

=0 stay sucking out& *t)s har! to pa! ! le in if you no catch one wave
 =. in& So * starte! tryna * pa! ! o * pa! ! o * cannot get in& 4ow ! a
 =9 current stay ta\$ing #e ! own& 3ust ! rifting *)# way ! own ! a o! ! a si! e of
 == ! a ' each& 2ut fnally wen pa! ! le in, one wave wen fnally wen push #e
 =? in an! * washe! up on the ' each an! * was ! ea! tire! & An! so * en! e! up
 =/ on ! a ' each an! ' ecause * neva have sleep ! a night ' efoa * slep on
 =: ! a ' each right ! ea& * -ust wen lie ! own on ! a san! wit #y surf' oar! an!
 =L * wen \$noc\$ out& An! ! en how * wo\$e up ! a waves was getting ' igger so
 =E ! a wave wen wash up an! u#, wa\$e #e up& An! so * was up an! now * ha!
 =G to wal\$ all ! a way ! own ! a o! ! a en! fo to wea ! a car was par\$& An! so *
 ?0 pic\$ up #y surf' oar! , * stay wal\$ing ! own ! a ' each& An! * see two
 ?. surfas stan! ing on ! a ' each wit ! ea surf' oar! loo\$ing out at ! a waves an! they see
 ?9 #e co#ing li\$e * -ust pau surf& So of course, ! ey gon as\$ #e, Eh ' rah,
 ?= how was ! a surf<" an! * tol! u#, Hu, ' ra! ! ah, ! a surf was goo! , #an&
 ?? HUUU! Mbu guys shoul! go out&" An! ! en * wen pa! ! le to ! a cah an! * was
 ?/ laughing to #yself&

The frst feature that #ar\$s 1 i#o)s speech as Pi! gin can ' e foun! in line ? in E(cerpt .

language. Examples of this kind of intonation in L1 speakers' speech can be heard in the second audio clip, where he utters common Hawaiian question phrases and switches between HCE and SAE. The first example of this intonation pattern can be found in Tale 9 (Audio Clip J9 at 0:00); when L1 speakers say, "So wat, yu li'e go surf or wat?" the intonation rises at "surf," then falls sharply at "or wat." Similarly, in the same tale (Audio Clip J9 at 0:00), he says, "Eh how+it 'ra, wea 'a 'atru' steh?" The intonation of this utterance rises and falls, while in SAE the intonation would form a rising contour.

Lexical Features

As seen in other transcripts, there are many words used in L1 speakers' stories that are not present in SAE. Below is a list of L1 speakers' HCE words and their SAE equivalents (Tale 9). All definitions were gathered from the Penguin English Dictionary (n.d.).

Tale 9.

Penguin Words Used in 'o

HCE word	SAE Meaning
ʻākinē 9 Hawaiian feet	A "whatcatcher," or something used as a filler word. Rather than measuring the face of the wave, Hawaiian "face" normally refers to the peak of the wave, which is about half the height of the face. Thus, a Hawaiian 1-foot wave would measure .0 feet from the face of the wave.
ʻāh 'āh	

Another common feature of Pidgin can be seen in children's use of particles. The utterance-initial particle *ho* is usually used to get the recipient's attention and to express surprise or disbelief as the speaker begins a turn to talk (Examples 1, 2, 3). We often hear the particles *hā* and *ho* in Pidgin, which have slightly different meanings. *Hā* often carries a positive connotation in an expression of content, while *ho* usually expresses content or disbelief. This nuance distinction can be seen in children's use of *hā* in reference to the good waves (Excerpt 1, line 9, Audio Clip J. at 1:20:00) and *ho* in "Ho 'rah, steh col! ah!" and "Ho, 'at girl, she 'a\$ine, real ni'ele ah!" (Ta'le 1, Audio Clip J9).

However, the majority's attitude to HCE is not a simple 'white matter'. Rather, it is a mixture of both overt negative attitudes and covert positive attitudes, as seen in Excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1 Reasoning for the Dislike in Hawai'i culture (Click on link to hear [Audio Clip J.K](#))

9 2ac\$ in the . E00s the i##igrants ca#e to Hawaii& The Chinese was the
 . = frst& An! then the 3apanese& An! then the Potagees (Portuguese%an!
 . ? then the Filipinos then the De(cicans then the 1oreans& That's why to! ay
 . / we're all chop suey& 2ut the English was a ' ro\$en English& An! that's
 . : the only way they coul! un! erstan! each other& ; ith their ' ro\$en
 . L English& An! you \$now in the&& as years passe! , it)s now&& it ' eca#e a
 . E part of our&& a part of our culture& An! uh, to! ay there)s people ! at can switch it on,
 . G switch it off an! if you cant switch off ! a Pi! gin English an! if you
 90 spea\$& *f you cant switch off ! a Pi! gin English, then its gonna ' e har!
 9. fo get -o' s in the service in! ustry ' ecause uhh in the service
 99 in! ustry, especially uh touris#& Touris# is our #a-or in! ustry& An! you
 9= nee! to uh, spea\$ English ' ecause tourists can't un! erstan! our Pi! gin
 9? English& 2ut its a#a+ing how you coul! go to the university an! get a
 9/ ! egree in Pi! gin English or in so#e of the top private schools it)s
 9: #an! atory for the# to learn spea\$ pi! gin English an! * ! onlt get that
 9L part&
 9E So yo /sai /yo /have to earn ike Pi .gin in schoo ~/
 9G 4o, * neva learn Pi! gin in school&
 =0 /o no no ike right now /~ private schoo \$ /They teach it /
 =. *n so#e private schools * tin\$ li\$e Dary\$ noll you gotta&& *t)s
 =9 #an! atory&
 == ~ / / yo /agree or /sagree /
 =? * ! isagree&
 =/ Why /
 =: 2ecause why woul! you wanna teach your \$i! how to spea\$ ' ro\$en English<
 =L What i / it s ike br c (/fa *signifcance an! /st (/
 =E To #e, u#, there)s ' etter things you can learn for cultural
 =G signifcance than the ' ro\$en English& Unless, you \$now& Unless you can
 ?0 switch it on then switch it off& * #ean it)ll ' e o\$ay&
 ?. So in ike. 45 years i / a **the new generations. ike
 ?9 no /y spoke Pi .gin it s a ** ike. /st nor "a "Eng ish ike Stan .ar /
 ?= Eng ish yo /know. it s ok / /s whatever s /
 ?? 4o, that woul! nlt ' e Hawaii& That woul! nlt ' e Hawaii& 2ut in #y opinion
 ?/ * -ust tin\$ you \$now, as long as you can& English shoul! ' e the proper&
 ?: Zet gra# #ar frst an! then you can switch it off then switch on the
 ?L

/0 *Oh yo (think it sho (?! # 'an /atory to éarn Hawaiian*
 /. *áng /áge in schoo /*
 /9 *U#, no& * no tin\$ so& 4o nee! &*
 /= *Oh yo (speak Hawaiian /*
 /? *Uh * spea\$& * get Hawaiian wor! s& , h o\$0 So *)|| spea\$ English" now&*
 // *Okay /*
 /: *Alright& An! * ha! a chance to learn Hawaiian ' ecause #y gran! parents*
 /L *coul! spea\$ the Hawaiian language Wuently an! so ' ecause #y*
 /E *generation, we were losing our culture ' ecause we ! i! nlt have Hawaiian*
 /G *language in our schools& ; e were learning #ore u#P international*
 : 0 *languages li\$e you \$now, 3apanese an! you \$now, you coul! learn Chinese an! Zer#an*
 : . *an! Spanish ' ut not Hawaiian& An! so, #y attitu! e& 2ut you ha! to go learn Hawaiian if*
 : 9 *you \$now so#eone at ho#e, you coul! learn Hawaiian ' ut #y generation was*
 : = *; hy shoul! we learn Hawaiian<" you \$now ' ecause where are we gonna use*
 : ? *this language< An! what we were #ore intereste! in was going to the*
 : / *' each& An! so * so * ! i! nlt ta\$e a! vantage of learning Hawaiian ' ut at*
 : : *ho#e #y parents an! #y gran! parents woul! use Hawaiian wor! s so * ! o*
 : L *\$now Hawaiian wor! s& 2ut notP * cant spea\$ it Wuently&*
 : E *Okay / So ! /*

Note& The interviewer's turns are in italics&

E (cerpt ?@, n soun! ing too haole" IClie\$ on lin\$ to hear Au! io clip J9K
 : G ; hen *)# with #y frien! s * spea\$ Pi! gin English * woul! say& Dore *
 L0 woul! say #ore *, * thin\$ Creole& An! * thin\$ there)s ti#es where *
 L. soun! too haole" where #y frien! s will tease #e& 2ut * thin\$ uh, *
 L9 rather spea\$ English than Pi! gin English& 2ut then again, when *)# with
 L= #y frien! s its -ust co#es out natural an! when *)# wor\$ing *)# #ore
 L? aware of how * tal\$& 8)! at& Than\$, every' o! y for having #e& Day' e one
 L/ ! ay we go uh&& ' ar' ecue& ; e go surf& Zo ! own ! a ' each& Spoc\$ you
 L: guys latah& See you ' u#' ai& Aloha& Mee haw0

* ' elieve 1 i#o)s attitu! es towar! Pi! gin co#es fro# his fel! of wor\$& 1 i#o has wor\$e!
 as a tour gui! e for over thirty years an! has to constantly ! eal with in! ivi! uals who ! o not spea\$
 HCE& He even clai#s that Mou nee! to spea\$ English ' ecause tourists can)t un! erstan! our
 Pi! gin English" (E (cerpt =, line 99>9?, Au! io Clip J. at : @?=>: @/9% Therefore, he has learne! to
 switch ' etween HCE an! SAE (or Hawai)i 8ocal English (H8E% as ! escri' e! ' y Coo\$ (90. . %
 an! feels that spea\$ing proper English" is vital to ' eing successful an! accepte! ' y non>pi! gin
 spea\$ers& *f he coul! not spea\$ SAE, it woul! ' e ! iffcult to get a -o' , as he e(plains in lines 90>
 9. of E (cerpt = (Au! io Clip J. at : @E>: @=L%

1 i#o ! oes, however, recogni+e HCE)s covert prestige, saying that he spea\$s Pi! gin when
 he is with his frien! s ' ecause he will occasionally get tease! for soun! ing too haole," which
 #eans too white" (E (cerpt ?, line L. , Au! io Clip J9 at 0@/0>. @0=% The frien! s who tease hi#

for sounding "too haole" were also identified as Hawai'i locals who grew up speaking HCE in their everyday lives.

As can be noted throughout our discussion, participants seem to have mixed feelings about HCE, as do many locals. Participant 1 feels strongly about preserving Hawai'i's culture through HCE, as Hawai'i without Pidgin would not be Hawai'i" (Excerpt 1, line 11, Audio Clip 1). Participant 2 However, when asked if HCE should be taught in school, Participant 1 emphatically states that he learned how to speak SAE in school and that HCE was used at home or casually outside of academic or professional settings. After being asked if he disagreed with this approach and if students should learn Pidgin in school for cultural purposes, Participant 1 responded with a reluctant "why would you want to teach your child how to speak 'broken English'" (Excerpt 1, line 15, Audio Clip 1). Participant 2 "Better things you can learn for the cultural significance than the 'broken English'" (Excerpt 1, lines 16-17, Audio Clip 1).

This shows that many locals in Hawai'i face the following dilemma: should they face rejection from their own local community or conform to the local community's norms and sound uneducated to non-speakers of HCE? Their solution is to do what they do best, namely, develop competencies in both codes (SAE and HCE) and to switch fluently between the two depending on the context.

Discussion

Having been raised as a speaker of HCE, we feel that it plays a very important role in local culture. Being able to speak Pidgin naturally provides a sense of prestige among locals. If a speaker chooses to use Pidgin and continues to use it throughout their lifetime, even when in professional settings, it shows that he or she is proud to come from Hawai'i. HCE supports his or her cultural identity. The role of Pidgin in education is quite different. Participant 1 expresses this when discussing that he did not learn Pidgin in school (line 9, Excerpt 1). Instruction in school would be conducted in SAE; with the controversy surrounding HCE today, a question came to mind: how long has the view that SAE is the correct medium and target of instruction been enforced? Instruction conducted in SAE dates all the way back to the year 1890, when the Hawaiian monarchy was overthrown. After the overthrow,

the English language campaign transformed into an English-only one, as advocates

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About the author

Cheyenne Row was born and raised on the island of Oahu. As a speaker of Pi'gin herself, she is interested in sharing the linguistic and cultural aspects of Pi'gin to readers unfamiliar with the language.