaha English is appropriate in the context of the preceding paragraph. Even considering the sampling, the term really implies more coverage of the speech community than this study strictly warrants. Therefore whenever the term is used, it is with the expectation that this qualification will always be understood. Further, of course, in order to use the term Hawaii English with any degree of responsibility, we need to accumulate a much greater body of information than is now available. Its use in the title of this dissertation is necessarily for the most general purpose of description only.

Inasmuch as Ruth Brend included some observations regarding
children's speech, it has seemed convenient and useful in many in-
stances to distinguish children's and adults' usage. My choice of
twelve years of age as an arbitrary dividing point was guided by
Labov's report that he considered the native dialect characterist-
cics to be established between ages four and thirteen (1966:175).

To recapitulate and proceed, the following analysis proposes
in the main

(1) to formulate a tagmemic description of a portion of the
grammar in order to communicate to others the nature of clause
structure in the speech of the one area Keaukaha, Hilo, Hawaii,
at a particular point in time (1965-1966);
and in addition

(2a) to specify syntactic usage differentiated in certain in-
stances as to age groups according to William Labov's recommenda-
tions (for synchronic and diachronic comparisons);
(2b) to update the presentation of a tagmemic grammatical de-
scription for an Indo-European-based language according to Kenneth
L. Pike's system, revised in 1967;
(2c) to respond to some of the numerous generalizations by
Hall and others regarding systems related directly or indirectly
to Hawaii English;
(2d) to compare as far as possible Keaukaha clause structure
and that reported by Nagara for Pidgin English of Japanese in Ha-
(2e) to consider Ruth Brend's report on children's speech in the light of the present study.
Footnotes
(Chapter One)

1 Suggs 152, 155, 227. Radiocarbon dates so far obtained: South Point, Hawaii, A.D. 120 ± 120 years; Kulī'ou'ou Valley, Oahu, A.D. 1005 ± 180; Ha'ele'ele, Kauai, A.D. 1239 ± 200; Moomomi, Molokai, A.D. 1408 ± 300.

2 Nagara's summary (Appendix 42) also lists Italian.

3 Details of language history given in Chapter One are extracted from Reinecke, Chapters 3 and 7, and are in agreement with those presented in Nagara's extensive historical account, Appendix 1-197.

4 Hall's definition of pidgin (1966:xii) is '... language ... whose grammar and vocabulary are very much reduced in extent and which is native to neither side.'

5 Hall (1966:xii-xiii): 'A creole language arises when a pidgin becomes the native language of a speech community.'

6 Reinecke-Tokimasa 49, 50, 51, 52, 53. N.b. By analogy to Hall's suggestion regarding Melanesian English (op. cit.:vii), the earlier, first variety could be called Hawaiian Pidgin English, and the later, Neo-Hawaiian.

7 Table III is extracted from Chun 47; Table IV, from 49.

8 In my opinion this omission is not made up for in the later article (Vanderslice-Pierson: 156-166), in which some stress patterns are indicated by black dots of varying relative size. The
generalizations regarding pitch are that 'opposition between weak- and strong-stressed syllables is largely leveled, especially that between content and function words' (157), and that one of the 'salient prosodic features' of Hawaiian American English is 'fluid word-stress and non-information-pointing accent placement' (166). The fact that 'accent placement is not entirely predictable' (159) would seem to make a full transcription of her large amount of material extremely important.

9 Knowlton 1967:234-235. (Examples when given are those Knowlton cited from Reinecke-Tokimasa.)

10 Nagara apparently did not have access to Shun's research, which is of interest for comparative purposes and which suggests interpretation or description of patterns considerably different from that given in Nagara (1969:125-128). Definitive comparison will be difficult however, since Shun omitted specifics of stress and Nagara, of pitch. (Knowlton's article in 1960 refers to 'circumflex rise-fall intonation at the end of simple questions' on page 216, which is one of the disparate aspects.)

11 G. L. Brook in 1963 (English Dialects, London, Andres Deutsch) refers to Ireland, the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Pakistan, Nigeria and Malaya, to Chinese pidgin and Cameroon in connection with varieties of 'English Overseas,' but there is no reference to Hawaii English by him, or by Jean Malmstrom and Annabel Ashley in 1963.

This observation should be updated by reference to Elizabeth B. Carr: Hawaii's Dialects, from Pidgin to Neo-Pidgin and American English, cited as forthcoming in Nagara (1969:25).

Robert A. Hall, Jr., Pidgin and Creole Languages (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966), 18:

In the South Seas, Pidgin English is coming to be the native language of the youngest generation in some places, and hence is in a stage of incipient creolization. Another creolized variety of English in the South Seas is the somewhat misnamed Hawaiian Pidgin English; it is usually regarded as another outgrowth of the old South Seas Pidgin, and is by now the native speech of a large number of those who are born or brought up in the islands (no matter of what racial origin, Hawaiian or otherwise). It is widespread as a means of communication, though it is spoken in its earlier form only on outlying islands; in Honolulu and other populated areas, Hawaiian Pidgin covers, like Jamaican Creole, a whole spectrum from a strongly differentiated type of speech all the way to semi-standard English. Although it has little social and no official standing, this 'Pidgin' is, for many Hawaiians, the language they
speak for fun and relaxation.


17 Pike, in 1967 (487): 'It is to Longacre ... that we owe emphasis upon the clause as a useful starting point of analysis ...'
**Table I**

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**Dates & Details from Reinecke (1969)**

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Hawaiian Islands dialect

*Piggin English*

*Dates & Details from Reinecke (1969) CHAPS. 3 & 7*
## TABLE II
SURVEY OF SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS/DESCRIPTION OF ENGLISH IN HAWAII*

<table>
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* n.b. Tsuzaki-Reinecke: English in Hawaii (1966)
### TABLE II
SURVEY OF SYSTEMATIC ANALYSIS/
DESCRIPTION OF ENGLISH IN HAWAII*

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Note: √ indicates presence.
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<th>TYPE OF TRANSCR.</th>
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<th>INFORMANTS</th>
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<td>reg. orthog.</td>
<td></td>
<td>(25 each of 125 ages 2-6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) approx. 21 pp. wrtg.</td>
<td>reg. orthog.</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>500 (4-5-6th graders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) approx. 6pp. speech</td>
<td>reg. orthog.</td>
<td>rural Oahu</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) 1 p. Kenyon-Webster</td>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>various</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) LAUSC wkshts.</td>
<td>IPA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>9 bilingual adults</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Rev. &quot; &quot;</td>
<td>IPA</td>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>12 (4 students &amp; their parents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) approx. 100 segmentals &amp; pp. unanalyzed stress, pitch, 'juncture' speech</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) approx. 50 segmentals &amp; pp. unanalyzed pitch &amp; 'pause' speech</td>
<td></td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>15 (3 members/5 families)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j) approx. 200 segmentals &amp; pp. unanalyzed pitch &amp; juncture speech</td>
<td></td>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>14 (young adults)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(k) &gt;REINECKE-TOKIMASA</td>
<td>reg. orthog.</td>
<td>IPA phones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(l) numerous items in isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(o) words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(p) words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(r) words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s) numerous items in isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(t) words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(u) 1/2 p.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(v) numerous items in isolation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(w) 10 Hawaii; 3 Lihue; 1 Hon.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(x) 26 (elem. &amp; sec. sch. children; adults)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE III
FREQUENCY OF THE KINDS OF SENTENCES USED IN CHUN'S STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>KEY</th>
<th>1 QUESTIONS</th>
<th>2 IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>3 DECLARATIVE</th>
<th>4 EXCLAMATORY</th>
<th>5 BABBLING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>2 YRS</th>
<th>3 YRS</th>
<th>4 YRS</th>
<th>5 YRS</th>
<th>6 YRS</th>
<th>AV. OF ALL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12345</td>
<td>12345</td>
<td>12345</td>
<td>12345</td>
<td>12345</td>
<td>12345</td>
<td>12345</td>
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</table>
TABLE IV
FREQUENCY OF TYPES OF SENTENCE
STRUCTURE IN CHUN'S STUDY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>98</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>97</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>94</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>93</td>
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<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>91</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>2 YRS</th>
<th>3 YRS</th>
<th>4 YRS</th>
<th>5 YRS</th>
<th>6 YRS</th>
<th>Avg. of All</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

KEY 1 SIMPLE  2 COMPOUND  3 COMPLEX  4 COMPOUND-COMPLEX
Chapter Two

CLAUSE TYPES IN KEUKAHA ENGLISH

(Feature Mode)

2.1 General Discussion

Pike's trimodal system of language analysis has been referred to in the first chapter (16). The term trimodal is associated in Pike's overall conception with his 'principle of complementarity of viewpoints adopted to perceive a unit adequately' (Pike 1967: 511). The perception of units and their characterization is the primary focus of Pike's work. The approach is taxonomic in nature. Classification of units from smallest to largest or vice versa is an objective. Such classification constitutes the framework of the model, setting up hierarchies of units dealing with phonological, grammatical, and lexical entities.

Units in each hierarchy must be, as has been indicated above, carefully defined. Feature, distribution, and manifestation are the three aspects of Pike's linguistic definitions. Extended explanations of these aspects of linguistic definition are contained in six of the seventeen chapters in his large work (Pike 1967: Chapters 6-11), with thumbnail summaries on pages 85-86 and 459-464. The following quotations introduce the terms (85-86):

The feature mode of an emic unit of activity will in general be viewed as composed of simultaneously occurring identificational-contrastive components, with its internal
segmentation analyzed with special reference to stimulus-response features (including purpose or lexical meaning, where relevant) ...

The manifestation mode of an emic unit of activity will often be viewed as composed of nonsimultaneously occurring physical variants (or nonsimultaneous components), with its internal segmentation analyzed with special reference to the hierarchy of the mechanisms of its physical production ...

The distribution mode of an emic unit of activity will be seen as composed of relational components, including its class membership and its function in a slot of a hierarchically-ordered larger construction (its external distribution), and its internal segmentation (its internal distribution), especially in reference to the hierarchy of mechanisms of its physical production.

In a footnote on page 85, one reads:

For feature mode one can in general read CONTRAST (contrastive-identificational components); for manifestation mode VARIATION (range of free, conditioned, or complex variants with physical component obligatory); for distribution mode DISTRIBUTION (occurrence in a class as member of that class, in a sequence of segments organized hierarchically, and in cells of a matrix made up of intersecting dimensions).

The requirement of using all three modes in an analysis insures an analytic definition (feature) supplemented by a synthetic characterization (distribution), further clarified by exemplification (manifestation). In the first, an intellectual or substantial whole is identified by being separated into its constituents for individual study. The second involves the study of re-
relationships outside the entity that was originally in view, which connect it with a larger universe. Example (manifestation) approaches the actual as far as it is symbolically possible. Thus for our purposes here, we wish to first identify clause units in Keaukaha English. We want to discover significant differences between such units. We then want to know where these units occur as they relate to other clause units in the stream of speech. We also want to discover variation in the internal structure of the clause units delineated.

Before going on, it is worth noting that the word trimodal as well as hierarchy has on occasion been used in connection with the division of language and language study into phonology, grammar, and lexicon. Longacre was discussing this when he wrote 'Language is in some sense trimodally structured' (1968:I,vi), and Pike mentioned the 'theory of trimodal structure' regarding lexical and grammatical hierarchies (1967:573). Most generally, however, I believe hierarchy is restricted to use in connection with the phonological, lexical, and grammatical components of language description, and mode (or trimodal) is limited to the three perspectives already referred to in this section -- feature, distribution, and manifestation. This is the case in Cook's very clear presentation, *Introduction to Tagmemic Analysis* (1969:168-171, passim). At any rate, the trimodal emphasis here is on the three-fold characterization of units rather than upon the tripartite hierarchical view of language in general.
The modes of feature, distribution, and manifestation are, according to Pike, a 'composite of characteristics' (1967:239). He writes (1967:86):

Each of these modes covers the same physical data, however, with a simultaneous structuring in these respective ways. Each of the modes, in turn, can be discovered only in reference to a system which embraces all three, such that the units of each enter into a network of units characterized by and discoverable by their relationship to the entire system of modes and units of modes of which they are a part.

This view can be visualized as a triangle, with each angle in communication with the other two. From this it would seem that any order of presentation should be theoretically acceptable. Pike's Chapters 6-7-8 follow the order feature-distribution-manifestation; in Chapters 9-10-11 it is manifestation-feature-distribution; and Chapters 13 through 15 can be interpreted as analogous to feature-manifestation-distribution. For the single threading through the three modes, this analysis moves first to feature (identification of the units), then to distribution, and then to manifestation (actual occurrence of the units). As far as it is possible to give linear treatment to the subject, Chapters Two, Three, and Four deal with the three, respectively. Each mode will be discussed in some detail at the beginning of its presentation.

An explanation of tagmeme is given at the beginning of Section 2.2, where illustration is immediately at hand.
The feature mode of a unit is a form-meaning composite of that unit, that is, 'the formal and semantic characteristics which make the contrast ... and which permit its recognition or identification' (Pike 1967:426). Identification is the key word here. The principal component of the feature mode of a unit (in this case, the clause) is the total membership of its constituents (ibid.: 200), the composition of the unit. This mode includes structural meaning as well as the distinctive semantic value of the unit. The structural meaning includes 'all the potential internal markers of the class which can identify' it or contrast it with other units (ibid.: 196). 'The total of the simultaneous components ... include all its sequential components as well' (ibid.: 204). These aspects of the feature mode of the clause will be presented in detail in the following sections of this chapter.

2.2 Nuclear Clause Types

Clauses are defined in this dissertation in accordance with the practice of analysts who recognize and regularly use the terms stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, and discourse (Longacre 1964:17). Longacre's definition, for example, is that a clause is 'a class of syntagmences (that is, constructions) of a median hierarchical order ranking above such syntagmences as the phrase and word and below such syntagmences as the sentence and discourse' (ibid.: 35). More specific criteria for
identifying the clause are the specification of predication\textsuperscript{2} and isolability.\textsuperscript{3} In accordance with such criteria, therefore, the starting point in this analysis is single affirmative predications, namely declarative clauses.

Two basic identifying characteristics of Keaukaha English are delimited in this dissertation. These will be considered under the nomenclature \textit{types} of clauses and \textit{classes} of clauses. I use the term \textit{types} (Chapter Two) with reference to constructions that contrast in their constituents. Here the focus is upon the internal structure of the clauses defined. I use the term \textit{classes} (Chapter Three) in connection with constructions that contrast in their external distribution.\textsuperscript{4} This characterization emphasizes the place different clauses occur in the stream of speech. The two aspects of clauses clearly identify these units as separate from each other and also separate from other units in the grammatical hierarchy.

The characterizing term for the approach to the analysis presented here is \textit{tagmemics}. This term is derived from the name used by Pike and others for the constituent unit(s) of a given grammatical construction, namely, \textit{tagmeme}.\textsuperscript{5} The grammatical piece of speech or unit, called the tagmeme, consists simultaneously of a particular function the unit has in a construction, and the set of forms which occur as manifestations of that function (Pike 1966:1). (This combination has come to be referred to most familiarly as a 'slot-class correlative' (Brend 1968:13).)
Longacre's definition (1964:15-16) is that 'the tagmeme is a functional point ... at which a set of items and/or sequences occur.' A construction (syntagmeme) is viewed as a sequence, wave, or string of two or more tagmemes. The construction in turn constitutes an entity one step more abstract than its constituents. It is something more than a mere sequence of units (Longacre 1964:7) in that the whole exhibits some kind of nucleation or interrelationship or both within itself. The presentation of syntagmeme is formally accomplished by formulaic representation. A tagmemic formula is first of all established by contrasts between one construction (or syntagmeme) and another on the basis of its component tagmemes, its internal composition. Formulas also make explicit the varying potential manifestations of each tagmeme. Each grammatical component symbolized in succeeding formulas and matrices in the paragraphs that follow is a clause level tagmeme. We turn first to a characterization of clause types, indicating the internal composition of different kinds of clauses in Hawaii English.

2.2 Clause Types

The clause types found in the data for Keaukaha English include the following: (1) the declarative clause types (constituting the major clauses of Hawaii English), (2) passive clauses, (3) expletive clauses, (4) interrogative clauses, (5) imperative clauses. Each of these clause types has subvarieties. They are
first characterized in the basic or nuclear form, followed in Section 2.3 by the possible peripheral element that can optionally be added to these basic forms of the clauses.

The approach here is to first identify the type and its subtypes by a formula presenting the internal composition (tagmemes) found in the type. The types are then characterized by depicting matrices that contrast the units presented. The first type, the declarative clause, is found to be basic to other types described after it. In each case, the identificational-contrastive features of the unit under discussion as it is distinguished from other clause units will be the focus of attention, remembering that types are set up dependent upon internal constituent structure.

2.2.1 Declarative Nuclei

Formulas 1 and 2 present the contrastive features of the nuclei of the major declarative clause types in Keaukaha English. These clauses are major (or basic) in the sense that all other clauses can be derived from them.

Formula 1 (Type A\textsuperscript{8}): Declarative Predication Clause Nucleus

\begin{itemize}
  \item Subject + Predicate
\end{itemize}

(Examples below, Types A1 - A3)

Formula 2 (Type B): Declarative Comment Clause Nucleus

\begin{itemize}
  \item Topic + Comment
\end{itemize}

That out
Subject and Topic differ in obligatory-optional status (Longacre 1964:54). (Subjects are optional where situational meaning is a personal pronoun: I, you, he, we, it.) Predicate and Comment contrast in the number of their constituent tagmemes and also in the filler classes of their respective manifestations. By filler class we mean those linguistic units that can function as Predicate or Comment. The filler class with its function is the tagmeme in question. Graphic summary of the internal composition of the declarative clause types is presented in Matrix 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matrix 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major Clause Types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONSTITUENT TAGMENE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DECLARATIVE CLAUSE TYPE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The clause types defined here also differ in expansion possibilities with peripheral tagmemes, all of which will be detailed in Section 2.3.

Type A of the declarative clauses consists of five subtypes.

Formula 3 (Type A1):

Declarative Transitive Clause Nucleus

± Subject-as-actor + Transitive Verb Phrase 10 ± Object

#2 (I) forgot the other one
Formula 4 (Type Ala): Declarative Ditransitive Clause Nucleus

± Subject-as-actor + Trans. VP ± Ditr Object ± Object

#3 They present me lei
#4 The boss supply the poi

Formula 5 (Type Alb): Declarative Attributive Clause Nucleus

± Subject-as-actor + Trans. VP ± Object ± Attributive

#5 You call it sea urchins

Formula 6 (Type A2): Declarative Intransitive Clause Nucleus

± Subject-as-actor + Intransitive Verb Phrase

#6 I 'm going

Formula 7 (Type A3): Declarative Equational Clause Nucleus

± Subject-as-item + Equational VP + Equation

#7 (It) is too much money

The matrix that will follow (Matrix 2) shows the specific contrasts between each Type A subtype with the others of the same type. Roman numeral cover symbols in the matrix indicate items specified by Longacre (given here in footnote 9 of this chapter) and specifically expounded below, as criteria for establishing nuclear contrasts. Arabic numerals symbolize items additional to Longacre's list.

The additional three items are based upon the inclusion of structural meaning in the identification of units. Pike's position is that 'contrastiveness of types must not be determined, in my view, by formal considerations alone, but by the relationships
of the data to a total form-meaning composite, in morphemics or
tagmemics' (1967:472). Another statement by Pike is also perti-
nent. '... I find it valid to include structural meaning within
the various components which enter into a definition of a tagmeme,
if for that particular tagmeme a structural meaning is clearly
identifiable' (ibid.:278). These quotations pertain generally to
all three of the additional items. As to Item (1) specifically,
Ruth Brend's dissertation, written under the direction of Pike,
distinguishes the equative clause nucleus from the other types in
Mexican Spanish 'by its obligatory equation tagmeme, as well as
by the different situational function (i.e., as item rather than
as actor) of its subject tagmeme' (1968:23). The use of lexical
features in grammatical analysis, as in Items (2) and (3), is a
contemporary extension of Aristotle's definition by means of uni-
versals and particulars (Lyons 1969:337 ff.; n.b. Chomsky 1965:
64, 82-87, 198; Lakoff 1965: D1 ff.; Fillmore 1968:24-26).

Contrasts in Matrix 2 are located by reading down the column
of one of the pair of subtypes, to the horizontal row of the sub-
type to be contrasted. For example, the criteria which support
the description of Type Alb as a syntagmeme in contrast with Type
A2 are given in square (f). It will be noted that in every in-
stance Longacre's minimum requirement of two structural contrasts
(one of which must be in the nucleus) is fulfilled (Longacre 1964:
18).
Interpretation of Roman and Arabic numerals is as follows.

I. Object in Type Al and Equation in Type A3 differ in obligatory-optional status.

II. Total number of tagmemes differs in the various types ($A_2 = 2$; $A_1, A_3 = 3$; $A_{Al}, A_{Alb} = 4$).

III. There is a difference in the ordering of the Object in Type Ala and in Type Alb.

IV. Transitive, Intransitive, and Equational Verbs consist of different manifestation classes, thus showing contrast in filler classes.

V. The Ditransitive Object in Type Ala is distinctive in that, with to or from (depending on the particular verb filler) optionally preceding it, it is subject to permutation following the Object (see Section 4.4):

#3 $\rightarrow$ They present lei to me

VI. Type Alb Attributive feature analysis is $[\text{animate}] + \text{concrete}$. Also, fillers of the Object of this type and of the Attributive can occur respectively in the Topic and the Comment slots of Type B:

#5 $\rightarrow$ It sea urchins

VII. Ordering of the Object differs in Type Al and Type Ala.

Certain other criteria for establishing contrasts in these clause subtypes, additional to the kinds Longacre set up, are the following.

1. There are two varieties of subject which have differing func-
tions in relation to non-verbal tagmemes in the predicates of these clauses. The predicate tagmemes in the Equation in Type A3 are semantically identical, similar, or attributive to the 'Subject-as-item,' whereas the predicate tagmemes in all other clause subtypes may not be so related to the 'Subject-as-actor.' (The Topic-Comment relationship in Type B is similar to the non-verbal tagmemes in Type A3.)

2. Type A2 Subject may be either animate or inanimate, but must be concrete, whereas Subjects of Types A1 and A3 have a contrasting feature analysis — either animate or inanimate, and either concrete or not.

3. Subjects of Types Ala and Alb are both animate and concrete, in contrast with both sets in the foregoing item.

Matrix 2, incorporating these features of contrast, follows.
### Matrix 2

**Nuclear Contrasts among Subtypes of Type A Clauses**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type Al</th>
<th>Type Ala</th>
<th>Type Alb</th>
<th>Type A2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type Ala</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>VII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type Alb</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>V</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td>(e)</td>
<td>(f)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type A2</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>(h)</td>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>(j)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type A3</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
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<td>IV</td>
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<td></td>
<td>IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Key:** Summary of Type A clauses is as follows. Examples of all major declarative clause types are to be found in Appendix A.

- **Type Al:** ± Subject-as-actor + Transitive VP ± Object
- **Type Ala:** ± Subj-as-actor + Trans VP ± Ditransitive Obj ± Object
- **Type Alb:** ± Subj-as-actor + Trans VP ± Obj ± Attributive
- **Type A2:** ± Subject-as-actor + Intransitive VP
- **Type A3:** ± Subject-as-item + Equational VP + Equation
2.2.2 Passive Clauses

A tagmemic view would insist that there is a tagmemic structure present both in a basic clause and also in a derived clause (Pike 1967:503), and that therefore such differences identify other types of clauses. Therefore we proceed with the description of a set of clauses that can be derived from the declarative clause type.

The Keaukaha English in this study includes the use of four varieties of passive constructions. The first type is derivable by transformation from Declarative Clause Type Al, in which the Object in the declarative clause appears as Passive Subject. The formulaic characterization of this type of clause follows. Abbreviations SD and SC refer to the structural description basic to the type and the structural change resulting in the type identified.

(T1) Passive Type Al Clause

\[ SD: \pm \text{Subject} + \text{Trans VP} + \text{Object} + X \]
\[ SC: + 3 + \text{Passive} \text{Aux} + 2-\text{en} \pm \text{by} 1 + 4 \]

\#8 We are known ...

\[ X \text{ (here and elsewhere)} = \text{any remaining constituents of the particular clause. This device is an extension of Ruth Brend's use of 'collapsed' symbols and formulas (1968:32, fn 20), and also follows similar use in transformational statements.} \]

The second and third varieties of passive clauses are related to
Declarative Clause Type Ala. Here also the Object in the declarative appears as subject in the passive. The second variety has the following formula.

\[(T2) \text{ Passive Type Ala}_1 \text{ Clause} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
SD: \pm \text{Subject} + \text{Trans VP} + \text{Ditr Obj} + \text{Obj} + X \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
SC: + 4 + \text{Passive Aux} + 2-en \pm \text{to} 3 \pm \text{by} 1 + 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

#9 This pamphlet was given to her.

The other pattern is illustrated in the speech of one of the women. In this case the Ditransitive Object in the declarative appears as Passive Subject.

\[(T3) \text{ Passive Type Ala}_2 \text{ Clause} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
SD: \pm \text{Subject} + \text{Trans VP} + \text{Ditr Obj} + \text{Obj} + X \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
SC: + 3 + \text{Passive Aux} + 2-en + 4 + 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

#10 I was told it.

#11 I was told 'When you get there ... '

The following is related to Declarative Clause Type Alb:

\[(T4) \text{ Passive Type Alb Clause} \]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
SD: \pm \text{Subject} + \text{Trans VP} + \text{Obj} + \text{Attr} + X \\
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
SC: + 3 + \text{Passive Aux} + 2-en + 4 + 5 \\
\end{array}
\]

#12 The younger one was named king.

With the first two of these four passives, the possibility seems to exist for the additional phrase 'by Subject.' But only on one
occasion with each type was an utterance observed which could be so construed:

#13 Did you get burnt by the fire? Type Al
#14 That's been broadcast to you by ABC News Type Ala

This latter of course is Passive Type Ala₁ Clause. A similar prepositional phrase with by did not occur in Passive Type Ala₂ Clause. Moreover, Example 13 is the sole Interrogative Passive (and it happened to occur when a twelve-year-old girl was inventing a sentence.

Passive Type Al seems to be the only type productive to a general extent.

2.2.3 Expletive Clauses

The expletive clause types are related to both declarative and passive clause nuclei. The order of presentation here is guided by the frequency of their occurrence in the recorded material. The first of the three occurs among young children, teenagers, and adults. There were only two instances of the second type, by a man in conversation with others from Keaukaha, and by a high school girl in beginning a fairly well known story. Example #18 is the only occurrence of its type. It was said by a man, a Keaukaha resident who was born and who grew up on Ni`ihau (of 'pure' Hawaiian descent).
(T5) **Expletive\textsubscript{1} Clause**

SD: Type A3 = + Subject + Equ VP + Equ + X
1 2 3 4

SC: + There + 2 + 1 + 4 + 3

#15 There were lots of brothers

(The Expletive) (Expletive Subject)

The following restrictions seem to apply:

Type A3 Subject = indefinite pronoun/'determiner NP'

Equ = LOC/T

(T6) **Expletive\textsubscript{2} Clause**

SD: Type A2 = + Subject + Intrans VP + X
1 2 3

SC: + There + 2 + 1 + 3

#16 There 'll come a time ...

#17 Once in a land there lived five Chinese brothers ...

(T7) **Expletive\textsubscript{3} Clause**

SD: Passive Al = + Passive Subject + Passive VP + X
1 2 3

SC: + There + 2 + 1 + 3

#18 There was conducted a school over there

2.2.4 **Interrogative Clauses**

This analysis assumes the position usually taken, that contrasts of intonation\textsuperscript{14} are to be handled at the sentence level (Cook 1969:47), that the first cut of a simple sentence in both immediate constituent and tagmemic analysis removes the intonation from the sentence base.\textsuperscript{15} Therefore, except as noted in Ma-
trix 3, attention to the syntactically or morphologically unmarked interrogative in Keaukaha English will be deferred to Chapter Five, in which some matters not exclusively pertaining to the clause level will be referred to.

One variety of a confirmation (yes-no) question (Conf₁) question is describable as a transformation of declarative Type A clauses.

\[(T8) \text{Conf}_1 \text{ Clause} \]

\[
\text{SD: Type AI/Ala/} = ^{±} \text{Subject} + \left[ \frac{\text{be}}{\text{Aux/∅}} \right]_{\text{A2/A3}}^{1} X_{3} \\
\text{SC:} + \left[ \frac{2}{\text{do/does/did}} \right] + 1 + 3
\]

The Auxiliary in Item 2 of this structural description occurs optionally in Types AI, Ala, and A2 of the predicate verb phrase, and be is a member of an obligatory tagmeme in Type A3 (as will be noted in the presentation of variants and of filler classes in Chapter Three).

#19 Did you pick up, Darnel? Type AI
#20 Do you wanna play? Al
#21 Have you taught someplace? Al
#22 Did you give Gordon dime? A3
#23 Is the thing going on? A2
#24 Are they contented, the people? A3

Another variety of confirmation question (Conf₂ Clause) can be stated by the next tagmemic formula.
\[Q_{\text{Conf}}\_\text{Clause} = + \text{Declarative Clause} + \text{Tag} \]

\(\text{Types A1/A2/A3/B}\)

\#25 They barbecue the meat, eh Type A1

\#26 But they can dance, no A2

\#27 That's a steep pali, yeah A3

\#28 They too green, yeah B

The first set of information questions (\(Q_{\text{Info}}\_1\) Clause) -- all transformations of a declarative clause nucleus -- is made up as follows.

\((T9)\) \(Q_{\text{Info}}\_1a\) Clause

SD: Type A1/A2 = + Subject \[1\] + Predicate \[2\]

SC: + Q1 + 2

\#29 Who get money Type A1

\#30 Who 's going A2

\((T10)\) \(Q_{\text{Info}}\_1b\) Clause

SD: Type A1/Alb/A2/A3/B =

\[\begin{align*}
+ \begin{bmatrix} \text{Subject} \\ \text{Topic} \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} Y \\ x \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{Comment} \end{bmatrix}
\end{align*}\]

SC: + Q3 + 1 + 2

\[x = \text{Object/Attributive/Locative/Manner/Time/Duration/Cause}\]

\[Y = \text{Predicate minus } x/\emptyset\]

\#31 What you got (Obj) Type A1

\#32 What you call this (Attr) Alb

\#33 What his name (Comment) B
(TII) QInfo₁ Clause

SD: Type A₃/Expl₁ = + [Subj-as-item] + Equ VP + Equ + X

SC: + Q3 + 2 + 1 + 4

#34 Where you was going tomorrow (Locative) Type A₂

#35 Where the icebox (Comment) B

#36 How he say it (Manner) A₁

#37 How band today make at Coconut Grove (Manner) A₂

#38 How long they been doing that (Duration) A₁

#39 What time you coming back (Time) A₂

#40 How long you been in the Islands now, Gloria (Duration) A₃

#41 Why so sad (Cause) B

#42 What is that Type A₃

#43 Where is it A₃

#44 Who is this one for A₃

#45 How old is you A₃

#46 How much kings are there Expl₁

A second set of information questions (QInfo₂ Clause) is described by the following transformation.
(T12) QInfo₂ Clause

SD: QConf₁ (Type A₁, A₂, A₂)

\[ = + \text{Aux} + \text{Subj} + \text{V} + y + Y \]

SC: + Q4 + 1 + 2 + 3 + 5

\[ V = \text{VP minus Aux} \]
\[ y = \text{Object/Attr/Loc/Man/Time} \]
\[ Y = \text{Predicate minus } y \]

#47 What does that mean (Obj) Type A₁

#47a What d' y' call (Attr) A₂

#48 Where did you go (Loc) A₂

#49 How do you like that (Man) A₁

#50 What time did you go over there (Time) A₂

2.2.5 Imperative Clauses

As with interrogatives, it is assumed that characteristic intonation would be described as a sentence level feature. ‘Imperative’ in this instance refers to clause structures related to commands only, though, as Lyons and Bolinger illustrate (Lyons 1969:307-309; Bolinger 1970:346, 358-359), the distinction between giving commands, making statements, asking questions, and stating conditions is not always structurally clear and separate.

The most widely used imperative clause type is derivable from Type A clauses and is described as follows.
(T13) Imperative₁ Clause

SD: Type A Clauses = \( \pm \) Subject \( _1 \) + Verb \( _2 \) + X \( _3 \)

SC: \( \pm \text{you} \) (Imperative₁ Subject) \( + 2 \) Infinitive \( _20 \) \( + 3 \)

#51 You take hers Type A₁
#52 Tell me what beach Ala
#53 You listen to Neki A₂
#54 Oh, be quiet A₃

In a much less used variety, the predicate includes special fillers. The sole filler of the Verb Phrase is \( \text{let} \). The filler of the Object is a declarative clause in which the subject is a pronoun, and the pronoun is always the 'objective' form (e.g., me, him, her, us, them).

\[
\text{Imperative₂ Clause} = \pm \text{Imper₁ Subj} + \text{Imper₂ VP} + \text{Imper₂ Obj}
\]

#55 You let her read that Type A₁
#56 Let em make the money A₁
#57 Lem- me see A₁
#58 Let's₂¹ play A₁
#59 Let me see uh now A₁
#60 Let her rest A₂

It is to be noted that Keaukaha English imperatives do not seem to exhibit either reflexives (yourself or others) or tags (e.g., will you and others), both having been important in recent discussions of the English imperative. However, this may well
be a limitation in the data.

2.2.6 Summary of Nuclear Clause Structures

The following matrix summarizes and gives an overview of actually occurring Keaukaha English clause structures. The classification in the lefthand column indicates an 'order of derivability' according to this analysis, i.e., the secondary being basically related to the primary, and the tertiary to both the secondary and primary. The numbers in the boxes indicate the clauses as numbered in the preceding pages of this section. The lettered items in the column headed 'QConf Sent INTON' (Question-Confirmation Sentence Intonation) will be referred to in Chapter Five. Examples for the latter would be the following.

(a) They do any weaving now over there?
(b) You just came back from the Mainland?
(c) Been in the Islands long?
(d) He tired?

This matrix purports to indicate all types of clause structure actually observed occurring independently. All occurrences in the data are documented in this and in each of the following matrices. Empty cells therefore indicate non-occurrences in this sample of any given type.

Appendix A contains examples of the major declarative clause types.
The above interprets only single occurring clause structures in the data. Embedded clauses will be treated in Chapter Three.
It will be observed that throughout this dissertation the matrices are purely descriptive of types and do not present the dimension of frequency, although some mention is made at various points regarding the frequency in usage of a number of items.

At this point, a further word about the use of matrix in this study is in order. Its use has been deliberate for the purpose of displaying facts in a compact way. Inasmuch as mathematical implications have generally not been intended, some readers would probably prefer to call the presentations here 'tables'. The displays labeled matrices are similar to certain ones so labeled in tagmemic publications, for example, in Pike's Tagmemic and Matrix Linguistics Applied to Selected African Languages (1966:57, 61, 164, passim). Cook explains (1969:49-50, 156) that further uses of the matrix in linguistic analysis and description are possible. However, his example of 'clause level matrix' (69) is typical of most of the matrices employed in this description. The use here conforms to Cook's general statement that 'a grammatical matrix charts constructions in different dimensions, or parameters' (1969:50). In the 1967 edition of his large work, Pike has summarized his thinking at the time of that writing (473, passim). Matrices are to be used as 'the structured setting within which a unit occurs,' i.e., as 'displays of intersecting contrastive vectors of a system' (ibid., 443). A matrix may consist of intersecting dimensions of contrasting categories, in which 'formatives' (which this dissertation interprets as
'manifested types') fill the cells at the intersection of the categories (ibid.:548). The dimensions may be of various kinds (ibid.:511). Some of these, which Pike specified in 'Dimensions of Grammatical Constructions' (1962:232-233), are the following.

(1) Component Times Component
(2) Unit Times Component
(3) Construction Times Tagmeme Class
(4) Unit Times Relevance (or Occurrence) Type
(5) Unit Times Unit

Matrix 4 is (1) Component X Component. Matrices 5, 6, and 7 are (2) Unit X Component. Matrices 1, 10, 11, 12, and 13 are (3) Construction X Tagmeme Class. Matrices 14 and 15 are (4) Unit X Relevance Type. Matrices 2, 3, 8, and 9 are (5) Unit X Unit.

2.3 Peripheral Tagmemes

Found in the Various Clause Types

Clauses may be expanded beyond the nucleus described above through the addition of peripheral tagmemes. Peripheral tagmemes are by nature optional, and they appear with different clause types (Longacre 1964:85). This analysis recognizes twelve varieties, semantically describable in the following matrix. The contrasting features of the matrix are concrete and animate, semantic entities that are self explanatory. Here, as in the earlier section, we first identify the tagmemes and then indicate their distribution relative to each other and to the nucleus of the clause.
Matrix 4

Features of Peripheral Tagmemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>+ animate</th>
<th>³ animate</th>
<th>- animate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>+ concrete</td>
<td>BENefactor</td>
<td>COMitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>³ concrete</td>
<td>RESpect</td>
<td>INSTRument</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- concrete</td>
<td>DURation</td>
<td>CONDition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time</td>
<td>PURPOSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cause</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of each peripheral tagmeme will be given in Appendix B.

Each peripheral tagmeme can occur as an expansion of the clause type and in the position designated in the following matrix (Matrix 5a). This matrix summarizes the distribution of peripheral tagmemes in the various clause types as used by both children and adults in common. Positions are as follows.

a = /#_____Nucleus

b = /_____Verb

c = /_____Object, Equation, Comment, Particle
\[
d = \text{/Nucleus}\quad \#
\]

### Matrix 5a

**Clause Type Distribution of Peripheral Tagmemes**

in use by both children and adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peripheral Tagmeme</th>
<th>Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>A1, A2, A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>A1, A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>A1, A2, B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>A1, A2, A3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>A1, A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
<td>A1, A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>A1, A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>A1, A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC T</td>
<td>A1, A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR LOC</td>
<td>A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC DUR</td>
<td>A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC PURP</td>
<td>A2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matrix 5a draws attention to the fact that 12 peripheral tagmemes and tagmeme sequences occur after the nucleus.
In the position before the nucleus 4 peripheral tagmemes occur.

The same 2 peripheral tagmemes occur elsewhere (before the verb and before the object or equation).

Matrix 5b presents the facts that peripheral tagmemes occur

(a) in 6 clause types before the nucleus (i.e., A1, A1a, A2, A3, B, and Passive);

(b) in 4 clause types after the nucleus (A1, A2, A3, and B);
(c) in A1 and A2 before the verb; and
(d) in A1 and A3 before object, equation, comment, and particle.

Matrix 5b

Peripheral Tagmeme Distribution

in use by both children and adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLAUSE TYPE</th>
<th>POSITION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>T, LOC, COND, INSTR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, BEN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>T, LOC, COND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>T, COND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, DIR LOC, LOC DUR, LOC PURP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From Matrix 5c one adduces that there are

5 patterns of distribution of peripheral tagmemes in Type A1 clause, i.e.,

T in positions a b c d
Loc in positions a d
65

DUR in positions b d

COND, INSTR in position a

DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, BEN in position d

4 patterns of distribution in Type A2 clause,

T in positions a d

COND in Position a

DUR in position b

LOC, DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, LOC T, DIR LOC, LOC DUR, LOC PURP in position d

3 patterns of distribution in Type A3 clause,

T in positions a d

DIR in positions c d

LOC, COND in position a

2 patterns of distribution in Type B clause,

T in positions a d

LOC in position d

1 pattern of distribution in Type Al a and in Passive clause,

T in position a
Matrix 5c

Position-Distribution of Peripheral Tagmemes

in Clause Types

in use by both children and adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIPHERAL TAGMEME</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Ala</th>
<th>Pass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC T</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR LOC</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC DUR</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC PURP</td>
<td>d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key: a = /#____Nucleus

b = /_____Verb

c = /_____Object, Equation, Comment, Particle

d = /Nucleus____#
From the vertical columns of this same matrix, it is apparent that 12 different peripheral tagmemes and tagmeme sequences occur with Type A2, 11 with Type A1, 4 with Type A3, 2 with Type B, and one each with Type Ala and Passive.

The horizontal rows show the occurrence of

- T in 12 positions throughout clause types;
- LOC, DUR " 5 "
- COND " 3 "
- DIR, MAN, COM, PURP, " 2 "
- LOC T
- BEN, INSTR,
- DIR LOC,
- LOC DUR,
- LOC PURP

Distributional use of the patterns from Matrix 5c is seen in Matrix 5d. Positioning only after the nucleus occurs in 16 instances; only before the nucleus in 7 instances; both before and after the nucleus in 4 instances; in all four positions in 1 instance; before the verb and after the nucleus in 1 instance; before the object and after the nucleus in 1 instance; and before the verb only in 1 instance.
Matrix 5d

Pattern Distribution of Peripheral Tagmemes

in use by both children and adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PATTERN</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A3a</th>
<th>Pass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>LOC, DIR, MAN</td>
<td>LOC, MAN</td>
<td>LOC, MAN</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MAN, COM, COM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PURP, LOC PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T, DIR LOC, LOC T,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOC DUR, BEN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LOC PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>COND</td>
<td>COND INSTR</td>
<td>LOC, T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a d</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>LOC T</td>
<td>T T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a b c d</td>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b d</td>
<td></td>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>DUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td></td>
<td>DUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a tagmemic statement as to the abstract order of occurrence of all observed sequences of peripheral tagmemes, the following is a beginning, added of course to the nucleus.

\[ \pm \text{DIR} \pm \text{LOC} \pm \text{DUR/COND} \pm \text{MAN/COM} \pm \text{T/RESP/DIR/DUR} \pm \text{PURP/COM/T} \pm \text{INSTR/Loc/C/BEEN} \]

However, this does not specify the fact that if DIR is in one slot, it may not occur in the other position indicated. Longacre (1964:42) suggests the following notation for such a situa-
tion of mutual exclusion:

\[
\pm \text{DIR} \ldots / \text{DIR} \pm
\]

Cook's suggestion (1969:19) is the formulation \( \pm A \ldots \mp A \), another possible representation. With the length of this formula, I prefer the following, in which unit symbols that are redundant are indicated as mutually exclusive by \( \pm \) and \( \mp \), and where items occurring in the same order are placed in a column.

\[
\pm \text{DIR} \pm \text{LOC} \pm \text{DUR} \pm \text{MAN} \pm T \pm \text{PURP} \pm \text{INSTR} \\
\pm \text{COND} \pm \text{COM} \pm \text{RESP} \mp \text{COM} \mp \text{LOC} \\
\mp \text{DIR} \mp T \pm C \\
\mp \text{DUR} \pm \text{BEN}
\]

The subscripts in the following figure (Figure 1) are intended to represent the same possibilities, with the same columns indicated. One further limitation must be made. In accordance with the data, sequences are limited to no more than three tagmemes, and each tagmeme must be different.

Figure 1 provides a mapping of all occurrences of sequences of differing peripheral tagmemes observed in this study of Keau-keaha English. (Sequences containing a repetition of a given peripheral tagmeme will be included in Section 4.2, which considers appositives.) It is to be read from left to right. Thus the horizontal lines from \( \text{DIR}_1 \) to \( \text{LOC}_1 \) represent the occurrence of
DIRection-LOCative. Matrix 6 (following in this section) gives the location numbers of examples of this particular sequence as found in Appendix B:

#202 ... come this out/the water

#112 ... they could go down/to Thailand and Singapore and other places ...

Each line in Figure 1 is a representation of one type of a peripheral sequence to be given in Appendix B (which will be identified in the next matrix -- Matrix 6). Solid lines represent usage by adults, and dotted lines by children. The solid line between $\text{DIR}_1$ and $\text{LOC}_1$ symbolizes Example #112 in Appendix B. One of the dotted lines is called for by #202, and the second dotted line represents the same sequence as part of Example #155 (DIR LOC INSTR):

... I go up/to the pool/on my bike

Each line is similarly called for by a sequence in the data.
Cause and Benefactor do not seem to occur except singly with clause nucleus.
Matrix 6 constitutes a full analysis as to the occurrence of peripheral tagmeme types, with individuals under twelve years of age and with those over that age, in the clause types recognized in Section 2.2. Order of listing of peripheral tagmemes follows that suggested by Figure 1. (Beginning with Matrix 6, where two symbols occur on a single line, the item on the lefthand side represents children — individuals twelve years of age and younger, and that on the right represents adults — over twelve years of age.)

Examples corresponding to each number are given in Appendix B.

---

**Matrix 6**

Distribution of Peripheral Tagmeme Types

(contrasting children and adults)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIPHERAL TAGMEMES</th>
<th>CLAUSE TYPES</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>PASS</th>
<th>EXP1</th>
<th>EXP2</th>
<th>EXP3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>./#_Nucl</td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>A1a</td>
<td>A2</td>
<td>A3</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
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<td>148</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
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<td>T</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
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</table>
Matrix 6 (continued)

Distribution of Peripheral Tagmeme Types

(contrasting children and adults)

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<tr>
<th>Peripheral Tagmemes</th>
<th>Clause Types</th>
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<th>Expl₁</th>
<th>Expl₂</th>
<th>Expl₃</th>
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<tr>
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<td>A₂ 26</td>
<td>A₃ 27</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>INSTR</td>
<td>A₁ 28</td>
<td>A₂ 29</td>
<td></td>
<td>B 30</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>A₁ 138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A₁ 32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A₁ 142</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A₁ 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/Verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>A₁ 35</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>A₁ 36</td>
<td>A₂ 37</td>
<td>A₃ 38</td>
<td>B 39</td>
<td>A₁ 40</td>
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<td>COND</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A₁ 41</td>
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<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>A₁ 43</td>
<td>A₂ 44</td>
<td>A₃ 45</td>
<td>A₁ 46</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Ptcl</td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>A₁ 31</td>
<td>A₂ 48</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>A₁ 49 A₁ 50 A₁ 51</td>
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</table>
Matrix 6 (continued)

Distribution of Peripheral Tagmeme Types

(contrasting children and adults)

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<thead>
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<th>CLAUSE TYPES</th>
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<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
<td>51a</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
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<td>DUR</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>72</td>
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<tr>
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<td>MAN</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
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<td>T</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
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<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
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<td>101</td>
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<td>INSTR</td>
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</table>
Matrix 6 (continued)

Distribution of Peripheral Tagmeme Types

(contrasting children and adults)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peripheral Tagmemes</th>
<th>CLAUSE TYPES</th>
<th>Pass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>106</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR MAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR COM</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DIR T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR INSTR</td>
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</tr>
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<td>LOC MAN</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC COM</td>
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<td>LOC T</td>
<td>129</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC DIR</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC PURP</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR MAN</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND MAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN DIR</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Matrix 6 (continued)

Distribution of Peripheral Tagmeme Types

(contrasting children and adults)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peripheral Tagmemes</th>
<th>CLAUSE TYPES</th>
<th>Pass</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A1</td>
<td>A1a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN DUR</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN LOC</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM T</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>T PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESP PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR LOC INSTR</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC DUR COM</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>LOC MAN T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN PURP INSTR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN DUR COM</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>COM DUR T</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The foregoing indicates of course that the peripheral tagmemes have contrasting semantic structure and distribution, thereby substantiating the identification of the various peripheral tagmemes.

The instances of usage by both children and adults (detailed
in Matrix 6, preceding) are indicated by two example numbers in a single cell, the lefthand one representing a child and the righthand one an adult. One number in a cell in the lefthand position indicates use by children only, and in the righthand position, by adults only.

This dissertation does not intend to emphasize contrasting usage by children and adults. Contrasts are commented upon in order to be indicative only, in a preliminary way. As to the peripheral tagmemes, it is evident (as Table Va in Section 5.3 summarizes) that whereas mutual usage of these tagmemes in all positions in clause types accounts for 40 instances, instances exclusively children's total only 24 in comparison with 51 of those exclusively adults'. The three sets of items and their percentages are as follows.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Total Number of Peripheral Tagmemes</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Combined Children-Adult Data</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Total Number of Peripheral Tagmemes</th>
<th>Percentage of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children Only</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>45.8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Expl</td>
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<td>16.7</td>
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<td>12.5</td>
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<td>8.3</td>
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<td>8.3</td>
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<td>B</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Adults Only</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>16</td>
<td>31.4</td>
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<td>A3</td>
<td>12</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
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<td>Pass</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expl</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among observations to be drawn from the above are the following.

(a) Absence of mutual use with Expletive, although both groups use that clause type, the percentage for children being 16.7 compared with 3.9 for adults.

(b) High percentage in the use of Type A2 (intransitive) with peripheral tagmemes by children (45.8 for children only, 31.4 for adults only, 32.5 for usage in common).
(c) Higher percentage (8.3) in use of Type A1a (ditransitive) by children only than by adults only (5.9), the figure for the combined group being 2.5.

(d) Lower percentage in use of Type B by children only (4.15 as compared with 9.8 by adults only, and 7.5 for children-adults).

(e) Lower percentage in use of Passive by children only (4.15) when compared with adults only (7.8), with the figure for children-adults being 2.5.

(f) Lower percentage in use of Type A3 (Equational) by children only (8.3) compared with adults only (23.5) and with the combined group (15.0).

(g) Absence of Type A1b in all three of these sets involving peripheral tagmemes.

2.4 Negative Tagmeme

In his work on tagmemic analysis, Cook has indicated that the negative 'is best handled at the level of the verb phrase, at least in English' (1969:41), that it 'is best expressed at the level of the phrase as one optional element in the phrase level string' (ibid.:72). Recent tagmemic analyses\textsuperscript{24} are in accord with this recommendation, but they treat languages with predications in which a verb is obligatory. Keaukaha English, of course, includes both verbal (Type A) and nominal (Type B) predication, and since Type B clauses are negated, the clause is here analyzed as one of
the levels in which the negative is an optional element.  

Matrix 7 gives the patterns of distribution of negative tagmases in clause types. Appendix E contains examples corresponding to the numbers.

### Matrix 7

**Distribution of Negative Tagmeme in Clause Types**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NEGATIVE TAGMAS</th>
<th>CLAUSE TYPES</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>no</strong></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>never</strong></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>not</strong></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>n't</strong></td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Key to Matrix 7:

a = /Subject____(Aux) Main Verb
b = /Topic____Comment
c = /First (or only) Aux____Remaining Verb Phrase
d = /Equ Verb____Equation
e = /adverb____Noun Phrase
f = /First (or only) Aux____Subject
g = /Aux____Predicate other than Verb Phrase

Matrix 7 reveals the overall identically restricted distribution of no and never (/Subject____(Aux) Main Verb); the overlapping distribution of not with no and never (/Subject____(Aux) Main Verb) and with n't (/First or only Aux____Remaining Verb Phrase, and /Equational Verb____Equation); the distinctive distribution of not (/Topic____Comment, and /adverb____Noun Phrase); and the distinctive distribution of n't (/First or only Aux____Subject, and /Aux____Predicate other than Verb Phrase).

Classification of usage according to age groups indicates that

(a) the negative tagmem, appearing in the contracted form, is used with the Expletive by children only;

(b) the negative is used similarly by both children and adults in Type B and in Passive clauses (not with Type B, and not and n't with Passive).
2.5 Tagmeme Filler Classes

Early tagmemic theory suggested that all aspects of the distribution of units be discussed under the distribution mode. Thus the distribution of filler classes within the clause might be included at a later stage in the description. The inclusion of this section in the chapter on the feature mode constitutes the latest revision of Pike's recommendations regarding presentation of a description. (Ruth Brend, for example, included similar information in her third chapter, which also contains information as to periphery and permutations.) According to the quotation above (35) from Pike (1967:85), 'internal segmentation (internal distribution)' was earlier considered as a distributional characteristic. But a footnote on the same page states Pike's reconsideration:

This term (internal distribution) has not appeared frequently in recent tagmemic writings. The included sequence of tagmemes characterizing a construction has by Crawford been referred to the feature mode. I am attempting to follow him in this, but the implications are not yet clear enough to allow full revision here.

Further on, he writes, 'one of the characteristic components of the feature mode of a tagmeme is the particular distribution class which manifests it' (196), and the following rephrasing of his thinking also indicates the realignment of filler classes into whatever section considers the set-slot correlation: 'It is the structural, reciprocal correlation of a class of morphemes with a tagmemic slot which constitutes the tagmeme' (218).
On pages 459-460, he recapitulates the changes incorporated in his latest writing. Among seven other items, he notes: 'We have reassigned internal structure of a hypermorpheme (on page 451 he equates this with syntagmeme) type in terms of tagmeme sequences, to the feature mode of the construction under the impact of work in Crawford (1963)'. Now that it has been done, such inclusion seems quite logical as a part of the analytic definition, so we proceed to discuss filler classes of clause tagmemes in this section.

The functional tagmemic slots in clause nuclei and clause variants are filled by individual 'concrete forms', in W. A. Cook's term (1969:147), and these individual forms constitute filler classes. Such filler classes for the tagmemes identified in Keaukaha English clause structure will be presented.

A full analysis of the relevant phrase structures, however, has not been made. As Ruth Brend notes, 'such an analysis would involve a complete study of all levels of ... grammar' (1968:47). However, a tentative projection of nominal, adjectival, and verbal phrase structure, given in Appendix F, provides a means of describing the filler classes of clause tagmemes sufficient for our purposes.

Reference is now made to Appendix F for an understanding of the labels for filler classes. All fillers with the 'S' label are phrases with a single head, which are the more usual type
in English dialects. The 'D' prefix labels constructions with double phrase components. Examination of the Appendix shows dialect innovations in morpheme selection and in structure even within the determiner noun phrases. But among the 'D' constructions are additional Keaukaha English innovations. The first two fillers (you folks, you guys) in Dla, Double Nominal Phrase, have been added to in considerable variety, again both as to filler and filler class. Also, phrases of this kind are used in D2, Possessive Nominal Phrase. Similar expanded use of another phrase syntagmeme is seen in Dlx, Reverse Nominal Phrase. With subcategory Dla, the first member particularly specifies or limits the second member; with Dlx, the second member is a qualifier of the first.

The following description makes use of those labels formulated in Appendix F. Examples corresponding to the numbers in the cells can be found in Appendix G.

2.5.1 **Nuclear Tagmeme Filler Classes**

2.5.1a **Non-Verbal Nuclear Tagmeme Filler Classes**

The nonverbal nuclear filler classes are identified and their distribution in the clause type tagmemes are indicated by Matrix 8. (See Appendix A for summary of major types.)
Matrix 8

Filler Classes of Non-Verbal Nuclear Tagmemes
in Keaukaha English Declarative Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FILLER CLASS</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
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<th></th>
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<th>Expl</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Al</td>
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<td>Alb</td>
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<td>A3</td>
<td>Pass Al</td>
<td>Pass Ala</td>
<td>Pass Ala</td>
<td>Pass Alb</td>
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Matrix 8 (continued)

Filler Classes of Non-Verbal Nuclear Tagmemes

in Keaukaha English Declarative Clauses

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<thead>
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<th>FILLER CLASS</th>
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<td>106 121</td>
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<td>104 107 122</td>
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<td>116</td>
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</table>
2.5.1b *Verbal Nuclear Tagmeme Filler Classes*

The nuclear designations *Verb Phrase* for all Type A clauses in Section 2.2 constitute the verbal tagmeme filler class. Further subclassification has not been made here, except as is seen in Appendix F, Section IV.

2.5.2 *Peripheral Tagmeme Filler Classes*

Matrix 9 shows the distribution of the filler classes in the Peripheral tagmemes described in Section 2.3. As with Matrix 8, the labels in the lefthand column are formulated in Appendix F. Examples will be found in Appendix H as indicated in the boxes.

---

**Matrix 9**

*Filler Classes of Peripheral Tagmemes in Keaukaha English Declarative Clauses*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FILLER CLASS</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>DUR</th>
<th>COND</th>
<th>MAN</th>
<th>COM</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>RESP</th>
<th>PUP</th>
<th>INSTR</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>BEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>(1)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>18</td>
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<td>S2a</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>(26)</td>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>(37)</td>
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<td>(50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2b</td>
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<td>(11)</td>
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<td>(34)</td>
<td>(39)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D1a</td>
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</table>

---
Matrix 9 (continued)

Filler Classes of Peripheral Tagmemes

in Keaukaha English Declarative Clauses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FILLER CLASS</th>
<th>DIR</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>DUR</th>
<th>COND</th>
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<td>(15)</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>(54)</td>
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</table>

Key to Matrix 9: (x) = preposition + Filler

x = + Filler
Footnotes

(Chapter Two)

1 N.b. Law (1966:17). 'Clauses fill slots in sentences, other clauses and in phrases.'

2 Pike (1967:441): A clause 'typically has an overall structural meaning of predication or equation or query or command.'

Longacre (1964:20-21): A clause is 'a grammatical unit of predication ... One major difference between clause and sentence is the inclusion of an obligatory predicate for the clause but not for the sentence.'

Grimes (1964:45): A clause is 'a constitute with a verbal nucleus in construction with one or more other constituents, or a grammatical form which in its privileges of occurrence is equivalent to' the first definition.

Elson and Pickett (1960:24): 'A clause is any unit which upon analysis consists of or includes one and only one predicate or predicate-like tagmeme, and which frequently, but not always, fills slots on the sentence level.'

3 Longacre (1964:125): A sentence 'may consist of a single clause, of a patterned combination of clauses, or of a clause fragment ... It tends to be characterized by more closure and grammatical independence than the clause.'

Elson and Pickett (1960:27): '... we define sentence as a unit which usually contains intonational or junctural morphemes.
indicating closure, and which frequently, but not always, fills slots in larger structures (e.g., paragraphs).'

This follows Ruth Brend (1968:22-35). Also n.b. Ruth Crymes (1968:40): 'It is important to distinguish between strings described as strings-in-slots, that is, according to external distribution, and strings described as string-types, that is, according to internal constituency.'

in Pike (1967:270-272, 286-289, 490-492) can be found history of the development of the term.

Cook (1969:187):

The tagmeme is defined as the correlation of a grammatical function, or slot, with the list of mutually substitutable items that fill that slot (Elson and Pickett, 1962:57). It is a slot: class correlation. The grammatical function is represented by the slot symbol and refers to the grammatical meaning attached to a functional position in a frame. The filler class refers to all the morphemes and morpheme sequences that may be used to fill that slot in the construction frame. Both form and function are explicit in the concept of the tagmeme.

Slot, or function, refers to such notions as subject, predicate, object, and agent, which, in transformational grammar, are called grammatical relationships. Filler class refers to such notions as noun, noun phrase, verb, transitive clause, and so on, which in transformational grammar, are called grammatical categories (see Chomsky, 1965:64). In the complex notation of tagmemics, for example, S:N, function and form are never confused. Functional (relational) symbols are written to the left of the ratio mark (:); form (category) symbols are written to the right.

This study follows Longacre (1964:47-48) and Brend (1968:}
22) in considering a tagmeme to be nuclear if it is obligatory to
the clause type in which it occurs or (if it optionally occurs)
if it is still diagnostic of the clause type in which it occurs.

8 Labeled for convenience in matrix analysis. Obligatory tag-
meme is indicated by +, and optional by *. In this section and
elsewhere one label may symbolize both function and filler class.
Longacre (1964:25) and Brend (1968:22) follow the same practice.
N.b. Pike (1967:490-491): '... a detailed tagmemic formula
usually symbolizes and always implies both the emic slot and the
emic class at each point in the structure. Occasionally, however,
a person may utilize the meaning of a slot as the source of an ab-
breviated symbol for the tagmeme as a whole; or one may use the
symbol of the manifesting class as the symbol for the tagmeme as
a whole ... the fillers are always indirectly implied.'

9 Criteria designated by Longacre (1964:47-49) in distinguishing
clause types are the following:

(a) an obligatory difference in the ordering of
similar elements, or a marked statistical
preference for different ordering of such
elements;

(b) a different internal structuring of se-
sequences manifesting clause level (units),
i.e., differences in the structure of
words, phrases, and subordinate clauses;
(c) a difference in emic classes manifesting two (units) (by definition an emic class is not set up here ad hoc but reflects a distinction useful at some other point in the grammar;

(d) a difference in the number of (units) in one type versus the other; presence of a given (unit) in one type versus its absence in the other;

(e) a regularly stateable grammatical transform. 'Two clause types are syntagmatically distinct if (a) there be at least two structural differences between them, and, (b) at least one of these differences involves the nuclear and/or obligatory tagmemes.

10 Transitive Verbs are here defined as those that may take an object, and Intransitive Verbs, as those that never take an object (cf. Cook 1969:70).

11 Cf. Crowley-Peterson (1966:3). 'Passive Voice Auxiliary: Be (with its many allomorphs) occurs in SE ('Standard English') as a linking word between a modifying Verb, or Verbs, and the Verb Head. Neither a corresponding semantic reality, nor grammatical form have been observed in ID ('Island Dialect').'

12 Kenneth L. Pike has expressed a feeling 'that tagmemics
and transformationalism should ultimately merge in the main stream of linguistics' (1967:497). Longacre’s view in relation to generative grammar was as follows:

The various patterns and pattern points of a language are not a loose inventory available to the speaker but comprise a system. How may relations among patterns be shown? Generative grammar has brought forcibly and commendably to our attention the usefulness of grammatical transforms as one means of expressing relations between sentences. Grammatical matrix theory (not to be confused with matrix algebra) as being currently developed by Pike offers a way of showing relations between constructions in general (not merely between sentences) by conceptualizing them as charted together in various dimensions. The two ways of showing relations are not immiscible; both are incorporated to some degree in these procedures (1964:16).

Cook (in addition to On Tagmemes and Transforms, 1964) writes this (1969:42-43):

Tagmemic grammars formerly described all the sentences of a language by describing both kernel and derived sentences. The resulting description was a complete description, but often failed to show the relationships between similar sentences. With the introduction of transformational rules or matrix devices to show the relationships between sentences, it is still necessary to describe both kernel and derived sentences in order to discover the differences between structures. However, the final grammar may be considerably simplified by employing some type of transformational rule or matrix display, together with an analysis of only kernel sentences.

Pike (1967:487) mentions S. Belasco’s article ‘The Role of Transformational Grammar and Tagmemics in the Analysis of an Old
Liem, Grimes, and Reid have incorporated transformations in their tagmemic descriptions.

I would consider this footnote incomplete without Grimes' statements in his Preface:

One way to lose friends is to stand by while a controversy is going on, then tell both sides blandly that one doesn't see the point of the fuss. This gives the controversialists opportunity to pause, wipe their foreheads, and tell one that he must be blind, or insensitive to the spirit of the times, or a coward. Then they go back to their fun.

To judge by some of the current debate in the field of linguistics concerning transformational theory, it would seem that a mortal issue had been joined. One does wonder, however, whether the field has really reached such a crisis. Certainly transformational theory had done service in making explicit one more feature of human language that used to lie partially neglected. Yet the arguments that insist that transformational theory forces linguistics to shift foundations fall short of being compelling. The discipline has been amplified and enriched, but not changed to something particularly different from what we are familiar with already, except for the mathematical trim on the new model. And so one wonders why all the fuss. This study of a Mexican Indian language views transformational theory in a calmer light than do some treatments pro and con. It should therefore contribute toward a more sober evaluation of that theory. Without acting as either apologist or polemicist, I have employed various available approaches to grammatical description as judiciously as possible, keeping clarity for the reader in mind as one goal. Here, then, transformational theory has been made to take its place on equal footing with other products offered in the marketplace.

This way of writing a grammar is far from simple
eclecticism. There are myriad ways of describing any linguistic phenomenon, but some things in language are more amenable to one type of description than to another. Furthermore, a good description made from one point of view can always be converted into a good description made from another point of view. Now it is worthwhile to write a description from one single point of view but once or twice in the development of a particular linguistic theory: at the point where it is necessary to demonstrate that a language can be described using that theory. Once the demonstration is made, the theory goes into the linguist's toolbox. From then on, any linguist who is not at the moment trying to prove that his own theory works ought to feel obligated to his readers to choose the right tool for each part of his job rather than try to drive a nail with a saw blade. He should, in other words, search for ways of treating data that render the description of each kind of linguistic phenomenon clearest. When enough linguists do this, they can then identify those areas of language that are most easily describable by each available approach; this too is something worth knowing about language.

13 Get obviously does not qualify as 'Aux' in (T8), a characteristic that no doubt suggests the label 'pseudo-passive.' (See Section 2.2.4, Interrogative Clauses.)

14 See Appendix K for special comment on intonation of interrogatives in Keaukaha English.

15 Cook (1969:29; also 12, 17, 30, 39, 41, 43, 45, 56, examples 52-57, included). This practice is corroborated in the following:

Trager-Smith (1951:51): '... such tie-ups (segmental sequences with intonation patterns) are in the field of syntax, or even beyond...'
D. Bolinger (1957:15): '... the relatively independent intonational and syntactic systems'; (ibid.:16): 'The fundamental independence of the intonational system ...'

Robert E. Longacre (1964:131, 135) quotes Pickett regarding Isthmus Zapotec and Waterhouse regarding Chontal of Oaxaca; in both instances, intonation patterns are separated from the sentence base at sentence level.

Joseph E. Grimes (1960:70): 'The clause is the intonationless skeleton of speech ... A sentence is a constitute the constituents of which are a final or eliciting intonation (... an eliciting intonation contour, one that ends on a level other than 1, when followed closely by utterances of other speakers -- 32#, 2#, 3# -- in that order of likelihood) on the one hand and a sentence base, a single clause or a constitute with two or more clauses as constituents, on the other.'

L. C. Thompson (1965:111): 'In immediate constituent analysis, intonations and stresses are isolated first, leaving the balance of the sentence.'

Howard W. Law (1962:21): 'Sentences occur with contrastive intonational features for each type ...'

N. D. Liem (1966:140-171) in all instances indicates that intonation is a feature at sentence level.

Ruth Brend (1968:29-30) observes however that a Mexican Spanish interrogative clause seemed to show a different intonation contour (which she does not specify) when embedded in a par-
ticular declarative clause (as a dependent structure at the sentence level) than it would as the sole filler at sentence level.

Keaukaha English evidence in this study parallels Ruth Brend's observation, but also indicates that question intonation contours are coterminous with, among other structures, such a sequence sentence as 'If they put it in cast, don't heal, no good, eh?' (with 2...21# intonation in Trager-Smith transcription, which apparently is one of the more usual interrogative contours in Keaukaha English, as stated in Appendix K).

16 The square brackets indicate here ordered and paired alternates (see Cook 1969:110 for comparable use). For use of solidus or slant line to represent alternate items, n.b. R. E. Longacre 1964:24 and Cook ibid.:20. Ordering of the items so represented is also necessary here. Elsewhere, unless especially indicated, no ordering is implied by either device.

17 Locative, Manner, Time, Duration, and Cause are peripheral tagmemes, to be described in Section 2.3.

18 Again the situation appears complex and at variance with other reports of imperative intonation in English. Liem (1966:144) indicates falling intonation for English imperative; Cook, who specifies particular patterns for English questions, does not do so for commands (1969:52-53); Bolinger (1970:357) speaks of 'normal straight fall' as distinguishing commands.

My report on Keaukaha English commands at this time is that
level terminal contours — on Trager-Smith pitches 1, 2, or 3 — seem to predominate, but that both falling and rising patterns also exist. Extreme tempo changes — accelerating and retarding — have also been observed, which call for later attention, and I would hope for future investigation of what seems like characteristic voice quality, suggestive of increased tenseness.

19 Dwight Bolinger draws attention to other imperatives — conditions, advice, wishes, hopes (1970:336 especially).

20 The Infinitive occurs infrequently with the optional markers to or for preceding it. It is formally defined in Keaukaha English by distribution in full or partial clause structure following a restricted class of Type Al verbs (forget, intend, learn, let, like, love, make, need, recommend, try, want, wish). The form in this particular environment is invariant.

21 The following sequence could be taken as indication that the contracted subject is usual and is understood as subject:

Tape No. GXV(1) 261: 'What's gonna sing now? What us gonna sing now?' (The children would sometimes reconstruct their original expressions for my benefit.)


23 See Sections 2.2.2; 2.2.3; 2.2.5 regarding Imperative Clause; 4.4.1a; 4.4.1b; 4.4.1g; 5.2 regarding yes–no questions with declarative clause structure and special interrogative in-
tonation, and regarding use of the Passive.

A full scale study of frequency of the structures here described may be possible in the future.


25 Immediately following the statement referred to in this paragraph, Cook mentions that Merrifield et al. (Laboratory Manual for Morphology and Syntax, #165) describe the negative in Sierra Popoluca as an optional expansion of the clause level string.

26 Cook (1969:19):

In grammar, the etic unit is called the tagma, and these tagmas are grouped as allotagmas of essential units, called tagmemes. Thus, in a parallelism suggested by Elson and Pickett (1962:131): Tagmas (and allotagmas) are to tagmemes, what Morphs (and allomorphs) are to morphemes, and what Phones (and allophones) are to phonemes.

27 Cook (1969:92):

The phrase ••• is extended to include "potential phrases," that is, single words with optional modifiers are listed as phrases. Thus, according to Pike (1967:439), a phrase is +(word+word), or +(word±word), but not +(word). A phrase is a unit which is composed of either two or more words, or is one word which is optionally expandable.

28 A relative clause (rel cl) is defined as an embedded Interrogative. In embedding, that, -ever, and whether are possible along with the 'O' forms given in Section 4.5.1.

29 A complement (compl) is defined as that + Declarative nucleus.

30 A dependent clause (dep cl) is defined as a Declarative, Passive, or Expletive clause preceded by after, as, as soon as, because, before, if, in case, in order, otherwise, since, so, so that, then ('therefore'), till, unless, until, whenever, whereas, while.
Chapter Three

CLAUSE CLASSES IN KEAUKAHA ENGLISH

(Distribution Mode)

3.1 General Discussion

In the 'total tagmemic theoretical view, ... function in the slot of a higher structure (i.e., external distribution) is always immediately relevant to the nature of a unit' (Pike 1967:451). It is through its external distribution that a tagmeme or syntagmeme is integrated with the rest of the system of grammar (ibid.:236).

Pike emphasizes that an important point regarding distribution is that tagmemes are 'in every instance' distributed into an immediately higher level structural type, and that that type may be distributed in turn into a larger slot (ibid.:450). This means that the phrase level tagmemes made up, for example, of the slots plus the filler classes in Matrix 8 and Matrix 9, are distributed into the clause types presented in Section 2.2. Then those clause types in turn are distributed into slots at sentence level. Section 3.2 describes some aspects of the external distribution of Keaukaha English clause types -- places the clause types identified in Chapter Two occur in the stream of speech as it involves the sentence.

The usual hierarchical mapping of grammatical units displays a regular ascending arrangement, from levels of morpheme through word, phrase, and clause to the sentence. However, because of the
linguistic fact that clause syntagmeme types do occur as manifestations of clause level tagmemes embedded within the clause (n.b. Matrices 8 and 9), another component of the distribution mode of a unit must be its distribution at its own level (Pike 1967:318). This phenomenon is referred to in the literature as layering, nesting (Cook 1969:31), and recursion (Longacre 1968:I, xvi-xix). Section 3.3 describes the layering of Keaukaha English clause types.

In Section 3.4 it will also be evident that clause types occur as prepositional, adjectival, and nominal phrase level tagmemes. This atypical mapping is known as backlooping (Cook 1969:31; Longacre 1964:xix). Longacre and Cook have pointed out that the description of both typical and atypical mapping of the grammatical field structure is one of the fundamental contributions of tagmemic presentations (Longacre 1965:76; Cook 1969:31). In the present case the inclusion of such description reveals that considerable internal layering at clause level of different clause types, including the declarative, occurs in Keaukaha English.

3.2 External Distribution in Sentences

We will consider here the distribution in sentences of the clause types identified in the preceding chapter, to the extent that sentences have been studied in this research. Certain clause classes will be established on the basis of such distribu-
tion. Longacre's 'The Notion of Sentence' (1967:15-24) suggested the treatment given here.

In Matrix 10, clause types are listed in three environments — preceding the concatenation (conjunction) marker only, preceding and following the marker, and following the marker only. The numbers in parentheses with each clause type refer to the example numbers given in Appendix J.

As Pike has written, one kind of distribution class is 'constituted of a number of tagmemes which have in common the potential for occurring in an analogous included slot ... but which differ both in the formal structure of their manifesting classes and in the structural function or structural meaning of those tagmemes.' Another kind of distribution class is 'composed of two or more tagmemes which have in common a constellation of one or more distributional components' (Pike 1967:246). The first kind of distribution class (by occurrence in a distinctive slot) is established in Matrix 10

(a) for the Declarative (occurring in an environment contrasting with all other types) in its distribution with but;

(b) for the Imperative with so that; and

(c) for the Passive with and and with whereas.
### Matrix 10

**Distribution of Clause Types in Concatenation Sentences**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MARKER</th>
<th>Preceding the Marker</th>
<th>CLAUSE TYPES</th>
<th>Following the Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
<td>Passive (21)</td>
<td>Declarative (1)</td>
<td>Imperative (14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Expletive (9, 16)</td>
<td>Interrogative (26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative (11)</td>
<td>Interrogative (22)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otherwise</td>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative (10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative (3)</td>
<td>Imperative (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Expletive (12)</td>
<td>Passive (19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Interrogative</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>Imperative (18)</td>
<td>Declarative (4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Expletive (24)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative (2, 13)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative (5, 7)</td>
<td>Passive (23, 25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so that</td>
<td>Imperative (20)</td>
<td>Declarative (15)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td></td>
<td>Declarative (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whereas</td>
<td>Declarative (17)</td>
<td>Passive (17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Matrix 11, Keaukaha English clause types are listed in the lefthand column, and their distribution in sentence types is given in the cells. A minus symbol (−) records occurrence in the slot...
before the concatenation marker (conjunction) at the top of the column, and a plus (+) records occurrence in the slot after that marker, in concatenation sentences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Type</th>
<th>Coordinate (and)</th>
<th>Alternative (or)</th>
<th>Antithetical (but)</th>
<th>Sequence (so)</th>
<th>Conditional (because)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decl</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>- +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imper</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expl</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interr</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>- +</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Matrix 11 gives criteria for the second kind of distribution class referred to by Pike. Interpretation of his statement is that each constellation of distributional possibilities signals a separate class. Therefore it appears that each of the clause types presented in Chapter Two is also established as a distinct clause on the basis of external distribution in sentence types.

3.3 Internal Layering at Clause Level

The review of filler classes in declarative clauses given in Matrix 8 (Section 2.5.1) and in Matrix 9 (Section 2.5.2) shows that
clauses occur as clause level tagmemes. Matrix 12 gives a full
resume of the occurrence of clause types in nuclear and peripheral
tagmemes. Numbered examples of embedding in nuclear tagmemes are
to be found in Appendix G, and the numbered examples of peripheral
tagmemes (given here in parentheses) are in Appendix H.

Matrix 12

Internal Layering of Clause Types

in Nuclear and Peripheral Tagmemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAGMERIC SLOT OF EMBEDDING</th>
<th>EMBEDDED CLAUSE TYPE</th>
<th>Decl</th>
<th>Pass</th>
<th>Interr</th>
<th>Imper</th>
<th>Expl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A3 subj appositive</td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3 subj</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B topic</td>
<td>58, 59</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1 obj</td>
<td>76, 77, 78, 79</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>129</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1a obj</td>
<td>91, 92, 93, 94</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>90, 127</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3 equ</td>
<td>113, 114, 115, 119</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B comment</td>
<td>123a, 124</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td>(22), (23)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>(57), (58)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Matrix 12 (continued)

Internal Layering of Clause Types in Nuclear and Peripheral Tagmemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAGMEMIC</th>
<th>SLOT OF EMBEDDING</th>
<th>EMBEDDED CLAUSE TYPE</th>
<th>Dec1 (including inf, compl, dep cl)</th>
<th>Pass (including inf, compl, dep cl)</th>
<th>Interr (including rel cl)</th>
<th>Imper</th>
<th>Expl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
<td>dep cl</td>
<td></td>
<td>(31)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(43), (59)</td>
<td>(41)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(49)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(51)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(60)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this distribution, one clause class consists of Declarative, Passive, and Interrogative types (distributed in both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes), contrasting with the class consisting of the Imperative and Expletive types (distributed in nuclear tagmemes only). The first class is subclassified by the occurrence of Declarative and Interrogative in Type A and in Type B clauses, distinguished from the Passive, which occurs in Type A only.

A general observation can now be made in connection with Longacre's statement that he considered nesting of sentence type within sentence type to be 'a basic characteristic of the sentence level in many languages' (1967:23). The information summarized in
this section regarding Keaukaha English is evidence that in this system nesting is a characteristic also at the clause level.

The occurrence of declarative clauses at this level, as indicated in Matrices 8 and 9, is also a distinguishing characteristic of Keaukaha English. Longacre's report is that, normally, independent clauses do not occur embedded in clauses or phrases (1968: I, xiii). It will be seen in the next section that Keaukaha English phrases accord with this generalization to the same extent, probably, as other English dialects. But 'independent clauses' may also be embedded at the clause level in Keaukaha English.

3.4 Internal Backlooping in Phrase Level

Another general classification of clause types emerges on the basis of distribution as phrase level tagmemes, i.e., 'backlooping'. Declarative, Interrogative, and Passive types constitute the occurring class, and Imperative and Expletive, the non-occurring class.

The following are examples of relative clauses as object of preposition.

(a) Everything just like how we eating.
(b) She been there from when she graduated in high school in 1962.
(c) ... something about where they would like to introduce this new type of language.

Infinitive clause and complement occur as adjective modifier.
The following declarative and relative clauses are modifiers in an indefinite pronoun phrase (Slb MOD).

(d) ... able to help you.
(e) ... glad that my husband is from there.

(f) Anything else you wish to ask them ...
(g) I gotta make something else what I like.

And the following are illustrative of determiner noun phrase modifier (S2a MOD), with complement, declarative, relative, and infinitive clauses.

(h) ... to give impression that you first meet.
(i) ... kind of salad you want ...
(j) ... a board that is made out of a special kind of wood.
(k) ... the best time to get to the nose ...

These examples confirm Cook's statement that clauses in English are embedded at phrase level as modifiers and as objects of prepositions (Cook 1969:44, 75-76). They also are in line with Longacre's observation that backlooping is usually specially marked in some way (Longacre 1968:I, xvii-xviii). Examples (f) and (i), without marking, exhibit one of the possible manifestations of deleted object in relative clauses, which is a possibility shared among English dialects.

It will remain for later research to confirm each of the classes indicated in this chapter. At this point there are two rather firm observations that can be made. First, criteria of
external distribution give additional substantiation to the designating of Declarative, Passive, Expletive, Interrogative, and Imperative as separate clause types, which were initially posited on the basis of internal structure. Second, it seems that Declarative, Passive, and Interrogative clauses constitute a fairly stable distribution class in contradistinction to another, made up of Expletive and Imperative, both on the basis of internal layering and on the basis of internal backlooping, as explained in detail above.
Chapter Four

VARIANTS AND FILLERS OF CLAUSE TYPES IN KEUKAHA ENGLISH

(Manifestation Mode)

4.1 General Discussion

It may be well to emphasize that 'the sum of the physical components of the feature mode ... will be seen to cover the same data as the sum of the components of all the variants of the manifestation mode' (Pike 1967:162). Beyond the statement quoted at the beginning in Section 2.1 (from Pike 1967:85) on the subject, the following provide explanation in a little more detail.

Within this theory there are no emic units without a physical manifestation (306; also 220-221).

The basic elements of the manifestation mode are the separate repetitions, or different occurrences, of that same morpheme. The sum of the occurrences of a morpheme makes up the total manifestation mode of that morpheme (163).

The manifestation mode of an emic class ... includes, as components, all of the nonsimultaneous variants of such an emic class (389).

Thus the manifestation mode of a unit is concerned with all the varieties of that unit as they occur to manifest it. We proceed now to the description of clause variation and the fillers of clause types, which with the Appendices provide the prescribed components of the manifestation mode.

Variation of clauses comes partially through the addition of peripheral tagmemes as described in Section 2.3. Other kinds of variation include expansion of clauses by the addition of apposi-
tives, and by various kinds of permutation.

4.2 Clause Variation through Expansion by Appositives
(Nuclear and Peripheral)

Appositives may be added to both nuclear and peripheral tagmemes in clauses. In some cases the second member of the pair of tagmemes in apposition specifies more definiteness\(^1\) or emphasis\(^2\) than the first, but more generally both members seem semantically as well as tagmemically equivalent. Matrix 13 shows the scattered distribution of types that have been observed. Eleven types of occurrences have been recorded for individuals under twelve years of age, and nineteen types of occurrences for teenagers and adults. The types in common are Subject in Types A2 and A3, Object in Type A1a, Equation in Type A3, and LOC in Types A1 and A2. Examples corresponding to the numbers appear in Appendix C.

---

Matrix 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAGMEME APPOSITIVES</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A1a</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Pass A1</th>
<th>Pass A1a</th>
<th>Expl 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V Phr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Object</td>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expl Subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Matrix 13 (continued)

Distribution of Tagmeme Appositives
(contrasting children and adults)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TAGMENE APPOSITES</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>Ala</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Pass</th>
<th>Pass</th>
<th>Expl1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>52</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESP</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With expansion by appositives, it will be seen (Table Va and Table Vb, Section 5.3) that types of adult usage substantially outnumber those of children.

4.3 Clause Variation by Permutation through Discontinuous Appositives (Nuclear and Peripheral)

Permutation in position of one of a pair of appositives results in further variants in clause structure. As is evident in examples in Appendix D, any intervening speech between apparent appositives (including hesitation forms and non-clause nuclear tagmemes on various levels) is here taken to define this phenomenon. It does not occur in as many clause types as the appositives in the preceding section. But as the following matrix (Matrix 14) shows, the discontinuous appositive is also a possibility with nuclear and with peripheral tagmemes, and is highly variable as to position. For instance, the discontinuous appositive of both subject
and object may occur in either initial or final position in a clause. This study reveals 22 types used by children, and 20 by adults. Types in common are (1) A1 Object in final position preceded by some interlocution like you know or see or you see, (2) A2 Subject in final position, (3) A3 Subject initial, but separated from the full clause by non-nuclear tagmemes, and (4) A3 Subject in final position.

Examples corresponding to the numbered items in Matrix 14 are to be found in Appendix D.

Examples Nos. 5, 16, and 19 show that two or more discontinuous appositives may appear in a given position. Example No. 3 (along with No. 41) contains two types of discontinuous appositive in the same sentence, with portmanteau tagmemic representation in the one constituent the students.

| Matrix 14 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Distribution Types of Tagmemes as Discontinuous Appositives** (by environment and clause type) | **ENVIRONMENT** | A1 | A1a | A2 | A3 | B | Pass A1a |
| #____ | 25)Obj | | | | | | |
| #____+ | | | 42)Equ | | | | |
| #____x | | | 12)Subj | (13Subj | 22)Top |
| #_____y | 1)Subj | | | | | 14)Subj |
| #____z | | | 7)Subj | | | | |
Matrix 14 (continued)

Distribution Types of Tagmemes as Discontinuous Appositives
(by environment and clause type)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENVIRONMENT</th>
<th>A1</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Pass A1a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#____x+</td>
<td>2)Subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15)Subj</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#_____yx</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#_____cl subj</td>
<td>44)Inf Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#+_____</td>
<td>29)Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#y_____</td>
<td>30)Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#+____z</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>41)Ditr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#dx____</td>
<td>31)Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#dy____</td>
<td>32)Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#x+____x</td>
<td>33)Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+_____+</td>
<td>3)Subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+____x</td>
<td>4)Subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subj_x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>50)COND</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inf subj ___Inf</td>
<td>45)Inf Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>___#</td>
<td>39)Ditr</td>
<td>8)Subj</td>
<td>16)Subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+____#</td>
<td>35)Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43)Comm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x____#</td>
<td>5)Subj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z____#</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>40)Ditr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Key to Matrix 14:  
+ = non-nuclear clause tagmeme  
x = you know, (you) see  
y = oh, uh, um, why, etc.  
z = extra clause structure  
d = discontinuous appositive  
Unmarked environment = relevant clause nucleus

This matrix and Tables Va and Vb (Section 5.3) present the fact that with discontinuous appositives children's types are more numerous than adults', and items in both of the sets distinctive to the two groups far outnumber those items which are used in common by all ages. This is interesting in view of DeCamp's statement (1968:27) that 'a creole, like a pidgin, tends to minimize redundancy in syntax'.

4.4 Clause Variation by Permutation of Nuclear Tagmemes

4.4.1a OSV Permutation in Type Al

The appearance of Object in initial position is one of the interesting occurrences in the following discontinuous appositives:

No. 25 Moray eel you can spear it ...

26 And this I just put it on

27 All this, this, this and that two poodle my brother John made it

28 Rabbit you better not take my rabbit

29 ... so the blood I won't lose any blood

30 Oh, the moon I forgot the moon
... this guy you know the light, headlight he showed it too bright

My mother um four she had four

All of the following differ from the above only in the presence of a single initial Object (underlined) rather than the two equivalent tagmemes in a clause.

0OSV # 1 Gloria, this one I already passed

2 Eleven we do

3 Oh, 'Jesus Loves Me' I don't know

4 Spanish I think I know a little

5 Hawaiian I don't even know

6 In school you know some subject I guess I know

7 But some of the words we know because ...

8 Between those three boy they gonna stick five dollars I hope

9 With that they can buy two case coke I hope

The examples of discontinuous appositive Objects in initial slot are exclusively children's, but only the first three of the above nine with the single initial Object were said by children.

4.4.1b VOS Permutation in Type Al

Another possibility of permutation seems also prefigured in the discontinuous appositives, that is, of Subject in final position. However, only a single example of the nuclear Type Al clause structure, by an eleven-year-old boy, appears in the ma-
terial of this study.

VOS # 1  Will make smell your cards

4.4.1c  OSV(Ditr) Permutation in Type Ala

It should be noted that discontinuous appositive No. 40 is a Type Ala example similar to the permuted form in Section 4.4.1a.

OSV # 10  Anything else you wish to ask them you should ask now

The optional Ditransitive Object at this level seems subject to deletion when identical with the embedded phrase level tagmeme them.

4.4.1d  SVOD Permutation in Type Ala

Discontinuous appositive Nos. 38 and 39 exhibit the metathesis of Ditransitive Object and Object that is also found in the following. The first is from a child's speech, and the others from adults.

SVOD # 1  (Your mother) give it/to you

2 ... they owe their life/to the bank
3 ... the teacher gives it/to us
4 ... me asking permission/from you ...

4.4.1e  VS Permutation in Type A2

Footnote 4 mentions the fact that discontinuous appositives Nos. 8–11 contain one of the appositive Type A2 transposed subjects. Examples of permutation without the discontinuous appositive are as follows (exclusively children's).
VS # 1  ... come/this out the water
2  ... then come/her
3  Here come/another one
4  Here come/my mother
5  It's too big for go/it under bridge.

4.4.1f EquVS Permutation in Type A3

Discontinuous appositive Nos. 16-21c include the sequence Equation-Verb-Subject, which is found in the following Type A3 permutations.

EquVS # 1 Here's the cards
2  There is goose
3  Here are the people here, right here, outside here
4  Over here is the melting pot

Nos. 1 and 2 are children's, and 3 and 4 adults'.

4.4.1g VSEqu Permutation in Type A3

A permutation not apparently related to discontinuous appositives is the following single expression, spoken by an adult.

VSEqu # 1 Is only Hawaiian there

4.4.1h Comment-Topic Permutation in Type B

Metathesis of the two nuclear tagmemes of Type B is the only possible permutation of this type, of course. Reference to Matrix 8 will confirm the fact that this transposition was not foreshadowed in the discontinuous appositives. Items 1 through 10 in
the following are children's speech, and the remainder, adults'.

CT # 1  Favorite story       this
2       Here                 the sun
3       Here                 the earth
4       Here                 the moon
5       Here                 the ugly moon
6       Wham!  Down          he!
7       Maybe not good      speak of the kind rocks
8       Here                 a rabbit
9       There, here          two
10      There                two rabbits
11      Better for you       to lie down
12      There                the people
13      Right on this portion in here the Niihau
14      Nice                 that one

4.4.2 Summary

A comparison of the permuted constructions presented in this section with constructions containing discontinuous appositives is given in Matrix 15.
### Matrix 15

Comparison of Structures in Permuted Clause Types and Related Discontinuous Appositive Constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERMUTATIONS</th>
<th>Al</th>
<th>AlA</th>
<th>A2</th>
<th>A3</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V(0)S</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EquVS</td>
<td></td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
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<td>CT</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VSEqu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSV(d)</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OD</td>
<td></td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td>da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to Matrix 15:  
da = discontinuous appositive  
perm = permutation of nuclear tagmemes without 'da'

Children's speech includes 5 sets of similar constructions in both discontinuous appositives and permutations:

- V(0)S in Type Al and Type A2
- EquVS in Type A3
- OSV(d) in Type Al
- OD in Type AlA

Adults' speech includes 2 such sets.
EquVS in Type A3
0D in Type Al

From among the unpaired types, adults use one type — V(0)S in Type A2. They use 4 types of permutations not matched with discontinuous appositives.

Comment Topic in Type B
VSEqu in Type A3
OSV(D) in Type Al

Children use only one of the latter type.

Comment Topic in Type B

4.5 Clause Variation by Specific Fillers

4.5.1 Nuclear Fillers

4.5.1a Non-Verbal Nuclear Fillers

Interrogative Tag: eh, no, yeah, right, okay

QSubject: who

Qobject: who, what, which

QEquation: who, what

QComment: who, what

QAttr: what, how

QLOC: where

QDUR: how long

QMAN: how

QT: what time

QC: how, how come, how about
4.5.1b Verbal Fillers of Nuclear Tagmemes

Type Al Verb Phrase = ± Aux⁵ + Transitive Verb
  e.g., aim, believe, catch, do,
  earn, find, grab, help,
  imagine, join, know, learn,
  make, need, put, read, say,
  think, understand, vamp,
  wear, yarn ...

Type Ala Verb Phrase = ± Aux⁵ + Transitive Verb
  e.g., allow, ask, assign, bid,
  bring, give, let (lent), owe,
  present, recommend, serve,
  show, supply, teach, tell ...

Type Alb Verb Phrase = + Transitive Verb: call₂

Type A2 Verb Phrase = ± Aux⁵ + Intransitive Verb
  e.g., argue, bleed, change, come,
  dance, enter, fall, go, hike,
  jump, kick, land, migrate,
  paddle, rest, sink, turn,
  wait ...

Type A3 Verb Phrase = ± Aux⁵ + Equational Verb
  e.g., be, become, look, mean, stay,
  seem, sound, taste, turn into,
  match with ...

Passive Auxiliary: be, get

Auxiliary: can, may, will, have, went, is, are

Imper₂ Verb: let

Imper₂ Predicate: Infinitive clause

4.6 Summary

In Section 2.1 an allusion was made to the fact that linear
treatment using the three modes was a less than possible ideal.
The impossibility of analyzing strictly within one mode at a time to the exclusion of the others is especially obvious with the manifestation mode. It has been impossible and undesirable to confine treatment of clause variation and specific fillers to this one chapter, of course. This comment therefore is made with the intention of acknowledging without apology that elements of the manifestation mode have been included elsewhere in this work, in Chapters Two and Three, and in appendices. However, this practice seems entirely consonant with Pike's general words as to the human observer who is the analyst. One-dimensional rules are not his wish. Rather, it is for consciousness of the 'right of multiple perspective' (1967:10) in the presence of data having 'complex overlapping components' (ibid.:84). In the essentials, as far as has been possible, then, this dissertation has maintained a threefold perspective.
Footnotes

(Chapter Four)

1 E.g. Nos. 19, 20, 21, 22, 29, 31, 34, 36, 39, 41 in Appendix C.

2 E.g. No. 28 in Appendix C.


4 N.b. Appendix D, No. 5 (Type A1), Nos. 8, 9, 10, 11 (Type A2), and Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21a, 21b, 21c (Type A3).

5 Appendix F, Section IV.
Chapter Five

SUMMARY AND QUESTIONS

5.1 Introduction

The preceding three chapters may serve, as a beginning, one of the purposes adumbrated in Section 1.3. They may serve some speakers of Hawaii English with evidence of the existence of extensive and elaborate system in the language which they speak. This chapter will be concerned, in Section 5.2, with the second general humanistic purpose stated in Section 1.3 (that is, possibly contributing to 'a clearer and respectful understanding of Hawaii English' across dialects). In both Sections 5.2 and 5.3, linguistic questions and projects for the future are the subject.

5.2 Some Characteristics of Keaukaha English

The historical development of Hawaii English contrasts with almost all mainland American English dialects in having numerous and widespread non-Indo-European as well as diverse Indo-European language contacts. Also, of course, the time span of Hawaii English coincides with that of dialects in much of Western America, but it is only a fraction of that of British English dialects.

In Keaukaha English there are several features which speakers of some other dialects may either not use at all or not be conscious of using themselves. Eight such features noted in this study are the following.
(1) Nominal predications -- Type B clause
(pages 41-42)

(2) Optional subject
(page 42)

(3) Optional object
(pages 42-43)

(4) Frequent appositives, and discontinuous appositives related to permutations
(Sections 4.2 and 4.3)

(5) Double nominal phrase
(Appendix F, Section II)

(6) Reverse nominal phrase
(Appendix F, Section II)

(7) Peripheral fillers without, as well as with, prepositions
(page 88)

(8) Distinctive interrogative intonation
(Chapter Two, footnote 14; Appendix K)

As one considers this list, a statement made in Chapter One (page 6) can be enlarged upon. In connection with Reinecke's and Tokimasa's work, it was said that problems they were occupied with are 'still to be considered thirty-five years later.' One of these problems, still far from solved (if solvable at all), is the provenience of the set of language systems in Hawaii. Reinecke-Tokimasa wrote, 'The exact contribution of each of the languages
spoken in Hawaii to the structure of pidgin has yet to be determined' (1934:50). Section 1.1 (1-4) of this work suggests an extremely complex language situation in Hawaii, with English as spoken by different groups with different language backgrounds being only one part of the linguistic picture, set in the milieu of all of the other languages, all with possible mutual influences.

Robert A. Hall's discussion of nominal predications -- similar to Item (1) above -- first mentions that in Russian and Hungarian these are grammatical possibilities. But he ascribes such structures in pidgins to intentional simplification (1966: 84-86). In the case of English in Hawaii, however, it is a fact that besides Russian (which was one of the languages used in the last century here), the grammar of both Hawaiian and Chinese includes this same kind of predication. So it seems difficult to say that the progenitor of this structure is definitely the result of pidginization. Moreover, it seems worth pointing out, especially for students who concentrate on only one page (86) in Hall, that this structure is even more widespread throughout the world. According to Thompson (1965:208, 332) it is a feature of Vietnamese. Robins, in a lecture during his stay in Honolulu in 1967-68, made it clear that Sundanese has verbal and nominal predications; and in writing (1964:234) he adds Latin and Yurok to Russian and Hungarian. Jespersen had earlier (1924:121) reported that some languages which have a copula 'do not use it as extensively as
e.g. English.' He lists Old Greek, Russian, Danish, and French, and quotes examples of copulaless expressions from Ruskin, H. Wallpole, and Shelley. A close reading of Hall also lets one realize that he acknowledged that 'such constructions are less infrequent, even in standard English, than we are sometimes inclined to think' (1966:85), when he notes an advertisement in Australia in 1954 with the question 'You a woman?' Bolinger also had noted that this structure exists in questions in American English (1957:65; see also 1970:355).

Item (2) above is a second example of the same sort. Nagara definitely attributes optional subjects in the 'Pidgin English of Japanese in Hawaii' to Japanese. 'In PEJH ... the subject tagmemes are optional units in the clause level syntagmemes. This is because the subject is an optional unit on the clause level syntagmeme in Japanese' (1969:164; cf. Hall 1966:83). The language that Nagara's informants were using certainly might have been partially influenced, besides Japanese, by the language they heard after arriving in Hawaii. That system includes in its contacts more than one different possible source of an optional subject. First, it is reported that in Hawaiian subject pronouns are commonly omitted unless there is ambiguity (Fukui-Elbert 1965:xx). In the last hundred years Spanish and German have been used here along with the other languages, and in them there are sentences without subjects (Brend 1968:23; Kufner 1962;1, 6, 12). And again Bolinger
has reported four different question structures without subjects in current American English. ²

With Item (3) above, the situation is similar, but in a lesser degree. According to Nagara (1969:165) the object is optional in Japanese. Also, according to Brend (1968:18–19) it is optional in Mexican Spanish.

With these three items and with others also, possible relationship with 'a predominantly Portuguese version of Sabir (or a Portuguese relexification of it)' (DeCamp 1968:33) remains a question for research, as was indicated in Section 1.3.

Beyond its intrinsic interest, Item (4) is noteworthy because a Mainland speaker aware of this set of variations will avoid misinterpretation of an expression like 'Cheat now, no cheatin'!'

This is not a contradiction, but merely a discontinuous appositive, and the following is a single imperative: 'Try again, let me try again!' As a matter of fact, perhaps when more data are in from many other studies it may be found that discontinuous appositives are regularly used by a good many of us. I heard myself telling how to put waffle batter in the iron in this way: 'In the middle, you put one spoon in the middle.'

The fact that double nominal phrase -- Item (5) -- and reverse nominal phrase -- Item (6) -- embrace extensions of English usage elsewhere than in Hawaii is seen in the examples in Appendix FII (Dla and Dlx). Item (7) is similar. Other English dialects have locative and time indicated without prepositions:
I went home.
I went yesterday.

Keaukaha English enlarges the inventory of fillers of similar structures:

I went Molokai.
I went four o'clock.

The opinion has been developed as the present work progressed that speakers of Mainland dialects might benefit by a brief sketch of even a few characteristics such as the preceding. The complete work including the appendices would serve more fully of course, and a full grammar even more. No matter how short the list, I believe that Item (8) calls for inclusion. It refers to the phenomenon noted in Matrix 3 and in Appendix K. Keaukaha English shares with Hawaii English a distinctive set of interrogative intonation patterns, little intimation of which seems generally to exist. Anticipation of the pattern described in the last paragraph of Appendix K could obviate lack of comprehension on the part of a Mainland speaker. The pattern varies naturally according to the length of the utterance, the final contour consisting of a move from a very high pitch to a low. It is used with all interrogative structures and, in addition, with what is labeled 'QConf Sent INTON' in Matrix 3. This is the ordinary yes-no question posed in a declarative syntactic pattern. In Hawaii English it seems to occur with a very high frequency. Bolinger, speaking of American English (1957:11), guessed that 'possibly half of the...
total of yes-no Qs are syntactically and morphemically unmarked. An approximation of the frequency of the interrogative intonation just described in Keaukaha English questions is much higher, totaling approximately 75 per cent of the total. Therefore this characteristic figures fairly large in communication across dialects. Here again though the characteristic is not unique to Hawaii English. During the 1969-70 ETV season I heard two questions I would describe as follows (in the Trager-Smith system).

1 Do you want to see it?
2 Do you want to wear it tomorrow?

These were in the contemporary British production of the Forsyte Saga. Consequently, it remains an open question at present as to relatedness and distinctiveness of this aspect too.

This study also reveals another kind of feature, namely, the passive voice, which others have said is not used by kamaaina speakers of Hawaii English (see Chapter Two, fn. 11). Both children and adults in Keaukaha use the passive voice. The children's examples make up about one-third of those observed and counted in a limited portion of the data.

5.3 Linguistic Questions and Future Projects

It is anticipated that this analysis will be but one in a comprehensive series of descriptions of contemporary Hawaii English, entailing lifetimes of study on the part of many students. To this study of clause structure in Keaukaha English should be
added others on the same subject. If 'living speech' is the object of knowledge, *kamaaina* researchers should investigate Hawaii English equally as seriously as non-native researchers, and among the aspects covered should be those not dealt with here, namely deletion and conjunction in clause structure. All levels of syntax besides the clause should be given attention, as well as the other components of a grammar, that is, phonology and lexicon. For a more thorough study of the English of Keaukaha and of all other communities of predominantly Hawaiian background, someone versed in the Hawaiian language will be a necessity, or at least a full syntactic treatment of Hawaiian (which to date has been lacking). Similar treatment needs to be given to each language group on the scene in the past century and a half if the term Hawaii English is to be used with a fair amount of reliability.

Some such project, duplicated in many of the communities throughout the fifty states, would bring into view a sufficient body of information so that we could speak with some understanding of 'creole' and 'dialect' in America, whereas at the present moment it seems premature to attempt to generalize in a comparative way regarding Keaukaha English or Hawaii English and other varieties. As Roger W. Shuy states in the introduction to the Urban Language Series (Shuy-Wolfram-Riley 1968:v), 'historically, linguists have formulated theory from individual rather than group performance. They have had to generalize about what constitutes "standard" or "non-standard" from intuitive judgments or from very
limited data.' The series of which Field Techniques in an Urban Language Study is a recent publication has so far presented investigation in New York City, Washington, D.C., and Detroit.

It is staggering to think about the feasibility of nationwide coverage. One of the greatest single problems is to find 'the most efficient methods of language data gathering in an urban area' (Shuy-Wolfram-Riley 1968:2). Where would teams of linguists similar to the Detroit team (1968:24-25) come from? A possibility that I have been entertaining and envisioning looks to reliance not exclusively on teams of linguists. I would propose a full scale cooperative program for dialect research carried on by teachers who have had an introduction to linguistic investigation, by all those who would care to become likewise informed, and by teams of linguists who would be jointly responsible for the work to be done. I feel quite confident, from pioneer attempts with separate sections of future teachers in an introductory linguistic course, that such possibilities exist. If computer analysis is included, I foresee the availability of an accurate picture of wide coverage at some given future point in time.

As to the linguistic situation in Hawaii, it is now possible to make a limited comparison of the English spoken on the Island of Hawaii by some native speakers of Japanese and by some members of the Keaukaha community. Susumu Nagara's study of the 'Pidgin English' of native speakers of Japanese in Hawaii was referred to on page 11. In Matrix 16, which follows, all nuclear clause struc-
tures described and exemplified in that study are superimposed up-
on Matrix 3 from Chapter Two, Section 2.2.6. The symbol $\times$ indicates Keaukaha English, and $\gamma$ PEJH usage.

### Matrix 16

**Comparison of Nuclear Clause Structures:**

Keaukaha English and 'Pidgin English of Japanese in Hawaii' (PEJH)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Imperative</th>
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<table>
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</tbody>
</table>
Nagara's study was partially characterized (11) as presenting 20 clause level syntagmemes (Nagara 1969:163-180). These include 9 declarative, 5 negative, 2 direction, 2 interrogative, and 2 conditional clause formulas. The above matrix records only the declarative and interrogative inasmuch as the other types are not nuclear, and Matrix 3 included only nuclear clause types.

Nagara's nine declarative formulas are interpreted in the following way.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nagara</th>
<th>Glissmeyer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1) Intransitive Clause</td>
<td>Type A2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\pm$ Adv $\pm$ Subj $+\ Pred^{vi}$ $+\ Into#$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All church go</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Everybody went to church)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| (2) Transitive Clause_1                     | Type A1    |
| $\pm$ Adv $\pm$ Subj $\pm$ obj $+\ Into#$  |            |
| This boss, any kind, before, sabe          |            |
| (In the old days, this boss knew anything)  |            |

| (3) Transitive Clause_2                     | Type A1    |
| $\pm$ Adv $\pm$ Subj $+\ Pred $\pm$ obj $+\ Into#$ |            |
| Make no camp                                |            |
| (They did not construct a new camp)         |            |

| (4) Equational Clause_1                     | Type B     |
| $\pm$ Adv $\pm$ Subj $+\ Compl$ $+\ Into#$  |            |
| Number three boss, here, my come time, Mr. Gheet |        |
(The third ranking administrator of this place was Mr. Gheet when I came here)

(5) Equational Clause_2
\[\text{Subj} + \text{Copula} + \text{Compl} + \text{Into#}\]
This is the all same house
(This house is similar to the house I was talking about)

(6) Existence Clause_1
\[\text{Subj} + \text{Into#}\]
Only one
(There was only one bath in the community)

(7) Existence Clause_2
\[\text{Subj} + \text{Pred} + \text{Loc Adthere} + \text{Into#}\]
I me is there now
(I live there now)

(8) Existence Clause_3
\[\text{Adv} + \text{Subj} + \text{Pred}^{\text{ExV; get, got}} + \text{Into#}\]
Suppose three guy got, three guys change
(If there were three guys, these three guys take turns in cooking)

(9) Adjective Clause
\[\text{Adv} + \text{Subj} + \text{Pred}^{\text{Adj}} + \text{Into#}\]
By and by, too much kolohe yo
(By and by we became very mischievous)

By way of note regarding the above, this writer considers
Transitive Clause$_2$ a permutation of Transitive Clause$_1$, and therefore not a separate syntagmeme.

Nagara's Equational Clause$_2$ and Existence Clause$_2$ seem to differ only in having different filler classes for the tagmeme following the copula, and therefore would be the same syntagmeme.

Existence Clause$_1$ appears to be a deleted form of what we call Type B clause.

Existence Clause$_3$ is not equated with a type in this study.

The interpretation in this dissertation of the use of *get* and *got* remains indeterminate. These forms seem related to the use of *has*, *have*, and *had* in appearing in structures that seem to function similarly to the expletive in this analysis. Here are the few examples which occur in this data, all from children.

Why has candy in that box?

Have some red horsy.

Had this other guy.

Had this warrior.

Had swing.

A ten-year-old boy presented the only occurrence of the use of *get* similar to Nagar'a's example, and it has the flavor of a proverb:
The guide star wented,
the moon come up, and
get rings around the moon,
no go out!

(Why?)

Hawaiians come out, for salvation.

This problem is one of a good number which call for research by
native speakers of the systems.

Incidentally, it can be seen that, in contrast to this study,
Nagara considered intonation as a clause level feature (see Chap­
ter One, fn. 15, for corroboration of the practice followed here).

It will be noted that what is here described as a peripheral
tagmeme, i.e., LOCative, is analyzed in Nagara as an adverb, op­
tional (as in Examples of Intransitive and Equational₁) or obliga­
tory (in Existence₂). Another tagmeme, here interpreted as DIRec­
tion in the periphery, is in Nagara diagnostic of the two types of
directional clauses. In his first type, the direction tagmeme is
in final position, and in the second it occurs between the sub­
ject and predicate. These are both in intransitive clauses in
'PEHI', whereas in Keaukaha English the direction tagmeme has a
wider distribution. (Reference is made to Matrix 6, Section 2.3,
and to Appendix B.) DIRec tion occurs in Keaukaha English with
transitive clauses before the verb (Example 35, Appendix B), be­
fore the object (Example 47), and after the nucleus (Examples 57,
58, 144), as well as with intransitive clauses in final position
after the nucleus (Examples 59, 60, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 118, 134, 154, 155, 202).

It is not clear to this writer exactly what Nagara intended in the tagmeme labeled \( ^{\dagger} \) Adverb. In the example given for Intransitive Clause, 'church' seems to be a permuted locative. But in the example for Equational Clause\(_1\), there are both locative and temporal expressions, and only the single \( ^{\dagger} \) Adverb' tagmeme in the formula.

There also seems to be some question regarding Nagara's Intransitive Clause and his Directional Intransitive clauses as separate constructions, since he gives the same example for Intransitive and for Directional Intransitive Clause\(_2\).

Referring back to Matrix 16 (this section), a comparative statement can be made regarding nuclear clause structures in the two systems of Hawaii English. In 'PāJiH' there are 6 nuclear clause structures (counting the \( \chi \)'s), and a comparable similar count in Keaukaha English amounts to 42 clause syntagmemes (counting the \( \chi \)'s plus the passives and expletives).

As to children's speech in this study, it has been observed (116-121) that both children and adults use permuted constructions — in the sequence Object-Subject-Verb, Subject-Verb-Object-Ditransitive, Equation-Verb-Subject, and Comment-Topic. Further, Verb-Object-Subject and Verb-Subject were spoken only by children, with Object-Subject-Verb-Ditransitive and Verb-Subject-Equation only by adults. A comparative recapitulation of the specific types
used by both groups has been abstracted from Chapters Two and Four, and is presented in the following table (Table Va). Numbers indicate the total number of different types of constructions used by the respective groups as shown in the preceding matrices.

Table Va

Summary Comparison of Certain Types of Usage by Children and Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children only</th>
<th>Children and Adults</th>
<th>Adults only</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Periphery</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>/___V</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>not</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>n't</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Appositives</td>
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<td>Discontinuous Appositives</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>4</td>
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</table>
Table Vb specifies the particular occurrences enumerated in Table Va.

Table Vb

Summary Comparison of Certain Usages in Clause Types by Children and Adults

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<th>Children and Adults only</th>
<th>Adults only</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>A1, A2, A3</td>
<td>A1a</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</tr>
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<td>Expl1</td>
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Peripheral Tagmemes

(see Matrices 5 and 6)
### Table Vb
(continued)

**Summary Comparison of Certain Usages in Clause Types by Children and Adults**

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<td>B</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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</table>
Table Vb
(continued)

Summary Comparison of Certain Usages in Clause Types
by Children and Adults

<table>
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<th>Children only</th>
<th>Children and Adults</th>
<th>Adults only</th>
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<td>Peripheral Tagmemes</td>
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Table Vb  
(continued)  

Summary Comparison of Certain Usages in Clause Types  
by Children and Adults  

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Children and Adults</th>
<th>Adults only</th>
<th>only</th>
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</thead>
</table>
| **Negative Tagmeme**  
*see Matrix 7* |          |                     |             |      |
| **no**          |          |                     |             |      |
| /Subj__(Aux)MV  | A2       | A1                  | Ala         |      |
| **never**       |          |                     |             |      |
| /Subj__(Aux)MV  | A2       | A1                  | Ala         |      |
| **not**         |          |                     |             |      |
| /Subj__(Aux)MV  | A3       | A1, Pass A1         |             |      |
| /Topic__Comment |          | B                   |             |      |
| /First Aux      |          |                     |             |      |
| Remaining VP    | A1, A2, Pass A1 | A3 |
| /EquVP__Equ     |          | A3                  |             |      |
| /adverb__NP     |          | A3                  |             |      |
| **n't**         |          |                     |             |      |
| /First Aux      |          |                     |             |      |
| Remaining VP    | Ala, A1, A2, A3, Expl, Pass A1 |      |
| /EquVP__Equ     |          | A3                  |             |      |
| /First Aux      |          |                     |             |      |
| Subject         | Ala, A3  | A1                  |             |      |
| /Aux__Pred      |          |                     |             |      |
| other than VP   | A1       |                     | A2          |      |
Table Vb
(continued)

Summary Comparison of Certain Usages in Clause Types
by Children and Adults

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<th>(see Matrix 13)</th>
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<td>VP</td>
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<tr>
<td>RESP</td>
<td>A1</td>
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</table>

Discontinuous
Appositives
(see Matrix 14)

Subject

\[
/\# \text{ _non-nuclear clause tagmeme} \quad A3
\]

\[
/\# \text{ you know, etc.} \quad A2
\]
Table Vb
(continued)

Summary Comparison of Certain Usages in Clause Types
by Children and Adults

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Children and Adults</th>
<th>Adults</th>
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<tbody>
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</tbody>
</table>

Discontinuous
Appositives

Subject

/\# oh, etc. A1

/\# extra-clause structure A2

/\# you know + non-nuclear clause tagmeme A1

/\# oh, etc. + you know, etc. A3

/non-nuclear clause tagmeme non-nuclear clause tagmeme A1

/non-nuclear clause tagmeme you know, etc. A1

/nucleus # A2, A3

/you know, etc. # A1

Topic

/\# non-nuclear clause tagmeme B
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<td>Al</td>
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<tr>
<td>__ nucleus</td>
<td>Al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/#oh, etc. __ nucleus</td>
<td>Al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/#da + you know __ nucleus</td>
<td>Al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/#da + oh, etc. __ nucleus</td>
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<td>/#you know + non-nuclear clause tagmeme</td>
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<td>Discontinuous Appositives</td>
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Table Vb
(continued)

Summary Comparison of Certain Usages in Clause Types
by Children and Adults

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Discontinuous
Appositives

COND

/Subj you
know, etc. Ala

T

/non-nuclear
clause tagmeme
___# Ala

RESP

/nucleus___# A3

In the section on children's speech, Ruth Brend (1968:70–73) gives some examples of constructions used by children, coinciding with adult usage. Then she lists types of 'nonconformities (i.e., when compared with adult speech) found in the speech of children,' saying that these occur much more often with children than with older speakers. The list is made up of 'repetitions, corrections and false starts, hesitation forms, change of normal tagmemic order, omission of obligatory tagmemes, and errors.' With each category are examples. Those given for 'change of normal tagmemic order' resemble Keaukaha English constructions
here called 'discontinuous appositives'. They are as follows (72):

... ya después entonces pues nos casi
juntaron [las dos familias] 'then, after, then well, we almost joined -- the two families.'
... porque ya se puede mover para todos
lados [ella con sus muletas] 'because now she can move all over -- she with her crutches.'

Perhaps such constructions are one means forged by speakers of languages like Spanish and English, which do not have a formalized topicalizing device such as wa in Japanese.

Returning to comments about future projects, we wish to amplify concerning research that has suggested itself as this dissertation developed. The preceding table (Table Vb) supplies evidence in agreement with studies such as Hunt's Syntactic Maturity in Schoolchildren and Adults (1970:43), reporting, among other items, more passives in use by older individuals. For future investigation of Keaukaha English, it would be desirable to proceed beyond the analysis of types given here, to an analysis of frequency of these items and of all others that the data would provide. The study could take advantage of techniques such as Hunt's, which have been applied to both free and controlled language production. However, the interest of this writer, whether speech or writing is the object of investigation, is more in spontaneous language than
in directed or manipulated specimens obtained through interview, questionnaire, and stereotype frame techniques, clinical as results from them may seem. I would therefore wish to encourage the development of means of preserving and analyzing naturally produced speech and writing, far beyond any now known and used. Then perhaps we would be approaching closer than has yet been possible to knowledge of the individual psychic processes as they are associated with language.

Also, if the directions and dimensions of research outlined at the beginning of this section could become actuality, even more might be accomplished than establishing solid ground for the use of the terms Keaukaha English, Hawaii English, Standard English, and the like. Extended and comprehensive studies in a situation with the linguistic multiplicity of Hawaii should add immeasurably to our understanding of language variation throughout the world. The picture in Hawaii is thoroughly inviting for large scale research, because Japanese, Chinese, some of the Philippine languages, and possibly Hawaiian, in addition to English, are now to be observed in the actual processes of change. Understanding of this sort is of special interest to linguists. It is possible also that realization, by people in general, of the luxuriance, intricacy, individuality, and shared characteristics of language and dialect systems could be germinal in the psychic life of the nation, and could support more genuinely democratic human attitudes.
Footnotes

(Chapter Five)

1 Hawaiian: Judd-Pukui 1945:10, 24; Pukui-Elbert 1965:xxvi.

2 Bolinger 1957:24, 38 (elliptical, e.g., 'Ever try Camp­bell's?' 'Seen anybody around?'); 24, 36-37 (tagellip, e.g., 'Get there, will they?' 'Waited how long, did you?'); 63 (Sert-2, e.g., 'Like it?' 'Isn't ready?'); 30 (tagsert-2, e.g., 'Wanted it, did he?').

3 Ruth Brend (1968:70-73) cautioned that her remarks regarding children's speech were to be taken as preliminary since her analy­sis of Mexican Spanish clauses was based primarily on the speech of adults.
APPENDIX A - 1

Examples of major declarative clause types

\( Al \) \( \pm \) Subject-as-actor \( + \) Transitive Verb Phrase \( \pm \) Object

Your mother must know plenty!
I need plenty more clay.
Took him up to the principal.
I don't believe.

\( Ala \) \( \pm \) Subject-as-actor \( + \) Transitive Verb Phrase \( \pm \) Di-transitive Object \( \pm \) Object

I give you one more chance.
Kapune told me that.
I tell I'm Hawaiian.
I give you!

\( Alb \) \( \pm \) Subject-as-actor \( + \) Transitive Verb Phrase \( \pm \) Object
\( \pm \) Attributive

The wife calls him a rebel.
You call it sea urchins.
They call it pokeaukeau.
You call that now?
Call that uh ...
I don't know what they call.
APPENDIX A - 2

A2  
\[ \text{\textdagger Subject-as-actor } \text{+ Intransitive Verb Phrase} \]

I just stand there.
This piece falling down.
The earth go down.
He talk all day, all night.
So then, then, go by the street there.

A3  
\[ \text{\textdagger Subject-as-item } \text{+ Equational Verb Phrase } \text{+ Equation} \]

It's almost by the bushes.
You're a Portugee!
Is too much money!
Is the capital.
I getting tired.
It tastes good.

B  
\[ \text{+ Topic } \text{+ Comment} \]

Maybe she sick.
The tire flat.
I pau.
He sure a midget.
APPENDIX B - 1

Examples of Peripheral Tagmemes

(n.b. Matrix 6, 72 ff)

1 About five hundred feet away it'll shock you.
2 ... there you find different nationalities ...
3 ... over here it's quite quiet.
4 ... over here it means to carry cane.
5 On the island here as we are known as the orchid island, ...
6 In my house there is a lot of dust.
7 ... prior to that time he used to work with the Army Transport Service.
8 ... then she would teach us.
9 Then my sister then will come in that.
10 You don't tell me your name, I'll take you up to the principal.
11 This way it flat.
12 ... between those three boy they gonna stick five dollars ...
13 ... and then she put bread.
14 Now we adopt these two other one from the niece that died of -- 1960.
15 Then my friend let him, let me his pipoboard.
16 ... this morning as I told you the first tenants of coming into the Hawaiian Homes area in Keaukaha were people ...
17 ... the next morning the execution came.
APPENDIX B - 2

18 That time we only can play at certain spots.
19 ... now I'm pretty good in my swimming.
20 That time it was uh Kahamoto, Sparky Kahamoto ...
21 ... last time my mother dem down the beach in front of the beer club ...
22 That time we still little.
23 ... sometimes it's closed.
24 ... later (he) was transferred to our terminal division ...
25 For the Islands they don't need a place like over here ...
26 To us is pelehuu.
27 ... for fish and opihis and uh all kinds of fish there, lots there.
28 ... with the bat you aim the ball.
29 With that they can buy two case coke ...
30 ... with this lei that would be the proper uh thing to give impression that you first meet.
31 ... and the referee told him to look someplace for the cheat.
32 Every time/on third base they stay out, man!
33 Red Eagle gave em chop right on the neck.
34 Once/in a land there lived five Chinese brothers.
35 Bernard, you have to back put em over here.
36 ... he always had a cigar in his mouth ...
37 ... you always keep your eye on the ball.
... I always tell that I have been driving ...
... it always pops up right into my face.
The wife and him always arguing ...
... the waves always be --
Then my sister then will come in that.
I once rode Hawaiian but, ...
... he just measure above my belt ...
I just went.
... he now is the uncle of this pure Hawaiian girl.
... she brought back this thing.
... they have at Punahou the pool.
(I don't think) it's still there.
Neki was formerly a, a longshoreman.
That time we still little.
She speaks perfect of that language.
... yesterday I was playing with my cousin baseball after school.
I ate last night the poi.
I phoned yesterday Mitchell.
... my time is right now 32 seconds for 50 yards ...
... it seems to me that French is getting harder than ever.
... you always keep your eye on the ball.
... (I) get more out of it ...
When a ball come to you ...  
... then you lean to the left ...  
She put some sugar in a big spoon.  
... you press on the back ...  
I going fifth grade.  
That time we only can play at certain spots.  
My mother was one of the original, charter, down in this area.  
... last time my mother dem down the beach in front of the beer club ...  
They very stricky, you know, there ...  
... other nationality not allowed there.  
There's scorpions over here.  
... there was conducted school there.  
We don't have any still.  
... they used lot of uh expressions like that you know during the war.  
... we swim for an hour and a half or an hour.  
I'm sick already.  
... she's gonna be here couple a more days ...  
... maybe they kind of bashful yet.  
... especially when there's a good show on.  
We just cut it in half.  
So he said, Hawaiian custom.
... (I) stand at attention.
... our club placed third.
... you on the wave good ...
I play for Keka Warriors.
... you have a light color with a really dark ...
He no can play with ball.
... (the traditional kiss) that goes with it ...
It's nice, you know, with that lei ...
I saw you yesterday.
He was doing the coaching that time.
He told me to stay on the surfboard then.
... it went break already.
... (a wave) that hasn't break yet ...
... my stuff was over here more first.
I'm gonna be a junior next year.
... the game pau about eleven o'clock.
... you a kamaaina now.
Just got married about a month ago.
... you have a own book for you.
They find job for you.
Sometimes, you know, they say too much hard words for understand.
They take it for credit.
Gloria and I went to eat some soda pops.

... then while you're training for a certain job ... 

... (a loving family) start with his mother and father.

A pipoboard is a board that is made out of a special kind of wood ...

I gave my mother something for Mother's Day.

... my wife and I worked on em.

It's gonna be real hard for me.

For 'bout your size, uh, about a nine feet board 'd be just right for you.

But you the right person for this.

If you want it to go to the left, you lean ...

... they could go down/to Thailand and Singapore and other places ...

I didn't look it/exactly.

... (this guy) that came from the Mainland/wi' big group ...

... (if) I were going out/for adventure ...

... (they) ride around/in Cadillac and uh all of that.

The nose like that, I can go straight/along the wave like that.

If it's rough day, the wave won't be steady.

It's hard to keep your balance standing up/when the whitewash gets to you.

... cause there you can bodysurf.
Didn't have your grandmother, you wouldn't be here right now.

You weren't supposed to, it's finished already.

You better shut up before I give you two black eyes.

I play there/for three years.

I went stay Honolulu/more long than you.

I lived in Keaukaha/almost over thirty years.

I don't want you to go home/emptyhanded.

... my father almost go off the road/with the um our new car.

Tomorrow we play Cardinals at Maiopa/at three o'clock.

... I can bring her back/the next time.

... I went to summer school/last year.

... (like) us go to the ninth grade/now.

How long you been in the Islands/now, Gloria?

... (he) just came back/from Fort Ord.

Hawaiians come out/for salvation.

... (some boys) that came here/to knock down the breadfruit ...

... (the pig) to be put in the imu/to be cooked.

Just cause my name was Osborn Green they kick me out of school.

... (you can) maneuver on the way/easier.

... nobody beat my record yet/then.

Eena make em then/like that.

(I not)

... then/now a new teacher will come.
... they live with their mother so many years after —

happily/after.

... you can uh push straight/along the wave.

... they have been living as brothers and sisters/ever since.

The pigs just run wild/there.

Then my mother went with Hawaiian salt/then, ...

If it easier for you, you have the kneeling stance ...

We had one paper yesterday/for test.

It isn't enough for me/to help me go to college.

... (I) been there for our uh swimming championships/at uh

Punahou.

... when you look up on a tree/at in the evenings ...

... I go up/to the pool/on my bike.

Fred and I worked down around/so many many years/together.

... you can come back/the same/some day.

... they can get along easy/to speak, speak especially/
without sign language.

... the five lived happily/ever after/with their mother.

... they live with their mother/so many years/after ...

... what I told Gloria this morning/over cup of coffee/
at the Hukilau.

... come this out/the water.

That's the best time to get to the nose.
205 But when we went there weren't anybody.
APPENDIX C - 1

Examples of Appositives
(n.b. Matrix 13, p. 64)

1 Oh, my grandma/she makes a big pan.
2 ... the stamp/it was crossed with the black ink.
3 ... mine/it came off again.
4 Me, Mabel, Harolene and Marlene/we all want peanuts.
5 My auntie/she's living Kona ...
6 ... the kind um the kind left field/he was splinky, man!
7 ... cause him/he no do nothing outside.
8 Eh, like 'Good morning'/it's gonna be ...
9 My mother/she says that.
10 ... what you call lalau um no laulau/it's a kind made in ti leaf.
11 This boy/he want to go to school.
12 ... the pig/they just run run in the yard ...
13 ... a kind of salad you want/it comes out ...
14 ... charcoal/‘a’s what they hauling.
15 Mrs. Makaio/she told me 'Now when you get there ...'
16 They/they kind people.
17 They/they loving people.
18a ... the pig they just run/run in the yard ...
19 Gonna make all that/all that tape?
20 ... she assigns us reports/book reports.
... I would get anything/a cloth or shirt or anything ...

... he brought one/an electric eel.

I was told it/when you look up on a tree at in the evenings
gonna see lots of turkey ...

I think so/that was a mistake ...

You folks want any peaches or bread/anything like that?

Is nice/really nice.

It's about this/about an inch long.

My mother was one of the original/charter, down in this area.

But it's all sand/all white sand.

When I saw that I say is so funny/different from our way of
kaluing.

Gonna be right down there/lower brackets.

... there's a soup/a whitewash ...

Yeah, the time when we was playing over here/right around
here, yah?

Makaha/there, the waves aren't consistent.

I made trips to the Mainland/more especially to the East
Coast.

I talk long time/a lot.

I go every day/every five days in a week.

... speak the way/'Where you was going tomorrow?'

I win two games tiddley-wink already/that time.

This time/next time we come back, you better talk ...
... what he say then/when he was down at uh Hawaiian Homes?

Well, what went I done with that/the picture?

... you have to ask the boss how many days you have to come out/maybe one week or one month.

... (they) work their way up/from south end Italy right up to France ...

You put it on there/by mine's one.

I can't go over there/to Coconut Grove ...

Makaha/there, the waves aren't consistent.

... (he) piano player in the barn/the sow barn.

... my father passed away in January/this past January.

... (we) be down the hall at nine o'clock/tomorrow morning.

... their name will be changed when they go to school/in September.
APPENDIX D - 1

Examples of Discontinuous Appositives
(n.b. Matrix 14, pp. 113-114)

1 My mother um four she had four.
2 ... this guy you know the light headlight he showed it too bright ...
3 Whereas today the students whether they want to or don't want to the opportunity is granted to them ...
4 Now like us see we take for one two three hours, eh.
5 They fly it in the morning about four you know — the freights, the planes that bring the freight.
6 The front, you know, it jumps like that.
7 ... he and all his friends when they was drunk at a time them go in a kind ...
8 I'm going fifth grade — his and me and him.
9 He went, he went, this boy.
10 This guy from the Mainland came over, professor here ...
11 ... (a person) that formerly comes from Niihau you know Henry Kahale.
12 And guava — guava — certain guava with salt and sugar that's what I like.
13 ... the children in the Island here, in saying yes and no, they're just not a hit ...
15 ... the taro leaf um you know it's a foot deep.
My second older sister why she was only three pounds.

But the runner was slow -- runner, the one.

Ooh, he's some tall, Mr. Crowley.

That's Hawaiian name, Kelelani.

That's what I been eating, kalu pig here, kalu pig there, kalu pig there.

Are they contented the people?

That's your house this?

That's the most important thing of the family, finding generations ... 

It wouldn't be advisable to stand up ...

It's hard to keep your balance.

The people over there they all really friendly.

... people there they kind.

These haoles ... ask me 'Nik, you kanaka?' ask.

Moray eel you can spear it ...

And this I just put it on.

All this, this, this and that two poodle my brother John made it.

Rabbit you better not take my rabbit!

... so the blood I won't lose any blood.

Oh, the moon I forgot the moon.
31 ... this guy you know the light, headlight he showed it too bright ...

32 My mother um four she had four.

33 Well, you see Rosina and Sarah here, see, then lately I adoptioned them ...

34 ... and put it on your weight on the left side of the board.

35 My sister and I wanna put The Claw on, Red Eagle ...

36 ... leave one hole you know one place for you pour the water in.

37 Then my little girl brought a meh you know the lesson what they give to Niihau.

38 Ask some questions, Neki, Rosina, what she liked about pamphlet.

39 Hey, give us some cards to us.

40 Anything else you wish to ask them you should ask now, more especially the student that attended the classes of Crowley.

41 Whereas today the students whether they want to or don't want to, the opportunity is granted to them ...

42 Far it's really far.

43 They very stricky you know there, very strict.

44 Eel you have to clean it really good ...

45 Let him his open it.

46 He has some hair on he, a little bit, right up here.
... (they) hike about nine miles way up, go down and then, about two thousand feet down.

They use to go there for goat hunting in that area ...

He play in the Hawaiian Eye, you know the movie Hawaiian Eye ...

Then my sister then will come in that.

Then my mother went with Hawaiian salt then ...

For 'bout your size about a nine feet board 'd be just right for you.
APPENDIX E - I

Examples of Negative

(n.b. Matrix 7, p. 80)

1  I no like poi.
2  I no can place that name.
3  ... we no owe nobody.
4  ... (you) no go ...
5  They never see the other part.
6  I never believe.
7  They never did us like that.
8  He never go school.
9  I not make em button.
10  ... they not gonna learn anything about it.
11  I not gonna be tired.
12  (You) not supposed to show that.
13  ... but only that other nationality not allowed there.
14  I not tired.
15  No, this not VISTA.
16  I cannot make em button.
17  ... she's not taking this English study.
18  ... they cannot come.
19  ... they cannot come out.
20  Otherwise I cannot be there.
21  ... the second Chinese brother could not be burn.
APPENDIX E - 2

22 ... on the day that I'm not schedule to work ...
23 ... when they're not around ...
24 ... they're just not a hit ...
25 We don't have any still.
26 I didn't believe that.
27 ... if you don't tell me your name ...
28 ... I can't stay up ...
29 You shouldn't go in there.
30 ... you wouldn't be here right now.
31 It wouldn't be advisable ...
32 ... it wasn't going to be sent.
33 ... he wouldn't get burned at all.
34 ... there weren't anybody.
35 It ain't a fiberboard.
36 ... the waves aren't consistent.
37 Can't you see I'm busy with Batman?
38 Don't you have a kodak?
39 Why don't you tell it to us?
40 Doesn't it get crowded in here?
41 I can't always tell too good.
42 ... most of the students didn't further than that.
APPENDIX F - I

Tentative Phrase Structure of Filler Classes

(n.b. Matrix 8, pp. 85-86; Matrix 9, pp. 87-88)

F(I) Explanation of Special Filler Class Labels

\[ qu_1 = \text{all, just, only}_1, \text{something} \]
\[ \text{mod}_1 = \text{about, almost, mostly, right, sure, way} \]
\[ \text{mod}_2 = \text{else, other, own} \]
\[ qu_a = \text{over, too, under} \]
\[ \text{num} = \text{cardinal and ordinal numbers, any, both, enough, half, lots, many, much, next, only}_2, \text{plenty} \]
\[ qu_b = \text{more, most} \]
\[ \text{MOD} = \text{adjective}_1, \text{peripheral pro, qu}_1, \text{num, prepositional phrase, relative clause, infinitive clause, complement} \]
\[ \text{adjective}_1 = \text{away, age, long, fat, others of quantity, time, and distance} \]

F(II) Tentative Projection of Nominal Phrase Constituents in Keaukaha English

SL Pro Forms

(SLa) personal = I, me, you, he, him, she, her, it, we, us, they, them

(SLb) indefinite = anybody, anything, everybody, everyone, everything, nobody, nothing, some, somebody, something

(SLc) possessive = mine, yours, hers
(Sld) demonstrative = this, that
(Sle) reflexive = myself, yourself, themselves
(Slf) predication = so*
(Slg) peripheral = across, around, back, down, out, up
(Direction); there, here, someplace,
down, out, down around (Locative);
always, on (Duration); over (Manner);
with, together (Comitative); now,
then (T); then (Condition); how come
(0Cause)

(Sla₁) Personal Pronoun Phrase: + Sla + qu₁
e.g., they all

(Slb₂) Indefinite Pronoun Phrase: + Slb + mod₂a
e.g., somebody else

*Re 'Pro-adjunctal "so"' see Ruth Crymes (1968:83-84).
APPENDIX F - 3

F(II) Tentative Projection of Nominal Phrase Constituents
(continued)

(S2a) Determiner Noun Phrase:

\[ \pm \text{mod}_1 \pm \text{qu}_1 \pm \text{DET} \pm \text{mod}_2 \pm \text{qu}_a \pm \text{num} \pm \text{qu}_b \pm \text{mod}_2 \pm \text{adj} \pm \text{N} \pm \text{N}^* \]

1 lots
2 poi
3 mehameha **
4 all
5 all that
6 mostly all the doors
7 only Hawaiian
8 a other island
9 the other auntie
10 the other five Chinese brothers
11 the fourth Chinese brother
12 these two other one
13 this two catfish
14 the kind
15 this pamphlet
16 a fine
17 the guide star
18 the five
19 the fifth
20 the squeaky stuff
21 other nationality
22 three men
23 more monster
24 more riddles
25 dumb people
26 next game
APPENDIX F - 4

(S2a) **Determiner Noun Phrase** (continued)

* Possible phrase final is indicated by the symbol #
(n.b. example Nos. 4, 5, 16, 18, 19).

** Any citation form

(S2b) **Proper Noun Determiner Phrase:**  \( + \text{DET} + \text{Proper Noun} \)

\[ \text{e.g., the Karenio (boy's name)} \]
\[ \text{Cardinals} \]
\[ (\text{the}) \text{ Niihau} \]
\[ \text{Grandma} \]

(D1a) **Double Nominal Phrase:**  \( + \text{Sla/2a/D2} + \text{Sla,c/2} \)

\[ \text{e.g., you folks} \]
\[ \text{you guys} \]
\[ \text{one the kind} \]
\[ \text{some the basics} \]
\[ \text{copy yours} \]
\[ \text{this kind car} \]
\[ \text{the kind rocks} \]
\[ \text{two case coke} \]
\[ \text{only about sixty pound poi} \]
\[ \text{haole type music} \]
\[ \text{south end Italy} \]
APPENDIX F - 5

(Dlx) Reverse Nominal Phrase: + S/lα/2a/D2 + S2/D2$_{\text{MOD}}$

e.g., my sister Lily
    the Club Kontiki
    a Hawaiian every taste
    'em my wife here
    Mr. Crowley

(D2) Possessive Nominal Phrase:

+ poss $\pm$ num $\pm$mod$_2$ $\pm$ adj $\pm$ N

poss = personal pronoun/possessive pronoun/possessive proper noun/possessive nominal phrase/double nominal phrase

we kalu
my auntie
my little girl
my both parents
their own club
Pearlie's godfather
my mother's one
Lee folks house
my sister friends
Gloria Glissmeyer name
APPENDIX F - 6

\[ S_{1/2}D_{1s/2} + \text{MOD:} \]

+ Nominal Phrase + MOD

about three inches fat
the people here
this one only
size nine
a report from Niihau
the lesson that they had
a best time to get to the nose
the only time we get off
my first time I came over here

F(III) Tentative Projection of Adjective Phrase Structure

\[ \text{Adjective Phrase:} \pm q_{1} \pm \text{mod} + \text{ADJ} \pm \text{MOD} \]

just round
so busy
different from Hawaiian or any other national-
ity
surprised that I went to Honolulu to swim and I came in first for my heat
good enough
## F(IV) Tentative Projection of Verbal Phrase Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Phrase: [\pm] Auxillary [\pm] Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) (ha)s, would, can, could, must, might, shall, should, get, used to, go, going, gonna, am about to, is about to, started to, go to, have to, had to, got to, am/is/are/was/were/gonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) am, is ____ (infinitive)/ ____ing (present participle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) will ____ (infinitive)/ ____ed (past)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) have, went, ____ (infinitive)/ ____en (past participle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) are, was, were, be, been, goes, start(ed), keep(on), goes on, stop, go, has been, have been, will be, would be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) could have, should (ha)ve ____ en (past participle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) (is) gonna, will, (would), be can, could, must, might, use(d) to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX G - 1

Examples of fillers in non-verbal nuclear tagmemes
(n.b. Matrix 8, pp. 85-86)

1. We were busting firecrackers.
2. Nobody bother you.
3. Somebody else will bring (food).
4. This NYC program help people.
5. The Karenio pick up some of the players.
6. You guys know how to play this game.
7. We kalu is so deep.
8. One of his sisters got two children.
9. My small sister and me wi' sing 'Pearly Shells'.
10. I gave my mother one cents.
11. They all give me leis.
12. The boss supply the poi.
13. Pearlie brought her a cake.
14. Pearlie's godfather gave her one muumuu.
15. One of the haole women ask me, 'Do they keep them in prison-
er?'
16. I call them kids ...
17. The wife calls him a rebel.
18. It'll move.
19. Somebody went in there.
20. The girl went jump around.
APPENDIX G - 2

21 Red Eagle fell to the mat.
22 You folks stay only one day?
23 Your sister come, so ...
24 ... so ... the front of the board comes up.
25 The wife and him always arguing.
26 It's really far.
27 Today everything is so fast.
28 Mine's Alohanani.
29 That was due to wild pitcher.
30 They all looked exactly alike.
31 Body surf is really hard.
32 Johnny is more educated.
33 My both parents ar dead.
34 Best time to walk up to the nose is when the wave is about to break, when you can push straight along the wave.
35 What I'm talking about is the preparation of the pig to be put in the imu.
36 It's made out of pumpkin.
37 Anybody is allowed to go in.
38 Mostly all the doors were locked.
39 His neck would have to be chopped off.
40 This place here was opened up in the early twenties.
41 He's married.
APPENDIX G - 3

42 This pamphlet was given to her.
43 I was told it.
44 He was found guilty.
45 The pool is supposed to be named after a lady.
46 There's something on the stove.
47 There was this eel.
48 There are some boys that came here to knock down the breadfruit.
49 He sure a midget.
50 Everything just like how we eating.
51 ... they all really friendly.
52 The game pau about eleven o'clock.
53 Batman weak.
54 This kind car better.
55 Yes, just cause his mother the coach.
56 The lessons 'at they had the same?
57 Whoever made this sure a ugly.
58 May not good speak of the kind rocks.
59 If she was whole Hawaiian better.
60 Over there good.
61 My sister said 'Now put something in his head'.
62 She drew me.
63 She's not doing anything.
APPENDIX G - 4

64 He stole mine.
65 I saw that ...
66 ... they express themselves.
67 I think so ...
68 We keep em both.
69 They bring the cattle to the ship.
70 We adopt these two other one.
71 They can buy two case coke.
72 They used to have the Club Kontiki.
73 Nobody beat my record.
74 They have only five they choose a month.
75 You can imagine what the tourists read with him ...
76 They don't know that over here it means to carry cane.
77 We don't know to surf.
78 This gramfather he wanted if he could talk to a shark.
79 I think it the steam.
80 You can eat raw fish and poi already.
81 She speaks perfect of that language.
84 I showing it.
85 I gave my mother something for Mother's Day.
86 He showed em some stuff.
87 Give us copy yours.
88 My friend let me his pipoboard.
This boy give em lot of trouble.

My father told me why I took French.

I told her that I made trips to the Mainland ...

He told me to stay on the surfboard.

They asked her if she wanted to join.

She tell me, 'Daddy, you better off than some of these haoles in Hilo playing big shot; ride around in Cadillac.

We call it pelehuhu.

It's hard to keep your balance when the whitewash gets to you.

You know what they call fall in Hawaiian?

Pearlie brought her a cake.

We no owe nobody.

They supplying all the island with charcoal.

You know what I told Gloria this morning over cup of coffee at the Hukilau?

I told em my wife here that they go to school just to eat lunch.

He told his wife something like that.

To them they call it pokeaukeau.

Could be that.

She been there from when she graduated in high school in 1962.

He's a fast reader.

It was Kahamoto, Sparky Kahamoto.
109 That makes only about sixty pound poi.

109a) They're about three inches fat.

110 Kamealoha is their father's name.

111 It's the first time I ever came to this kind of place.

112 That's what I like.

113 But when you with company, it seems that they lost their tongue.

114 ... the beauty part of the Islands is to listen to a guy talk pidgin like Neki and Freddie sometimes.

115 Crest is before it break there.

116 She was a little Hawaiian 'n' English.

117 Cardinals is in first place.

118 The pitcher was all wild.

119 Now the point is if you want to get off the wave, if you righthanded and with your right leg you push down with the back.

120 This mine.

121 That out.

122 You a newcomer.

123 All that I know the kind tree over there.

123a My feeling it's gonna be real hard for me.

124 All you have to do insert a quarter ...

125 Now you in the home of a full-blooded Hawaiian.

126 The feathers just round.
APPENDIX G - 7

127 The teacher ask him 'What's your name?'

128 ... and ask their name will be changed.

129 I think there'll come a time when you don't have to eat ...
APPENDIX H

Examples of fillers in peripheral tagmemes

(n.b. Matrix 9, pp. 87-88)

1  When a ball come to you, ...
2  I didn't look it exactly.
3  She brought back this thing.
4  ... you always keep your eye on the ball.
5  ... (he) just came back from Fort Ord.
6  ... (they) work their way up from south end Italy ...
7  And when you throw the ball, aim where you throw.
8  ... there you find different nationalities ...
9  Every time on third base they stay out, man!
10 I go a different school.
11  ... they have at Punahou the pool.
12  ... my auntie she's living Kona, my grandmother, but now she's living Honolulu.
13 You put it on there by mine's one.
14 Kendall, stop playing with it other people's place.
15 On the island here as we are known as the orchid island ...
16 About five hundred feet away it'll shock you.
17 Oh, you should see when the jet came over where that needle went.
18  ... especially when there's a good show on.
19  ... they used lot of uh expressions like that you know during
APPENDIX H - 2

the war.
20 Every time on third base they stay out, man!
21 I go every day, every five days in a week.
22 So uh better to lie down until you get your footing more ...
23 We been friends together for oh many years his children were small.
24 ... then she would teach us.
25 I starting all over.
26 ... (I) stand at attention ...
27 This way it flat.
28 That looks like Willie Mays.
29 But, see, the way the teacher gives it to us, she doesn't let us close our books.
30 She speaks perfect of that language.
31 ... speak the way 'Where you was going tomorrow!'
31a ... (the traditional kiss) that goes with it ...
32 Fred and I worked down around so many many years together.
33 ... you have a light color with a really dark ...
34 I play for Keka Warriors.
35 ... yesterday I was playing with my cousin baseball after school.
36 Then my friend let him, let me his pipoboard.
37 ... when you look up on a tree at in the evenings ...
38 That time we only can play at certain spots.
... my father passed away in January ...

That time we challenged Keaukaha, I made a home run.

... and as soon as she's been picked, they -- then they take her to this training center ...

... my stuff was over here more first.

No, the stamp, it was crossed with the black ink, and I didn't know, you know, you weren't supposed to it's finished already.

To us is pelehuu.

But you the right person for this.

For the Islands they don't need a place like over here ...

Yes, and she's she's one of the best pitcher in our team.

I read in this um Reader Digest ... and the last ending he chose he took lot of pills cause he got upset ...

I watch the next game who've play next.

They take it for credit.

Gloria and I went to eat some soda pops.

... with the bat you aim the ball.

With that they can buy two case coke ...

A pipoboard is a board that is made out of a special kind of wood ...

How come you go over there?

They find job for you.

If she sick then now a new teacher will come.

You don't tell me your name I'll take you up to the principal.
59 When the wave breaks ... it wouldn't be advisable ... 

60 Just cause my name was Osborn Green they kick me out of school.
Neki: Kamealoha is their father's name. Kamealoha means the lovely one. Jeff could be that. Kamahameha means the lonely one. Kamahameha — mehameha is lonely. Ka means the, or they. The lonely one. Oh, Keaukaha, oh, oh, you got me there. I'm a lousy Hawaiian too. I'm a Hawaiian every taste, but I never went out and learned that language because.

Fred: He's pure Hawaiian.

Neki: and uh I always tell that I have been driving tour for many years and uh these haoles come up to me and ask me 'Nik, you kanake? ask. I tell I'm Hawaiian. Haul out the good Hawaiian, I'm the lousy Hawaiian. The last grade I was in, baby class I think, I graduated Hawaiian. But some of the words we know because we have to learn. The easy one -- Keaukaha. I lived in Keaukaha almost over thirty years I don't know what the meaning. Keaukaha. Gosh, you got me there.

Fred: He says thirty years. Remember, as I told you this place here was opened up in the in the early twenties, and he came in the early thirties.

Neki: That's right.

Fred: My mother was one of the original, charter, down in this area.
Neki: Now they got to leave.
Fred: Now you want to hear recite something? What d'you want to say? Continue. M-m. Now what would you like to ask of uh
Neki: Rosina.
Fred: your students? Rosina?
Neki: Well, you see, Rosina and uh Sarah here, see then lately I adopted them and ask their name will be changed when they go to school, in September. It's Kauhi. We just adopted a two babies.
Fred: His original name is Neki — u e k i — k a u h i.
Neki: It's gonna be — yeah. Well, it would be the, the father's name is Kamealoha. It would be Rosina — Kamealoha, then with the Kauhi in the end. We never drop off the father's name because
Fred: Cause living.
Neki: he's still living then.
Fred: You came to ask them some questions that uh they went to Professor Crowley's uh and they might be able to help you with some of the things that was taught to them, what they intend to, explain to you, to ask them. What your name, Rosane? Rosina and —
Neki: Sarah.
Rosina: No, fourth.
Fred: Speak louder. 'leven.
Rosina: Yah. Mr. Crowley brought it. He just give to me, and uh — just give us to
Fred: To read. To read. Do you understand uh what she's saying? Ask question? She's asking if uh Dr. Crowley ask you to read that and study that and go present that next year. Or to keep that. Try and say some of the questions them, maybe she might be able to answer you.

Neki: You know, the, you've take notice that the children in the Island here, in saying yes and no they're just not a hit you know, they w- unless you ask them a special question, and then they'll answer. You find that all over.

Fred: Ask uh some questions, Neki, Rosina, what she liked about uh pamphlet.

Neki: Well, I tell you uh, Gloria, this pamphlet was given to her ... (jet plane noise) ... I doubt if she understand what uh what part of that program is the best. She never get through to the end. They didn't - No, they busy of taking care this little grandchild of ours too. And this boy give 'em lot of trouble. Wah-uh. They go to get hot water. I got check 'em this thing here.

Fred: Neki was formerly a, a longshoreman. He went out of retirement in 1960, and during his off duty he used to be a tour driver with the Mackenzie Tour. He's an accomplish uh musician, and he's a good singer. So you can imagine what the tourists read with him, and wild entertain! He's out of this world.

Neki: What that big buffalo —
Fred: Anything else you wish to ask them, you should ask now, more especially the student that attended the classes of uh Crowley.

Rosina: Over there.

Fred: Sure, sure. I'll tell you what I do. I tell you what I do, Gloria. On the day that I'm not schedule to work, I'll come and pick you up. That be uh probably best. I don't want you to go home emptyhanded. I want you go home with something. Maybe when you get back, try work out an outline what you intend. Oh, you know — Don't you have a kodak? It's nice, you know, with that lei — you know, the background. The contrast, yes. No, you have a light color with a really dark, you know. I di'n know what type of uh dress that you were gonna wear this morning. Maunaloa. It takes between three and three hundred fifty flow­ers to make a lei that size, so. On the island here as we are known as the orchid island, with this lei that would be the proper uh thing to give impression that you first meet. You see, whenever we meet a person for the first time, it's not only the traditional kiss that they -- goes with it, but is the purpose of meeting you with open hands. Like when you say aloha means with uh love. How you, brother?

Neki: Fine, I'm the new waiter.

Fred: Did any fishing lately?

Neki: No.
Fred: I was drinking. Another kind alcohol. Oh, she's tired. Let her rest. Pour some hot water for you?

Neki: You must excuse me.

Fred: You can put some, Rosina, you, Sarah. Sarah, you. Yeah, try 'n' read out what you like. Care for cream? Care for any sugar? Sit next to her, Rosina. No, no. Sit next to her and uh show her what you -- what you like. You can ask her what subjects uh point it out to you, and you read, Rosina, which part do you like best, eh? So Gloria know what you like.

Rosina: I like this one.

Fred: You let her read that. Yeh. What other subjects you like, Rosina?

Rosina: This one.

Fred: What is that about?

Rosina: Curious George. Curious George.

Fred: Oh -- a story? Oh, curious George. And what other do you like? No, I just uh learned about it through the PTA and also read something about where they would like to introduce this new type of uh language. Yes. Mrs. Kubota. Mrs. Kubota. She's a nice person. How many times during the week in school d'you folks had to take this up?

Rosina: Three times.

Neki: One hour. Different groups, I think, they in certain --
Fred: Only Dr. Crowley came down and help you folks with that, or somebody else too?
Rosina: Him and a boy.
Fred: From the Peace Corps? Do you know the name of the boy that helped Dr. Crowley? And how the Peace Corps came down, help you folks too? He had some representative from the Peace Corps that uh worked along with the children here. I don't know what they purpose was but more especially I think it's uh getting themselves oriented so that they could go down to Thailand and Singapore and other places where they can meet and speak with the people. Down here.
Neki: Good morning, sonny! What time wanna leave and go pick down there? OK, I would say that --
Fred: Eh, brother, you know since this is the first time that Gloria meet uh Rosina and uh Sarah, maybe they kind of bashful yet, huh?
Neki: Bashful, that's right.
Fred: But uh how 'bout me asking permission from you that if uh since she's gonna be here couple a more days that uh I maybe if I can bring her back the next time? Maybe they'd be easier to talk to, and at the same time --
Neki: Boy, these kids can talk like anything when they're not around, but around, they, oh boy, think gotta shut up or keep
quiet. They raise the roof off.

Fred: But uh

Neki: Well, this sticking with their head down they not gonna learn anything about it, you know, uh, they wanna answer questions.

Fred: Why don't we — so we

Neki: Like Sarah's in the sixth grade. She's not taking this English uh study like Rosina.

Fred: But uh she gonna be in the what grade next year?

Rosina: Fourth.

Fred: So we were thinking that maybe we might come again. You know and by that time maybe she

Neki: By that time you not exhausted!

Fred: Thank you. We look over and in the meantime we come back again. OK. This time next time we come back you better talk.

You 'n' him nod your head, yeah, talk -- like Uncle Neki said, you folks can talk like hell. OK uh already? Yeh, you started the material and when we come back the next time, you point out what you like. You know what I think, Gloria? Not only ask questions, but you should ask them to read the material that they interested in, so you can get some kind impression of what and how they express themselves.

Neki: And how I'm occupied.

Fred: Must be busy, brother.

Neki: Ah, they came for the ulu, eh? Oh, they —
Fred: 's too green, yeah?

Neki: No.

Fred: What they gonna make, brea- uh poi?

Neki: No, they wanna sell 'em, make money but

Fred: Oh, who's that?

Neki: Harris boys.

Fred: They cut enough?

Neki: Only one bag of a hundred pound.

Fred: That makes only about uh sixty pound poi.

Neki: Well, they gonna sell 'em. They get five cent a pound, so between those three boy they gonna stick five dollars I hope.

Fred: Oh, well, just for pocket money.

Neki: Yeah, just for pocket money. They take coke, with that they can buy two case coke I hope. That's the Hawaiian hospitality. You give things away for nothing.

Fred: See, there are some boys that came here to knock down the breadfruit, which we call ulu, and they intend to make the poi, to you it's just like a paste. And they go around to sell it just to raise money. So he said, Hawaiian custom.

Neki: Uh-huh. Let 'em make the money. So. Fred and I worked down around so many many years together. We been friends together for oh many years, his children were small. This is my daughter over here. She's married, that's the little baby we have, our first grandchild. My son is over there, just came back from Fort
Fred: He's married too.

Fred: Just got married.

Neki: Just got married about a month ago. Some more coffee?

Fred: No, thank you.

Neki: You folks want any peaches or bread, anything like that?

Fred: Nah.

Neki: Yeah, if you wanna come back, you can come back the same, some day. Too bad you never get enough material for out of this uh. That's the reason why my wife and I worked on 'em. They can talk talk talk talk talk while they uh by themselves, but when you with company it seems that they lost their tongue. So we think -- I would think so. I was the quiet type.

Fred: They shy.

Neki: My girl was over there in the Bank of Hawaii. She been there from when she graduated in high school, in 1962. Well, what she always tell me, 'Daddy, you better off than some of these haoles in Hilo playing big shot, you know, ride around in Cadillac and uh all of that, but they owe their life to the bank. That's right. They owe their life to the bank. Like us, Dad, we no owe nobody, so. Content in what we -- we, we never can see for that for us. Gee, that guy's a millionaire, we gonna be a millionaire, no? Gonna be in a, be right down there, lower brackets.

Fred: He's a happy-go-lucky fellah. He's a well known uh --
no, he came to the

Fred: After the war. But prior to that time he used to work with
the Army Transport Service and later was transferred to our uh our
terminal di- division, into longshore. Yeah. On this island, dur-
ing the war.

Fred: All the cargo.

Neki: Army, cargo, marine, personnel and all that. Oh, we used
to have nice time too, eh?

Fred: Yeah.

Neki: We had a good uh good lieutenants, yeh. Oh, he was just al-
ways like uh a local boy, one of the two, and he was from the South.
The wife and him always arguing, the wife calls him a rebel. And
she goes on arguing in Hilo too.

Fred: But he came, became a major when he ended his career here.
He was well liked.

Neki: Oh, my baby, Grandma take your food? Heh?

Fred: This boy just like ____ about the eyes.

Neki: Everybody think so. Same the eyes.

Fred: Yeah, yeah. And brown hair, same like the brother — uncle.

Fred: Every day down here?

Neki: Li-hm. No, they stay with the mother and father every day
now. They came home.
Fred: They did?

Neki: Yeah.

Fred: Oh. Cannot live away.

Neki: No, can't. High cost of living. They were staying here paying no rent, and uh they went up, they paid eighty-five dollars rent. One year afterwards they came to us, paying too much money so came back home.

Fred: He love children, you know.

Neki: M-hm. My wife and I know we no, we couldn't have any children, we adopted Joe and that boy.

Fred: Yeah.

Neki: During the war. War baby. Now we adopt these two other one from the niece that died of, 1960. 1960. We adopted this one only, we tried this one first and the other auntie that kept it died, so we keep 'em, both.

Fred: Neki comes from a loving family, start with his mother and father. They have adopted children, about two or three of them, and they have been living as brothers and sisters ever since, and

Neki: In my book here I got

Fred: I'm just saying that.

Neki: All in different nationalities too, Japanese, Chinese, Hawaiian.

Fred: And one of his sisters who is uh Japanese girl got two children, one a girl and one a boy. He took care of them, and his boy
is pure haole.

Neki: Haole.

Fred: Half white and. And he adopted him, and he now is the uncle of this pure Hawaiian girl.

Neki: Introduce 'em to -- Mommy! Mom! Come! Come, meet Fred.

Fred: Hello, Helen!

Helen: Hello, Freddie!

Fred: How you? I want you meet Mrs., Miss Gloria Glissmeyer from the University of Hawaii, linguist. Mrs. Helen Kauhi.

Neki: Are you gonna work with Dale Crowley, Gloria? I know him very well. Cause he always be with me, Peace Corps. He's a nice man! He took the responsibilities. Oh, he's been in Japan over ten years I think.

Fred: How you?

Helen: Oh, I'm fine.

Fred: You must be tired.

Helen: I am.

Fred: She's with the uh this what you call it. She wants to get conversation from around in this area. Since -- Dr. Crowley -- she studies at, and she's one of the girls working on classes. This was the uh first time that she came here.

Helen: Oh.

Fred: Since Rosina is kinda shy and bashful today, we asked to come back another time when she's uh uh more in better feelings.
Helen: Got to get 'em used to 'em yet. After she get useden to 'em, oh my Johnnie!

Neki: That's right. I told her all the time, I told 'em my wife here that they go to school just to eat lunch. Think of the lunch every day you know, and uh --

Helen: Yes, Johnny is better uh, Johnny is more educated.

Fred: Yeah. How long you been in the Islands now, Gloria? Oh, good. Oh, you a kamaaina now once. You can eat raw fish an' poi already.

Helen: You can't?

Fred: Sure, she have to go out and -- gosh, I wish you came earlier, we could have gone to the big one down there on Sunday.

Helen: You just came back from the Mainland? Just from Honolulu?

Fred: Originally she's from San Francisco.


Fred: But you the right person for this. You know what I told Gloria this morning over cup of coffee at the Hukilau? I told her that uh I made trips to the Mainland, more especially to the uh East Coast. And there you find different nationalities like the uh Italian people they speak their own dialect and still they speak uh to me a pidgin English up there, and yet each nationality
speaks their own. But over here is the melting pot. No matter where any boy, Hawaiian boy or girl from the Islands here, no matter what nationality they are, you send them to Singapore, Thailand, Japan, China, Philippine Islands, or you send them to the Mainland, they can get along easy to speak, speak especially, without sign language.

Neki: Like uh now uh they trying to give up pidgin in the Islands, now.

Fred: How long they been doing that.

Neki: I think so that was a mistake because the beauty part of the Islands is to listen to a guy talk pidgin like Neki and Fred-die sometimes.

Helen: And a, and a few more others.

Neki: And few more others. I think that's now it's a, it's a thing of the Islands cause you don't wanna come down here and listen to professor answer you back, talking like a professor or a dean and a school teacher. You wanna hear this guy talk 'Come on, you, speak the way, "Where you was going tomorrow?" So, all that type.

Fred: I was saying to her that uh when our boys was in the war for the second regiment and when they first landed in Africa and work their way up from south end Italy right up to France, that uh lot of the Hawaiian boys they used to use like a pidgin English so that uh German couldn't counter with their intelligence, like an
example in case you want to call the uh stretcher carriers, you call, you ask for the hapai kome. They don't know that uh over here it means to -- carry cane.

Helen: Cane carrier.

Fred: Cane Carrier, so they bring a stretcher along. And they used lot of uh expressions like that you know during the war.

Neki: Better than sign language anyhow. I hear this guy that came from the Mainland wi' big group, that 'em use that sign language, things like that. They came from Honolulu --

Helen: One them that came.

Fred: They have a school here. No, in Honolulu. They send them all to Honolulu. Yes. Right.

Neki: I know Dale is doing a good job down there. This guy from the Mainland came over, professor here, commenting they do a fine over here.

... 

Fred: They take it for credit. You know the old school system used to be different from today. Today, as Neki said, they go to school for lunch.

Neki: Oh yeah, before --

Fred: During our time you know what the teacher use to say? She say our parents work hard and sacrifice their time to send us to school, we better study and learn as much as we can, so naturally when you went up to high school and most of the students di'n
further than that, they try to make the best of it, whereas today
the students whether they want to or don't want to the opportunity
is granted to them to further their education to a college or uni-
versity, and some don't take that advantage.
Neki: You remember what Captain, Captain Bowker say, say they get
iron ships and wooden men, uh, wooden men, olden days they have
wooden ships and iron men. I'll never forget that.
Fred: 'As what they use to have special as longshoremen, that they
used to have iron men and wooden ships, today they have wooden men
and iron ships. ... They use the word progress now you know, uh
Helen: Everything has been, has come so easy. Pretty soon we're
going to eat, you don't have to serve me, I don't have to cook.
You only going open little box like that, and I say, 'Well, Fred-
die, this is your ham, this is your egg, and all you do is pick
one of each.
Neki: Oh, I think it's gonna come that.
Fred: It's here! You have all the pills.
Helen: Eat it! Now you sit down and eat it, and don't play around
with it. Yes, everything is coming to that. You know nowadays,
yeah nowadays you go to uh oh working place y'have coca cola in a
machine, y'have sandwiches in a machine, y'have y'salad in the ma-
chine, and all you have to do, insert a quarter, a kind a salad you
want it comes out. You and I went out, and we never used to do
that. Your mother had to do all of that, and give it to you, put
'em on a plate,
Fred: That's right.
Neki: Well, I think there'll come a time when you don't have to eat, somebody else will be bring to you, bring a robot, is a robot go around and he say
Helen: and you have eat it. Today everything is so fast, and I think it's wonderful. In some ways, yes, especially for people who work. You know, you can't be running uh running to a restaurant, and then you only have uh a limited time, we say maybe oh 'bout half an hour. I can't go over there to Coconut Grove and say, 'Freddie, bring me up a big dinner -- you know -- and then I gotta go someplace. All y'have do is pick up a sandwich, a coke, and run.
Fred: How band today make a' Coconut Grove?
Helen: Well, I tell you it's nice. There the thing is
Neki: They have haole type music over there uh
Helen: But that's good. It's more quiet. I like it that way than this downtown.
Neki: Uh. For the Islands they don't need a place like over here, need Hawaiian music, Hawaiian atmosphere.
Fred: They need with the rough.
Helen: The rough kind you know, loud and rugged. Coconut Grove is quiet.
Neki: The island is grow! My —
Fred: Well, they used to have the Club Kontiki where everything was moderate, you know, you have loud and soft and everything.
Helen: But not anymore.
Neki: Like us, they play music of the Kam Inn. That's a lousy joint too.
Fred: Yeah. Every night.
Helen: No, now Friday, Saturday, and Sunday.
Neki: Right across from the bowling alley. It's an inky dinky so you don't wanta go in there maybe. You get all swapped 'n' docked. You shouldn't go in there. I wouldn't recommend you go there at all, oh, you get all kinds of strong language —
Helen: Like you, if, if I were going out for adventure, if I'm gonna go out and I'm a school teacher and I'm gonna go out and seek of some kind of material, I'd go up to some places like that and sit down and act and, and sit down and watch at them and catch what you find. You want kind of character
Fred: You can hear them sing and
Helen: Oh, I think it's fun, yeah?
Neki: Oh, yeah.
Helen: Oh, anybody is allowed to go in, yeah.
Neki: You want to go in next week, Helen and, and you and Helen come to that, nobody bother you, walk some on a table, cause Helen can tell 'em off I think.
Helen: You know the, you know, uh, it's fun. I'm telling you
it is fun you know cause we have couple a school teachers come in there too and I know who they are. Yeah. Julie and the music kind school teachers, ________ school.

Neki: Dale and uh Mary came, came in there. They want to hear my guitar player playing.

Fred: He plays with the nose too, you know, banquets and, and oh. He's an exception, you know, but instead of making use of his talents he won't do it you know.

Neki: Huh? See he just measure above my belt.

Rosina: Whole bunch of uh small cake.

Fred: He play in the Hawaiian Eye you know, the movie Hawaiian Eye, piano player, in the barn, the sow barn.

Neki: Yeah, I play uh any instrument.

Fred: He's a good singer too, he plays ukelele, he plays a sax, yeah, he's an instructor for instrument.

Neki: No.

Fred: He use to teach about one hundred students during the summer.

Neki: No, two hundred, three hundred. Recreation department, school department.

Fred: He use to be with the Peace Corps. Yeah, she is with the, he was with the Peace Corps.

Neki: I like the Peace Corps when we went down camping one time, way down in, in a pali. Oh, I pity those kids, I call 'em kids be-
cause they young already, they just come up from uh college and hike about nine miles way up, go down and then, about two thousand feet down.

Fred: That's a steep pali, yeah?

Neki: Yeah. And they had to go there and rough it out themself, eh?

Fred: They use to go there for goat hunting in that area, or they would go with pack saddle uh muiles to get uh opihi. Uh, you call it sea urchins. Sea urchin. It's a shell

Neki: Excuse me.

Fred: with a uh a pikoli — it's a island delicacy and they use that all at a parties. You listen to Neki. He's all right. So you can get some material. That's what you wanted, eh?
Henry: People like that -- oh boy! No more war! They, they kind people. Love.

Elizabeth: Uh-huh. The people over there they all really friendly.

Henry: Right. On Niihau.

Elizabeth: They very friendly. Uh-huh. But only, only that uh other nationality not allowed there. Is only Hawaiian there.

Henry: Only Hawaiian people.

Elizabeth: Only Hawaiian. Well, I don't know, you see, Robinson doesn't want to mix the Hawaiian with other nationality. I think he wants to uh bring up the, the Hawaiian -- oh, I don't know. I like you know yesterday I was down at, to see, to had to open 'em down here, and one of the haole women ask me um 'Do they keep them in prisoner?' I said no. Yeah, they said because there they cannot come out, yeah? When you come out, you have to ask the boss. And you have to ask the boss how many days you have to come out, maybe one week or one month. After that one week you have to go right back. Wah! wah! No excuse. No excuse. They very stricky, you know, there, very strict. See, like me, I glad that my husband is from there, tha's how I got to get there, otherwise I cannot be there -- you see. You have to get a family in there so they -- too bad my sist'—in—law just went out. She speaks perfect of that language. Kali sister that came uh with me, and her cousin. Kelelani. Kelelani! Tha's Hawaiian name, Kelelani.
Elizabeth is uh Eliza or Elizabeth or Eliza. Kelelani! /ana olu' ilu ko# me' po' imeha!'/ You see we s-talk with k, but when uh uh my sister talks they all with t. Too bad they just went out. You could hear them speak, oh, I love to hear them speak.

Fred: You know those people that come from Niihau, see, they big people!

Elizabeth: Oh, they clumsy! Mm -- hugh! They very huge. Uh-huh.

Henry: No, I, that's a map from the Hawaiian Airline.

Elizabeth: Hmm-hmm.

Henry: Right on this uh portion in here the uh Niihau. See. That's the island I went.

Elizabeth: A little island.

Henry: Nice that one. From, from Waimea.

Elizabeth: From Kauai, Kauai to uh Niihau.

Henry: Waimea to Niihau. Yeah, right, right on this point here. That's where the barge land.

Elizabeth: The barge just go right on the sand, but it's all sand, all white sand and the barge just go right on the sand. Yeah, all cause they

Henry: Well, what went I done with that, the picture?

Elizabeth: I don't know, someplace. Yeah, well, they haul uh sheep, they haul uh

Henry: Cattle.

Elizabeth: Cattles. Uh-hmm. 'a's why the why the people
Fred: They haul sheep, cattle and honey.

Elizabeth: Honey.

Henry: Honey, yeah.

Elizabeth: Honey and

Henry: Now they, they have charcoal over there.

Elizabeth: And charcoal 'a's what they hauling.

Henry: They supplying all the, the island with charcoal.

Elizabeth: Hi-hu.

Henry: They barbecue the meat eh?

Fred: You know when I used to be on the inter-island and we used to go from Kauai to Niihau, we only stay offshore.

Henry: Yeah.

Fred: And they bring the cattle to the ship.

Henry: Ship.

Fred: And we only stay limited time. The only time we get off is when you go out pick opihi.

Henry: Opihi.

Elizabeth: Oh, for fish and opihi's and uh all kinds of fish there, lots there.

Fred: That's the only time you allowed to get off, but never touch land. Come close to them, now!

Elizabeth: Cause he wa'n't allowed, you know. He's very stricky.

Fred: You know one of these honey cans is real heavy but they can carry, one man carry himself.
Henry: Yeah.

Elizabeth: How many pounds?

Fred: Whereas on a ship it cost two three men to carry one container.

Henry: That's two hundred pound in a can.

Fred: You take like uh Mr. Crowley here, he's about six feet four, weigh about two hundred eighty pound.

Henry: Yeah, about. Haw, no, about two forty.

Fred: You know your nephew that came here?

Henry: Yeah.

Elizabeth: Kelelani, there something on the stove! Go see, and turn 'em off.

Henry: Uh, what?

Fred: Oh, that sixteen years old nephew and

Henry: Oh, yes.

Fred: And he was bigger than him.

Henry: Yeah. He really is, real big. No, though uh people there they kind. They, they loving people. You go there, they call you to go their home. No, they take care of you.

Elizabeth: You know, you know, I was so pleased when I got there. My sister uh in law ask me told me now if anybody come and ask you to go to their home, you go, because you gonna have a present and sure enough wherever I went they all gi' me leis, you see? And my sister-in-law say that's their custom. If they see any strangers
come and when they ask you to go you go, and if you don't go it
hurts their feeling. So I, I please my sister or and of course at
first I was shame b'cause I don't know who they are, you see, and
so when they ask me my sister say you go, because if you want a
lei, you want a sh—uh uh wha' d' you call, shell lei, you better
go. So — went. When she told me I went the first house, when as
soon I get enter in the home they present me lei. Then the next
day another uh family come and ask me come over the house, and
when I got there they have the lauau! They had a kalu pig and a
ooh! That's what I been eating, kalu pig here, kalu pig there,
kalu pig there. Ah.

Fred: You ask them — they — you know when they have their
festival?

Elizabeth: Hm.

Fred: Sometime one whole week.

Henry: Yeah, whole week.

Fred: You ask 'em.

Elizabeth: Hm.

Henry: Whole week.

Elizabeth: 'a's two week sometime.

Fred: They eat one whole week, you know.

Henry: Yeah.

Elizabeth: But the, the boss give one cow, pig, oh, they have lots
of pig there, and the turkey go, just go wild there.
Henry: Wild.

Elizabeth: Ooh, the turkey. I was told when you get there, you look up on a tree, there's lots of turkey on the tree, well, I didn't believe that. So when I got there

Henry: Turkey in there.

Elizabeth: and of course there's lots of tree where my uh bro' in-law was. One morning I hear funny sound so I said I wonder if this is a turkey, when I look up on a tree, ooh, the turkey was all on a tree! Uh-huh. But to them they call it pokeaukeau, you see. And to us -- 'at's what they call — and to us is uh

Fred: How they call that? Call that uh

Elizabeth: Pelehuu, eh? To us is pelehuu. 'at's turkey. But in our language we call it pelehuu.

Fred: I thought one of the feathers, you know, that uh they call that, but uh no.

Henry: No, the uh what

Elizabeth: Pokeaukeau is just like it's round, eh? Because

Henry: Uh, no, when they uh, oh, what, I don't, I no can place that name.

Elizabeth: I don't know because uh when they, they, you know, if the, I think the feathers just round, 'a's why they call it pokeaukeau. Pokeaukeau is just like a round.

Henry: 'n' chunk.

Elizabeth: Oh! Yell, you see somebody told me and I never believe.
Mrs. Makaio -- you know, Mrs. Makaio she told me now when you get there -- I was told it -- when you look up on a tree at in the evenings gonna see lots of turkey, and I didn't believe that. I say I wonder if she's telling me lies or what. But when I got there -- ah, all that funny noise! 'at's in the evening. When I look up on a tree, oh, the turkey was all in a tree, all kind! And they just let 'em go -- turkey, sheep, cow -- they just let 'em go.

Henry: Run wild.

Elizabeth: Of course each family raise pigs, and the pig they just run run in the yard so I just grab 'em and I play with it! Course, my brother-in-law -- 'at's where I went, to my youngest brother-in-law. I have two more brother-in-law over there and one sister. And that's where I went. Oh, they raise pigs. The pigs just run wild there. Only uh the only is too dry there.

Henry: No water.

Elizabeth: No water.

Henry: Rain, rain water.

Elizabeth: Only in there --

Henry: Only brackish water.

Elizabeth: Only in there, it's rain, you have water. If no rain, what have you drink is brackish water.

Henry: Maybe I can show you.

Elizabeth: M-hm.
Henry: example of that.

Elizabeth: But uh the living over there is very cheap.

Henry: I keep this one.

Elizabeth: Of course the boss supply the poi. Yah.

Henry: I, I just showing it, see? 'at's a story. This person here went and ask uh Alma Robinson.

Elizabeth: But somebody went there and uh, and dropped their plane there and that's how they snap all these people so --

Fred: Know what you do, Gloria? Take the date of that. Try to copy it out so that your recorder could uh register that.


Elizabeth: Oh, I just love that place.

Henry: And this is the, here are the people here, right here, out­side here.

Elizabeth: There the people. That's the Niihau people.

Fred: Take that title out so you -- that's right. Now we are at the home of uh a person that formerly comes from Niihau, you know, Henry Kahale, and he's of pure Hawaiian descent.

Elizabeth: Yeah. You know we, we got this from somebody and we kept it till now. M-hm.

Fred: You 'member, Gloria, this morning as I told you the first tenants of coming into the Hawaiian Homes area in Keaukaha were people of full blooded Hawaiian or three-fourth Hawaiian. Now you in the home of a full blooded Hawaiian.
Elizabeth: Oh, now the sister coming home!

Fred: Good.

Elizabeth: Kali sister.

Henry: M?

Fred: Good. Your sister come home so we can talk and then she can get some uh recording down.

Elizabeth: 'scuse me.

Henry: No, uh, we went there, they have a summer school in Niihau, then my little girl brought a meh, you know, the lesson, what they give to Niihau, well, this is the school for most their teachers, to go in, summer school. Then uh were in there, and there was conducted school there.

Fred: How old is you?

Henry: Ten.

Elizabeth: Ten years. Baby, come over here.

Fred: She's from uh O- uh Niihau.

Henry: Niihau too.

Elizabeth: Niihau.

Fred: They brought her here when she was a baby and raised her until now.

Henry: Baby.

Elizabeth: I took her in when she was four days old, and now she stands — hm.

Fred: They shy.
Elizabeth: They very bashful.
Fred: She's pure Hawaiian.
Henry: M-hm.
Fred: And when she went back, the lessons 'at they had the same?
Elizabeth: Come!
Henry: No. Different. My little girl brought uh for her teacher.
Elizabeth: The what?
Henry: No, but the lesson Niihau had, you know, from this teacher.
Elizabeth: Oh, they had uh what do you call that uh they have uh
Fred: You had uh you haven't seen that, eh, Gloria? Eh, Kele-lani, bring and show us the
Henry: The script.
Fred: the report from uh Niihau.
Elizabeth: Well, they, they have that what d'you call uh summer school.
Henry: Summer school.
Elizabeth: And this is the program at the summer school. Mm.
'tat's what they teach over there.
Henry: 'tat's, 'tat's what the outside teachers teach. All, yeah.
Elizabeth: No, from Kauai.
Henry: From Kauai.
Elizabeth: Uh, you have to get the Hawaiian to go there, so she was a little Hawaiian 'n' English.
Henry: So she brought back, you know, this thing, for show, for school teacher.

Elizabeth: Uh, she goes and listen and uh --

Fred: The first time, eh, she ever went Niihau?

Henry: First time. First. Her first time.

Elizabeth: Yeah. It's the first time. And it was my first trip.

Fred: How over there their luaus?

Henry: Hoo!

Elizabeth: Oh! And you know how their, their kalu not like our kalu uh well, kalua. We kalu is so deep, them is so shallow!

Fred: On top?

Elizabeth: Oh, it's so shallow! And how we used to sh-- we kalua used to make is so deep, this is so shallow.

Fred: What kind uh uh wood they use?

Elizabeth: Oh, they use the keawe.


Elizabeth: They just uh roast 'em in I think oh, dump it in.

Fred: What they do uh before, they uh throw over the stones or they make like us uh hot water?

Elizabeth: No, only stones.

Henry: No, no more hot water; 'a's all, man. You know they use with the torch, you know, the hair, with torch.

Elizabeth: No time for uh finish.

Fred: Attach yeah?
Henry: Yeah. Then they clean all the inside.

Fred: You know what I'm talking about is the preparation of the pig to be put in the imu to be cooked, because of, because of like he say not much water.

Henry: Mm.

Fred: They roll the pigs over the stone and the stone burn out the hair.

Elizabeth: M-hm.

Fred: But in Hilo here and around the place where you get water, they use to boil the water.

Henry: Yeah -- boil water.

Fred: They throw it over and they s- uh

Henry: Yeah, singe it off.

Fred: But in uh

Henry: But Nihihau there, no, they use torch, they torch all the hairs off. Mm. Water. Yeah. See. Yeah.

Elizabeth: It's so shallow!

Henry: Then after that they, they kalu in the imu.

Elizabeth: Mm. They kalu the little pig.

Henry: Oh, only fifteen minutes in the kalu.

Elizabeth: And they pour the water inside. I think it the steam, I think it the steam, it takes uh about ten fifteen minutes cook.

Now like us see we take for one two three hours, eh? Not over there!
Henry: W- hours! Fifteen minutes.

Fred: Kalu a pig?

Henry: Yeah.

Elizabeth: There I don't know they, certain thing there, they leave it in the hole.

Henry: You know, they, they cover all and leave one

Elizabeth: N-hm. Little hole.

Henry: hole, you know, one place for you pour the water in.

Elizabeth: Then they pour the bucket of water in there. I guess the steam that makes the, the

Henry: Yeah.

Elizabeth: In no time cook and papa'e. Yeah. That something like

Henry: Just like a pressure cooker.

Elizabeth: pressure cooker. You see they just pour the water in.

I think that steam it's uh cook, and it's nice and brown. It's really nice and brown!

Fred: Soft too?

Henry: Soft.

Elizabeth: Soft, and brown.

Henry: Well cooked.

Elizabeth: When I say that I say is so funny, different from our way of cook- of uh kaluing.

Henry: Kalua.

Elizabeth: Yah.
Fred: And how that taste when you eat?

Henry: Oh, same!

Elizabeth: And they put salt just like how we make. Mi-hm.

Henry: Everything just like how we eating.

Fred: Over there good, and they get plenty opihis.

Henry: Oh, yeah, eh!

Elizabeth: Oh, you know that when the first day we were in there and th- brought the next day, they had the kalu pig. Had raw fish, cook fish, fried fish, priho fish, one opihis, pipipi, everything was there, I don't know which for each f- to start to eat with.

#
APPENDIX J – 1

Examples of external distribution of clause types

(n.b. Matrix 10, p. 103)

1 I just stand there, stand at attention, AND she drew me.
2 IF she sick, THEN now a new teacher will come.
3 I should've made you know I should've made the rainbow bat­
man, BUT couldn't, I didn't have enough clay.
4 I play there for three years, SO am used already.
5 Just BECAUSE my name was Osborn Green, they kick me out of
school.
6 I let you have the floor fast, BUT lemme have the mike!
7 If it breaks, the wave is, you know, the wave among the
breaker uh, you need to uh catch it BECAUSE you'll be
riding the soup at the whitewash.
8 ... oh I try BUT what's the use?
9 Yesterday I went surfing in Chuck's Pond, AND there was this
eel ... 
10 A pipoboard is a board that is made out of a special kind of
wood, and they have to make it so good that the water doesn't
go in it, OTHERWISE it will sink.
11 ... I go up to the pool on my bike OR my mother takes me ...
12 No, BUT when we went there weren't anybody.
13 If you uh go about now, you might reach about four-thirty,
14 Sit next to her AND show her what you like.
15 I don't know what their purpose was but more especially I think it's getting themselves oriented SO THAT they could go down to Thailand ...
16 See, there are some boyd that came here to knock down the breadfruit, which we call ulu, AND they intend to make the poi ...
17 ... they try to make the best of it WHEREAS today ... the opportunity is granted to them ...
18 You listen to Neki he's all right, SO you can get some material.
19 BUT only only that uh other nationality not allowed there ...
20 Try to copy it out SO THAT your recorder could uh register that.
21 ... it was crossed with the black ink AND I didn't know.
22 What they do uh before, they uh throw over the stones, OR they make like us uh hot water?
23 Good thing he made it home. If he didn't make it, make it home he'd been killed BECAUSE the traffic was so heavy that Christmas Eve.
24 ... there was this two catfish SO we saw the catfish.
25 ... CAUSE he wa'n't allowed.
26 Do you know the name of the boy that helped Dr. Crowley? AND how the Peace Corps came down, help you folks too?
Intonation is not the special concern of this study, but I wish to note the intriguing matter of intonation in questions in Hawaii English (as well as in other American dialects). The most recent statement I know of is Nagara's, regarding the 'Pidgin English' of Japanese in Hawaii: 'Rising juncture // is to denote that the utterance is a question whether there is any other syntactical interrogative marker in the constituent with which this // occurs or not' (126). He cites (129) the chart on page 132 in Lieberman's work to justify the generalization of 'rising intonation indicating questions among English, Japanese and many other languages when no syntactic marker of question is involved.' Lieberman does assert (60) that 'in American English, yes-no questions are always produced with a marked breath group.' (A 'marked breath group' is defined as an utterance with rising terminal.)

For further similar treatment, also note the following. Otto Jespersen (The Philosophy of Grammar, 1924, 303) states that 'with respect to tone it is the general rule that nexus-questions (yes-no) have a rising and x-questions (other than yes-no) a falling tone towards the end of the sentence.' Jerrold J. Katz and Paul M. Postal (An Integrated Theory of Linguistic Descriptions, 1964, 111) mention '... the connection of Q with rising intonation in English ...' and '... the sometimes claimed universality of rising
intonation in questions ...

The feeling of Lieberman, Nagara, and others regarding the near universality of rising intonation as a question marker in utterances lacking interrogative words or particles is not supported by some other studies of American English on this point. Pike's analysis (1946) seems to limit intonation rising from his level two to the marking of questions (59-60); and the two falling patterns, from his level three and his level one, do not signal questions (49-51, 60-61); but one falling pattern and two other rising patterns may be either questions or statements (44-59). Bolinger's extensive study (1957) presents even more explicitly the seeming fact that yes-no questions do not exclusively exhibit final rising contours (50, 64, 67, 71, 72-73, 75, 77, 81, 84, 91, 97-98) as well as that 'how-why' questions may take other than the usual pattern of a terminal down motion (136, 137, 140, 154, 159). In his dissertation (Cornell, 1958), Gage also shows that rising patterns for yes-no questions and falling ones for WH questions are not absolutely invariable, and, in addition, he cites (passim) 46 statements (non-questions) as having rising terminal intonation. And Pike (in Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior, 1967, 541) refers to 'Fries (in D. Jones, 1964: 242-254, who shows that out of 2561 yes-or-no questions, about sixty percent -- counter to continuous assertions to the contrary --
APPENDIX K - 3

had falling intonation.' W. A. Cook (Introduction to Tagmemic
Analysis, 1969, 50-53) indicates 233 as the intonation pattern
of English questions with declarative clause structure, and 231
with question clauses like 'Did John go' and 'Is John good'.

More research is needed, obviously, both as to general Ameri-
can and as to Hawaii English interrogative intonation. It appears
that in Keaukaha English there is not one distinctive pattern for
yes-no and another for WH, but that a pattern roughly characterized
in the Trager-Smith system as /(2-3)4-1/ is used for both types,
and that at least another further pattern /2-1/ is also used for
both types of questions. (In Pike's notation, these contours are
/(3-2)1-4/ and /3-4/, respectively.)
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