**Hawai'i Creole**

James Grama; University Duisburg-Essen, Essen, Germany; james.grama@uni-due.de

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**Abstract:**
Hawai'i Creole (known locally as Pidgin) is an English-lexified creole with some 700,000 speakers. The vast majority of these speakers reside in Hawai'i, where Pidgin co-exists with a distinct local dialect of English—Hawai'i English—both of which are varieties that grew out of the illegal seizure of Hawai'i by an English-speaking minority. In this chapter, I briefly discuss this history, as well as how sugarcane plantations fundamentally altered the economy of Hawai'i, leading to the formation of Pidgin. I then turn to a discussion of select lexical, phonological, and morpho-syntactic features of Pidgin, especially those which differ from the surrounding English variety. Finally, special consideration is given to work that discusses variation and change in a number of Pidgin features (i.e., post-vocalic /ɹ/, copula-absence, indefinite and past time reference, and monophthongs), in the context of the widely-attested decreolization that Pidgin has undergone.

**Keywords:** Hawai'i Creole, Pidgin, vowels, morpho-syntax, language variation and change, decreolization

**Introduction**

Hawai'i Creole, also known as Hawai'i Creole English (Ohama et al. 2000), Hawaiian Creole (Odo 1971), and Hawaiian Creole English (Wells 1982: 649), is an English-based creole spoken by roughly half of the population of Hawai'i (ca. 600,000), with an additional 100,000 speakers on the mainland U.S. (Velupillai 2003: 12). Throughout this entry, the variety is referred to by its autonym, Pidgin, which is how it is most commonly identified throughout Hawai'i. This paper provides a brief sketch of the language, focusing first on the historical background that led to its development in the broader context of Hawai'i, then discussing select lexical, phonological, and morpho-syntactic features, and finally considering decreolization and variation over time in Pidgin (see the entry on 'The history of pidgin and creole languages in the Pacific' by Jeff Siegel).

**A brief history of Hawai'i**

*Seized lands*

Prior to western contact, Hawaiians, the descendants of the original Polynesian settlers, spoke 'ōlelo Hawai'i (Hawaiian). The first contact Hawai'i had with the west was in 1778 with Captain James Cook and his men, after which the islands were quickly seen as a useful supply point for ships involved in trade between Asia and the Americas. At first, English was of limited local value, even after Hawai'i saw increased Anglophone immigration in 1810 due to the sandalwood trade and whaling industry. The arrival of Christian missionaries in 1820 is widely considered to have had the most profound influence on Hawai'i's move towards English (Reinecke 1969: 26-27). The missionaries sought to transform the traditional way of life in Hawai'i into "an elevated state of Christian civilization and to turn [Hawaiians] from their barbarous courses and habits" (Lahaina: Missions Press 1938), and established religious schools, originally designed to convert Native Hawaiians to Christianity. These schools equated English with Christian morality, and by the 1830s, Hawaiian-language schools were effectively segregated from elite English-only schools that served Hawaiian *ali'i* 'chiefs, rulers' and white mission children (Kawamoto 1993: 195-197).

Throughout the 1800s, the influx of foreigners to Hawai'i had disastrous health consequences. Hundreds of thousands of Native Hawaiians died from foreign disease, leading to a population decline

from over 800,000 prior to western contact, to just 37,656 by 1900 (Nordyke 1989: 173-174). This, too, was co-opted by missionaries as a tool to push Native Hawaiians towards white standards, blaming Hawaiian cultural practices like *hula* for outbreaks of leprosy (Bishop 1891: 25), and framing knowledge of English and "American republican and Christian ideals" as the way to combat "kahunaism, fetishism and heathenism" (McArthur 1895, cited in Schütz 1994: 354).

In 1893, a coup, aided by the U.S. military, forced Queen Liliʻuokalani to abdicate the throne to avoid bloodshed. Three years later, the Republic of Hawaiʻi established English as the exclusive medium of instruction for schools (Territory of Hawaiʻi 1905: 156), and in 1898, Hawaiʻi was annexed as a territory by the U.S. By 1900, finding work without English fluency was functionally impossible, despite most Hawaiʻi residents still speaking Hawaiian (Schütz 1994: 355).

### *Plantation era and the development of Pidgin*

Another major change in the economic power structure and demographics in Hawaiʻi came in the form of sugarcane plantations, first established in 1835. While Hawaiians formed the majority of the plantation workforce until 1878 (Reinecke 1969: 40), the Masters and Servants Act of 1850 allowed plantation owners to import cheaper foreign labor, starting with Chinese, then Portuguese, Japanese, and Filipino laborers, as well as smaller groups from other countries. To avoid revolt, owners strategically segregated plantation workers across linguistic lines (Kawamoto 1993: 199).

Upon their initial founding, the *lingua franca* of plantations was Pidginized Hawaiian (PH), which took its structure and lexicon from Hawaiian (see Roberts 2005). This variety grew out of a need to communicate, given that plantation workers spoke mutually unintelligible languages. As the number of Native Hawaiians decreased, laborers who spoke Portuguese, Cantonese, and Japanese began to fill plantation jobs, a shift which coincided with the rise of English in Hawaiʻi. By the 1880s, a new contact variety, Hawaiian Pidgin English (HPE), had arisen with an especially strong presence in Honolulu among non-native English speakers. HPE gradually displaced PH on plantations, and by 1910 (assisted by the illegal seizure of Hawaiʻi), HPE was the dominant *lingua franca* of Hawaiʻi (Roberts 2005: 107-108). As HPE became more widely used among locally-born children of immigrants at school and at home, children began acquiring the language. By the third generation of plantation workers (between 1920-1930), creolization had taken place, and Pidgin (Hawaiʻi Creole) took hold as the dominant language of the majority of Hawaiʻi (Sakoda & Siegel 2003: 10).

Today, Pidgin is inextricably linked with the shared culture that arose from plantation laborers. In many respects, it has come to represent a 'Local' identity in shared resistance against *haole* 'white people' (literally, 'foreign'). However, this identity washes out certain local complexities; Native Hawaiians today remain the most disenfranchised by establishment powers, while statehood in 1959 has disproportionately benefitted East Asian locals economically and politically (Trask 2000). Still, Pidgin is strongly linked with Hawaiʻi, and it is often casually juxtaposed with English in a way that reproduces hegemonic differences that have existed since plantation days. For example, Pidgin is framed as a barrier to "advancement in American society" (Tamura 1996: 440), and negative assessments of Pidgin are particularly present in the home and at work (Marlow & Giles 2010). However, not speaking Pidgin in peer groups is criticized (*ibid*: 243-244), and results from Ohama et al. (2000) show that a bilingual speaker's voice was rated as more dynamic, energetic, and confident when speaking Pidgin than when speaking English. The two languages are also ideologically associated with different geographic spaces, with Pidgin associated with more rural areas on Oʻahu, and English with more urban ones (Drager & Grama 2014).

Many of the negative attitudes towards Pidgin can be traced to its stigmatization as poor English in educational spheres (Da Pidgin Coup 2008). For example, in 1987, the Hawaiʻi Board of Education proposed mandating English as the mode of oral communication in schools, a proposal that was met with an unprecedented groundswell of local opposition (Sato 1994: 132-134). This opposition was a very public assertion of the importance of Pidgin in Hawaiʻi. The past 30 years has seen Pidgin retake several institutionally sanctioned spaces where it was historically prohibited. Lee Tonouchi, for

example, advocates for, teaches, and writes (creatively and academically) in Pidgin, and at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, Kent Sakoda teaches Pidgin language courses in Pidgin, and is a central member of the community advocacy and research group *Da Pidgin Coup*.

## Features of Pidgin

### *Lexical aspects*

There are a number of lexical items in Pidgin that derive from substrate lexifiers which were present during creolization. Some of these are also attested in Hawaiʻi English (see Ohara-Saft et al. this volume). Outside of English, Hawaiian has contributed the largest share of words, but there are many lexifier languages whose impact can clearly be seen. Table 1 provides examples that are in relatively widespread use.

[table 1 about here]

Pidgin also features a number of words derived from English which are not commonly found in other varieties. Table 2 provides some examples, which are also spelled using Odo orthography (see below).

[table 2 about here]

### *Phonology*

#### *Consonants*

Pidgin consonants pattern similarly to both Hawaiʻi English and other North American varieties of English (for more, see Sakoda & Siegel 2008). Differences in the patterning of stops, fricatives, /l, ɹ/, as well as phonemes derived from substrate lexifiers, are discussed here.

While voiceless stops are aspirated in initial position with primary stress ([tʰæɹo] 'taro'), aspirated variants can also occur word-medially ([hæpʰɪn] 'happen'). Coronal stops may be flapped intervocalically in unstressed syllable ([pɹiɾi] 'pretty'); in initial clusters before /ɹ/, they are palatalized ([tʃɹi] 'three/tree'), which can also motivate palatalization of the preceding /s/ (ʃtɹeɪʔ] 'straight'; Sakoda & Siegel 2008: 225-226).

Dental fricatives [θ, ð] are variably realized as coronal stops in basilectal varieties, and follow the patterning described for other stops ([tʰiŋk] 'think', [nɐtʰɪn] 'nothing', [bɑɾɐz] 'bothers'). Dental fricatives are more common in mesolectal varieties (*ibid*: 225).

Post-vocalic /ɹ/ is variably realized, with /ɹ/-less variants associated with more basilectal varieties ([ʃtʃɹenɐ] 'strainer', [fɑm] 'farm', [sked] 'scared'; *ibid*: 226). Only stressed vowels in the NURSE lexical set (Wells 1982) are invariably rhotic ([bɜɹd] 'bird'; *ibid*). Coda /l/ in Pidgin is typically velarized ([pʰɑə̆ɫ] 'pile') or vocalized entirely ([hændo] 'handle').

For some speakers, three additional phonemes are attested that are not found in most varieties of English: /t͡s, ɾ, ʔ/. Both /t͡s/ and /ɾ/ are found in Japanese loanwords [t͡suɾu] 'folded paper crane', [aɾaɾe] 'rice crackers', [kaɾaoke] 'karaoke'; *ibid*: 226-227). The phoneme /ʔ/ is found in words derived from Hawaiian (*kamaʻāina* [kʰɑmɑʔɑ͡ɪnɐ] 'Hawaiʻi resident'), particularly in place names ([niʔihɑ͡u] 'Niʻihau'). Preservation of the glottal stop is variable, however, and varies in Hawaiʻi residents (not necessarily Pidgin speakers) based on phonological context and knowledge of Hawaiian (see Drager et al. 2019).

*Vowels*

Auditory accounts of Pidgin suggest that vowel quality is strongly tied to speaker lect along the creole continuum. Sakoda and Siegel (2008) describe basilectal speakers as having a seven-vowel system, with no difference between tense-lax pairs FLEECE and KIT, and GOOSE and FOOT. The basilectal low-back system shows no distinction among LOT-THOUGHT-CLOTH-NORTH-FORCE, but possible differentiation between STRUT and PALM-START (221-224). By contrast, mesolectal speakers show a more consistent distinction between tense-lax pairs, and a low-back system that shows considerable variability, with some influence from Hawaiʻi English (225). Both lects have three closing diphthongs /ɑɪ, ɑʊ, ɔɪ/, and non-rhotic speakers exhibit three opening diphthongs /iɑ, uɑ, eɑ/. More detail on auditory accounts of Pidgin vowels can be found in Sakoda and Siegel (2008: 221-225).

*Suprasegmental features*

Prosody is often cited as a prominent way in which Pidgin differs from English; however, little quantitative work has investigated these patterns. Vanderslice and Pierson (1967: 157) described Pidgin as more syllable-timed than stress-timed, and in terms of stress, di- and multisyllabic words follow different stress patterns than other English varieties (e.g., ˌiceˈbox, ˌhurriˈcane; Odo 1975: 16-18).

A particularly marked feature of Pidgin is its falling intonation contour in *yes/no* and *wh*-questions (Vanderslice & Pierson 1967: 167). Murphy (2013) demonstrates this likely emerged via Hawaiian influence, which shares the same tune. Kirtley (2014) reports a similar contour in Hawaiʻi English, likely via Pidgin, implicating it as a more "local" tune available to speakers of both varieties (11).

**Morpho-syntax**

Though Pidgin takes much of its structure from English, there are many ways in which its morpho-syntax is obviously distinct. The following section provides an overview of some of these features. Unless otherwise noted, examples are taken from transcribed interviews available on SOLIS at the University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, originally recorded as part of the Bickerton Collection, the Sato Collection, and the Influences and Variation in Hawaiʻi Creole English Collection (all housed in Kaipuleohone; Berez 2013). Three lines are provided for each example: line one is written in Odo orthography (created by Carol Odo ca. 1971), which is in use by some Pidgin-speaking educators (see Sakoda & Siegel 2003); line two is in English orthography, a modified version of which is in far wider general use (e.g., in Tonouchi 2014[2019]); and line three is an English translation, including the recording and time-stamp it came from.

Pidgin expresses tense, modality, and aspect through the use of preverbal morphemes. Past tense (or, anterior) can be marked using one of three forms, which vary by age and island: *bin* (1a), *had/haed* (1b), or, the newer form, *wen* (1c; Roberts 2005: 183), which can exhibit considerable variation in phonetic form (Labov 1971[1990]: 36-40). Irregular verbs with English-like inflection are also observed (e.g., *came/keim*), but not when the past is otherwise overtly marked. When the past is implied, overt marking is unnecessary.

(1a)   *wen ai **bin** bild da haus*
       when I **bin** build the house
       'When I built the house.' (CS1-JA-03B; 13:53-13:5)
(1b)   *hau mach haend spaenz yu gaiz **haed** plei?*
       how much hand spans you guys **had** play?
       'How many hand spans did you guys play [in marbles]?' (CS2-056; 15:41-15:43)
(1c)   *ai **wen** get wan smawl skalaship*
       I **wen** get one small scholarship
       'I got a small scholarship.' (CS2-051; 02:36-02:38)

Future (or, irrealis) can be expressed with preverbal *gon*, which can also be realized as *go* or *goin(g)* (without complementizer *to*; 2a-c). *Go* can also occur in serial verb constructions to indicate movement or intention (2d).

(2a)  *yu **gon** teik gaid fo got hanting*
      you **gon** take guide for goat hunting
      'You'll take a guide for goat hunting.' (DB1-059-A; 30:25-30:27)
(2b)  *yu no **go** kruz awl araun da pleis*
      you no **go** cruise all around the place
      'You're not going to cruise around everywhere.' (CS1-JA-03B; 36:27-36:29)
(2c)  *so wat yu **goin** du dis wiken?*
      so what you **going** do this weekend?
      'So what are you going to do this weekend?' (CS2-055; 30:35-30:36)
(2d)  *so ai **go** put in mai envelop evritaim ai get peid*
      so I **go** put in my envelope every time I get paid
      'So I go and put [money] in my envelope every time I get paid.' (RK01-A; 08:26-08:30)

*Stay/stei* serves a number of functions, including as a progressive marker (3a), a bare copula (3b), a copula with locatives (3c), and adjectives that denote non-permanent/intrinsic characteristics (compare 3d and 3e). It is very likely that *stay/stei* was reinforced by Portuguese *estar* 'to be' (Siegel 2000: 229-230).

(3a)  *mai feis aen mai haenz **stei** muving*
      my face and my hands **stay** moving
      'My face and my hands are moving.' (CS2-040; 13:05-13:07)
(3b)  *sama dem kam intu da pleis wea wi **stei***
      some of them come into the place where we **stay**
      'Some of them come to the place where we are.' (CS2-030; 07:26-07:28)
(3c)  *aen ai luk aet daet babuz **stei** oa dea*
      and I look at that babuz **stay** over there
      'And I look at that fool who's over there.' (CS2-040; 12:44-12:46)
(3d)  *aen if yu eva **stei** shawt awn mani*
      and if you ever **stay** short on money
      'And if you're ever short on money.' (CS2-027-A; 14:13-14:15)
(3e)  *baek rou kaz ai short*
      back row cause I short
      '[I play in the] back row because I'm short.' (CS2-55; 03:57-03:58)

Pidgin employs the same form, *get*, to express existential (4a) and possessive relationships (4b), a pattern reinforced by Cantonese (see functions of 有 /jau⁵/), and *habgot* in both Chinese Pidgin English and Pacific Pidgin English (Siegel 2000: 212-214). The past tense form, *had* (4c), was likely reinforced by Portuguese *ter* 'to have' (*ibid*: 215).

(4a)  *ai gaDa rait daun hau mach **get** in hia*
      I gotta write down how much **get** in here
      'I have to write down how much there is in here.' (RK01-A; 08:16-08:19)
(4b)  *mai sista stei maerid aen shi **get** wan bebe*
      my sister stay married and she **get** one baby
      'My sister is married and she has a baby.' (CS2-019-A; 05:34-05:37)
(4c)  *daet waz da only klaesiz **haed***
      that was the only classes **had**
      'That was the only classes there were.' (RK01-A; 04:44-04:46)

Desire or volition can be expressed using *like/laik* as in (6a), completion can be marked with *pau* (6b), and eventuality or remote future (Velupillai 2003: 62) with *bumbye/bambai* (6c).

(6a)  *ai neva **laik** rinju awreDi*
      I never **like** renew already
      'I already didn't want to renew [the contract].' (CS1-GN-02A; 06:48-06:49)
(6b)  *hi **pau** krai*
      he **pau** cry
      'He's done crying.' (CS2-017; 16:17-16:18)
(6c)  ***bambai** yu go da trd dei nomo da bawl*
      **bumbye** you go the third day nomo the ball
      'Eventually you go on the third day, and there isn't any ball anymore.' (Velupillai 2003: 175)

Various types of movement are common, including right- (8a), and left-dislocation (8b), and the fronting of adjectives (8c), potentially reinforced by similar patterns in Hawaiian (Drager 2012: 68).

(8a)  *kaz wi haed laDa grlz, aeh? da faemli*
      cuz we had lotta girls, aeh? the family
      'Because we had a lot of girls, yeah? [In] the family.' (CS2-037; 11:18-11:21)
(8b)  *no mai faDa hi tich mi hau fo du maet*
      no my father he teach me how for do math
      'No my father, he teaches me how to do math.' (CS2-019-A; 21:35-21:37)
(8c)  *smawl ai waz*
      small I was
      'I was small.' (CS2-037; 17:45-17:46)

Pidgin has a wealth of clause-final markers that serve a variety of purposes, functioning as general extenders (9a), tags or confirmation checks (9b-c), or denoting cause-result relationships (9d).

(9a)  *ai wen ap dea bat ai neva go swim **laiDat***
      I went up there but I never go swim **laiDat**
      'I went up there but I didn't go swimming or anything.' (DB1-164-A; 16:13-16:17)
(9b)  *it waz drti **ae**? da waDa*
      it was dirty, **ae**? the water
      'It was dirty, you know? The water.' (CS1-NAKS-01B: 19:00-19:02)
(9c)  *luks fani givin om seventi faiv **no**?*
      looks funny giving them seventy five **no**?
      'It looks funny giving them seventy-five, you know/right?' (DB1-122-A; 06:21-06:24)
(9d)  *wi nat daet smat in mai taun **aeswai***
      we not that smart in my town **aeswai**
      'It's because we're not that smart in my town.' (CS2-056; 04:03-04:05)

One of Pidgin's more prominent features is its use of *kine/kain* and *dakine/dakain*. As a post-modifier, *kine/kain* can mark the preceding element as an example or type (10a). *Dakine/dakain* is a highly multifunctional word that can serve, among other things, as a pro-form (10b). *Dakine/dakain* emphasizes and creates solidarity by motivating interlocutors to rely on shared knowledge to interpret meaning (Sakoda & Siegel 2003: 50).

(10a) *ova dea have ril wail **kain** pigz*
      over there have real **wild** kine pigs
      'They have really wild pigs over there.' (DB1-059-A; 22:13-22:15)
(10b) *iven **dakain** tel mi 'o its wan masus'*
      even **dakine** tell me 'oh it's one masseuse'
      'Even [my mom always] tells me 'oh it's a masseuse.' (RK01-A; 05:30-05:32)

The preceding excerpts also exemplify different negation and complementation strategies. Negation is achieved using one of four markers; *no* (2b) and *not/nat* (9d) are general negators (see Sakoda & Siegel

2003: 80-86), *never/neva* (6a) marks past negation, and *nomo* marks negative existentials (6c). Finally, Pidgin can use complementizer *for/fo* (8b), which could have been modeled after or reinforced by English *for...to* or Portuguese *para* 'in order to' (Siegel 2000: 223-226).

**Variation and change**

Much of the research on linguistic variation in Pidgin frames variation through the lens of decreolization—the replacement of creole features with features from the major lexifier language. Early research was in near-unanimous agreement that Pidgin was undergoing decreolization at the societal level (see Sato 1994: 124-126). For example, Odo (1971) examines the decreolization of post-vocalic /ɹ/ in apparent time and across genre, and finds that relatively younger speakers produce fewer tokens of vocalized /ɹ/ than older speakers (particularly in more formal contexts), suggesting a retreat from basilectal forms. However, not all features show evidence of decreolization (see Inoue's (2007) account of copula absence).

Work has also investigated change over the life-span in a similar context. Sato (1994) investigates three variables—post-vocalic /ɹ/, past time, and indefinite reference—drawing on interviews with four speakers recorded first in 1973, and again roughly 15 years later; results from Sato (1994) are plotted in Figure 1. The effects of decreolization on individual speakers is highly dependent on feature type. Three of four speakers show a clear shift away from Pidgin forms for indefinite reference over time, but only two show similar changes in past reference. Importantly, decreolization pressures have variable effects for each speaker, observable in that two speakers show clear movement toward Pidgin forms (HK for past and JA for indefinite reference). By contrast, /ɹ/-vocalization shows weak evidence for decreolization.

[figure 1 about here]

More recent work has attempted to capture community change in Pidgin vowels. Grama (2015) investigated all non-rhotic vowel classes in Pidgin using data from speakers born over an approximately 90-year window. Using the aforementioned corpora, speakers recorded in the 1970s (b. 1896-1946) were compared to those recorded in the 2000s (b. 1947-1988). Figure 2 plots these speakers' vowels in F1/F2 space. Of note, both FACE and GOAT are monophthongal, which is also a feature of Hawaiʻi English (Kirtley et al. 2016). Other vowels have shifted considerably over time. High vowel pairs (FLEECE-KIT, GOOSE-FOOT) are largely overlapped for 1970s speakers, but show greater distinction in the 2000s speakers. Both GOOSE and FOOT have also centralized somewhat in the 2000s speakers, though not to the extent visible in Hawaiʻi English (compare Kirtley et al. 2016: 85). Low vowels have also undergone change; TRAP is noticeably overlapped with DRESS in the 1970s, and has lowered and backed considerably in the 2000s speakers. In addition, 1970s speakers show overlapped STRUT and LOT, with THOUGHT occupying a relatively high-back position. In the 2000s, LOT and STRUT exhibit higher midpoints, making them somewhat more distinct than they were in the 1970s. However, THOUGHT has fronted, such that 2000s speakers exhibit a crowded low back space, with all three relevant categories showing striking overlap.

[figure 2 about here]

These changes are largely consistent with the aforementioned claims that Pidgin has undergone decreolization at the societal level, as many features now approximate contrasts that exist in English. However, two points cut against this generalization. First, changes to Pidgin monophthongs have not proceeded exactly in parallel to changes in Hawaiʻi English, suggesting the varieties are undergoing separate changes for these variables. Second, many vowel changes in Pidgin are mediated by a speaker's use of other Pidgin features. For example, while KIT and FLEECE have become more disparate over the two corpora, they exhibit more overlap if the speaker also uses more Pidgin morpho-syntactic markers

(Grama 2015: 93-95). This effect is operative in both corpora, but is especially visible in 2000s speakers, due to the changes this group has exhibited over time.

Thus, there is clear evidence that Pidgin remains structurally differentiated from English, despite changes that have taken place over time, and that these changes are both gradient and dependent on other social and structural features. While the influence of English on Pidgin is undeniable given their histories, decreolization may not be the sole, or even principal driver of change (see also Sato 1994: 136-138).

**Conclusion**

Pidgin is a deeply important and vibrant part of life in Hawaiʻi. Despite the changes it has undergone, it remains linguistically and ideologically distinct from Hawaiʻi English. Many unanswered questions remain, especially as to the variable nature of many features discussed above. A recent groundswell of work has begun to consider the influence Pidgin and Hawaiʻi English have had on each other using modern variationist methods (e.g., Stabile (2019) on *like*). Work addressing both Pidgin and Hawaiʻi English is sure to continue to inform linguistic theory.

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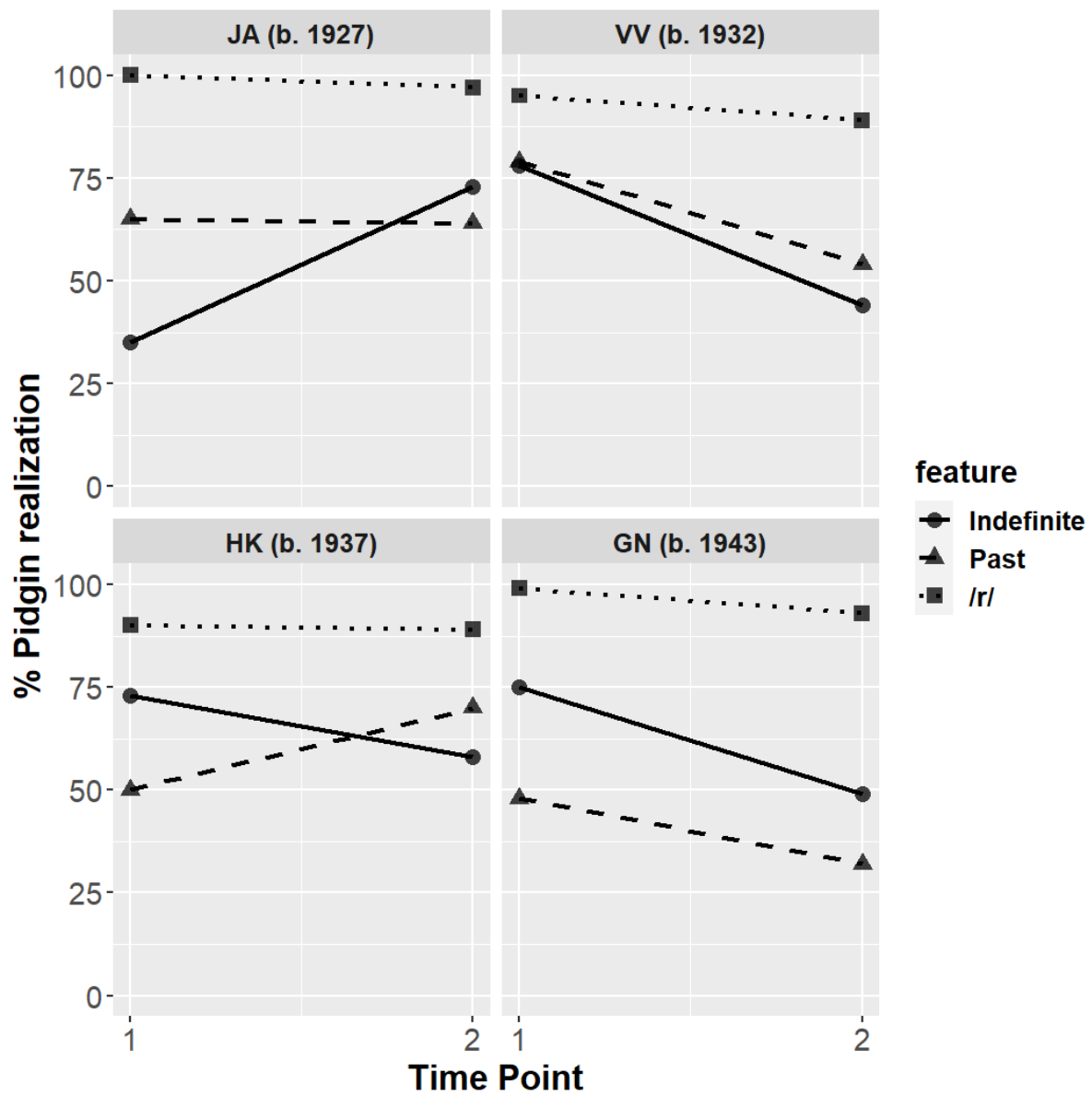
**Figure captions**



Figure 1. Pidgin indefinite, past, and post-vocalic /ɹ/ marking in four speakers over the life-span (data from Sato 1994: 128-130).
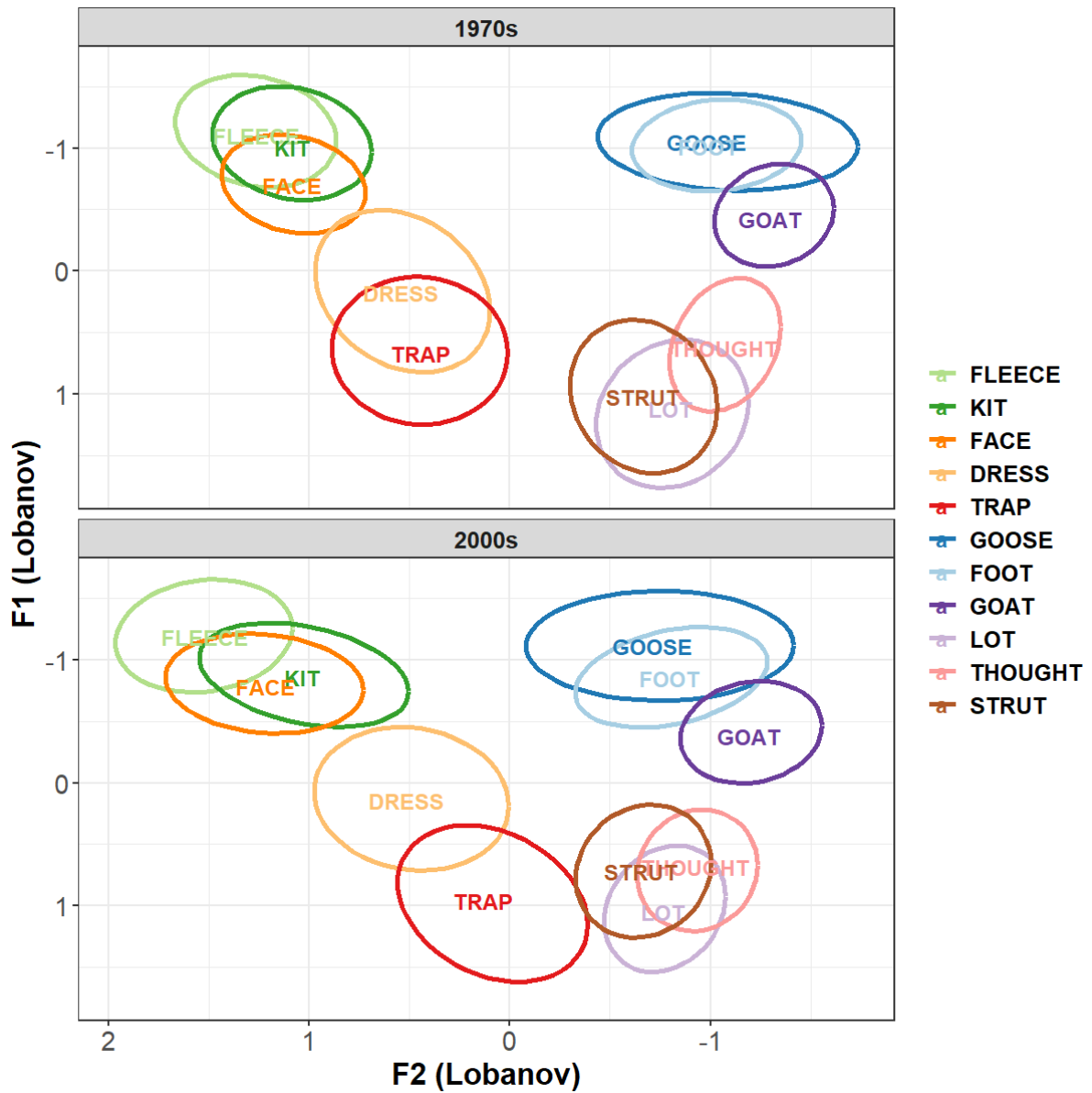
Figure 2. F1/F2 plot of Lobanov normalized monophthongs (measured at 50% through the vowel) for two samples of speakers: one recorded in the 1970s, another in the 2000s; ellipses represent middle 60% of the distribution.

# Tables

Table 1. Common words from substrate languages in Pidgin (see also Sakoda & Siegel 2003).

| Word | Source language | Meaning | Word | Source language | Meaning |
|------|-----------------|---------|------|-----------------|---------|
| *akamai* | Hawaiian | smart, clever | *tutu* | Hawaiian | aunt |
| *hana* | Hawaiian | work | *uku* | Hawaiian | louse; very many |
| *hanai* | Hawaiian | adopt(ed) | *benjo* | Japanese | toilet |
| *hemo* | Hawaiian | take off, remove | *bento* | Japanese | box lunch |
| *keiki* | Hawaiian | child(ren) | *girigiri* | Japanese | cowlick |
| *kokua* | Hawaiian | help | *habut* | Japanese | pout |
| *maikai* | Hawaiian | good, fine | *shishi* | Japanese | urinate |
| *make* | Hawaiian | die | *shoyu* | Japanese | soy sauce |
| *okole* | Hawaiian | butt(ocks) | *tako* | Japanese | octopus |
| *ono* | Hawaiian | delicious | *char siu* | Cantonese | barbecued pork |
| *pau* | Hawaiian | finished, done | *bambucha* | Portuguese | big thing |
| *pilau* | Hawaiian | dirty | *malasada* | Portuguese | holeless donut |

Table 2. Unique Pidgin words derived from English (see also Sakoda & Siegel 2003).

| Word | Odo orthography | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| *bra(h)* | *bra* | brother; bro, friend; vocative address (also *bla*/*blala*) |
| *broke* | *brok* | broke, broken, break, tore, torn, tear |
| *buckaloose* | *bakalus* | go wild, out of control |
| *chicken skin* | *chikin skin* | goosebumps |
| *choke* | *chok* | a lot of |
| *hamajang* | *haemajaeng* | messed up, in a disorderly state (specific origin unknown) |
| *hanabata* | *hanabaDa* | childhood (Jpn. *hana* 'nose' + Eng. 'butter') |
| *high makamaka* | *hai makamaka* | pretentious (Eng. 'high' + Hwn. *makamaka* 'intimate friend') |
| *howzit* | *hauzit* | greeting; hello |
| *hybolic(al)* | *haibawlikol* | using fancy (or standard-sounding) language |
| *shame* | *sheim* | ashamed, embarrassed, shy, bashful |
| *shoots* | *shuts* | expression of consent; okay; (*shoots/shuts den* = goodbye) |
| *slippahs* | *slipaz* | sandals, flip-flops |
| *talk stink* | *tawk stingk* | disparage someone |
| *talk story* | *tawk stawri* | chat informally; tell stories |