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**“DE TAWK DAKAIN OVA DEA”:  
MAPPING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES ON O’AHU<sup>1</sup>**

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**Abstract**

This study provides the first examination of perceptual dialectology within Hawai’i. While previous work investigated Hawai’i Locals’ beliefs about language use, it located Hawai’i within the context of the United States. In contrast, respondents in this study focus on the island of O’ahu. Using a blank map, respondents mark boundaries where they believe language is used differently on the island, specifying the ways in which they feel the speech differs. The results demonstrate that respondents associate particular regions with the use of either Pidgin or English, and that the areas most closely associated with Pidgin are the same areas as those where people are said to speak the “heaviest” Pidgin. Some subjects also include other languages on the maps, while other subjects focus on differences in speakers’ ethnicities, suggesting that beliefs about language use and region may be at least partially due to each of their respective associations with ethnicity.

**Keywords**

perceptual dialectology, Hawai’i, Pidgin/Hawai’i Creole, multilingualism, diversity

**“DE TAWK DAKAIN OVA DEA”: CARTOGRAFIANDO IDEOLOGÍAS LINGÜÍSTICAS EN O’AHU**

**Resumen**

Este artículo ofrece el primer estudio sobre dialectología perceptual en Hawai. Mientras que trabajos anteriores han investigado las creencias sobre los usos lingüísticos en Hawai, situándolo en el

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contexto de los Estados Unidos, los encuestados en esta investigación se hallan en la isla de Oahu. A través de un mapa mudo, los encuestados han señalado los límites donde creen que la lengua se utiliza de manera diferente en la isla, y han especificado en qué sentido les parece que el habla se diferencia. Los resultados demuestran que los encuestados asocian determinadas regiones o bien con el uso del criollo o del inglés, y que las áreas más estrechamente relacionadas con el pidgin son las mismas en que se considera que se habla el pidgin “más duro”. Algunos encuestados incluyen también otras lenguas en los mapas, mientras que otros se centran en las diferencias entre las etnias de los hablantes. Este hecho sugiere que las creencias sobre el uso de la lengua y la región pueden ser motivadas, al menos parcialmente, por sus asociaciones con el origen étnico.

### **Palabras clave**

dialectología perceptual, Hawái, pidgin y criollo en Hawái, multilingüismo, diversidad

## **1. Introduction**

Perceptual dialectology serves as a crucial component of sociolinguistic inquiry as it helps identify what people believe about language use in different areas. These beliefs are a part of a speaker’s communicative competence, and understanding them is just as important as describing language variation itself (Preston 1982). In fact, work in perceptual dialectology can inform descriptions of dialects, shedding light on the degree to which people’s beliefs about dialect boundaries are consistent with the boundaries that are observed after careful linguistic analysis.

Previous sociolinguistic work in Hawai’i has unveiled complex ideologies surrounding Pidgin – a creole language spoken throughout the islands – and Hawai’i English – a variety of English spoken in Hawai’i (Marlow & Giles 2010; Ohama, Gotay, Pagano, Boles & Craven 2000; Yamamoto 1982; Yamamoto & Hargrove 1982). There has, however, been no work to date investigating how these ideologies are linked with geographical space. Using a perceptual dialectology map task, we examine people’s beliefs about what linguistic boundaries exist on O’ahu, in what ways people believe language differs within the bounded regions, and whether there are other factors they also believe to be relevant to language variation. For data, respondents mark boundaries on a blank map of O’ahu, indicating where they believe language is used differently on the island and specifying the ways in which they feel the speech differs from other areas

on the island. For the analysis, we use regional boundaries based on the traditional *moku*, districts of the island from ancient times. The results demonstrate that people believe that Pidgin is more likely to be found in some regions whereas English is more likely to be found in other areas and that, when Pidgin is mentioned in areas most closely associated with English, people indicate that a “lighter” (i.e., acrolectal) form of Pidgin is used. The results provide evidence that people are aware of the large amount of linguistic diversity on the island, and the responses also suggest that ethnicity plays a role in beliefs about language use. We argue that the observed relationship between language and region is at least partially mediated by the relationship that ethnicity has with each.

## **2. Literature Review**

### *2.1 Work in Perceptual Dialectology*

Investigations in perceptual dialectology are frequently addressed by presenting blank maps to participants and asking those participants to note where they believe people speak differently. This has been done for entire countries (Preston 1989; Inoue 1999; Evans 2002; Purschke 2011), states (Fought 2002; Benson 2003; Bucholtz *et al.* 2007), and cities (Hartley 2005). Previous studies in perceptual dialectology have been successful in demonstrating the wealth of ideas that people have about the language(s) around them. Preston argues that, through perceptual dialectology tasks, it is possible to investigate language ideologies and determine where speakers believe dialect boundaries exist, potentially helping to define a speech community.

Understanding language ideologies is a crucial part of understanding why people talk the way they talk and, indeed, language regard (which encompasses ideologies) is linked to comprehension, production and discrimination (Preston 2011: 11). Language often differs by region, and speakers use these differences in the construction of their identities: sometimes overtly, sometimes covertly. One function of dialects is the identification of one’s territory (Greverus 1972: 48ff). That speakers believe there to be a link between region and language variation – and that they evaluate as good or bad the

variation they believe to exist – is a position corroborated by perceptual dialectology work. Such beliefs can influence linguistic form and are a part of a speaker’s communicative competence.

Preston’s (1982, 1986) work on perceptions of language variation throughout the fifty states used data from participants from Hawai’i, New York, Indiana, and Michigan. In his data, participants isolate the state of Hawai’i apart from the mainland U.S., suggesting that they perceive Hawai’i both as a single entity and as linguistically distinct from other places on the map. It is generally found that speakers believe the region where they live to be distinctive in some way from other regions, even if that distinction is one of normalcy. While it is uncommon for regions to be consistently singled out as distinctive across different pools of subjects, Preston reports that “...only Hawai’i and New York City were perceived by a significant number of informants *not* from the local area as distinctive” (Preston 1986: 230, italics in original). Thus, people from Hawai’i and the continental United States view Hawai’i as a region that is linguistically distinct from the continental United States.

In Preston’s data, the most frequent language label provided by participants for Hawai’i is ‘Pidgin’. Further distinctions were made by only a handful of participants; one subject – referring to the entire island chain – writes, “mostly pidgin<sup>2</sup> – depends on ethnic group” (Preston 1986: 226), a second subject indicates that the Big Island (Hawai’i) is distinct, while a third indicates that O’ahu is distinct from the other islands (Preston 1986: 226). But is the perception of language use in Hawai’i really as uniform as this might imply, or might people believe there to be more variation? For example, do speakers from Hawai’i perceive language use in some areas of the islands to be distinct from others? Were the task to focus exclusively on Hawai’i or some part of Hawai’i, finer distinctions between linguistic boundaries might be observed.

Traditionally, work in perceptual dialectology focuses on countries (e.g., Preston 1989, Inoue 1999, Evans 2002, Purschke 2011), though an increasing number of studies

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<sup>2</sup> Many people from Hawai’i write Pidgin with a lower-case <p>. However, we distinguish between *pidgin* (a contact variety that is not a first language of any speaker) and *Pidgin* (a creole language spoken as a first language by many people in Hawai’i). When quoting respondents throughout the text, we keep their original use of case even though they may be referring to the creole language. Pidgin is sometimes referred to by linguists as Hawai’i Creole or Hawai’i Creole English, though we have chosen to refer to it as Pidgin, keeping with the term most frequently used by Locals.

focus on smaller areas such as states or cities (e.g., Fought 2002, Hartley 2005). The work presented in this paper follows this trajectory, focusing on a single island: O'ahu. O'ahu is the most heavily populated of the Hawaiian Islands and includes the state capital, Honolulu. Outside the urban center of Honolulu, a great deal of the island is rural; the vast majority of the inhabitants live on the southern side of the island. In total, O'ahu is home to just under one million people (US Census, 2010), or approximately 75% of the total population of all the islands combined. The island is also home to two major mountain ranges, the Ko'olau range to the east and the Wai'anae range to the West. These mountain ranges create natural, geographical divisions with a valley between them. The mountains are steep and uninhabited, potentially serving as geographic cues to the regions that people from Hawai'i perceive as distinct.

## 2.2 A Brief History of the Development of Pidgin

Hawai'i has had a long and complex history of occupation, inhabitation, and language contact that has contributed to its linguistic diversity. Predating any European contact, speakers of Hawaiian had contact with other Polynesian languages, such as Tahitian. The first Europeans arrived in Hawai'i in 1778, triggering an influx of people, including whalers, traders, explorers, and missionaries, many of whom were English speakers. By 1840, the sugarcane industry had gained an economic foothold in Hawai'i, and laborers came to work on the plantations. The immigrants came from all over the world, with especially large numbers from China, Japan, Portugal, and the Philippines, and smaller groups from Korea, Puerto Rico, Okinawa, Germany, Spain, Russia, and various Pacific islands. This diverse amalgam of linguistic systems facilitated the development of Pidgin, and by 1920, Pidgin had become the dominant language of plantation children.

English is the main lexifier for Pidgin, though there are many Pidgin words with non-English origins. Other languages present during the plantations' early days influenced the structure of Pidgin. For example, Pidgin *stei* is believed to come from Portuguese (Siegel 2007) and tags such as *yeah* and *no* at the end of sentences are said to come from Japanese (Sakoda & Siegel 2003). While there has no doubt been language change, Pidgin

continues to be spoken today, and it acts as an important marker of Local identity (Sato 1991; Sakoda & Siegel 2008).

In addition to Pidgin, there is a variety of English spoken in the islands, referred to as Hawai'i English (Sato 1993). When the plantations were first established, Hawaiian was the most frequently spoken language in the islands. In time, however, English became more prevalent, and English-speakers became powerful. English was the lingua franca and came to be associated with wealth, power, and upward economic mobility. Due to a combination of massive upheaval in the traditional Hawaiian system, the desires of American businessmen to prepare Hawai'i for annexation to the United States, and pressures from people who wanted their children to learn English, schools offering free education in English became the norm and, in 1896, English was declared the language of instruction for all schools (Stueber 1964: 147). This focus on English in formal education served to strengthen the already existent ideologies surrounding English, Hawaiian, and other languages spoken in Hawai'i.

In 1887, a militia made up largely of American businessmen and Hawai'i-born children of missionaries forced King Kalākaua to sign what came to be known as the Bayonet Constitution. The Bayonet Constitution served to reduce the monarch's power, and it gave voting rights to wealthy foreigners while denying voting rights to immigrant laborers. With the intention of annexing the islands to the United States, the Kingdom of Hawai'i was overthrown in 1893 by US businessmen with the help of US Marines.<sup>3</sup> President Cleveland, who did not order or approve the overthrow, refused annexation. Rather than reinstate the monarch's power, the businessmen set up their own government, awaiting a time when a different president would be sympathetic to their views. Under the provisional governments' racist policies, the ideological divide between English and other languages (including Pidgin) grew even stronger. Annexation to the United States in 1898 and statehood in 1959 secured the long-term presence of English in Hawai'i. Since then, large numbers of people from the continental United States have moved to the islands, the United States has maintained a large military presence in Hawai'i, and tourism has become one of the major contributors to the economy.

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<sup>3</sup> In 1875, the Reciprocity Treaty was signed, allowing duty-free trade between the US and Hawai'i and explicitly acknowledging Hawai'i as a sovereign nation.

The history of settlement in the past 200 years has resulted in a unique linguistic environment. Since the plantation days, people from many countries have immigrated to Hawai'i, and with the people, often come their languages. People have come from countries in the Pacific (e.g., Sāmoa, Tokelau, the Federated States of Micronesia) and Southeast Asia (e.g., Thailand, Vietnam).

Like the rest of Hawai'i, O'ahu has a long history of multilingualism. According to the 2010 US Census, 28% of people speak something other than English in the home, but this number underestimates the amount of linguistic variation since the number of people who speak Pidgin (which, according to Ethnologue, has around 600,000 speakers) is not included in this calculation.<sup>4</sup> The long history of immigration has also created extreme ethnic diversity; there is no numeric majority of any one ethnic group, and many people identify with multiple ethnicities. We expect that perceptions of the varieties spoken in the islands will reflect some of this diversity. While previous work has investigated evaluations of Pidgin in Hawai'i (Ohama *et al.* 2000; Yamamoto 1982; Yamamoto & Hargrove 1982), this study is the first to examine how people's beliefs about language use in Hawai'i map on to different regions. Specifically, we investigate what Locals believe about language variation on O'ahu and in what ways the beliefs are linked with different regions on the island.

### 3. Method

In order to investigate the perceptions of linguistic variation on O'ahu, the study followed the method developed by Preston (e.g., 1982, 1986). The researchers distributed blank maps of O'ahu to a variety of individuals, most of whom lived within three miles of the UH Mānoa campus. Additionally, students who were enrolled in linguistics classes administered the task to their friends and relatives living in different parts of the island. In total, maps from 53 participants were collected and analyzed, and participants provided self-selected pseudonyms for the sake of anonymity. When no pseudonym was provided, they were assigned a number (3 participants). Participants were between 18

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<sup>4</sup> The total population of Hawai'i is over 1.3 million (US Census 2010).

and 65 years old (median age = 24) and roughly half self-identified as students; 28 of the respondents were males and 25 were females. Additionally, participants were asked to provide information about their ethnicity; when subjects' ethnicities are presented in this paper, they are shown in the order used by the subjects. Finally, participants were from a range of different areas; most parts of O'ahu are represented in our data by at least one subject. Our analysis includes 39 maps completed by people who were born in Hawai'i. The analysis includes an additional 14 maps completed by people from other areas (e.g., Japan, Hong Kong, the Philippines, and various states in the US), most of whom had come to Hawai'i as children. As responses from the participants did not vary according to where they were born, all data have been analyzed. Details about individual participants are provided in the maps' captions.

Participation in this study was voluntary and there was no compensation for taking part. Each map was accompanied by the following instructions:

We are interested in your opinions and intuitions, based on your knowledge and experiences. The right answer is the one **YOU** have, not the answer of some expert. On the back of this sheet is a map of O'ahu. **Please draw a boundary around each part of the island where you think there is some difference in how people speak and give the area a label.** You may include as many boundaries and labels as you like, and you should include anything you think is important about language use on O'ahu.

Crucial to facilitating this first look into perceptions of language use on O'ahu, we avoided any mention of Pidgin or English in the instructions to keep from leading the participants. The methods used to analyze the maps are discussed in the following sections.



#### 4. Maps and Trends

##### 4.1 Boundary Placement

There are two main ways that respondents place their boundaries. The first is a single divide between the eastern and western sides of the island, as shown in Figure 1. A brief description of the respondents' social characteristics is provided in the captions for each figure.

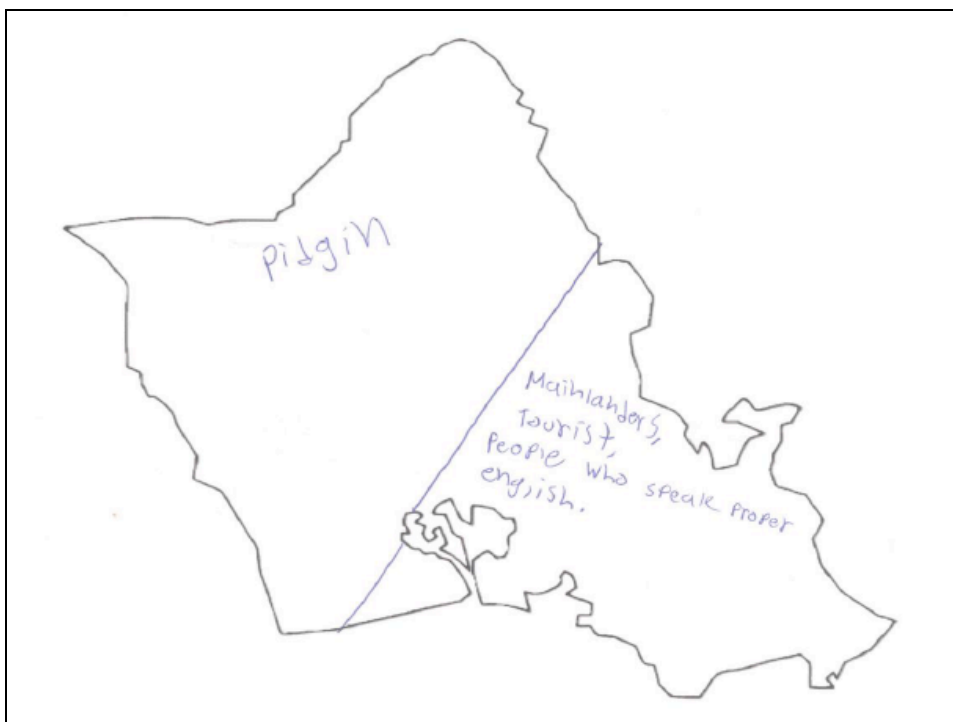


Figure 1. Tony Stark's<sup>5</sup> map, showing how he associates the use of Pidgin and English with two different halves of the island. Tony Stark is a 21 year old male from Hale'iwa who identifies as White, Irish, German, and Spanish.

Most respondents, however, make more than two distinctions, especially singling out the Wai'anae coast, the North Shore, the windward side of the island, Honolulu (town) and, sometimes, Central Oahu. Smaller neighborhoods and towns are also sometimes mentioned, including Kalihi, Pearl City, 'Ewa Beach, Kāne'ohe, Kailua, Waimānalo, and Hawai'i Kai. An example of a map with more divisions is shown in Figure 2.

<sup>5</sup> All names given are self-selected pseudonyms.

The boundaries in the maps largely fall along the mountain ranges and are highly consistent with the island's *moku*, districts on the island made during ancient times by King Ma'ilikukahi. The *moku* boundaries are shown in Figure 3. Participants who made even finer distinctions, such as one between Kāne'ōhe and Kailua, did so along ancient land divisions, known as *ahupua'a*, that further divide each *moku*. However, a larger number of respondents would be needed to use *ahupua'a* boundaries for the analysis. Because the divisions are so consistent and some respondents used the names of some *moku* (Wai'anae, 'Ewa, and Ko'olauloa) to refer to the regions on their maps, we have chosen in this paper to use the names of the *moku* to refer to these different regions and to quantify respondents' associations between region and language use. There are three reasons for this decision: (1) not all participants drew boundaries, (2) some participants who drew boundaries provided inaccurate place names, effectively making their boundaries useless for analysis, and (3) the remaining respondents' placement of boundaries and the labels used to identify the bounded regions largely correspond with the *moku* boundaries. We have slightly altered the boundaries for when they differ from our respondents', as discussed in the next section.

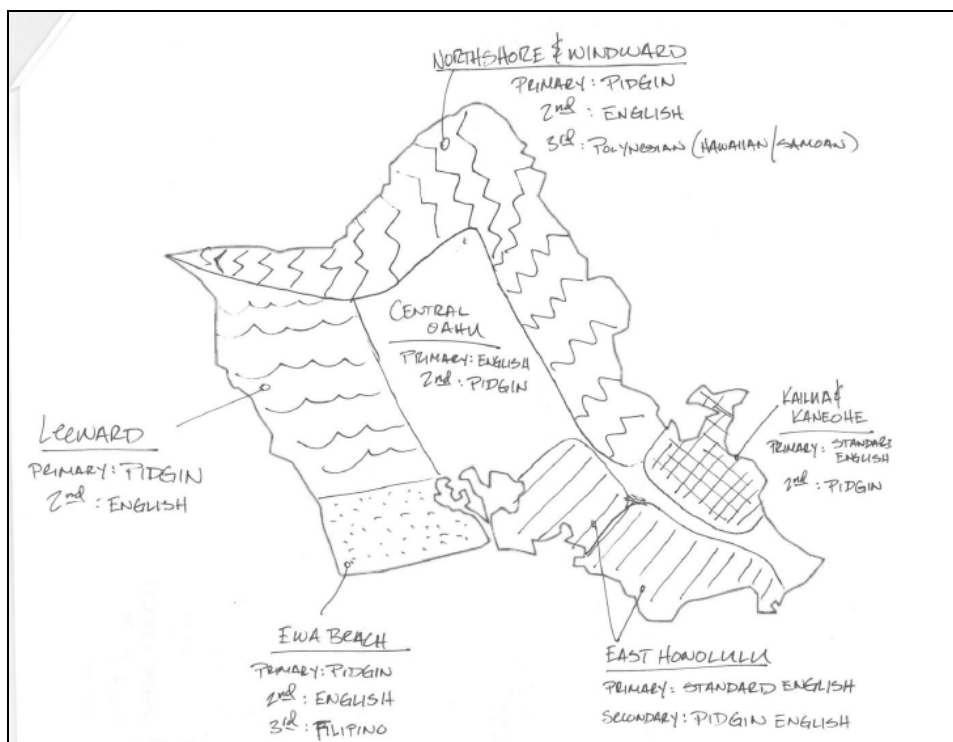


Figure 2. Rob's map, showing the language dominance for speakers in six different regions. Rob is a 33 year old male from Honolulu.

There are three exceptions to the tendency for our respondents' boundaries to fall along the traditional divisions and these changes are reflected in our analysis. The first, and biggest, is the area referred to as 'Central O'ahu' in Figure 2. Almost all moku and ahupua'a include both highland and sea, allowing residents of each region to have access to plants, animals, and water found at the different elevations.<sup>6</sup> The modern day region referred to as Central O'ahu, however, is cut off entirely from the sea. This area contains the town of Wahiawā, two large military establishments, Schofield Barracks and Wheeler Army Airfield, as well as Mililani, a planned community developed since the 1960s.

Another area that does not fall under the traditional moku divisions is Hawai'i Kai; traditionally, the area would have fallen in the moku known as Ko'olaupoko, containing Kāne'ōhe, Kailua, and Waimānalo. Hawai'i Kai was developed in the 1960s by the steel, aluminum, and shipyard giant Henry J. Kaiser, who was from New York. Because of this history, the 'okina (the glottal stop, which is a consonant in Hawaiian and written as an inverted apostrophe) is often not pronounced in this place name even for people who normally produce the stop in the word Hawai'i. The area includes an extensive man-made marina. It is a high income neighborhood that is culturally more similar to Kāhala and 'Aina Haina than it is to nearby Waimānalo. Thus, as our respondents have done, we have included it as a part of the moku of Kona, as shown in Figure 3b, rather than in Ko'olaupoko. As we shall see, beliefs about language use in the area are consistent with this classification.

The final exception is that military areas are marked on many of the respondents' maps. For the purpose of this paper, we treat these military areas as not belonging to any of the moku because these military zones are treated by our subjects as separate from other regions on the island. Most of the participants who labeled military areas on the maps simply wrote "military", suggesting that the language used in these areas was distinct from other areas on the island and perhaps indicating a military style of talking. Other participants wrote "military lingo", "mainland", and "white". Beliefs about military language on the island are not discussed further in this paper.

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<sup>6</sup> The exception on O'ahu is Mōkapu, a sacred ahupua'a traditionally used as a refuge and an area that today is part of the Kāne'ōhe Marine Corps Base.

It is important to note that we are not making any claims about traditional moku or government boundaries by the changes we have adopted; we only wish to best represent the data provided by our subjects and feel this is the most accurate way to do so.

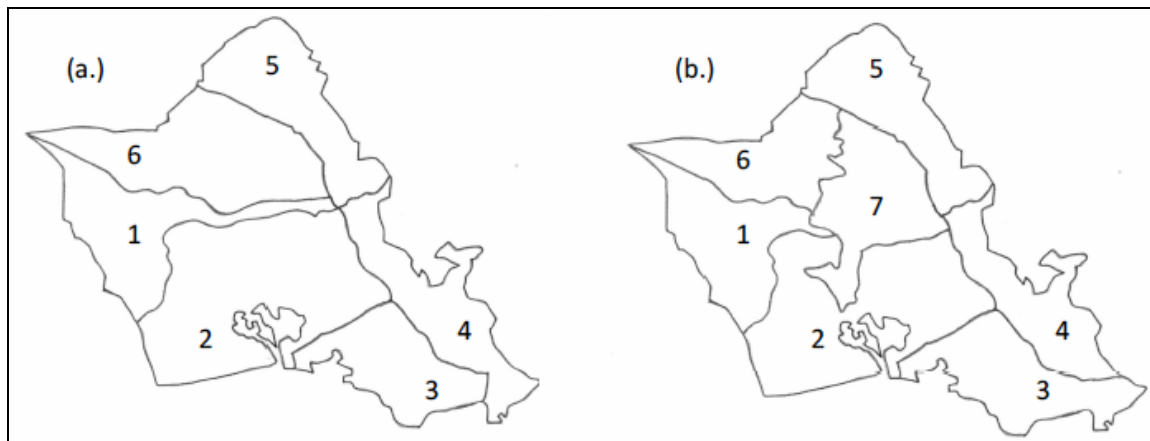


Figure 3. maps showing the divisions of Oahu, by (a.) ancient moku and (b.) modified boundaries. The moku are (1) Wai'anae, (2) 'Ewa, (3) Kona, (4) Ko'olaupoko, (5) Ko'olauloa, and (6) Waialua. The non-traditional district of Central O'ahu (7) is also indicated on the map on the right; the boundary for this region is based on the 2012 state house of representative districts that include Mililani and Wahiawā.

#### 4.2 Places of Reference

Although the instructions did not request that the respondents label place names, 33 respondents provided at least one place name on their map. In fact, there are several maps with place names but no language-related labels. Similarly, there are subjects who circle regions but do not provide any labels for that region. It may be the case that, the linguistic differences between the places (and, thus, the link between the regions and the languages or language varieties used there) seem so obvious to these participants that they did not see the need to write anything about actual language use. Alternatively, participants may not know what words can be used to refer to the linguistic differences. The number of maps that explicitly mentioned a place name is shown in Table 1, for all labels that were mentioned on over five maps. For each place name, the encompassing moku from Figure 3b are shown in the leftmost column.

moku	place name mentioned	maps with place label (n=33)	# of these with no language label
Wai'anae	Wai'anae	16 (48.5%)	4 (25.0%)
Wai'anae	Nānākuli	6 (18.2%)	2 (33.3%)
'Ewa	Waipahu	9 (27.3%)	0
'Ewa	'Ewa	6 (18.2%)	1 (3.0%)
'Ewa	Pearl City	6 (18.2%)	0
Kona	Honolulu	9 (27.3%)	0
Kona	Waikīkī	8 (24.2%)	1 (16.7%%)
Kona	Kalihi	8 (24.2%)	2 (25.0%)
Kona	Hawai'i Kai	8 (24.2%)	1 (12.5%)
Ko'olaupoko	Waimānalo	15 (45.5%)	5 (33.3%)
Ko'olaupoko	Kailua	13 (39.4%)	2 (15.4%)
Ko'olaupoko	Kāne'ohe	11 (33.3%)	4 (36.4%)
Ko'olaupoko & Waialua	North Shore	8 (24.2%)	0

Table 1. Number of times each place name was mentioned, for places mentioned over five times. The percentage of all maps with any explicit label referring to a place is shown in parentheses in the third column, and the percentage of maps with a place label that do not have any other kind of label (e.g., language or ethnicity) are shown in parentheses in the fourth column.

#### 4.3 *Pidgin and English*

Consistent with other work that investigates speakers' spatial concepts of language variation, the results demonstrate a relationship between region and perceptions of language use; certain areas are consistently associated with certain ways of speaking. Two "ways of speaking" that are evident in our data are (1) Pidgin and English and (2) different levels of Pidgin.

The perceived relationship between region and use of Pidgin and English is evident in the example shown in Figure 4.



Figure 4. Mr. Dang’s map, showing areas where Pidgin and English are believed to be spoken. Mr. Dang is a 24 year old Puerto Rican male from Kalihi.

Wai’anae (‘y-nai’) and Waimānalo (‘nalo’) are labeled as Pidgin speaking. Kāhala and Hawai’i Kai are labeled as English speaking, as is the area that Mr. Dang labeled ‘milt-town’, a term sometimes used to refer to the town of Mililani.

As an additional example of the beliefs that people on O’ahu have about the use of Pidgin and English as associated with certain regions, we turn to Sophie’s map, shown in Figure 5. Rather than draw strict boundaries, Sophie wrote labels for different regions, regions which largely correspond with those found on the other maps. Sophie indicates that people in most parts of the island speak a mix of Pidgin and English, but that along the Southern coast, only English is found. For Wai’anae, Kāne’ohe/Kailua, and the North Shore, Sophie indicates that people speak “Pidgin-English”. For Nānākuli, the area where she is from, Sophie uses the label “Creole Pidgin” without any mention of English. It is not clear how we should interpret this divergence from the rest of the Pidgin-oriented labels, but it might suggest that she believes the Pidgin used in this area is different from the Pidgin used elsewhere.



Figure 5. Sophie's map, showing areas where she believes people speak Pidgin and English. Sophie is a 20 year old Hawaiian female from Nānākuli.

To examine which regions are most frequently associated with Pidgin, English, and differing degrees of Pidgin, a semi-translucent map of the modified moku were overlaid with participants' maps in SketchBookExpress. We then counted the number of maps that provided a label referring to Pidgin and/or English within the boundaries of each moku (shown in Table 2), or the number of times a level of Pidgin was mentioned in each moku (shown in Table 3). When a language-related label was accompanied by a specific place name, the place name took precedence over the location for our analysis; in other words, the language label is analyzed as associated with the appropriate (intended) moku, regardless of the subjects' knowledge of geography.

In order to avoid conflation between the data presented in Tables 2 and 3, responses that indicated degree of Pidgin were not included in the count of Pidgin labels in Table 2. In other words, the numbers in Tables 2 and 3 refer to different subsets of the responses though they may refer to the same map since some participants indicated a level of Pidgin for one region but mentioned English or Pidgin for a different region. Additionally, some participants had more than one 'Pidgin' or 'English' label for a moku, but these were only counted as a single response, so that values in the tables represent

how many individual respondents believe the language to be associated with each region. For our data, this reflects a more conservative measure of our participants' associations between language and region.

moku	Pidgin	English	% Pidgin
Wai'anae	19	3	86.4
'Ewa	9	9	50
Kona	12	19	38.7
Ko'olaupoko	17	6	73.9
Ko'olauloa	10	1	90.9
Waialua	6	4	60
Central	6	4	60
West half	3	0	100
East half	1	4	20
NW coast	4	1	80
Town	1	2	33.3
North Shore	3	2	60
NE coast	2	0	100
other	2	2	50

Table 2. Number of respondents who indicated that people in the regions spoke Pidgin or English, with the percent of these labels that were Pidgin. Multiple mentions of one language within a region were only counted as a single response. Shaded regions are those that do not correspond to individual moku. The label 'other' is given to idiosyncratic regions. (n=36)

While many participants' responses fit within the moku boundaries, some respondents (such as Tony Stark from Figure 1) made a single response over several moku. Responses from these participants are shown in grey in the lower half of the table and include the West half (Wai'anae, West 'Ewa, Waialua, Central O'ahu), the East half (East 'Ewa, Kona, Ko'olaupoko, Ko'olauloa), the leeward (NW) coast (Wai'anae and West Waialua), town (Ewa and Kona), the North Shore (Ko'olauloa and Waialua), and the windward (NE) coast (Ko'olaupoko and Ko'olauloa).

As shown in Table 2, some moku (e.g., Wai'anae and Ko'olauloa) are associated with Pidgin, while other moku (e.g., Kona) are associated with English. It is worthwhile to note that all three participants who mention English for Wai'anae also mention Pidgin. It is also worthwhile to note that these numbers do not include responses where English- or Pidgin-specific lexical items were used. For example, Pomai used lexical labels almost



exclusively to refer to language-use, writing “any kine you know dakine”<sup>7</sup> next to the Wai‘anae coast and “ho aunty”<sup>8</sup> next to Waimānalo, both indicating the prevalence of Pidgin in these areas. As a contrast, Amber (shown in Figure 7) wrote “totally” for Kailua, as a way of referring to people from California who, crucially, are non-Local and non-Pidgin speaking. While informative, responses such as these were in the minority. This is similar to previous findings that concrete linguistic identifiers (e.g., lexical choice) play only a limited role in listeners’ spatial concepts of dialects (Anders 2010).

moku	heavy Pidgin	medium Pidgin	light Pidgin
Wai‘anae	7	0	0
Ewa	0	1	0
Kona	0	1	3
Ko‘olaupoko	2	1	1
Ko‘olauloa	2	0	0
Waialua	1	1	1
Central	0	0	2
north leeward coast (Wai‘anae, and West Waialua)	1	0	0
town (Ewa & Kona)	0	0	1
other	1	0	0

Table 3. Number of respondents who indicated degree of Pidgin (heavy, medium or light). These responses are not tallied into those shown in Table 2; these are different maps/respondents. (n=13). Shaded regions are those that do not correspond to individual moku.

Comparing the values in the two tables, it is evident that the regions most closely associated with Pidgin are the same regions where other respondents believe the heaviest Pidgin is spoken. The moku of Wai‘anae, Ko‘olaupoko, and Ko‘olauloa, for example, are heavily associated with Pidgin use and with a “heavier” form of Pidgin. The relationship between region and perceptions of Pidgin use is shown graphically in Figure 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Da kine* is a Pidgin term that serves as a referent to a previously established or contextually known lexeme. See Wong (1999) for a discussion.

<sup>8</sup> The term *aunty* is often used by Locals to address and refer to older female figures. This coupled with the vocative *ho* creates a stereotypical performance of Pidgin using English orthography.

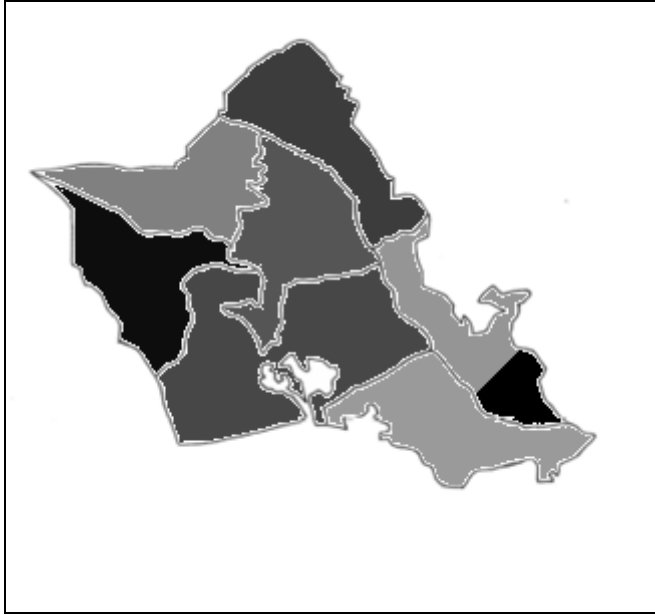


Figure 6. Composite map using data from Table 2, 3, and 4 using our redefined moku. Shading on the map correlates to the percentage of responses as “Pidgin” in each moku as compared to English. The darker the shading, the more often Pidgin is associated with a particular area.

Certain neighborhoods and towns within each of these moku appear to be especially associated with either Pidgin or English use. Table 4 shows the number of participants who indicated Pidgin, English, or a level of Pidgin as associated with a specific, explicitly-named place.

These data demonstrate how people on O’ahu have beliefs about where on the island people are more likely to speak Pidgin and English. However, many people’s responses lead us to believe that the relationship between region and language is mediated at least partially by each of their links with other factors. One factor is the division between town and country. The concepts of town and country are well-known in Hawai’i, though what counts as town or country can vary depending on someone’s age, what school they attended, or the region or island where they are from.<sup>9</sup>

Some respondents make an explicit connection between country and those areas most frequently labeled as Pidgin-speaking. For example, No’eau circles Honolulu and writes “city people; have proper English”. Underneath the map, Subject #2 writes “I think the more you go into the ‘country’ the Pidgin gets stronger and more fluent... but in ‘town’ it’s not spoken as much unless you know the person”. These responses suggest

<sup>9</sup> Areas with a rural feel (e.g., those with wild pigs and chickens) can be described as “so country” even if they are near town.

that beliefs about where English and Pidgin are spoken can be tied down to places, but the places associated with English tend to be considered ‘town’ and the places associated with Pidgin tend to be ‘country’.

moku	place label	Pidgin	Heavy Pidgin	medium Pidgin	light Pidgin	English	Total for place	Percent Pidgin (all)
Wai‘anae	Wai‘anae	5	2	0	0	0	7	100
Wai‘anae	Leeward/Westside	2	2	0	0	1	5	80
Waialua	Hale‘iwa	3	0	0	0	3	6	50
‘Ewa	‘Ewa	5	0	0	0	2	7	71.4
Kona	Honolulu	1	0	1	2	5	9	44.4
Kona	town	2	0	0	0	3	5	40
Kona	Hawai‘i Kai	2	0	0	0	4	6	33.3
Ko‘olaupoko	Waimānalo	6	0	0	0	0	6	100
Ko‘olaupoko	Kailua	3	0	0	0	4	7	42.9
Ko‘olaupoko	Kāne‘ohe	1	0	1	0	3	5	40
Ko‘olauloa	North Shore	5	0	0	1	2	8	75

Table 4. Number of respondents who indicated the use of Pidgin or English, or the degree of Pidgin (heavy, medium or light) for places that they specifically named on the map.

Another factor that appears to be related to associations between language and place is ethnicity. This factor is discussed further in the following section, alongside a discussion of languages other than Pidgin and English.

#### 4.4 Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity

Some participants’ maps, such as Amber’s in Figure 7, show how beliefs about region and language use are linked with speakers’ ethnicities; Amber labels Kailua as “California white”, Central O‘ahu as having an “Asian Kama‘aina<sup>10</sup> influence”, the western side as “more moke”,<sup>11</sup> and Honolulu as an area where there is “a greater variance of

<sup>10</sup> *Kama‘aina* is a term used to refer to long-term residents of Hawai‘i.

<sup>11</sup> The Pidgin word ‘moke’ is a term referring to Local men (and sometimes women) who are usually of native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander descent. The analogous Pidgin term for females is *tita*. The meanings and connotations of these words are complex and are discussed further in Meyerhoff (2004).

different backgrounds". Given these responses, it is clear that Amber believes there to be a link between a speaker's ethnicity and the way that speaker talks.

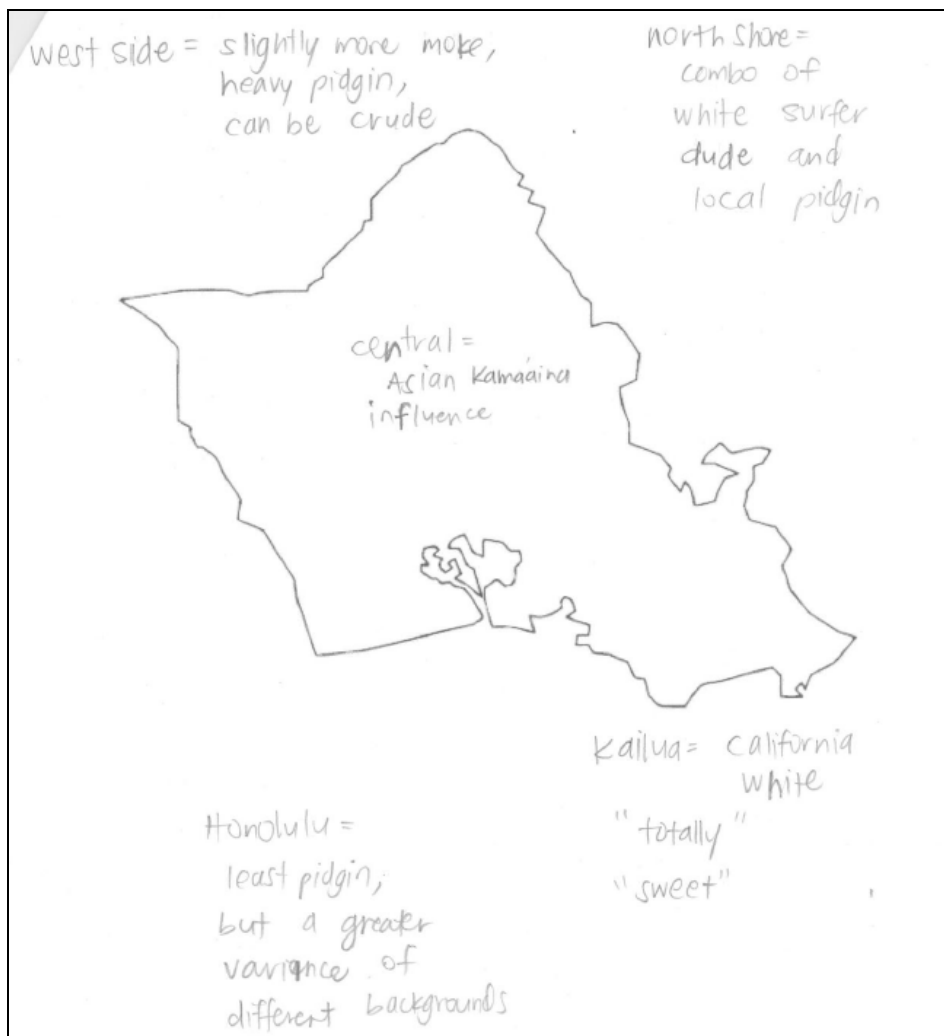


Figure 7. Amber's map, showing a link between ethnicity, language, and region. Amber is a 25 year old female from Mililani.

Identifying a label as referring to either a language or an ethnicity, however, was not always possible. For example, a large number of participants indicate regions where Filipinos live and where Filipino<sup>12</sup> is spoken. Additionally, when ethnic groups, such as Filipinos, are mentioned, it's not clear whether people are identifying immigrants from the Philippines, locally-born Filipinos, or both.

<sup>12</sup> The term 'Filipino' is frequently used to refer to Tagalog and sometimes other Philippine languages. While a number of Philippine languages are spoken in Hawai'i, the two most prominent are Tagalog and Ilocano (Labrador 2004: 293).

Evident in Hermione's map in Figure 8 is the overwhelming trend of labeling the East and West coasts as places where people speak Pidgin, and the Southern side of the island as a place where people speak English. Hermione also marks two areas as places where Filipinos live. While she does not specify in what ways language use in these towns might differ, it is quite possible that she is referring to the use of different Philippine languages. Hermione was born in the Philippines, speaks a Visayan language, and lives in one of the regions she labeled as having large numbers of Filipinos. Thus, these areas - and the use of Philippine languages in them - may be particularly noticeable to her.

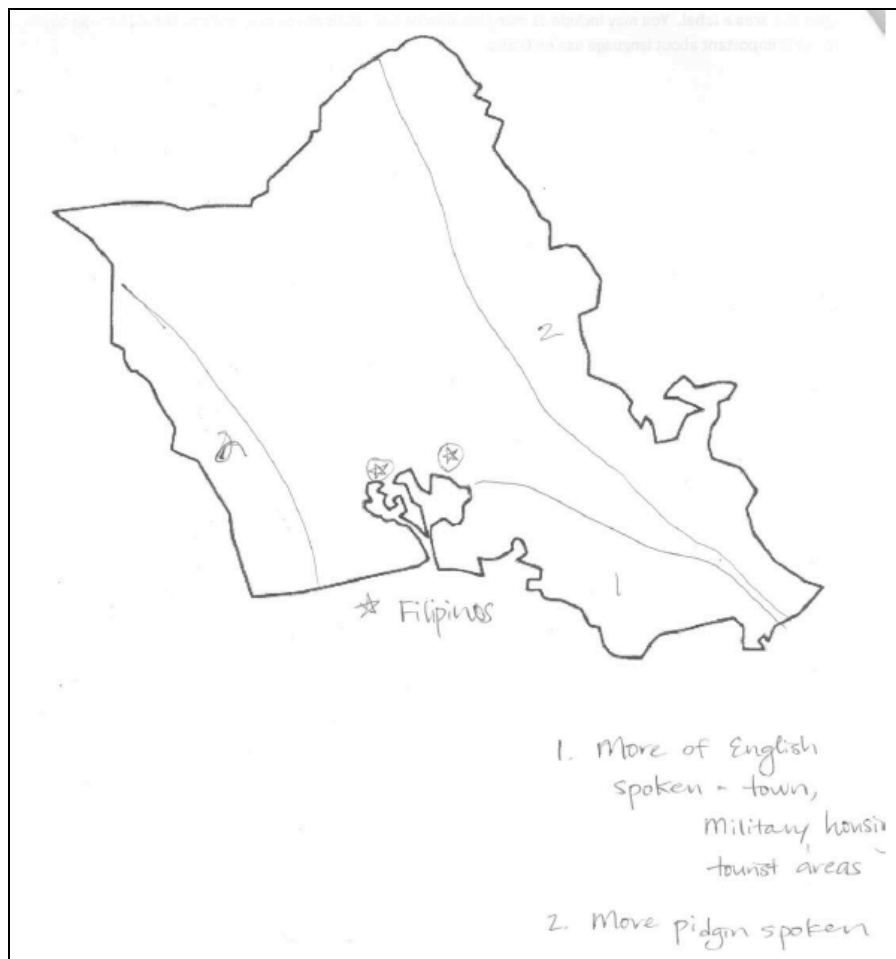


Figure 8. Hermione's map, showing areas where she believes Filipinos live. Hermione is Filipino, Spanish, and Chinese, and she is from Pearl City.

Another possibility, however, is that she is referring to L2 accented speech or a different variety of L1 Pidgin or English that is linked with ethnicity. To date, there is no

work investigating whether Local Filipinos have a different variety of Pidgin or English than any other group of Locals. However, Mock Filipino – along with a mock L2 accented Filipino English – is frequently heard in Hawai‘i, and is especially prevalent in Local comedy. This use of Mock Filipino serves to position Filipinos as a cultural and linguistic Other (Labrador 2004), potentially increasing the likelihood that respondents will mark the speech of Filipinos as distinct in our study.

In other maps, the specific reference to languages other than Pidgin and English is clearer. Ki‘ilani, for example, marks areas where Pidgin is spoken, shown in Figure 9. In addition to these, she labels downtown Honolulu with an array of languages that can be found there, including Tagalog, Tongan, and Micronesian.

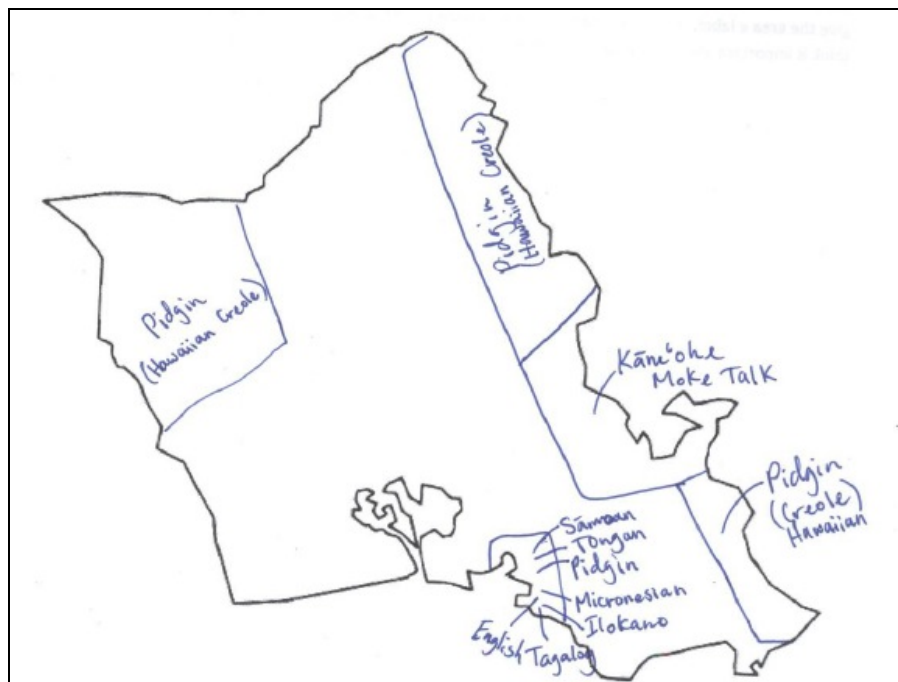


Figure 9. Ki‘ilani’s map, showing areas where multiple languages can be found as well as zones where she believes people speak Pidgin. Ki‘ilani is a 20 year old Hawaiian female from Kāneʻohe. ‘Moke Talk’ is the name used by people from Kāneʻohe to refer to their own variety of Pidgin.

The ambiguity of many language/ethnic labels and the occasional conflation of language and ethnicity makes quantifying these data difficult because they are, at times, impossible to disambiguate. Rather than attempt to disambiguate them, we have quantified them based on whether each term was written, ignoring whether they seem to refer to language, ethnicity, or both, though there appear to be examples of all three of

these. Table 5 shows the number of times that ethnic/language labels were associated with each region, and Table 6 shows the number of times that a blanket language family/ethnicity-oriented term (e.g., Polynesian) was used. Other ethnicities were provided only once: Tahitian (for Wai‘anae), Tongan (for ‘Ewa), African American, Vietnamese, and Thai (all three for Kona).

One potential reason for why certain ethnicities seem to be associated with specific areas in the minds of our participants is that, historically, certain areas of O‘ahu were settled by different ethnic groups. This is due partially to the design of plantation owners, who actively sought to segregate the plantations as a way to avoid a coup. The pidgin that was spoken on the plantations varied by ethnic group, and people report that some of these differences remain in modern varieties of Pidgin, especially in the use of lexical items from the speakers’ respective heritage languages.

	Filipino	Ilocano	Tagalog	Hawaiian	Chinese	Japanese	Korean	Haole/White	Samoan	Tongan
Wai‘anae	4	0	0	11	1	0	0	1	2	0
‘Ewa	15	1	0	2	4	4	3	1	2	0
Kona	6	1	1	2	8	6	4	4	3	1
Ko‘olaupoko	1	0	0	5	1	3	1	4	0	0
Ko‘olauloa	2	0	0	5	1	1	0	2	1	1
Waialua	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
Central	4	0	0	1	3	4	0	1	0	0
West half	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
NW coast	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
SE side	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
North Shore	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0
total	35	2	1	31	19	19	8	15	10	2

Table 5. The number of maps that labeled a moku with one of the ethnicities or languages listed. The grey regions at the bottom are for when multiple moku were included in a response. These larger regions are the Western half of the island (Wai‘anae, West ‘Ewa, Waialua, Central), the north-western coast (Wai‘anae, and West Waialua), the south-eastern side of the island (Kona, Ko‘olaupoko), and the North Shore (Ko‘olauloa and Waialua).

An association between ethnicity and language is evident in many of the maps from this study. One respondent, Gail, explicitly states that “every race has there [sic] own pidgin dialect”. In what specific ways people of different ethnic groups in Hawai‘i vary their use of language remains a question to be addressed, but the results from this study

suggest that people on O‘ahu believe that Local people of different ethnicities tend to speak Pidgin and/or English differently.

	Asian	Polynesian	Micronesian	Melanesian	mixed	diverse
Wai‘anae	0	2	3	1	0	0
Ewa	1	1	4	1	1	0
Kona	2	1	2	1	2	4
Ko‘olaupoko	1	1	1	1	0	0
Ko‘olauloa	0	1	0	0	1	1
Waialua	0	0	0	0	1	0
Central	2	0	0	0	0	0
West half	1	0	0	0	0	0
SE side	1	0	0	0	0	0
North Shore	0	1	0	0	0	0
total	8	7	10	4	5	5

Table 6. The number of maps that labeled a moku with one of the language family labels/ ethnicity-oriented terms. Also listed is the ethnicity-oriented label ‘mixed’ and the number of times that respondents mentioned diversity without further specification.

#### 4.5 Evaluations of language

Some respondents made explicit evaluations of the language they associate with certain regions. For example, Amber describes the language in Wai‘anae as “crude”, and Aunty Terry describes people from Kāne‘ohe as “humble speaking”. While only a handful of respondents made comments that explicitly evaluated the use of any language varieties or groups of people, certain long-standing ideologies are nevertheless prevalent in a number of maps, revealing themselves in more subtle ways. Across the different maps, we consistently see a dichotomy set up between Pidgin and properness or “standard-ness”. While there are too few data to offer any conclusive argument, the number of times respondents associated a region with the word ‘proper’<sup>13</sup> (shown in Table 7) suggests that the regions least associated with Pidgin are the same as those that are most often associated with properness. The oft-repeated dichotomy between Pidgin and properness is nothing new (Da Pidgin Coup, 1999) and it serves to perpetuate ideologies that Pidgin is substandard and inappropriate for certain domains and topics. Furthermore, the beliefs about language and properness seem to have extended to the

<sup>13</sup> Use of the word *proper* was frequently but not exclusively accompanied by the word *English*. The counts presented in this paper include all mentions of the word.



people who speak the language. Black Pearl, for example, refers to the “proper people” of Hawai‘i Kai and Kāhala, not explicitly mentioning the language or language variety they speak.

Another trend evident in Table 7 is that regions associated with Pidgin are more likely to be labeled as Local and *moke*. Other labels shown in Table 7 include ‘broken English’ (for Wai‘anae and Kona) and ‘immigrants’ or ‘F.O.B.’ (for Kona). Another label that was used was ‘surfer’. While this label was most often used for the North Shore – an area famous for having some of the best surf in the world – it was also used as a label in other coastal regions of O‘ahu. Additional labels with only one mention in a region were ‘formal’ (for the Southern half), ‘informal’ (for Ko‘olaupoko), ‘rich’ (for Kona and Ko‘olaupoko), and ‘old-timer’ (for Wai‘anae and Waialua).

	proper	standard	mainland/ California	Local	<i>moke</i>	broken English	immigrants/ F.O.B.	surf(er)
Wai‘anae	0	0	0	4	2	1	0	2
‘Ewa	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0
Kona	6	3	1	1	1	1	2	1
Ko‘olaupoko	2	2	2	2	1	0	0	1
Ko‘olauloa	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4
Waialua	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	2
Central	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0
West half	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
East half	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
NE coast	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
North Shore	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3
Windward								
coast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
SE side	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
other	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
total	13	9	4	14	6	2	2	15

Table 7. Number of respondents who used the labels listed, by region.

## 5. Conclusion

As with other regions investigated in the perceptual dialectology literature, people on O‘ahu have beliefs about the ways people speak on different parts on the island and these beliefs are largely consistent across different respondents. Regions such as

Wai'anae and Waimānalo are associated with Pidgin speakers, regions such as Hawai'i Kai and Kāhala are associated with English speakers, and regions in town are associated with a wide array of languages, including Ilocano, Samoan, and Chinese.

Preston (1982) found that most people from Hawai'i treated the islands as a single distinct linguistically-relevant area that was most frequently labeled 'Pidgin'. In contrast, the results from this study demonstrate that people from Hawai'i believe there to be a great deal more variation than Preston's data would imply. The difference between our findings and Preston's is likely due to the different methods of data collection; participants in Preston's study were given a map of the United States, on which the Hawaiian Islands appeared small. In contrast, participants in our study were given a map of O'ahu and were, therefore, able to make fine distinctions that could not have been made using the US map. While Preston's data show how Hawai'i respondents believe that language use in Hawai'i differs from that found in the continental United States, our data show that they also believe there is a great deal of linguistic variation on O'ahu.

Our data further demonstrate that people in Hawai'i have beliefs about how region and language use are linked but that for many people this relationship is not a straightforward one. Speakers' ethnicities appeared on many maps despite the fact that the instructions referred only to language, indicating a belief that, while region may be linked with language variation and choice, so is ethnicity. Ethnicity is a factor that is seen as highly relevant in Hawai'i; it is something that is not only noticed but is overtly commented on, joked about, and discussed with a wide variety of different people. Taken together, this suggests that a study investigating a possible relationship between ethnicity and linguistic variables in Pidgin and Hawai'i English would be particularly fruitful.

The results presented in this paper demonstrate how language, ethnicity, and region are linked in people's beliefs of language use in Hawai'i, and how ideologies about the properness of English as opposed to Pidgin are widespread. However, the results from this paper also raise a number of questions, such as: if more data were collected, might we also observe differences between ahupua'a? How might the divisions affect responses if the moku and/or ahupua'a boundaries were provided to participants, or if the maps focused on only one of these regions? What are Local's beliefs about language use on other islands, and how might the results differ if the instructions asked explicitly about

Pidgin or about particular languages? And, finally, to what extent might variation in actual speech on O'ahu be consistent with the beliefs presented here? As such, this study marks only the beginning of a long-term research program investigating ideologies and sociolinguistic patterns in the varieties of Pidgin, English, and other languages spoken in Hawai'i.

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