

OBSERVATIONS ON CREOLIZATION AND DECREOLIZATION
THE CASE OF HAWAIIAN ENGLISH DA KINE

Alan M Perlman
Wayne State University

Since this paper deals with one of the most conspicuous markers of Hawaii's local dialect, yet is intended for an audience with no first-(or even second-) hand familiarity with that particular speech-form, much of what I say at first will provide background information, first about Hawaiian English, then about the group of grammatical constructions under consideration

The distinctive variety of the English language in Hawaii is the product of a number of influences, foremost among which is the pidgin or contact language of the polyglot population of Orientals, Portuguese, and Filipinos, among others, who immigrated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to work on the sugar plantations. The casual speech of their children and grandchildren is a roughly uniform vernacular with strong social implications. Stigmatized for decades, it has recently acquired a degree of prestige as an authentic product of Hawaii's ethnic mix (Perlman 1973, Ch 1). Though called "Pidgin" by local residents, it is, of course, not a pidgin in the technical sense.

Until the early 1970's, research in Hawaiian English (HE) was based on the speech of a few informants or even on that of the writer alone. Descriptions derived from this sort of data supported (and may have been influenced by) the popular notion of a uniform "Pidgin". Carol Odo, one of the first to investigate a large body of natural-speech data, came to a different conclusion, one which subsequent investigation has shown to be correct (see Day 1972 and Perlman 1973).

Subsequent years of pressure from mainland or standard English checked the development of a stable creole but did not obliterate creole structural features. What is now "Hawaiian English" is neither standard nor creole but a weird mixture of both language varieties whose features are used almost interchangeably and side-by-side (1). While "Hawaiian Creole" might still be a useful abbreviation for a set of creole features, it still does not indicate the language variety of any speaker or speech community in Hawaii (10).

Turning now to the various surface forms of kind and da kind, I will give my own classification, followed by a discussion of what has been said in previous popular and linguistic literature

Speakers of Hawaiian English (hereafter HE) use kind in three distinctive ways, each differing more or less from Mainland usage (In ensuing discussion, kind, besides simulating local pronunciation, will serve to designate the HE item, whichever one is under consideration, as distinct from its Mainland counterpart)

I -kind₁ a nominal, entering into constructions with certain determiners and predeterminers

- (1) Only the light / you pay Now, you pay anykind--water,
house ('You used to pay only for electricity' Now,
you pay for everything--water, rent ') (FS68F)¹
- (2) [re early jobs] I started anykind. ('I started [out]
doing anything/everything ') (RY73J)

II kind₂ a prenominal attributive, like Mainland kind of

- (3) They have / all kind crowd (YS51J)
- (4) 'A's really stage-kind Pidgin ' (EA36J)

III da kind [da'kaʔn] an element with three uses--two as determiner, one as nominal

A demonstrative 'that kind of,' 'that same kind of,'
'that same'

- (5) [Q You worked in the field for only two weeks?]
Yeh, what they call [it?], hanawai ['irrigation'] Da kind
job, da kind job
- (6) Old Kentucky Home and all da kind songs that we
learned (EA36J)
- (7) He's da kind type,² he doesn't wanna get mad (FB56Ff)

B article 'the (generic),' 'that-there,' 'the usual sort
of'

- (8) They get da kind high-class cooks over there (EA36J)

- (9) Some people make big party in / da kine tea house (KY63J)
- C a quasi-nominal element, sometimes similar to the gizmo, the watchamacallit, also, 'that sort (of thing),' 'you know the thing'
- (10) My time was da kine, I make Christmas tree with this pine tree ('In my time was--you know the sort of thing I made a Christmas tree with this [Norfolk Island] pine tree ') (YS51J)
- (11) [re pollution] Human kukai [Hawaiian, 'feces'] is nothing but nothing. You / throw all da kine / chemicals in the water (' you throw all--you know the kind of stuff--chemicals in the water ') (GT51F/C)
- (12) [Filipinos had] lotta holidays and / all da kine, like [examples follow] (' holidays and all that kind of thing ') (PA61F)
- (13) [quoting self, to daughter] 'I want you to graduate with your yk the family name, not da kine get married yk' (LAUGH) (' not--you know what I mean--get married . ') (FB56Ff)
- (14) Business-wise, I think the Chinese are (?) the most / da kine (' the most--you know what I mean, ' ' the most--that way'--actually 'shrewd') (YS51J)

Kind as a component of noun phrases is something of a paradox in the study of HE. Because it is so obvious and distinctive a feature of local dialect, popular writings on the subject frequently comment on it. On the other hand, since it is hardly integral to the structure of HE, most technical treatments omit it entirely. The Illustrated Atlas of Hawaii, a 1970 compendium of local flora, fauna, history, and culture, dismissed da kine as 'a corruption of "that kind," a generalization used by people too lazy to think of the right word' (Bushnell 1970 69). And This Week on Oahu, a tourist brochure distributed gratis in hotel rooms and public places, reinforces the stereotype of the Hawaii-born resident as a happy-go-lucky, barefoot rustic with this exposition

An indispensable pidgin word is 'da kine' which comes from 'the kind' or 'that kind'. It's used in all sorts of ways and means most anything. 'Hey, you an' her da kine?' might mean 'Are you two married?', 'Moki got da kind haole clothes' could mean 'Look at Moki. He's wearing shoes', 'I want da kine raw fish' probably means 'I'd like some sashimi'. It's all pure pidgin--pure delightful, da kine pidgin (Richardson 1971:14)

Among descriptive studies, Kasdon and Smith (1960:67-8) place kind 'used redundantly' at 9.5 in their ranking of the twelve most frequent pidgin 'errors' made by the children in their survey. Here is their explanation of the error (glosses mine)

Kind for type or way is used redundantly or where it would appear that the child is at a loss for a word to express himself more adequately. Typical examples of this error are as follows: 'This is marble-kind agate', 'You make this kind?' ['Did/do you do this sort of thing?'], 'I brought home big kind dolly', 'What kind she doing?' ['What (sort of thing) is she doing?']

About the only other researcher³ who has given any attention at all to the use of kind in HE is Elizabeth Carr. In her 1960 article, she wrote (61)

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

'He's da kine about her!' ('He's in love with her')
 'Go get da kine sweep floor.' ('Go get
 the broom and sweep the floor')
 'Oh, you know da kine---' (You know what I mean--
 the what-you-may-call-it)
 'He's a little bit da kine' ('He's a little bit crazy')
 'Da kine talk' ('Pidgin English')

Twelve years later, in her book on HE--the title actually contains 'the ubiquitous "da kine"'--Carr has added labels to the various uses (135),⁴ the parenthesized material represents Carr's own contextual interpretations of da kine.

Used in innumerable ways, [da kine] is one of the most popular of all terms in Hawaii's nonstandard speech. It is a shibboleth--a phase distinctive of Hawaii's local talk. The following examples show some of its patterns.

- Substantive 'Take da kine (broom) and sweep da floor.'
Pronoun Q 'We goin' have one party. I like you come.'
 A 'Where da kine (it) goin' be?'
Adjective Q 'You think Sam in love wid Alice?' A
 'Man, he da kine (crazy) 'bout her!'
Suffix Q 'Oh, hey! We go show? Get da kine rock music!'
 A 'Oh, da rock-kine!' I like!'
Suffix 'I see the Oahu-kine surfboard and the over-here-kine' (on Kauai)

In what follows, additional examples and discussion will amplify my classification of the surface kine-forms.

I The nominal -kine₁⁵ seems to be the only kine-formation used by older, second-language speakers of English. Anykine, 'anything, everything,' is the most frequent combination. Informant YN68J, aware that anykine (though here used adjectivally) is not common among newcomers to Hawaii, says

- (15) Nineteen twenty / two, something, anykine machine come
 in [to interviewer] You know anykine? [I V Yeh]
 LAUGH ('Around 1922, every kind of machine came in')

And EA36J, though he regularly uses anything and everything, switches when he addresses a group of informants, all pidgin-speakers

- (16) Ask him anykine

Anykine can have generalizing, almost adverbial force beyond 'everything'

- (17) [re son's wives] Sick-time help morning-time help,
 anykine help, help ('They help anytime (?),' 'in every
 way' (?)) (SS82J)

- (18) [re Russo-Japanese War] Japan poor, anykine poor But
 win! (' poor in every way (?) ')⁶ (SS82J)

Other nominal combinations with -kine₁ are possible, these lack an overt noun--Carr's "suffix" category--and occur with a variety of proposed elements

- (19) He get cramps and all kine eh? (SY65J)
- (20) This kind, I show my son, my daughter ('I show my son and daughter this [sort of behavior] ') (SS82J)
- (21) [re loading sugar cane] Only little bit money, this kine (YS71J)
- (22) No mo this kine ('There's none of this [sort of thing] ') (SY65J)
- (23) Make-believe kine only, that /ys. (FC62F)

with adjectives

- (24) I go fish We get illegal-kine, yeah (GT51F/C)
- (25) But racial-kine, you never see no fighting because of race (EA36J)
- (26) Bimeby all / pololei-kine, all right ('Eventually, everything [was] the right kind, OK,' that is, picture-brides without husbands eventually accepted any decent-looking man) (CT70J)

time expressions

- (27) Right-now-kine poison-kine no mo eh? ('They didn't have the kind of herbicide they have today, did they?') (EA36J, to pensioners)
- (28) [re food] All the same kine yeh? All, before--before-kine, see ('[It was] all [the] same kine [as] the kine [we had] before, see ') (MT70J)

verbals

- (29) No mo mix-kine? ('Weren't there mixed [marriages]?') (KM57J to CT70J)

noun phrases

- (30) [re housing] Two-bedroom-kine, only myself inside'

locatives

- (31) No mo da kine theater Outdoor-kine ('That theater's gone There's a drive-in [now] ') (KY63Jf)

verb phrases

- (32) [re jobs] Only da kine/ cane-give-water-kine
(u e , irrigation) (IN66J)

II Next to anykine, nominal this kine appears to be the most frequent combination Perhaps this kine was in fact the first attributive construction of the kine₂ type Consider

- (33) Some of them would / play this kine uh cock-fighting ah?
They love cock-fighting (FB56Ff)

Two interpretations are possible 'this kind of cock-fighting,' or 'this sort of thing, that is, cock-fighting' In actuality, only the latter makes sense, since there IS only one kind of cock-fighting Here are four examples of this kine from one speaker, GT51F/C

- (34) We used to have this kine they call (th)at uh, you know,
social dance eh?
- (35) talking all this kine ah, Pidgin English
- (36) If you come to this kine ([tuska]) old folks laidat,⁷
they don want fun, don make fun
- (37) When he dance he make a ll this kine action eh?

In (34) this kine is clearly nominal, as in (20)-(22) It probably is in (35), too, for it is separated from the accompanying NP by a hesitation, and the sentence refers to Pidgin English as a whole, not to some particular kind of it In (36) this kine is set off from old folks by nothing more than a tone-fall, it is nevertheless nominal, since the informant is talking about old folks in general 'If you come up to this kind of person, that is, old folks and the like ' I find (37) ambiguous, this kind with no prosodic separation, could be either nominal or attributive

This appositional or 'id est' relationship into which nominal this kine enters may explain the double kine in

- (38) Many of this kind triangle-kine eh? you fool around he
kill you yk.⁸ (FB56Ff)

as '(In) many of this sort of thing, that is, the triangle-kind (of arrangement)

Whatever the process, in the speech of those who use English as a first language, kine₂ can occur as an attributive with any of several predeterminers. Others may be possible, the following sentences exemplify only those predeterminers attested in the corpus

- some (39) some kine information (YS51J)

- any (not excluding the older meaning 'every')⁹
(40) I did anykine job, outside job (SF67Jf)
(see also [15])

- all (41) [During World War II] the company didn't want to
lose the workers, so they did all kine things (IS58J)

- (42) union Housing Committee put om all kine place
(IS58J)

- (an)other (43) This kine temple, uh, nother kine temple no mo
(¹If there were none of this kind of temple or [any] other
kind . ') (SS82J)

- (44) go to night school or other kine school (IS58J)

Along with demonstrative da kine (though not in the same person's speech)¹⁰ we find the re-formations, perhaps even hypercorrections, that kine and the kine

- (45) They didn't used to make that kine big party before
(YS51J)

- (46) We don steal from the store and that kine [dæ't kɪn]
(PA61F)

- (47) You('re) just one of the few eh? / get, well / get that
kine crazy guts (' one of the few that has
'--with subject-relative deletion) (HS44K)

(48) That's the [~~da~~] kine guys that wouldn't go out (PA61F)

Attributive kine₂ occurs in what?-questions--

(49) What kine fire they gon make? (DB75P)

--embedded questions--

(50) They like know what kind mind you get, what you thinking
('They want to know ') (EA36J)

--and with preposed adjectivals¹¹

(51) sixty-, seventy-year-old kine people (BA46F)

(52) These homes are standing because they use that old kine
lumber (HS44K)

(53) If you no wake up, you can have om all the funny kine
firewood (FC62F)

Continuous influence of Mainland speech patterns means that kine is in the process of acquiring of--but not uniformly. Even from what little data we have, it seems clear that of-insertion has progressed furthest in the environment some kine N and has made the least progress after any, limitation of the rule after any may have something to do with the vestigial influence of the pidgin nominal anykine₁. Further research should check these findings, as well as other inferences that we can draw from Table 1, namely that of-insertion is favored after embedded what (see (5)) and variable after this and all. The latter two environments may be the loci of ongoing change in this rule (see Table 1, next page)

I would say that of-insertion, a kind of variability that differs sharply from all types of mainland speech (those, at least, that I am aware of) is quite effective as a style-marker, perhaps even as powerful as no can or da kine itself.¹² In EA36J, the only speaker with both variable of-insertion and a distribution of examples throughout three speech-styles, we find the distribution of variants in Table 2 (see Table 2, page after next)

Table 1 Implicational scaling (first approximation) of of-insertion in context kine N, according to the item preceding, group-interview speech only + categorical of-insertion, - categorical absence of of, x variable of-insertion, superscript s stylistic variation, superscript I occurrence in impersonation or quote of someone else, () data from other speech styles, if group-interview style is missing, (what) occurrence after what in embedded sentences

	Item preceding <u>Kine N</u>							
	<u>some</u>	<u>(what)</u>	<u>this</u>	<u>all</u>	<u>that</u>	<u>Adj</u>	<u>what?</u>	<u>any</u>
<u>Informant</u>								
FC62F			-			-	-	
FB56Ff	(+) ^I		-					-
MB73F				-				-
GT51F/C			x	-		-		
GY67J			-	x				
YS51J	x	-		x	-			
PA61F	+		-	-	+			
IS58J			+	-				
BA46F			+	-		-	-	-
CE70J	+	+	-	+				
EA36J	+	+	+	+	- ^s	x ^s	(x) ^s	- ^s
SY56J	+	+	+	+	+	-		
CS69Ff	+	+			-			-

Table 2 Frequency of kine/kine of, informant EA36J

<u>in env</u>	<u>Speech-Styles</u>					
	S1(speech to interviewer)		S2(group- interview speech)		S3(speech to another Hawai- born person)	
	<u>kine</u>	<u>kine of</u>	<u>kine</u>	<u>kine of</u>	<u>kine</u>	<u>kine of</u>
any_____		2		2		
what_____ ?		1			2	
Adj_____		1	3	1	4	1?
that_____		2	2			
the same____		2		1	1	
<u>%of-insertion</u>		100		44		12

As we might predict, of occurs categorically in S1, variably in S2, but--except for one doubtful case--not at all in S3

III I return now to da kine itself It should be obvious from the examples (5)-(14) that reports of the chaotic variability of da kine have been somewhat exaggerated When in construction with a noun, it has demonstrative or generic-article force As a free-standing quasi-nominal, it points to what is temporarily or permanently left unsaid, it signals that the speaker is omitting some other word on the grounds, whether valid or not, that knowledge of the intended idea is already a part of the hearer's experience (Shared experience is, in fact, a semantic component in each of the other two uses as well) I find it absurd, then, to argue that da kine is a verb in

- (54) You wanna cook om, cook om, but don da kine, make noise
you know, in the place over there (GT51F/C)

The speaker is saying, ' don't do that sort of thing, you know what I mean'--and he follows by specifying exactly what he does mean This 'id est' discourse sequence exactly parallels the one I defined for this kine¹³

I would now like to consider the question of whether kine₁, kine₂, and da kine have any relationship other than through the fact that they are all conspicuous dialect markers and NP components with phonological similarity I would like to hypothesize that they are in a chronological relationship that is discernible by internal reconstruction from the distribution of the kine-forms among three language groups in Hawaii (this does not necessarily imply the existence of three separate speech-forms in Hawaii, and it deliberately oversimplifies, ignoring, for example, later Filipino immigrants who learned HE and speak a variety of it that is heavily influenced by the phonology of their native language (1) older immigrants who learned pidgin English on the plantations in the early years of this century, (2) native-born residents who speak HE as a first language, and (3) latter-day Mainland immigrants, who imported Mainland English and the cultural prestige that was, until recently, exclusive to it Figure 1 shows the proposed chronological relationship among pidgin forms, creole innovations, and decreolized forms

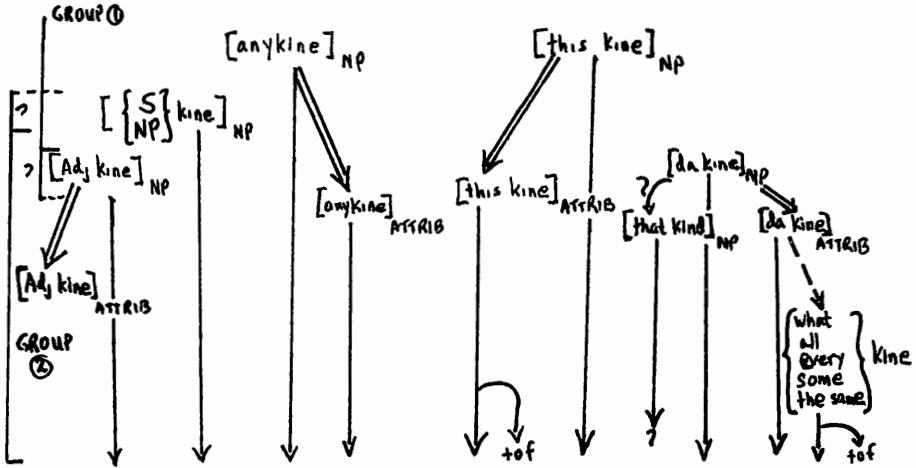


Fig 1 expresses in diagrammatic form these hypothetical developments

(i) Nominals anykine (distributive) and this kine (deictic) are the earliest pidgin forms. I assume these gave rise to other nominal kine formations, e.g., mix-kine, cane-give-water-kine, which are used by pidgin-speakers and which Carr reports as being in use today and which are attested in my data from native speakers of HE

(ii) Nominal da kine, not used by pidgin-speakers, is a creole innovation, introducing the proximate/ultimate distinction in HE deixis (in view of the prevalence of ultimate-stressed da 'kine, the status of that kine is not clear, it is quite rare in my corpus)

(iii) While all three nominals continue into present-day HE, they acquire attributive functions, possibly under the influence of Mainland speech patterns. The "id est" sequences this/da kine N may have been reinterpreted as attributive constructions (cf (34)-(37))

(iv) Such pronominals as some, every, and other join this, that (da), and any as components of attributive -kine. Differences with Mainland speech here are minimal, though the of-insertion rule, representing the final step in the decreolization process, has powerful style-marking force

Stage (ii), in my opinion, represents creolization, and (iii) and (iv), decreolization. A tentative conclusion, independent, I think, of the validity of (i)-(iv), is that surface homonymy may obscure historical relationships, into which one may gain some insight from consideration of surface structure, function, and semantics.

NOTES

¹Numbers represent informant's age at time of interview, rightmost capital letter, his/her ethnic group, whether Japanese, Chinese, Filipino, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, or Korean. Lower case f denotes female informant, and two letters identify the individual. In transcribed data, the slash represents a pause equivalent to single- or double-bar juncture (about 1/2 second), double slash (//), a longer pause, y k, 'you know' (parenthetical and hesitation form), three periods (. . .), an ellipsis, dash (--), a false start, y s, 'you see'. For information of data-gathering methods and on the informants themselves, see Perlman 1973, Ch 3.

²A fine distinction should be made here between two surface that's: there is one demonstrative with deictic force as in (5) and another that implies vague deixis but, more important, a sense of information or background shared--or at least believed to be shared--with the hearer, as in (you know what I mean when I refer to that old black magic). Both types seem to be signalled by demonstrative da kine, so I will make no further reference to the difference between them.

³Glissmeyer 1969, intended as the basis for teaching standard English as a second dialect, does not discuss kind specifically but mentions this kind car as a site for 'target determiner' of Labov et al (1970:6) report only that 'the rules governing attributive kind remain to be elucidated'. These and the works cited in the body of this paper are the only references in the literature to the topics under consideration here.

⁴ Accompanying comments from consultants in various foreign language specialities suggest both Hawaiian and Japanese origins for da kine and the 'suffix' use of kine. The corresponding translations from the two foreign languages are plausible but for one fact there are older Japanese pidgin-speakers who use neither. That is, some use only nominal -kine₁, others, -kine₁ and definite -kine₂. Among my informants, only two second-language speakers use da kine at all.

⁵ Nominal -kine₁ is difficult to account for structurally. The sense of anykine, for instance, is 'a NP which is (of) any kind', apparently the pidginization process has lifted the any/every kind from an embedded sentence and substituted it for the indefinite NP.

⁶ In deep structure, perhaps a topicalization 'With reference to everything, (Japan was) poor'. This informant, along with nominal this kine, has several cases of style(?) [sta'DU] e.g., This kind style no like, 'I don't like this (sort of thing)'. '.

⁷ The spelling laidat is meant to signify relexification of like that into 'and the like,' 'et cetera'.

⁸ Another fine distinction is worthy of note here. For the phrase In many of this kind of three-sided relationship there are two readings, namely, 'In many of this particular kind, as opposed to any other kind of three-sided relationship', and 'In many of this kind of relationship, by which I mean the three-sided kind'. As far as I can tell, this kine has both uses.

⁹ Carr (1972:121-2) reports that there is no difference between 'anybody' and 'everybody' in Hawaiian, or in Korean or Japanese, the languages of two of Hawaii's immigrant groups.

¹⁰ Informant YS51J does, however, give demonstrative da kine (as I have defined it) in a usage example Rather than say, 'the same kind of shoes,' you say, 'da kine shoes'.

¹¹ But predeterminers seem to attract the kine, even if it logically belongs with the noun, as in He doesn't use other kine nationality words (IS58J), 'words of other nationalities'. This rule applies even when the Mainland form of kind is selected. If you have all kind(d) a prefecture people out here, 'people from all prefectures' (SY65J).

I think Kasdon and Smith are wrong to say that 'kind for type or way' is used 'redundantly' in constructions of the type Adj kine N Mainland kind of, which corresponds to the kind in marble kind agate and big kind dolly, signals, at least to me, something quite different from marble agate or big dolly

¹²In support of Carr's observation about the recent vintage of da kine, I might point out that second-language speakers and older first-language speakers avoid it. Some first-language speakers, conscious of da kine as a marker of local dialect, may either avoid it or 'correct' to that kine

¹³There may be an article this kine that means 'this here' or 'this' (in the deictic-introductory sense This guy I met bought me a drink, cf. Perlman 1969) and is parallel to article da kine, (37) is a possible example. The facts are not clear to me, and I think that a native speaker's intuition will be needed in order to resolve the question.

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