

THE ROLE OF HCE IN A POLITICAL SATIRIST'S MOCK CAMPAIGN FOR GOVERNOR

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INTRODUCTION

The State of Hawai'i is unique because no single ethnic group constitutes a majority (Sato, 1994). However the population is far from being a 'harmonious melting pot' with racial tensions even considered a problem in the schools (Watson-Gegeo, 1990). Kawamoto (1993) describes the residents as reflecting a "mosaic" of ethnic integration with identities being investigated, preserved, and celebrated. Nevertheless, the people of Hawai'i do share a common language, Hawai'i Creole English (HCE), which is spoken by just under half of the state's population of over one million residents (Romaine, 1994). As a descendant of the Hawai'i Pidgin English (HPE) developed by immigrant sugarcane plantation workers from about 1890-1910 (Reineke, 1969; Sato, 1985), HCE serves as a marker of "local" identity that unites the otherwise diverse population (Kawamoto, 1993; Sato, 1991; Watson-Gegeo, 1990). This solidarity function is thought to be associated with a pride in belonging to the group and would be extended to positive attitudes toward the language of the group (HCE), but this is not the case. In this paper, I will first explore the history of language in the islands, the domains and functions of HCE use, the specific linguistic structures and features that characterize it apart from Standard English (SE), and the research on attitudes toward HCE. This framework will then be applied to an analysis of one speaker's use of the language.

Language in Hawai'i

The biggest influence for language in Hawai'i came when the Reciprocity Treaty was signed in 1876 resulting in an explosion for the sugarcane industry. Tens of thousands of Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese, Puerto Rican, Spanish, Korean, and Filipino workers were

imported between 1876 and 1928 to work on the plantations. These workers from a variety of language backgrounds created Hawai'i Pidgin English (HPE), in order to communicate with each other on the plantations (Reineke, 1969). The first Hawai'i-born generation from these immigrants stabilized the HPE, developing Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) from 1920-1930 (Sato, 1985). The Caucasian plantation owners were in power, so the lexifier language was English, and the primary substrate languages of the immigrant labor force included: Chinese, Portuguese, Hawaiian, and Japanese (Reineke, 1969). Since the working class spoke HCE and the elite upper class spoke English, HCE became heavily stigmatized (Kawamoto, 1993; Reineke, 1969; Sato, 1985, 1994). Over the course of the next sixty years, the negative attitudes toward HCE affected the domains and functions of the language.

Linguistic Domains and Functions

Education in Hawai'i. The educational system in Hawai'i provides an example of how the language policies and decisions reflect the attitudes toward HCE and prompted the shift in domain and function of the language. The first schools in Hawai'i were taught in Hawaiian by the missionaries and Hawaiians trained by them. In 1820, the primary goal was to educate the natives so they could read the Bible (Kawamoto, 1993). In 1830, schools began for children. Most instruction was given in Hawaiian, but the schools for missionary children were in English. In 1840, public schools were established. With the start of the plantation era, the economic situation began to favor the English language, and by 1894, English was declared the official medium of instruction.

By the turn of the century though, the function of HCE was as the primary mode of communication for the plantation children. The Caucasians who could not afford to send their children to the private missionary schools expressed concern that the HCE-speaking children were a bad influence on their English-speaking children. Therefore, a form of linguistic segregation began in 1924 when the English Standard school system was established. These public schools required children to pass an English proficiency test before being admitted. For twenty-five years the English Standard schools catered to Caucasian children, until World War II prompted the withdrawal of 2,000 students, eventually abolishing the system in 1960. The separation of the English-speaking students from the HCE-speaking students played an important role in developing and maintaining HCE, but unfortunately contributed to the negative attitudes toward the stigmatized HCE-speakers (Kawamoto, 1993; Sato, 1985; Watson-Gegeo, 1990). When

the schools were integrated again in 1960, the precedent had been set that the educational system was a restricted language domain for English only.

Identity marker. World War II played an important role in pressuring Hawai'i's local-born Japanese to Americanize. The decline in the plantation economy and the rise in tourism that accompanied statehood in 1959 also led the HCE-speakers to more contact with English. The ethnic diversity was so spread that HCE became a marker of "local" identity (Kawamoto, 1993; Sato, 1985, 1991, 1994; Watson-Gegeo, 1990). Watson-Gegeo describes "being local" as "establish[ing] identity in two directions—externally, demarcating Hawai'i from (especially) the U.S. mainland; and internally, uniting otherwise diverse groups into one" (p. 6).

In addition to marking ethnicity and culture, HCE continued to function as a marker for lower socioeconomic status (Sato, 1985, 1991). HCE was associated with manual labor and an assumption of lower intelligence. With their language perceived as a liability, those labeled as HCE-speakers who aspired to be in the middle class began to suppress their HCE in favor of English in an attempt to Americanize. The function of HCE turned to social networking and maintaining the "local" identity. "Unfortunately, the rejection of SE that accompanied the affirmation of HCE often locked many HCE speakers into the vicious cycle of educational failure, socioeconomic stagnation, and political powerlessness" (Sato, 1985, p. 266). Ironically, the workplace linguistic domain of its predecessor HPE is now restricted to the use of SE rather than HCE.

A striking example of how language domain became a basis for discrimination occurred between 1985-1986 when two "local" meteorological technicians applied for open positions with the National Weather Service (NWS) Honolulu Office. When passed over for the positions in favor of less qualified candidates from the mainland, the technicians claimed that they had been overlooked because of their "local" accents. Although linguistic evidence was provided by Charlene Sato that the two men spoke the standard Hawai'i English used by the majority of the strongly educated, Hawai'i-born professionals, a judge brought in from California ruled in favor of the NWS, even suggesting that the men improve their speech (Sato, 1994). The results of this ruling clearly define television, and perhaps all professional careers, as restricted domains for English only.

In order to maintain their local identity while still being competitive in the job market, locally born Hawai'i residents have added a range of language to their repertoire so they are able to shift up and down the creole continuum from acrolectal to mesolectal or

basilectal depending on the linguistic situation. This intraspeaker variation may reflect a significant style shift in public domains (Sato, 1994; Watson-Gegeo, 1990).

Linguistic Structure and Features of HCE

HCE differs from SE in all linguistic domains: semantics, phonology, morphology, lexicon, and syntax (Holm, 1988; Muhlhausler, 1986; Sato, 1989). Much of the lexicon used in HCE is also found in SE; however, HCE may use words differently, more broadly, and with the addition of modifiers, emphatic words, intonation, and linguistic context to make finer differentiation among meanings (Speidel, Tharp, & Kobayashi, 1985). Due to the shared English lexicon, the varieties sound as if they were mutually intelligible, but the deeper sentence structures and different uses of these lexicon show that HCE is indeed a language of its own. During interviews I have conducted with HCE-speakers, the same ones who criticize their own language as being "lazy," "sloppy," or "bad" English are also quick to point out when something is ungrammatical in HCE, which just points to more evidence that it is a language in and of itself with its own set of rules.

An example of the difference between HCE and SE with regard to phonology is the omission of the post-vocalic "r" in HCE (Sato, 1994). The irrealis (future, hypothetical, conditional) marking in HCE by the use of "go," "gon," "goin," or "going," as opposed to the SE use of the auxiliaries "will" or "to be going to," provides evidence for a syntactic distinction between HCE and SE (Sato, 1991). A morphology difference is shown by the HCE use of "wan" in place of the SE use of "a" as an indefinite article (Sato, 1991, 1994).

Language Attitude Research in Hawai'i

Over the past 20 years, a few studies have been done on language attitudes in Hawai'i. Most have identified negative attitudes toward HCE with a couple of notable exceptions. Choy and Dodd (1976 as cited in Edwards, 1982) found that teachers favored English-speaking fifth grade students over their HCE-speaking counterparts. The HCE-speaking students were perceived as less confident, worse in school, more disruptive in class, and less likely to achieve academic and social success. These negative language attitudes toward HCE were expressed by teachers, some of the most influential people in society. The impact on the students most likely results in their living up to these low expectations.

An example of where teacher attitudes may have affected the students is a study by Day (1980) of the language attitudes of kindergarten and first grade students at two socio-economically different schools in Honolulu. He found that first-graders from both schools favored English over HCE, with the middle-class neighborhood having the strongest preference. He also found that the kindergartners from the middle-class neighborhood preferred English, but to a lesser extent than the first-graders. The most significant difference was found between the first-graders and kindergartners in the lower-class school, where the kindergartners actually favored HCE over English. Day's results show that even as early as first grade, children's attitudes toward HCE have become more negative. The exact cause of this attitude shift is unknown, but it appears that the socialization process in school has a strong influence.

Yamamoto and Hargrove (1982) examined teachers' language attitudes toward HCE and English through taped speech samples that teachers were asked to rate. The samples described by the teachers as "best" were the most like English, while the samples described as "worst" were most like HCE. Although the experimental portion of this study revealed negative attitudes toward HCE, the teachers expressed positive attitudes toward HCE and its use in the classroom on the questionnaires. This is a positive shift from the results found by Choy and Dodd (1976 as cited in Edwards, 1982). It is encouraging that teachers are becoming more aware of HCE's potential effectiveness in the classroom, and perhaps this will eventually carry over to their perception and evaluation of HCE-speakers.

There is some evidence of changing language attitudes in Hawai'i. In 1987, the Board of Education (BOE) formed a policy on "Standard English and Oral Communication," stirring controversy that brought language attitudes into the media spotlight. The proposed policy mandated English as the mode of communication in all school activities except Hawaiian and foreign language studies. After the public responded primarily negatively to the proposal, the final implemented policy encouraged modeling of English instead (Sato, 1991). A week of intense public focus on the issue resulted in positive language attitudes toward HCE in the classroom being found in a survey of student teachers by Riley (1988 as cited in Watson-Gegeo, 1990). An opinion poll by a Honolulu newspaper found similar positive attitudes among public high school students, although negative attitudes were found among private high school students (Verploegen, 1988). The most important aspects of the BOE debate are that it revealed support for HCE in the classroom by teachers and raised public awareness about HCE.

ANALYSIS OF BU LA'IA'S USE OF HCE

During the 1994 election for governor of the State of Hawai'i, a comedian named Kai Hill created a character called Bu La'ia who entered the race ("Bu La'ia for Governor?," 1994). Bu La'ia was a manifestation of stereotypes attributed to the Hawaiian people. Examples included dedication to the sovereignty movement, low education, low socioeconomic status, poor work ethic, criminal activity, diet of poi and laulau, and the use of HCE (Bu La'ia, n.d.). On his television program "Bu La'ia The Hawaiian Superman," he presented his ideas on issues affecting the Hawaiian people, including the legalization of gambling in Hawai'i to support education (Bu La'ia, 1994a). His sharp, humorous criticisms of the other candidates and their positions led to his popularity among voters, earning him over 5000 votes in the primary election (Bu La'ia, 1994c), even though he had been disqualified ("La'ia Makes Deal," 1994; Yuen, 1994).

Through analysis of several episodes of his television program that ran prior to and immediately following the 1994 gubernatorial election, I will critically examine Bu La'ia's use of HCE with regard to its function in his campaign, the linguistic structures he used, and the attitudes toward language that were evident. Most of the research on attitudes toward HCE thus far has been experimental in nature, with negative attitudes prevailing (Choy & Dodd, 1976 as cited in Edwards, 1982; Day, 1980; Yamamoto & Hargrove, 1982). Positive attitudes have only been found through surveys and questionnaires (Riley, 1988 as cited in Watson-Gegeo, 1990; Verploegen, 1988; Yamamoto & Hargrove, 1982). This paper presents a case study which shows the popularity of HCE as an identity marker and the positive and negative attitudes exhibited by one speaker toward the language.

Domains and Functions of Use

Bu La'ia was a character created by Kai Hill primarily for entertainment purposes. He originally appeared on television commercials for the clothing store called Hawaiian Island Creations to sell surf and beach clothing. Widespread public interest in Bu La'ia was sparked when Kai's brother Shannon filed nominations to run for governor under the stage name ("Bu La'ia for Governor?," 1994). According to his statement of apology issued after he was disqualified from the race for being under the minimum age of 30 to run for this particular office, Kai stated that Bu La'ia entered the race "to stimulate public interest and participation in the election, especially among young people" ("Bu

La`ia apologizes," 1994).

One of Bu La`ia's trademark characteristics is his use of HCE ("Bu La`ia Shares Poi," 1994). The function of Bu La`ia's HCE is as an identity marker. The younger generation is typically viewed as speaking HCE, and the language has been characterized by some as teen slang (Lippi-Green, 1997), so Bu La`ia spoke HCE to relate to these young people. He also uses the language to relate to the "ordinary, average people" of Hawai`i, as he refers to them in his campaign speech (Bu La`ia, 1994a). These people represent the in-group, while the out-group may consist of the elite, upper-class, Caucasian, non-HCE-speaking population as well as the wealthy, non-HCE-speaking tourist population, who will come to gamble in his proposed casino on the island of Lanai.

HCE also has a humorous function in the comedy of Bu La`ia. Since HCE has been stigmatized as the language of the socio-economically disadvantaged (Sato, 1985, 1991), it was humorous for an HCE-speaking "local" boy to be running for political office. The restrictive language domains do not allow the stigmatized variety to be used to obtain the powerful, prestigious position of governor¹. According to Hay (1995 as cited in Holmes & Hay, 1997), there are three functions of humor: (a) creating or maintaining solidarity within the group, (b) emphasizing power differences, and (c) self-protecting, used in self-defense or to cope with a problem. Bu La`ia creates a solidarity with the people by using their HCE identity marker. He emphasizes the power difference between the politicians and the people through his humorous treatment of the issues. Lastly, he uses humor with a self-protecting function by making fun of his own people, the Hawaiians, taking control and ownership over the negative stereotypes.

Bu La`ia's references to various stereotypes of the different cultures in Hawai`i is a large part of the ethnic humor he uses to carry his political messages. Ethnic humor is described by Apte (1985) as follows: "fun is made of the perceived behaviors, customs, personality, or any other traits of a group or its members by virtue of their specific sociocultural identity" (p. 108). Kauai Hill portrays the poor, disadvantaged Hawaiian named Bu La`ia by wearing a frizzy black wig, blackening one front tooth, toting stolen beachwear, and dragging a surf board. Bu La`ia advocates the consumption of traditional Hawaiian foods like poi and laulau over McDonald's Big Macs, so the Hawaiians can

¹It is also interesting to note that the current governor of Hawai`i (the candidate who won the general election in 1994) is characterized by Sato (1994) as speaking an acrolectal form of HCE, but has been known to deny it.

grow strong to take back the land stolen by the Caucasians (Bu La`ia, 1995b, n.d.). Such stereotypes are defined by Apte as factually incorrect mental pictures which "are products of a faulty reasoning process and tend to persist even in the face of knowledge and education" (p. 113). They are important to ethnic humor because they are widely accepted and constitute a set of shared assumptions. Bu La`ia relies on these assumptions as he develops his Hawaiian character, as well as when he refers to his political opponents as the "Filipino," "Japanese," "Portuguese," and "Haole" (Bu La`ia, 1994c, 1994d).

Bu La`ia's use of humor in a campaign is nothing new to politics. Gardner (1986) suggests that humor is essential for a political candidate to be successful because Americans vote for personality over policy, cosmetics rather than character, and meaningless humor over meaningful programs. It is not surprising then that a campaign based solely on humor could garner over 5000 votes (4%) on primary election night, even after being disqualified (Borreca, 1994; Bu La`ia, 1994c). Gardner (1994) adds that "humor lets us take the issues seriously without taking *ourselves* too seriously" (p. 13). Bu La`ia has shown that this is indeed possible, to the fullest extent.

Nilsen (1990) presents several functions of political humor by politicians: "To define political concepts, to disarm critics, to establish detente, to establish a position or make a point, to inbond, to relieve tension, and to provide a substitute for actual physical or military confrontation" (p. 35). There are also four functions used by political critics: "to expose chauvinism, to expose ineptitude, to expose oppression, and to expose pretentiousness" (p. 35). As a satirist who actually entered the race, Bu La`ia became both candidate and critic. From his unique point of view, he first uses humor (and HCE) to define political concepts when he discusses the legalization of gambling to raise revenue for education (Bu La`ia, 1994a) and the Hawaiian sovereignty movement (Bu La`ia, n.d.).

He disarmed his critics by delivering poi to them on primary election night (Bu La`ia, 1994c) and established his position on the legalization of gambling by broadcasting his campaign speech from Las Vegas (Bu La`ia, 1994a). As a critic, he exposes the candidates' pretentiousness by suggesting he is running for office for the free housing (one way to get a homeless Hawaiian off the beaches) and that there is something corrupt about the fact that the lieutenant governor, a candidate for office, is also the one who counts the votes (Bu La`ia, 1994d). As he puts it in his own words, "Let Bu La`ia

count the votes. Guaranteed, he wins" ("Bu La`ia Shares Poi," 1994)². His emphasis on ethnic humor and socioeconomic stereotypes exposes the oppression of Hawaiians by the Caucasians and the Japanese (Bu La`ia, 1994d).

Linguistic Structures Used

For a detailed analysis of the linguistic structures used by Bu La`ia, I have selected his political campaign speech that was taped in Las Vegas and broadcast on 8/19/94³ (Bu La`ia, 1994a). His use of HCE in this speech sample is more acrolectal than his informal conversations in other segments. An example of this difference is in his use of the past tense marker "wen" in casual conversation, but it never appears in his formal speech. I have chosen to use this sample because its function as a campaign speech is persuasive in intent and formal in domain, a domain that is usually not viewed as appropriate for the use of HCE. I argue that Bu La`ia chose to use HCE in this restricted domain precisely for the persuasive intent. He used an identity marker of the people of Hawai'i to emphasize his association with the in-group and persuade their interest and participation in the election.

In the first line of the campaign speech, he omits the pronunciation of the post-vocalic "r" in the word "smart":

1. Sii, Buu Laiia *smat*.⁴
"You see, Bu La`ia is smart."⁵

This example of the phonology of HCE is used throughout his campaign speech. Other examples are included in the next three lines:

2. Raining *fo gavaena*.
"He's running for governor."
3. *Beta daen poi, beta daen piig*.
"He's better than poi, he's better than pig."
4. Sii, ai *smat*.

²After disqualifying Bu La`ia from the race, the chief elections officer, Lt. Gov. Ben Cayetano did go on to win the election.

³For a complete transcription of the campaign speech, see Appendix A.

⁴Carol Odo's orthography (see Appendix B) is used to present the HCE speech samples.

⁵An English translation is provided below each HCE speech sample.

“You see, I’m smart.”

Another example of HCE phonology in this speech is the pronunciation of the initial consonant sound of the English lexicon “the” as a stop in the HCE lexicon “da.” The following examples illustrate this difference:

6. Lanai waz ripd af fram *da* Hawaiaenz bai *da* haolii gai Dol.

“Lanai was ripped off from the Hawaiians by the Caucasian guy named Dole.”

7. Hii ripd af *da* laen fram *da* Hawaiaenz.

“He ripped of the land from the Hawaiians.”

8. Buu Laiia get gavaena, ai gon teik baek *da* ailaen, rait?

“When Bu La`ia becomes governor, I will take back the island, right?”

9. Teik baek *da* ailaen av Lanai.

“Take back the island of Lanai.”

His use of HCE phonology emphasizes his HCE use, even when the grammar in this campaign speech is more acrolectal than his other conversations.

A second example of the HCE linguistic structures he uses is the irrealis marking with the word “gon.” In line 5 he makes a campaign promise that marks the future:

5. Buu Laiia *gon* liigalaiz gaembaling awn *da* ailaen av Lanai.

“Bu La`ia will legalize gambling on the island of Lanai.”

He goes on to mark four more irrealis ideas in the same manner:

8. Buu Laiia get gavaena, ai *gon* teik baek *da* ailaen, rait?

“When Bu La`ia becomes governor, I will take back the island, right?”

18. Daets hau wii *gon* get revanuuuz fo dakain.

“That’s how we will get revenues for it.”

31. Al *da* piipal *gon* kam gaembal.

“All the people would come gamble.”

38. Dei *gon* giv om awei eniiwei, rait?

“They’re going to give it away anyway, right?”

Whether he marks the future tense, the hypothetical, or the conditional, he uses the same irrealis marker, “gon.”

Another example of the syntax difference between SE and HCE is the absence of the copula verb in some HCE sentences. The following sample lines from the campaign speech exemplify this feature of HCE:

1. Sii, Buu Laiia smat.

“You see, Bu La`ia is smart.”

4. Sii, ai_smat.

"You see, I'm smart."

15. Daet_al wii duu, reiz taeksez, reiz taeksez, hei, taeks dis bra!

"That's all we do, raise taxes, raise taxes, hey, tax this dude!"

32. Nais weda kaz ova hiia in Vegas_hat.

"There's nice weather, because over here in Vegas it is hot."

However, there are two examples in this speech sample where the speaker does use a copula verb:

18. *Daets* hau wii gon get revanuuuz fo dakain.

"That's how we will get revenues for it."

34. Buu *Laiiaz* hat.

"Bu La'ia's hot."

The copula verb feature of HCE provides evidence for variation in this language variety.

An example of the morphology difference between SE and HCE that is evidenced in Bu La'ia's speech is his use of "wan" as an indefinite article, evolving from the English quantifier "one." An example of the existential use of "wan" is shown in the following segment of his campaign speech:

10. Trn om inta *wan* gaembaling ailaen.

"And turn it into a gambling island."

Another example of the morphology difference is his use of "om" as an unmarked object pronoun. The following examples include this use:

10. Trn *om* inta wan gaembaling ailaen.

"And turn it into a gambling island."

16. Al wii kaen duu iz get daet manii aen giv *om* baek tuu edjakeishan.

"What we can do is get back that money and give it to education."

21. Wii liigalaiz gaembaling awn Lanai ii, okei, wii liigalaiz *om*.

"We legalize gambling on Lanai, okay, we legalize it."

29. Luuz *om* in Hawai ii.

"Lose it in Hawaii."

30. Luuz *om* in Lanai.

"Lose it in Lanai."

38. Dei gon giv *om* awei eniwei, rait?

"They're going to give it away anyway, right?"

It is also interesting to note that his use of “om” as the unmarked object pronoun is not consistent throughout his speech. One of the exceptions is as follows:

18. Daets hau wii gon get revanuuuz fo *dakain*.

“That’s how we will get revenues for it.”

“Dakain” is also used as a pronoun in HCE equivalent to the English pronoun “them,” which happens to be the origin of the unmarked object pronoun “om”:

22. aen dei gada pei fo da edjuukeishan fo *dakain*

“and they have to pay for the education for them.”

Below are two acrolectal exceptions to the use of “om” as the unmarked object pronoun:

39. So ai figa wii get daet manii giv *it* tuu da skuul ejamakeishan.

“So I figure we get that money and give it to the school education.”

45. seiv mai fuud staemps aen kam sii *it* fo maiself.

“save my food stamps and come see it for myself.”

This variation in his speech shows that Bu La`ia is somewhere in the mesolectal region of the creole continuum, because he uses some features that are closer to the acrolectal end (“it”) as well as some that are closer to the basilectal end (“om” and “dakain”).

Although Bu La`ia is campaigning for governor in the linguistically restricted domain of politics for a prestigious position in society, an analysis of his linguistic features shows that he is indeed using the stigmatized HCE.

Attitudes Toward HCE

Bu La`ia has exhibited both positive and negative attitudes toward HCE during his television show broadcasts. He has shown a negative attitude toward the language because he chooses to portray a homeless Hawaiian thief who communicates in HCE.

However, he emphasizes a positive attitude toward HCE when he uses the language to run for governor, showing the legitimate candidates that it is possible to discuss serious issues like the legalization of gambling to fund education without raising taxes (Bu La`ia, 1994a). He also uses HCE as a local identity marker to connect with the younger generation and spark their interest in the elections (“Bu La`ia apologizes,” 1994).

Another example of this positive attitude is presented on an episode when he hosts a guest chef from Niihau⁶ to make poi from scratch. The chef speaks SE while explaining

⁶Niihau is a privately owned island in the Hawaiian chain where only pure Native Hawaiians are allowed.

the steps and ingredients for making poi. Bu La`ia asks him to speak "real English" because the people cannot understand him. When the chef "corrects" his English by using only HCE intonation (not by changing any of his grammatical features), Bu La`ia begins to translate his sentences from the locally accented English into HCE, addressing his efforts toward the television audience (Bu La`ia, 1994b).

CONCLUSION

Throughout his television show, and specifically his political campaign for governor, Bu La`ia has made a positive impact on the citizens of Hawai`i, especially the younger generation, by promoting education and poking fun at the political system. His persuasive use of HCE as a humorous identity marker could become a powerful force in changing the attitudes about linguistic domains in Hawai`i. Even after his success in preventing Bu La`ia from running for office in 1994, Governor Ben Cayetano publicly extended the offer for him to run next time (Bu La`ia, 1995a). Perhaps this offer was in reaction to the negative publicity the lieutenant governor received among the Bu La`ia supporters due to his conflict of interest having been both a candidate and chief elections official, or maybe he truly would welcome the legitimate competition. Whatever the case, if even Bu La`ia's biggest adversary can change his attitude toward a big-haired, toothless, HCE-speaking Hawaiian, then so can the rest of society change their attitude toward the common thread that unites the culturally diverse people of Hawai`i—their language, Hawai`i Creole English.

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APPENDIX A
"BU LA'IA IN LAS VEGAS"

Aired on 8/19/94 - Transcription of campaign speech

1. Sii, Buu Laiia smat.
2. Raning fo gavaena.
3. Beta daen poi, beta daen piig.
4. Sii, ai smat.
5. Buu Laiia gon liigalaiz gaembaling awn da ailaen av Lanai.
6. Lanai waz ripd af fram da Hawaiaenz bai da haolii gai Dol.
7. Hii ripd af da laen fram da Hawaiaenz.
8. Buu Laiia get gavaena, ai gon teik baek da ailaen, rait?
9. Teik baek da ailaen av Lanai.
10. Trn om inta wan gaembaling ailaen.
11. Onlii daet ailan onlii.
12. So evriibadii go gaembal.
13. Pei edjokeishan tuwadz da kidz.
14. Neva maind reizing taeksez fo edjokeishan.
15. Daet al wii duu, reiz taeksez, reiz taeksez, hei, taeks dis bra!
<break>
16. Al wii kaen duu iz get daet manii aen giv om baek tuu edjakeishan.
17. Evriibadii gaembal fo go awn da ailaen gada pei manii.
18. Daets hau wii gon get revanuz fo dakain.
19. Get manii inta da skuulz.
20. Sii der ada weiz da Hawaiaenz tink av meiken manii.
21. Wii liigalaiz gaembaling awn Lanai ii, okei, wii liigalaiz om
22. aen dei gada pei fo da edjuokeishan fo dakain
23. fo da kidz fo gro ap.
24. Onlii awn Lanai so dei dont niid kam flai ova hiia
25. spend al da big manii aen spend al daet manii.
26. Luuz manii, luuz manii, luuz manii in Hawai ii.
27. Neva maind luuz manii in Vegas.
28. Der plenii piipal luuz manii.
29. Luuz om in Hawai ii.

30. Luuz om in Lanai.
31. Al da piipal gon kam gaembal.
32. Nais weda kaz ova hiia in Vegas hat.
33. Riil hat.
34. Buu Laiiaz hat.
35. Wans agen, Buu Laiia iz tinking
36. hau wii kaen get manii insted av teiking manii fram da ordinerii aevaredj piipal.
37. Get manii fram da gaembarz.
38. Dei gon giv om awei eniwei, rait?
39. So ai figa wii get daet manii giv it tuu da skuul ejamakeishan.
40. So da kidz kaen get smat.
41. Onlii awn Lanai.
42. Gud aidiia, ae?
43. Buu Laiia fo gavaena.
44. Wan mo smat aidiia Buu Laiia tuu kam aut,
45. seiv mai fuud staemps, aen kam sii it fo maiself.

APPENDIX B
THE ODO ORTHOGRAPHY

A spelling system for Hawai'i Creole English (HCE) devised by Carol Odo in the early 1970's for the Nonstandard Hawaiian English Project, directed by Derek Bickerton (Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i at Manoa). Slight modifications have been made by Charlene Sato (Department of ESL, UHM), Kent Sakota (Department of Linguistics, UHM), and Elizabeth Fontanilla (Department of ESL, UHM).

<i>Vowel Symbols</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>English Equivalents</i>
I	hit, in	hit, in
ii	hiit, liiv	heat, leave
e	bet, let	bet, let
ei	beit, leit	bait, late
ae	haet, baet	hat, bat
a	bat, hat, leita	but, heart, later
u	gud, luk	good, look
uu	ruud, shuu	rude, shoe
o	ho, brok	hoe, broke
ou	toud, bout	toad, boat
aw	bawt, awn	bought, on
ai	bai, ai	buy, I
au	laud, hau	loud, how
oi	boi, toilet	boy, toilet
r	drt, wrd, leitr	dirt, word, later
 <i>Consonant Symbols</i>		
p	pin, map	pin, map
t	tin, maeta, melt	tin, matter, melt
th	thin, paeth	thin, path
k	kin, joka	kind, joker
b	bin, rab	been, rub
d	dawg, da, kad	dog, the, card
dh	dha, briidth	the, breathe
g	go, jraeg	go, jgaeg
h	hani	honey
f	fin, inaf	fin, enough
v	veri, haev	very, have
s	sin, schrit, mas	sin, street, must
z	zuu, uuz	zoo, ooze

ch	chap, chrai, kaech	chop, try, catch
sh	shua, shchrit, presha	sure, street, pressure
zh	mezha, yuzhol	measure, usual
j	jip, jrai, baj, jiip	gyp, dry, barge, jeep
m	mad, haem	mud, ham
n	nais, enjoi	nice, enjoy
ng	sing, tingk	sing, think
r	rip, ker	rip, ker
l	pul, lip	pull, lip
D	kaDaoke, kaDate	karaoke, karate
y	yae, kyut	yeah, cute
w	wiid, kwik	weed, quick
ts	tsunami, tongkatsu	tsunami, tonkatsu

Notes:

1. The symbol "D" can be used to represent a "flapped" intervocalic "t", "d", or "dh".
Examples: waDa, fraiDe, maDa (water, Friday, mother)

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