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

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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

A number of master's theses have been written recently involving a technical linguistic analysis of immigrant speech, for instance by Kitamura, of Okinawan Japanese speech, and by Kindig, of Puerto Rican Spanish.

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

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

Incomplete recognition of the new key.--Yet it must be recognized that agreement among the various brands of experts is coming only gradually, and that understanding in the public is lagging. There has been an unawareness of the possibilities of the new approach, and by some, dissent from it. There continues to be condemnation both of the "crude," "inadequate," "broken," "substandard" speech of the Islands and of the "lazy" "stubborn" speakers as well, some critics going so far as to imply a kind of disloyalty and subversiveness. When the writer in a general address on Hawaii's people at a banquet of the Hawaii Library Association in 1958 made brief reference to the contribution of pidgin and the dialect to the assimilation of Hawaii's diverse peoples, this one point was singled out in the news report of the event and both newspapers carried editorials of reluctant agreement, which nevertheless argued that if pidgin had served a useful purpose in the past, "It would be unfortunate if Dr. Hormann's remarks are now taken as an indorsement of pidgin. There is no need for today's high school and college students to continue this jargon. It is, if anything, an impediment to . . . growth." (Honolulu Star-Bulletin, April 3, 1958.)

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

> Another warning in plain English has been issued against the use of not-so-plain pidgin English. [A school principal is quoted:] "That pidgin is still used today is very unfortunate. Educators should double or triple efforts in a sincere effort to wipe out this abominable English." ...Hawaii's school children possess a po-

tent weapon with which to knock out pidgin English. The weapon's simply labeled: Correct English.

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

> We hadn't completely realized the complexities of the racial structure nor the extent of the pidgin English until three . . . Oriental men came to paint our apartment. They came very early in the morning and painted all day. . . They talked to us. They wanted to know where we came from and what our hometown was like. They also wanted to know what we like the most about Hawaii and whether we were going to stay here or not. Questions like those required about five repetitions before we could understand what they were asking. (57-2411.)

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

> There is still the matter of pidgin which I have not become reconciled to. . . At first I couldn't really believe it when I heard it for it sounded so very foreign. . . I felt shut out and talked about. . . I was sometimes amused, sometimes horrified, at these college students talking to each other in sentences such as, "You go Haole movie tonight, yeh?" or "Aw, these junks pencils!" But I was even more horrified when one evening I said to someone "Aw, this was a junk day." (58-250(2)-12.)

Public use of pidgin.--Thus pidgin remains a problem to many--and yet, paradoxically, there exist also the deliberate, contrived, and artistic uses of the dialect, directed at the general public, for political satire and for clever advertising, as Reinecke long ago brought out, and now increasingly, in night club entertainment and in literature, as witness Michener's best-selling novel Hawaii, whose golden men, frequently resort to the dialect. We now have such musicals as, "Marry an American," and plays written for the annual drama contest of the University of Hawaii Theatre Group, in which the dialect is used.

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

Comparisons with Europe.--During a recent summer in Europe I was constantly reminded of our Hawaiian situation. Like the malihini visitor in Hawaii, I had trouble understanding many native speakers in England and Germany, even though I was able to address them in standard English and standard High German. In Yorkshire and Bavarian villages, the natural language of many people was virtually incomprehensible, although everywhere

there has been universal education for generations. Obviously the attempt to teach standard English or High German has still been meeting with resistance. In northern Germany a village school principal told me that in his Low-German-speaking community the need to communicate with resettled post-war German refugees from behind the Iron Curtain was finally leading the villagers to the more general use, outside the schoolroom, of standard High German. As a lad this principal claimed that he had still consistently used Low German when away from the formal school atmosphere, even though the pressure from the school was that High German be used.

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

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

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

In order to give some indication of what the present situation is like, I am referring to some of the hundreds of student papers which I have read in the past three or four years, in which the students attempt to give a full, objective, and yet meaningful account of a slice of their own life. They write under a code number and a duplicate copy of their 1500-2500 word-long papers is retained for the files of the Romanzo Adams Social Research Laboratory. It must be emphasized that while in terms of their social origins these students represent the diversity of our social structure, in intellectual ability and attainment they are an above-average group. (A file of materials on speech taken from these student papers and from the printed sources is available in the Adams Laboratory.)

All Speech Is Natural

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

> It is rather well developed because of the isolation of the islands. . . It possesses, as do all dialects, its own peculiar rhythm and its own special grammatical processes. . . There is nothing inherently inferior in the Hawaiian dialect of English. A language, after all, is how people talk, not how someone thinks they should talk.

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

Hawaii's Speech Continuum

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

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

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

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

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

The word hibolic for over-sophisticated, over-refined, highbrow (referring to language), which Reinecke listed, is now seldom heard. One of my student informants writes that an expression now in vogue among speakers of Hawaiian Island dialect is " 'as why hahd!" meaning "That's why it's hard," but having the connotation, "I'm stumped. This needs special attention, special effort." It perhaps replaced, "Lose fight!" Fad is one influence preventing the full establishment of local speech as a dialect. However, it has not been subject to systematic research.

Varieties and subvarieties of speech.--Reinecke's conception of a continuum recognized that the pidgin of the first-generation immigrants, learned as a secondary language in trade or on the plantations or in domestic employment, is more makeshift than the speech of families in their homes, and of children on the playground. This somewhat stabilized speech becomes the first and main language to which these children are exposed. It is what Reinecke called the Hawaiian Island dialect.

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

In present-day dialectical speech also, there may be differences depending upon the island on which it has developed, upon whether the speakers are all of the same sex, general age-group, national ancestry, occupation, or whether they are mixed in these respects. If they are all of the same ancestry, the proportion of loan words from that ancestral language tends to be higher. "Da tonari wahine stuh-ck up, but," one Japanese fellow might say to another, meaning, "But that neighbor girl is unpleasantly proud," and using the Japanese word tonari for neighbor. A Chinese son might ask his father, "I can go show when I pau yak fun?" (May I go to the show when I'm through eating? Yak fun is Chinese for eat.) Boys show not only a greater tendency to use dialectical speech but also, to pepper it with vulgar, obscene, and irreverent expressions.

Illustrations of linguistic variety in families.--A few quotations are indicative of this linguistic variety of Hawaii's people, to which the continuum gives some semblance of order.

> a. My parents have always been interested in "things Japanese." When we were children, we were all required to go to language school. . . Yet during World War II, they bought U.S. war bonds, and had a little victory garden.
>
> Now the more I talk with my father, the more I am amazed at his knowledge of and interest in politics, and other things with which I thought he was too narrow in his outlook to be concerned.
>
> If I were to single out one incident to symbolize the theme of this paper and of the life in our family, I would choose that time about a year ago when my father and I were sitting out on the lawn at night looking up into the sky. I had read in the papers that the

Russian sputnik would be visible to the naked eye that night. I told my father about it and he and I went out to wait for it. While we were waiting we discussed the satellite . . .

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

To me, the two of us sitting out there in the night symbolized the entire process which, I think, is taking place today in Hawaii, the emergence from provincialism and the entry into the world society. (60-232(2)-54, Japanese male.)

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

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

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

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

Linguistic Processes: Forward Development

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

Isolation.--Under conditions of marked social isolation the speech of people becomes set, their speech patterns established and uniform. Thus in the isolation of ancient Hawaii from its ancestral homeland in Tahiti, the Hawaiians developed their spoken form of the Polynesian language. Then, because of the relative isolation before 1778 of each Hawaiian island from the others, there developed linguistic differences even among them, particularly distinguishing Kauai-Niihau from the other islands. Similarly, in rural Japan, prefectural dialects grew up. Again, the local plantation or creole pidgin and its dialectical descendant developed in the days when the plantation communities of Hawaii were somewhat isolated from one another, leading to some apparent differences, e.g., on Maui. In big European cities, where an urban proletariat is socially too differentiated and isolated from the middle and upper classes, its speech, perhaps originally derived from the nearby peasantry, remains or becomes a distinct patois, London Cockney, Berliner-Deutsch. So now in Hawaii, the local dialect of English is a kind of class language, a local cockney.

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

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

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

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

Linguistic Processes: The Decline of the Ancestral Languages

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

Going along with the process of change in the general direction of standard American speech is the attrition of the ancestral languages, until by the third and fourth generations they linger on only in the form of a few phrases involving etiquette and basic objects and activities of daily living. "Most of my Korean vocabulary is command words, such as nubuja (sleep), mogo (eat), and ga (go)," writes a Korean student. (57-2396.)

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

The attrition of immigrant languages in Hawaii may be compared with what happened to speakers of European languages on the Mainland. "Mil-

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

The language school and the immigrant home.--There are other aspects of the foreign language situation which deserve fuller study. When the children or the grandchildren of Oriental immigrants attend language school, they are taught standard forms of the ancestral language, which vary greatly from the colloquial in the home. The same Korean student writes: "The Korean spoken in our home is a corrupted version of the low class type."

There is thus the conflict between learning a standard form of the ancestral language and the dialectical or "macaronic" form used in the immigrant home. Furthermore, instruction in these schools is of too short duration, pedagogically too poor, or too concerned with the written language to lead the students to oral facility in their ancestral language. This comes out very clearly in the student reports. In a Chinese language school:

> The teachers are not trained for teaching. Oral and written drill is the most widely used technique. . . Use of the Chinese brush began about grade four. . . The correct finger position in holding the brush and the position of the arm on the desk were illustrated. After the introduction period, we had regular periods for practice. . . In various ways, the influence of English school was felt here. The familiarity with English led to difficulty with Chinese tones. The students were more restless in the afternoon because of attendance at English school. Activities after school made many late to their classes. Homework given by English school made some drop out of Chinese school...As for myself, I managed to graduate and have managed to forget most of what I learned at school...I considered English more important and studied it more intensively. Due to lack of adequate motivation and regular use at home, my Chinese learning has been given back to the teacher. Most of my attendance...has gone for naught, but the friendships formed at school are still continuing. This, I believe, is the important benefit derived from my experiences at school. (60-232(2)-61.)

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

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

Marginal Languages: Pidgin and Standard

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paradox of the creole speech.--Plantation or creole pidgin would, if Hawaii as a whole had been not only geographically but also economically, politically, socially isolated from the Mainland, have become the standard new language of Hawaii, especially had it received the sanction of becoming a written language. Instead, it developed into a sort of working-class language, reenforced by and in turn reenforcing real but not complete barriers between this class and the Haole upper class. In this sense, it is an established dialect. But to the extent that it still helps people across barriers it is a marginal language. It is still both, the "pidgin-dialect."

Barriers are reduced not only by marginal languages but also by marginal speakers. The existence of speakers able to switch easily from one form of speech to another has at last gained recognition and the speech of

these people is now being systematically recorded and analyzed. The social psychological aspects of multilingualism are discussed below.

All Speech Is Social and Personal

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

Groups Isolated by Social Barriers

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

Language and the self.--The original domestic language to which one is exposed is the medium by which the child develops a self, in a process of role-taking so well described by George Herbert Mead. It is the language of warmth and intimacy, as Reinecke noted. In it parents express their affection for each other and for the children, reprimand them, make their plans, enjoy themselves at mealtime and on outings. In 1956 I was hospitalized for a few weeks at a local children's hospital. After visiting hours I was distressed by the cries of forlorn children. Some cried, "I want my Mommy; I want my Daddy!" Others cried in pidgin, with the same agony, "I like my Mommy; I like my Daddy!" If dialectical pidgin continues to remain the major means of communication, the person's whole sense of identity becomes involved in it. That is what we find in Hawaii, where individuals first become socialized through the local dialect, and then continue to have their more meaningful, warmer social contacts with dialect-speakers. One never feels fully at home in a language until he has used it in natural social situations and has imaginatively taken the role of other people in that language. In Hawaii too, many people feel natural in only one speech situation, either where dialect is spoken or where standard is spoken, and for them the other situation is artificial, unnatural. Speakers of standard are socially distant from dialect-users, and vice versa. A local boy gives a vivid description of how he came to a realization of the two sides of the coin of social distance:

I remember years ago when I was a member of the Boy Scouts, we had a Haole boy in our scout troop. He was made fun of, and was often the victim of somewhat cruel, childish, practical jokes. In short, we harassed the hell out of him. He was never fully accepted. He was like the island, and we were the ocean. My experience in the Army made me realize fully how he must have felt. There were a number of times I felt like the island, isolated from the rest of the world. (60-232(1)-68.)

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

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

a. My environment was centered in our neighborhood. However, as I grew older, this sphere of mine became larger and larger until I had friends everywhere on the island. Although we were not all of the same ethnic group, we played, performed mischievous acts, and enjoyed the same things together. Among friends our spoken language was pidgin. When one of the boys tried to speak good English we all tried to make him conform to our local standards. This was done by laughing, ridiculing, teasing and calling him, "yellow Haole." We usually succeeded. Pidgin became a part of me and my sole means of communication, therefore it was very difficult to speak standard American when it was necessary.

On my return to Hawaii after having been away in the military service and on the Mainland for approximately four years, I found that hearing pidgin again after all those years brought back memories of by-gone days which were both reassuring and comforting. . . It didn't take me long to get back into the swing of the lingo, as I began to hear it everywhere. Again pidgin soon became my sole means of communication without much thought or effort on my part. (58-250(2)-48, Japanese boy.)

b. We live in a small rural community. Most of the people are not "white collar" workers. . . Because of the kind of work they do, they seem to see no urgent need that they change from their dialectical English to our standard English. (60-232(1)-73, Japanese girl.)

c. I, like some pupils, felt shame to speak good English when I was among friends. A feeling that I was not "one of the boys" ran through my thoughts because I was the only one trying to put into practice things that I learned in speech. So back again to that Pidgin English.

The same goes for friends outside of school. In the district where I live, there is hardly any one that speaks well. Thus it is hard for me and others who are in this situation. I would not be able to practice speaking correctly if my friends were around. (58-259(3)-29, Hawaiian boy.)

d. During my earlier years, a certain amount of tension resulted from the contact with a Haole. The contacts we had with the Haoles were limited due to the nature of our community which was predominantly Japanese, Filipinos, and Portuguese. The Haoles constituted a very small minority and lived in a community of their own which was some distance away. Their children usually went to a private school. (60-232(1)-68, Japanese boy.)

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

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

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

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

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

I tried speaking like a Haole. The harder I tried, the more difficult it became even to come close to it, for my tongue, trained to speak without awareness on my part, would not behave. In the privacy of my room, I faced frustration. My friend of long standing and a few years my senior laughed at my attempts. I laughed along with him. (58-250(2)-48.)

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

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

At Alameda, I learned a new term, "local boys." Local boys referred to all the boys from Hawaii. Even the Haoles used this term to refer to us . . . The thing that amazed me most was the closeness of the local boys. There was always a friendly greeting from other local boys just as long as you looked like you came from Hawaii. We went out of our way to make friends with other

local boys . . . When any "outsider" picks an argument with one [of the local boys] , he argues with all of them . . .

Our speech hardly improved any for we were always among local boys and could speak "pidgin" and be understood. (60-232 (1)-89.)

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

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

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

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

Contact

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

Social psychology of marginal speakers.--In respect to bilingualism, Reinecke had expressed a somewhat negative judgment, that it was:

> one of the major educational problems of Hawaii, for the evidence of the studies thus far made is that it retards the school children in their mastery of the body of knowledge offered in the English language schools. Possibly it may also have some harmful psychological effects upon some individuals making them timid, uncertain of themselves, and confused. ("Competition.")

Incidentally, the Territorial legislature used such reasoning to close the language schools during World War II, as, in the twenties, it had tried to restrict them on the ground of their being un-American. These various attempts never passed the ultimate tests of constitutionality.

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

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

In regard to the ancestral language, the present generation of youth seem to feel great inadequacy. Because of this inadequacy the parents can resort to the Old World language 1) when they wish to keep secrets from their children; or 2) when they wish to add to the impressiveness of a reprimand. "We [the children] call each other by our English names. . . My mother calls us by our Japanese names . . . only when we do not listen to her." (60-232(2)-92.)

The children feel embarrassment when older-generation friends visit the home, addressing the children in ways which the children cannot cope with. "In many instances I have felt very useless and even embarrassed since I could not understand nor speak the Japanese language," writes a student. "That is why I want my children to have a background in the Japanese language." (57-2341.)

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

a. One of the things that has caused me some embarrassment is my parents' inability to speak standard English. This has proved to be quite disadvantageous when they visited schools, when they tried to speak to my friends, etc. (57-2290, Japanese girl.)

b. Though I have heard comments to the effect that college students are ashamed of their parents because they cannot speak well, I for one am proud of the fact that my parents speak at least pidgin. I can give them credit for at least trying and in Hawaii pidgin is almost a universal language. So I find nothing wrong with it. (58-250R(1)-96, Japanese girl.)

c. Though the family as a whole understands both languages [Chinese and English] well enough to get by, we do not know enough of what the other is more versatile in to speak on complicated matters. This often results in saying all one knows in the familiar language, but leaving the listener to catch on or guess at the idea as closely as he can. (60-232(1)50, Chinese girl.)

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

Though I've often wished that I could go to my parents and tell them my innermost thoughts, I am thankful . . . for them as they are for I know that if everyone forsook me in this world, my parents would still love me in their silent understanding way. (58-250(3)-56, Japanese girl.)

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

a. Since Japanese was spoken at home, I wasn't able to speak English well when I entered kindergarten. I used to hate school and cried every morning before I left home because nobody spoke Japanese there. (60-232(1)-77, Japanese girl.)

b. My hesitation to speak up in classes or at other places today is probably due to the language uncertainty, deeply implanted in me from my early socialization in my parents' language and the late start in the articulation of the English language . . . The early indoctrination to my parents' cultural values has left a deep and lasting scar: . . . children are to be seen and not heard, blind obedience to elders . . . /But these/ were in direct conflict with public English school practices . . . This left me with much confusion and somewhat affected my emotional stability . . . My peer group during the adolescent years played another disturbing role. Boys using correct English grammar or pronunciation were considered sissies. (59-232(3)-5, Japanese male.)

c. I think that by using this form of English, hindered my ability to speak effectively in school as a high school student. I was afraid to participate in discussion since I was aware of my "pidgin." /Yet/ I was in a class that was composed of the more intelligent students of whom 95 per cent were Japanese students; the rest were Chinese and a few Filipinos. /This was in a public school on an outside island./ (60-232(2)-9, Chinese male.)

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

Oh, how uneasy and nervous I appeared to be on the first day of school. My "big sister" met me by my locker, and we attended the opening student assembly together. Sitting in the gymnasium, I felt so insecure seeing so many Haole students . . . I also felt inferior to my "big sister" and the other students because I couldn't express myself as well as they could.

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

I often wondered how those public school students could show their ignorance by the way they reacted to the word Punahou. What was so different about Punahou students? They are just as human as students of any other school. It took me a minute

or two before I realized I was one of those on the other side of the fence . . .

Through the years, the height of the fence between Punahou and other schools has been diminishing and may eventually disappear. Punahou has undertaken worthwhile tasks in having their students integrate with other students. (60-232(2)-78, Japanese girl whose public school teachers had urged her to go to a private school after her good record at a public school.)

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

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

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

> I started as a sophomore at a public high school. In my new surroundings I came across a seemingly unconquerable barrier--language! Everyone was friendly enough. Not being able to understand pidgin certainly hindered my efforts to make friends. They must have thought that I was rude because during the course of conversation I'd always ask, "What did you say?" Because I was Japanese and spoke like a Haole they often laughed at me. It wasn't that they were unkind about my "Haole-ness"; they were just curious. One teacher seemed to sense my uneasiness . . . and she told me, "Don't go down to their level." But she was an idealist and I knew that would never work out. My brother and sister were having as difficult a time adjusting themselves to the Hawaiian way of life as I was. My brother was in the fifth grade and one day he announced that he didn't want to go to school anymore because he couldn't understand what his classmates were saying and his clothes were different . . .
>
> We soon started making adjustments. The first thing we had to do was to learn to speak pidgin! In the beginning it was easy. I just listened to the way people spoke and tried to imitate their inflections. The difficulty was trying to learn the colloquial expressions, like, "all pau," "da kind," and the frequent use of Chinese, Japanese, Hawaiian, and Filipino words. Everyone was very helpful; they would always correct me when I made a mis-

take. Once I said, "Let's go, you kids!" and a girl patiently said, "We're not kids." So I quickly said, "Let's go, you folks!" . .

After living here for four years I feel that I have been accepted by everyone because I no longer feel different or consider myself an outsider. Being accepted is important because it gives a person a real sense of security. When I first started going to this high school, I wondered why the boy I sat next to never spoke to me. We have since become friends, so I asked why he wasn't friendly and he jokingly replied, "I didn't want to be caught talking to a stupid 'kotonk!' " (60-232(2)-70.)

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

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

A local Haole youth works on Wake and finds the dialect and "pidgin culture" accepted by even the Mainland Haoles stationed there and contributing to the morale of the place. (60-232(3)-4, Haole male.)

While the professional person is expected, by virtue of his position, to speak standard American English, even if he is of local dialect-speaking origin, yet he too finds uses for the dialect. One physician of Chinese ancestry explained that he has had to resort to various forms of pidgin to be sure his patients understood his instructions. At the hospital recently I noted how a Haole physician ended up his bedside visit by pointing to the patient's foot and asking, "Soah?" with the unmistakable inflection of dialectical pidgin. I imagined that this judicious use of the dialect improved his bedside manner.

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

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

Summary.--We may summarize this section by stating that those persons on the margin, involved directly in the contact between speakers of different languages and dialects, who find themselves able effectively to use two or three forms of speech derive therefrom a sense of exhiliration and power, of an "enlarged self," while those who are inarticulate in one form or another, including monolingual speakers of standard, who do not know dialect, experience exclusion, shame, inner conflict, frustration. That the power which comes from effective multilingualism of all sorts is easily attained will be the burden of my last section.

Increase in contacts and mobility.--The range and intensity of contacts between persons speaking primarily the local dialect and those speaking standard have greatly increased, as has the mobility of people in Hawaii. Thus, the barriers of class and race are breaking down. While Reinecke found a disproportionately small number of Hawaii's children completing high school or going on for higher education, the evidence today seems to be that the proportion in the fiftieth state is equal to the national norm. (Donald J. Bogue, pp. 754-756.) A large number of Hawaii's students seek higher education on the Mainland. The occupational structure is no longer so dominated by unskilled labor and is more like the national structure. (Lind, Hawaii's People, ch. 4; Bogue, p. 757.) Since the war, people of Oriental ancestry have been selected for executive positions and for board directorates in old kamaaina, so-called Big Five firms. While as yet not a single plantation manager is derived from the dialect-speaking population, the fact that near-top plantation positions are now frequently filled by local people speaks for a change on the generally conservative plantations.

The educational work of the ILWU, Hawaii's powerful multi-industrial union, has stressed participation of local working-class people in civic affairs and trained them in handling themselves at meetings.

The domination of the Republican Party has been checked, and both parties present candidates of all racial groups and certainly many of dialect-speaking background. Therefore prominent political positions, both elective and appointive, are often filled by non-Haoles.

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

For dialect-speaking young men the contacts throughout the world which have come by virtue of military service--in racially integrated units--have expanded their horizons in such a way that they realize the preeminence of standard American English in the nation and even as a world-wide lingua franca.

Service in the armed forces has reduced the greater resistance of boys as against girls to the use of standard. Prior to World War II and compulsory service, many local boys experienced more of a barrier towards Haoles than girls, for whom strict attention to the teacher's English was not "sissified," and who, through domestic service or live-in arrangements had earlier contacts of intimacy with Haoles. (See Lind, "The Changing Position of Domestic Service in Hawaii.") According to Carr today boys express pride if their local girl friends speak acceptable standard. Fathers of dialect-speaking backgrounds now want their sons to go to private schools to learn standard English.

More frequent travel of local people on the Mainland is an additional force in the direction of extending the range of contacts.

The mass media.--One other influence must be briefly mentioned. Reinecke had called attention to "talkies" and radio--as well as the sports page. Amy Foster, in this issue, speaks of these influences, adding the newer influence of TV. Through mass media local people are constantly exposed to standard speech patterns, as though they were listening to tapes in a foreign-language laboratory. Few local people escape these mass media of communication. (They have also been used deliberately to teach standard

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

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

All Speech Is Teachable

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

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

Motivation

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

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

The existence of a problem of poor motivation was pointed to by Reinecke who quoted public school students: "No use for us learn good English; the luna will wild us if we talk good English to him; he say we're too fresh"; and:

> If we use 'Pidgin English' the teachers should keep their mouths shut and mind their own business . . . Pupils may promise to speak good English before the teachers, but after they are with their pals they will use 'Pidgin English,' so what's the use of lecturing the pupils? (Reinecke, "Pidgin English.")

Motivation of Oriental immigrants to learn English.--Before referring to the present situation, a reminder is in order that as against the first-generation European immigrants in the United States, Hawaii's Oriental immigrants had far less motivation for the learning of English and a much greater technical problem of learning it, both as an oral and a written language, completely unrelated as it is to their Oriental languages. The Oriental immigrants were looked at in the main as temporary and unassimilable labor importees who would return to their homelands after the completion of a term of service on the plantations. They were furthermore aliens ineligible for naturalization, until the immigration-naturalization laws were changed in the post-World War II period, particularly by the McCarran-

Walter Act of 1952. Suddenly Oriental aliens could become naturalized. The number of Japanese aliens naturalized in 1954 in the whole country was 6,750 as contrasted with 674 and 40 in the preceding two years. ("Immigration, Emigration and Naturalization," Britannica Book of the Year, 1955.) Going along with naturalization have been evening classes in citizenship and English. The pride of both the new citizens and their second- and third-generation descendants in this process is mentioned in a number of my student papers. (See also Edna Oshiro, "The Americanization of My Mother.")

Motivation of present generation.--For the present school-attending generation, poor motivation for the learning of standard English continues to be a problem. Here, for instance, is the reaction of a graduate of Kamehameha School for Boys to the speech program to which he was exposed at that private boarding school for children of Hawaiian ancestry:

> The Speech Improvement Program ... was opposed by many students, especially at the Boys' School, ... was not effective in that it did not achieve anything of value. There were several reasons, two of which I would like to discuss briefly: 1) lack of interest; 2) relationship between students, friends and family.
>
> Students lacked the spirit to learn good English because there seemed to be no incentives. What's the use of trying when you won't gain anything? Look at those working [i.e., the people in the kinds of jobs we can aspire to]. Many of them can't speak good English. This I've heard from many pupils, and even I thought that way.
>
> Some did not try hard enough to learn. Sure, they may have said they did try, but it was just enough to please the instructor and get a passing grade. At times, I found myself not liking speech because it was so dull. Therefore, I had no interest to better my speaking habits.
>
> In regard to the second reason, you can see why students don't practice good English. They are discouraged by their fellow students who would call them names. My friends would call me a Haole, or ask me why I'm acting like one. (58-232(3)-29.)

The painful self-appraisal of a local youth in a University of Hawaii speech class has already been alluded to. Further comments from that same student following his frustrating attempt to imitate the speech of Haoles in order to attain the standards required for his speech instructor show his problem of motivation:

> For many weeks there was pressure from the instructor to pronounce my th's, as well as indirect pressure from my friends, not to pronounce them. In my mind, it boiled down to the problem of having to choose either one or the other, and I chose the latter. The decision, however, was short-lived. Could I possibly meet my objectives and at the same time not be considered an oddity for being among the few who actually do try to improve their speech? As far as I know, the vast majority of the students in school do a minimum of work speechwise. (58-250(2)-48.)

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

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

While the use of standard English is accepted as inevitable in the classroom, there are classroom inhibitions which add to the difficulty of transfer to natural situations outside. One fellow wrote: "Like most Hawaii's people, we had two sets of speech. One, of course, was pidgin, and the other was the one which we used to converse with the teachers in school." (60-232(1)-89.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

> I also noticed that . . . the language used in our home changed a little. From the ordinary local dialect . . . the standard English is being more often used. The more active (the parents) became in community affairs, the more they had to speak, and this helped tremendously in improving their speech. (60-232(2)-122.)

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

Motivation in the school situation.--Within schools, Embree's advice is sound. The important thing is to overcome the inhibition about speaking up in class which we are perhaps all too wont to attribute mainly to Oriental culture (respect for elders and teachers, emotional control and restraint, sensitivity about face), when it is perhaps more fundamentally due to the insecurity experienced by students because of their language.

We can learn from the foreign-language teachers. The aural-oral program of foreign-language teaching "in a new key," which is gaining ever wider acceptance, focuses first on oral communication. Cardinal principles are to get the pupils to communicate in the foreign tongue, to use speech functionally and meaningfully from the beginning, occasionally overlooking errors for the time being in order to allow the spontaneity of the situation to elicit flowing, communicating speech, and to do this at as young an age as possible, preferably starting at the pre-school level. In this approach to foreign language, it is more important to get over inhibitions about speaking in strange ways than to have one's natural inhibitions compounded by pedantic attention to details of pronunciation and grammar, which at that initial stage interfere with the attempt to achieve a smooth flow of expression. If the pupils have as their teacher a model of good usage they will tend, in the spontaneous process of give-and-take to assume the correct patterns of speech without being self-consciously aware of it. This happens through the role-taking to which I have referred. Motivation is inherent to the whole process.

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

When any condition, a physical disability, a hearing deficiency, stammering, or plain "substandard" speech, is interpreted to the person involved simply as a handicap in the attainment of a goal it becomes a cancerous growth. On the other hand, when the stress is not on the handicap, but on full and meaningful participation in the social life of the people around one, the handicap as such tends to atrophy. Substandard speech is no longer a handicap but an irrelevance, and a physical disability is transcended or devalued to a minor place where it no longer inhibits further social growth, no longer interferes with full living. But if in our speech teaching we stress "defects," isolated drills (which in the right context have an important place), if we are premature in our presenting standards that seem rigid, artificial, unattainable, the handicaps continue to function strictly as handicaps.

Attainability of multilingualism. -- Motivation is further encouraged by realization that it is possible to be multilingual, that to learn--or to learn more effectively--any natural form of speech is to add a social asset to existing assets. In polyglot Hawaii our young people should be able to

appreciate that for them multilingualism is possible, including the simultaneous facility in dialectical and standard English, as well as in English and, say, Japanese.

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

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

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

Hawaii has quite obviously reflected the linguistic provincialism of our nation, which was threatened with monolingualism at the very time in history when she had become the dominant world power. In the past we Americans have justified our monolingualism on the theory that this was the only way in which we could build a unified nation whose people could speak the language competently. We have assumed that for most people multilingualism is both <u>un</u>attainable and <u>dis</u>advantageous. Now we see that the contrary is true: linguistic facility grows as competence in several languages increases. Our new role in the world has suddenly shown us our handicap and we have acquired national motivation for competence in foreign languages. (Another best-seller, <u>The Ugly American</u>, whose co-author, William Lederer, has adopted Hawaii as his home, has contributed to the nation's--and Hawaii's--new motivation. See also Uyehara's article.) I am arguing that in Hawaii both the ancestral languages and the local dialect can be used to develop our linguistic competence by arousing the ability to <u>see</u> language--grammar, intonation, etc.--in a sort of stereoscopic way. Andersson threw the challenge at us:

> Hawaii is an inspiration to her sister States and to the rest of the world because she has reduced prejudice in human relations to manageable limits. As a geographical and cultural bridge between East and West, Hawaii is in a favored position to show the rest of our States how best to learn and use languages, with all

that that connotes, for building of the kind of community of nations for which a peace-hungry world longs.

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

Techniques

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

These techniques are applicable and have begun to be used in speech-teaching in Hawaii, as they are also being rapidly introduced in the expanded foreign language teaching program here. (See Ramler in this issue, Aspinwall in the bibliography, and the experiments of Uyehara, Fujioka, and McElrath, and of Elbert and associates in developing ways of teaching Asian languages to Eastern students at the University of Hawaii and of E. E. Gordon in the Department of Public Instruction.) These techniques will no doubt also be central to the English Language Institute which the University is organizing because of the increasing number of foreign students here, faced with the problem of rapid acquisition of facility in English.

Hawaii's U. S. Senator Oren E. Long recently reported that the Federal Government is giving the University of Hawaii a two-year grant of $21,600 for an experiment in the teaching of speech improvement through television. (Long, Capitol Comment, I, 5 (June 22, 1960).) It is to be hoped that whatever program is used will be "in the new key."

Conclusion

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

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

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

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