
Spring 4-28-2020

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Recommended Citation

Uithol, Elissa M., "Sociolinguistics and Insider/Outsider Status in Hawai'i" (2020). *Linguistics Senior Research Projects*. 23.

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Sociolinguistics and Insider/Outsider Status in Hawai'i

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LING 4220: Senior Research in Linguistics

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Abstract

Prior to the rise of tourism in Hawai'i, the Hawaiian economy was largely driven by plantations. As labor was imported to work these plantations, a rich, multiethnic culture developed on the islands, producing a similarly diverse linguistic situation. What began as a pidgin blend of several languages for the purpose of communication between workers and supervisors has since developed into a language unique to the islands: Hawaiian Creole English (HCE). Social status in Hawai'i has long been influenced by a person's manner of speech, as evidenced by elite Standard English (SE) schools founded to educate children of those in the top tier of Hawaiian economy and governmental efforts to suppress Hawaiian and HCE. This paper explores sociolinguistic aspects of language in Hawai'i and how the way a person speaks influences his or her ascribed social status. Utilizing a review of historic and current literature related to relevant issues, it answers the questions of how speech style influences Hawaiian residents' perceptions of insider/outsider status and how attitudes of listeners and speakers compare and contrast with regards to speech style. Through modified Grounded Theory analysis of data gathered from long-term residents of Hawai'i in interviews, an attitude assessment, and a reflective journal, this study revealed that language is a critical factor in determining whether someone is considered local or not. While speaking HCE is not required to be considered local, familiarity with it and the unique dialect of Hawai'i largely determines whether someone will be accepted as an insider or not. Race is also a significant factor influencing conferral of social status and attitudes towards speech styles. Overall, locals evaluate whether a person shows respect for the culture and history of Hawai'i, in large part through the way s/he speaks, to determine their status.

Keywords: Hawaiian Creole English, social status, sociolinguistics, speech style, attitudes

Sociolinguistics and Insider/Outsider Status in Hawai'i

There is an ancient Hawaiian wise saying which says, “I ka 'ōlelo no ke ola, i ka 'ōlelo nō ka make,” which means, “In language, there is life; in language, there is death.” Language is a vital means by which people form and express their identities, and one particularly fascinating linguistic situation is found in Hawai'i. Languages spoken in Hawai'i have political, historical, and cultural associations attached to them. As someone familiar with both the social and linguistic environments of Hawai'i, I asked the following questions: How does speech style influence the social perceptions of Hawaiian residents in terms of insider/outsider status? How do the attitudes of listeners and speakers compare and contrast with regards to speech style? In order to best conduct my study, I relied on the information and studies of prior researchers regarding sociolinguistics in Hawai'i, as well as the general phenomenon of diglossia and social factors which affect how a person speaks. Since the situation in Hawai'i specifically stems from a long and complicated history which has produced Hawaiian Creole English (HCE), it is also important to have an understanding of the events which have led to the current circumstances. Furthermore, both the past and present trends in research of HCE and other linguistic factors in Hawai'i must be examined so as to determine where my research fits in the overall academic landscape.

Literature Review

Much research has been done to discover and analyze the origins of Hawaiian Creole English, which constitutes a significant aspect of the linguistic environment in Hawai'i today. Prior to the eighteenth century, the Hawaiian Islands existed as an independent monarchy with its own language and culture (Miyares, 2008). The introduction of European influence by

Captain James Cook in 1778 ended this era and began a period of steady, sometimes violent encroachment on the Hawaiian Islands by various peoples (Miyares, 2008). Some of the first settlers were Christian missionaries invited by Hawaiian royalty to fill the moral void that resulted from the rebellion against the traditional *kapu*, or taboo, system (Miyares, 2008). The descendants of these missionaries introduced a new economic system to the islands: sugar cultivation (Miyares, 2008). Unfortunately, diseases from these settlers had decimated the native population, and the intense physical demands of sugar cultivation continued to ravage the native Hawaiian community (Miyares, 2008). This resulted in a large-scale import of labor from other countries such as China, Portugal, Puerto Rico, Spain, Mexico, Japan, Korea, and the Philippines (Miyares, 2008). These first-generation laborers spoke a variety of languages, so a basic lexicon of vital terms began to develop for the sake of work-related communication (Miyares, 2008). The second-generation of these laborers expanded on the lexicon to form a pidgin drawn primarily from English with Hawaiian grammar and syntax, terms from many different languages, and a somewhat Asian and Latino accent (Miyares, 2008). This blend of many linguistic elements resulted in what is now known as Hawaiian Creole English (Miyares, 2008).

An early analysis of emerging Hawaiian Creole English (HCE) similarly traces its origin back to the period of Hawai'i's history when plantations were the primary component of the economy (Smith, 1933). The influx of people from other linguistic backgrounds created an environment where distinct communities existed apart from one another, yet they shared a common purpose: working the sugar plantations (Smith, 1933). Although laborers maintained their own languages, they also learned the unique, linguistically-blended jargon specific to their work so they could receive orders from the foremen (Smith, 1933). This in turn developed into a

pidgin which ensuing generations spoke and elaborated into a sort of lingua franca for daily business on the islands (Smith, 1933). Hawaiian and English are the primary influences on HCE, although as the history of Hawai'i unfolded, Hawaiian gradually lost its principal language status and was replaced by English as the dominant tongue throughout the archipelago (Smith, 1933). Still, a pidgin rooted equally in Hawaiian and English, with later Portuguese and Chinese influences, formed the basis for HCE (Smith, 1933). Although subsequent peoples, such as the Japanese, continued to alter Hawaiian-English pidgin, the foundation was set chiefly by those first four main contributors (Smith, 1933). In 1933, William Smith conducted an analysis of emerging Hawaiian-English pidgin and characterized it as incorporating words from two or more languages in one sentence, altering pronunciation and words themselves to fit other languages' rules, extending meaning of specialized terms to more general usage, using roundabout descriptions where specific vocabulary is lacking, adopting terms from whichever language had the broadest application of meaning, reducing grammatical forms, and lacking inflection of parts of speech, opting instead to rely on auxiliary words to indicate tense and plurality. When minority groups came to Hawai'i, such as in the case of Puerto Ricans, they often lost their ancestral language in just a few generations, opting to learn the more widely spoken languages around them, such as HCE (Smead, 2012).

One notable focus of documentation regarding linguistics in Hawai'i is the period of time when the U.S. government implemented language suppression efforts (Tamura, 1996). Because HCE is a minority dialect of English, it has historically been stigmatized as inferior, resulting in fewer opportunities for its speakers as well as attempts on the part of the dominant group to subdue or eliminate it (Tamura, 1996). In the early 1900s, few children entering school were

proficient in Standard English, although most developed a grasp on the language, making them essentially trilingual; they spoke their parents' native language, HCE, and Standard English (Tamura, 1996). However, English educational assessment results were less than satisfactory to the educational leaders of that age, so they attempted to promote Standard English (SE) in schools by designating certain institutions which required their students to be fluent speakers of SE (Tamura, 1996). This proved controversial, and the action resulted in two tiers of schools which were in effect segregated by race and class (Tamura, 1996). Although teachers in non-Standard schools continued to try to teach their students SE, they found it difficult to teach effectively due to both lack of knowledge on the part of the educators and lack of motivation on the part of the students (Tamura, 1996). Since HCE was in essence the students' native language, speaking it constituted a large part of their identity and sense of belonging to a community, and few students wanted to exchange that for an unfamiliar language which was associated with the upper classes (Tamura, 1996). Even today, educators often worry that a lack of SE will handicap students as they pursue future opportunities, and some speakers of HCE agree (Young, 2002). The historic, cultural divide between people of the plantation and people of the Standard English schools lingers even today, in the assumptions made based on race and language (Young, 2002). Non-white HCE speakers are seen as belonging to a lower social class than white speakers of SE (Young, 2002). As a result, a shared identity was formed by all of the groups who were excluded from the SE schools and regarded as inferior, and this identity was closely tied to the development of HCE (Young, 2002).

Power dynamics were also at play in the realm of language (Tamura, 1996). The more powerful, SE-speaking group sought to suppress the less powerful HCE-speaking group as a

means of maintaining their influence (Tamura, 1996). This occurred across the U.S., since a desire for Anglo-conformity for the purpose of national unity became quite prevalent throughout the 1900s as an influx of immigrants arrived in the United States (Tamura, 1996). In the 1940s, the Committee on English in Schools published a report which stated that the English spoken by the majority of students was different from typical American speech (Tamura, 1996). This led to a concentrated effort to force students to adapt their speech patterns to become more standard (Tamura, 1996). However, these efforts were eventually discontinued due to their inability to truly change the speech of students (Tamura, 1996). In the 1960s, scholarly opinion began to change, recognizing HCE as a language or dialect and encouraging bilingualism or bidialectism (Tamura, 1996). That being said, there were still those who stridently opposed the use of HCE in Hawai'i and regarded it as a misuse of English (Tamura, 1996). During the drive to establish Official English, the Hawai'i State Board of Education (which had only one Caucasian member, interestingly) sought to ban HCE from the classroom in 1987 (Tamura, 1996). This was done out of a desire to afford students the greatest chance of success in life, because the Hawai'i State Board of Education believed that speaking HCE would limit future opportunities for students (Tamura, 1996). The ability to advance through societal ranks was deemed more important than cultural heritage by the Board of Education, although their measure ultimately failed (Tamura, 1996). To this day, speakers of HCE converse in it with pride, demonstrating their "localness" and status within their community (Tamura, 1996). Today, Hawaiian Creole English has been officially recognized as a language with its own grammar and vocabulary, although it still has a reputation of being "broken English" (Sakoda & Siegel, 2003). Lee Tonouchi (2004), a journalist, has written in Hawaiian Creole English about the prejudice against it. Referencing his

experiences as an educator, he relates how speaking HCE is seen as a sign of unintelligence, so his students would try to avoid speaking or writing it in favor of Standard English, even when the result made no real sense. He sums up the majority attitude towards HCE as regarding knowledge of HCE as good, but considering knowledge of SE as essential (Tonouchi, 2004).

Current trends in academia and research on HCE and linguistics in Hawai'i focus on the ethnic ties which have influenced language in Hawai'i in an effort to determine why there is an overall sense of harmony despite the variety of ethnicities which coexist there. Despite the significant presence of multiculturalism in Hawai'i, there are surprisingly few incidents of overt racial violence, a situation which directly contrasts with other locales where numerous ethnic groups live in contact with one another (Grant & Ogawa, 1993). Grant and Ogawa (1993) identify the well-defined racial structures, lack of any one cultural or racial majority in Hawaiian communities, as well as the cultural value of *aloha* (love and tolerance) as the main reasons for the relative success of multiculturalism in Hawai'i. Interestingly, the authors note that amalgamation was historically discouraged amongst the peoples who came to Hawai'i to work the plantations, and a segregated system developed which prevented common bonds from forming between groups. Nevertheless, Grant and Ogawa (1993) point out that interracial marriage was common, contributing to the development of a peculiar local culture in Hawai'i which is characterized by tolerance and a spirit of *aloha*, juxtaposed with covert racial discrimination and prejudice that is still present today. Perhaps the most pertinent concept discussed by Grant and Ogawa (1993) is that of HCE's role in culture as the "language of affiliation" between the various ethnicities.

One aspect of Hawaiian culture which is continually studied is that of ethnicity and “local” vs “haole” (Caucasian), as this significantly affects a person’s social status. In a poignant, raw reflection on the Caucasian experience in Hawai’i just after it became a state, Jennifer Munro (2007) writes of the prejudice and racial tension she experienced growing up, despite her multigenerational history of living in Hawai’i. She relates her feelings of exclusion from local identity and her fears of provoking non-white peers to violence by saying or doing something offensive (Munro, 2007). Similar analyses of the experiences of Portuguese-Americans in Hawai’i, who are considered local despite their European origin, revealed an economic factor which contributes to the racial divide (Geschwender & Carroll-Seguin, 1988). Geschwender and Carroll-Seguin (1988) trace the emergence of race and ethnicity as social constructs to the growing prevalence of capitalism, and they postulate that the divide between capital and labor often produces ethnic distinction. In the example of Hawai’i, they note that this distinction arose on the plantations, which were a main component of the Hawaiian economy. Although the term “haole” originally was used to refer to the white Europeans who first came to the islands because they could not speak Hawaiian, the authors mention that it later became a racial and class-based distinction. The owners of the plantations were usually white Europeans, and so the term “haole” came to signify membership of the ruling class, whereas “local” became a catch-all term for the many ethnic groups which came as laborers for the plantations (Geschwender & Carroll-Seguin, 1988). Social and economic status largely determined how a person was classified, as the case of the Portuguese illustrates; they were able to rise in the ranks of plantations due to their European origin, but only to a certain point (Geschwender & Carroll-Seguin, 1988). The authors state that Portuguese workers tried to minimize differences between themselves and “haoles,” while

emphasizing differences between themselves and Asian immigrants. However, as the plantation system declined with the introduction of U.S. government influence, Portuguese social status declined, perhaps due to the two-tiered educational system, where wealthier ethnic groups sent their children to private schools and poorer groups attended public schools (Geschwender & Carroll-Seguin, 1988). Thus the authors would conclude that socioeconomic status is just as important a factor in determining whether a Hawai'i resident will be considered local as their racial background (Geschwender & Carroll-Seguin, 1988). However, two years after the study was published, Weinstein, Manicas, and Leon (1990) wrote a critique which questioned the sweeping assertions made in the original article and challenged the ethnic taxonomy data, the overall hypothesis, and the causal conclusions made from the data. This critique is especially interesting as it was made by professors at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa, while the original article was written by authors associated with the State University of New York at Binghamton. The insider perspective of those critiquing the article should be given due weight when it comes to culture, although the authors' main objection was to the sweeping claim that capitalism caused the social and racial divisions present in Hawai'i, as they would argue that the issue is more complex than that (Weinstein, Manicas, & Leon, 1990).

In general, the phenomena of diglossia has been much scrutinized by linguists, beginning with Charles Ferguson, who coined the term in 1971. In essence, diglossia describes a linguistic situation where a community has two or more dialects simultaneously used, often serving different roles (Ferguson, 1971). In cases of diglossia, the "high" and "low" dialects are typically used for different functions (Ferguson, 1971). For instance, a sermon would typically be preached in the "high" dialect, whereas the "low" dialect would be used for conversation with

family, friends, and colleagues (Ferguson, 1971). Ferguson (1971) states in no uncertain terms that using the correct variety of language in the right circumstance is critical for fitting in with society, since using the incorrect dialect would result in becoming an object of ridicule for members of the speech community. The prestige afforded to the “high” dialect by speakers is significant, so much so that at times the “low” dialect will not even be deemed a real language (Ferguson, 1971). This prestige is usually universally perceived, so that even speakers who lack proficiency in the “high” dialect will attest to its superiority (Ferguson, 1971). The method of learning the formal language is typically through education rather than natural acquisition (Ferguson, 1971). There are always significant differences between the two languages in terms of grammatical structure, and the “low” form is usually simpler and less inflected (Ferguson, 1971). In terms of vocabulary, the two dialects often share vast amounts of words, although the “high” form tends to contain more technical, specific language, whereas the “low” form contains slang and terms for general items (Ferguson, 1971). One particularly fascinating aspect of diglossia is that there are often two words—one from the “high” dialect and one from the “low” dialect—which mean roughly the same thing, but listeners or readers will immediately know which is which and evaluate the utterance or piece of writing accordingly (Ferguson, 1971). This certainly occurs in Hawai'i, and so Ferguson's writing is especially relevant for the current study.

Charles Ferguson (1973) further discusses the linguistic variation which tends to be at the center of language-based conflicts in various communities. He argues that individual repertoires are present from almost the very beginning of language acquisition, demonstrating that everyone has a variety of linguistic styles or registers which they use in different situations. As children

mature, their registers begin to mimic those of the speech community around them (Ferguson, 1973). Ferguson states: “Just as every individual has a repertoire of language varieties, so every society or social group has a language repertoire shared by its members, although individuals or subgroups will differ in the extent to which they control and make use of the entire repertoire” (1973). He expounds upon the fact that in every community there are widely-accepted situations in which specific styles of speech are used, so much so that to use an inappropriate register of speech is jarring to individuals of that community. Ferguson (1973) also further explores the phenomenon of diglossia which occurs in many nations around the world. In these nations, the roles of each language are often clearly defined, with one functioning as a formal or academic language, and the other as an informal manner of speech (Ferguson, 1973). Ferguson (1973) mentions that language-based problems arise not from the mere existence of repertoires, but rather from efforts to change or standardize these speech patterns.

Standardization often occurs at the expense of local languages, which can lead to protests from minorities (Ferguson, 1973). For instance, in a recent study, William Labov (2014) discusses the driving forces behind language change and dialectal divergence as well as how communities react to outside pressure. In his study of Martha’s Vineyard, a small island with a distinctive dialect, Labov (2014) traced centralization within the island dialect to outside factors such as increasing pressure from beyond the island. Locals who stayed and resisted this pressure showed increased centralization (Labov, 2014). Social factor—specifically desire for or opposition against local identity—is often a strong motivation for dialectal differentiation (Labov, 2014). Language as a symbol of local identity and group membership is a prevalent, powerful force (Labov, 2014). He found that people who want to identify with a certain group

will at times adopt that group's manner of speaking (Labov, 2014). Analysis of diglossia and the social factors which determine how people in those linguistic situations speak provides important information which directly relates to the sociolinguistic environment of Hawai'i.

One phenomenon that often occurs in tandem with diglossia is code-switching.

Code-switching, first identified by John J. Gumperz, refers to the "process of shifting from one linguistic code (a language or dialect) to another, depending on the social context or conversational setting" (Morrison, 2017). The prevalence of code-switching in Hawaiian Creole English has been researched, with one particularly relevant study detailing how speakers choose which language to speak based on social situations and context (St. Clair & Murai, 1974). The authors reference Ferguson's writings on diglossia as they seek to directly analyze the diglossia present in Hawai'i as a result of the waves of immigration that occurred to man the sugar and pineapple plantations. Levels of social status, productiveness, and education are all identified as considerations which a speaker takes into account when selecting a particular code (St. Clair & Murai, 1974). Intonation as a means of bridging the gap between a speaker and his or her audience is mentioned, where the speaker will adopt the intonation pattern of the audience's language while still speaking in a more standard form of English. This enables the speaker to convey allegiance to the person without having to actually speak a different language (St. Clair & Murai, 1974). Lexical selections are another means of establishing solidarity, where a speaker may choose to incorporate words from different languages into an utterance (St. Clair & Murai, 1974). Various syntactic forms that occur in Hawaiian Creole English are also explained in the study, such as the relexification of the preposition "for" to mean "in order to" in a manner similar to the function of the word "para" in Spanish or Portuguese. Similarly, the elimination of the

copula “to be” in HCE is also mentioned and traced back to Hawaiian influence (St. Clair & Murai, 1974). Semantic neutralization is discussed as well, to prove the point that cognitive functions of speakers of HCE are no less complex than those of standard English speakers even though they may use one broad term where English has several nuanced words. Converse lexical relations and their somewhat confusing nature are elaborated upon, showing that in HCE they are largely context based and therefore lead to a sort of “trial and error” approach to correctly interpreting the meaning of an utterance containing a converse relation (St. Clair & Murai, 1974). Code switching is a fascinating occurrence that is linked to diglossia, and it is commonly performed by speakers of HCE.

In light of the research that had been conducted on diglossia, code switching, the origin of HCE, Hawaiian multiculturalism, and the complex history of language in Hawai'i, this study sought to discover how local identity and sociolinguistic aspects of language intersect. Although researchers had clearly demonstrated that language is a tool which people in Hawai'i use to establish their social standing, the prevalence of this tactic and the unconscious attitudes held by Hawai'i residents had not been examined in depth. Through interviews, surveys, and a reflective journal, I endeavored to discover how unconscious and conscious evaluations of a person's insider or outsider status are made in local Hawaiian culture.

Methods

In order to answer my research questions, I utilized several methods to triangulate my data: interviews, a survey, and a reflective journal. First, I contacted a dozen long-term residents of Hawai'i and asked if they would be interested in participating in my study. Eight people responded positively, and I spoke with them via video call. The interviews (Paltridge & Phakiti,

2013) ranged in duration from twenty minutes to fifty minutes. I asked each of the participants the same questions (See Appendix A), although at times I branched out from my standard questions to clarify or follow up on an interesting point they brought up in their response. One of the participants chose to answer the interview questions in written format instead of a live interview. Two of the participants were interviewed together. The racial backgrounds of the participants varied such that there was no majority. My participants included two Caucasians who had moved to Hawai'i later in life, one Caucasian who had grown up in Hawai'i, one native Hawaiian, one Filipino, one Japanese-American, and two mixed race native Hawaiians. Considering the multicultural and multiracial nature of Hawaiian society, this is significant.

In addition to the interviews, I conducted an attitude assessment survey (Garrett, 2010). The survey (See Appendix B) made use of three different video clips from YouTube: tourists attempting to guess the meaning of Pidgin phrases, a local comedian speaking about the official recognition of Pidgin as a language, and a spoof of a white man attempting to pass for a Hawaiian local. The first video contains outsiders who are unfamiliar with HCE trying to pronounce and guess the meaning of words and phrases, representing a part of the outsider population in Hawai'i. The second video depicts an insider speaking in HCE. The final video shows an outsider trying to behave like an insider through appropriation of HCE. The responses to each of these common scenarios in Hawai'i help indicate the general attitudes towards language and insider/outsider status held by participants. First, I asked them to give their general emotional reaction to the video: happy, amused, neutral, "I cringed," angry/offended, or other. I then asked participants to rate the people in the videos for friendliness, competence, intelligence, trustworthiness, and social status (Garrett, 2010). I also included a local cultural awareness

component. All of the participants asked to take the survey had lived in Hawai'i for at least two years.

Finally, I spent time journaling about my own personal experience with language in Hawai'i (Bashan & Holsblat, 2017; Jasper, 2005). For ten days, I journaled briefly about my thoughts and feelings regarding the linguistic environment in Hawai'i and insider/outsider status. I reflected on my childhood in Hawai'i, detailing particular experiences related to language and being local or not.

To prepare the data I gathered for analysis, I loosely transcribed the interviews before coding for themes and categories. I coded for themes in my reflective journal as well. For the attitude assessment survey, I calculated the mean of all of the responses to each of the components for each video, plotting the data points in line graph form. I then examined all the data with a modified Grounded Theory approach, meaning I did not look at the data to prove or disprove a hypothesis, opting instead to use inductive reasoning to qualitatively analyze and draw conclusions from the information (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Compounded with prior scholarly research, I found that these methods enabled me to gain a clear picture of how sociolinguistics and insider/outsider status intersect in Hawai'i.

Findings

Interviews

In this section, summaries of responses to particular interview questions are provided. Through coding, I identified key themes and trends in the answers before synthesizing the data into paragraphs. Although the interviews were conducted separately, many assertions were similar or identical in content. This is referred to as agreement between participants.

What makes someone local? How would you define/describe a Hawai'i local?

Overall, participants said that there is not one definition for what makes someone local to Hawai'i, but the majority agreed that a Hawai'i local is either born and raised in the islands, with genealogical ties to that place, or they have been “transplanted” from somewhere else and learned the culture and local slang. There is division in Hawai'i over who can be called a local, but the majority consensus requires a person to demonstrate cultural knowledge and sensitivity to the complicated history of the islands before they can claim local status. Those who are ethnically native Hawaiian and are genealogically tied to Hawai'i have unquestionable local status. Some participants discussed the racial aspects of insider status, pointing out that the darker a person's skin, the more quickly they will be accepted as local. Since Hawai'i is a multiethnic state where there is a nonwhite majority within the population, some Caucasian people struggle to find acceptance within a culture which has historically suffered persecution from Caucasians. There is a particular term for those of Caucasian descent—“haole”—which can be offensive, although a category exists for “local haoles” which describes those white people who have grown up in HI and/or know the ins and outs of the culture and dialect. Participants with lighter skin in particular spoke about the difficulties of other people assuming they were not from Hawai'i even though they lived most or all of their lives there. Many interviewees mentioned that speaking HCE communicates local status, as long as it is done naturally. With regards to a duration of time that must be spent living in Hawai'i before a person can call themselves a local, answers ranged from several years with significant investment into the community to most of a person's life. Ultimately, most participants agreed that to be an insider, a

person must be familiar with local cultural practices, demonstrate societal values such as respect and friendliness, and possess knowledge of unique Hawai'i dialectal terms.

Have you noticed that some people in HI talk differently in different situations? Do you speak any differently with someone who speaks HCE? With someone you know is local? With a tourist?

All of the participants agreed that people tend to speak differently in certain situations in Hawai'i. Most notably, in professional settings they reported that people will almost always speak in Standard English. Hawaiian Creole English is generally regarded as an informal language, so people tend to speak it at home or among those they are comfortable with, such as friends and family. Some participants stated that people ought to be able to speak SE in professional settings. However, some participants said that the "appropriate" setting for HCE is determined more by the people present than the place. For instance, if there are other people on staff who speak HCE, a native HCE speaker will likely revert to HCE with them, because it is comfortable to do so. One participant mentioned that she had a friend with whom she would speak HCE in informal settings, but when the participant visited this friend in a professional context, they would both speak SE. All participants mentioned this type of code-switching, although only some of the participants said they practiced such code-switching themselves. The majority of participants accurately referenced the historical origins of HCE when discussing perceptions of it within Hawaiian society. In Hawai'i, SE is often referred to as "proper" or "regular" English. Most participants said that HCE has been regarded as "uneducated" or "broken English" in the past and that speakers of it can be viewed as less intelligent or capable than speakers of SE. These participants expressed dissatisfaction with such perceptions of HCE,

and they believe that the status of HCE is changing due to increased education about its origins and the recent ascription of official language status to HCE.

Would you say that familiarity with HCE is an important characteristic of being local? If so, how important? Why or why not? How do you feel when you hear someone speaking HCE?

All participants mentioned that familiarity with HCE is a necessary part of being local and that speaking HCE instantly communicates local status, but they also agreed that a person can be local without speaking HCE as long as they are familiar with it. Since HCE is an important part of local culture, if a person is involved in local society, a level of familiarity with HCE will develop naturally over time through exposure, even if it is not spoken in the home. This typically manifests in usage of certain slang terms, often derived from HCE or Hawaiian. Some terms include: “pau” (done/finished), “slippers” (flip-flops), “ono” (delicious), “brah” (brother, used as a term of address to a male), and “howzit” (how is it going? Used as a greeting.). Most participants agreed that these are essential for someone to be considered local. As one participant stated: “You can’t separate being local and not using the local language. You cannot be local and not use the language.” Another interviewee mentioned that she believed that HCE helps to break some of the racism that could otherwise occur. She explained that HCE provides a common language to a diverse group of peoples, creating a shared identity and a level playing field which produces a commonality and sense of kinship between speakers of HCE. When it comes to hearing HCE, the majority of interviewees expressed positive feelings. Native speakers of HCE described hearing it as comfortable and mentioned the instant connection that is formed between locals when they speak HCE to each other that comes from recognition of their

shared cultural identity. Many participants mentioned a sense of pride that Hawai'i locals take in their culture and language.

If someone tries to speak HCE, but does so badly, how do you feel? If someone mispronounces a Hawaiian word or street name, how do you feel?

Most participants responded to these questions initially with laughter. They expressed amusement as their first reaction to someone clumsily attempting HCE, then said they would gently correct the person, so that the person would not offend others. The majority of interviewees said that people should speak in the manner that comes naturally to them, rather than trying to be something they are not. If it is clear that a person is genuinely trying to fit in by attempting HCE, most expressed a level of acknowledgement of the effort, but they generally agreed that it is unnecessary. Some participants said it is worth encouraging, as learning HCE takes just as much time and effort as any other language. On the other hand, if a person is “trying too hard” or is perceived as ignorant of the culture and history behind HCE, attempting to speak it is offensive to local people. When it comes to mispronouncing Hawaiian words, such as street names, the majority of participants agreed that people should learn to say them correctly. There is a certain level of understanding if someone has just arrived in Hawai'i, but persistent errors are viewed as culturally ignorant or insensitive.

If you hear someone calling people older than them “auntie/uncle” how do you feel? How do you feel if they use “Mrs./Mr.” or “Ma'am/Sir”?

All of the participants expressed a preference for usage of “Auntie/Uncle” over “Mrs./Mr.” or “Ma'am/Sir” as terms of respect used to address elders. Some older participants expressed a feeling of strangeness when someone in a respected office, such as a pastor of a

church, referred to them by these terms. They said it felt strange because they greatly respect the office of pastor, so to be addressed by a pastor with a term of respect such as "Auntie" or "Uncle" seemed odd to them. Other participants mentioned that being called "Auntie" or "Uncle" by other adults, such as grocery cashiers, meant they were officially old. Some participants expressed recognition that other terms like "Mrs./Mr." and "Ma'am/Sir" are also terms of respect, but they all agreed that in Hawai'i, the terms of respect for older individuals are "Auntie/Uncle," and thus locals use them exclusively. Participants mentioned there is a sense of familiarity and closeness conveyed by these terms that they enjoy. People who do not use them are regarded as nonlocal.

Do you feel/think there is a divide between non-local and local? Why or why not?

All of the participants agreed that there is a divide between local and non-local, although they attributed it to different things and sometimes drew the metaphorical dividing line between different groups. Several participants said there was a racial divide in Hawai'i which made it difficult for Caucasians to find acceptance into the insider group. Two of these participants, who were Caucasian, expressed having to work to "earn a spot" or be vouched for in order to be accepted by the local population. Another participant mentioned that there is a spectrum, with some people disliking "mainlanders" on principle while others are more accepting. Race is acknowledged by most as a significant factor which is used to evaluate a person as local or non-local at face-value. Other participants placed the divide between military and locals, citing differences in culture and feeling "judged" because of the more relaxed nature of island life. As one participant stated: "Our laidback, relaxed lifestyle is sometimes judged as laziness and our Pidgin (HCE) is judged as unintelligent." Another participant discussed the division between

those who understand and respect the culture and history of Hawai'i and those who do not.

Specifically, this participant said that the most divisive people are the outsiders who come to Hawai'i with expectations and an attitude of entitlement, without acknowledging the painful history of the native Hawaiian people and the struggles they have had to overcome in order to succeed, thrive, and be a living culture. Overall, most participants agreed that to cross the divide and be accepted by locals, serious effort must be exerted to learn and participate in the Hawaiian culture. Locals are raised with an attitude of humility and respect which manifests in a "watch and listen carefully before speaking" mentality that they say outsiders should emulate if they want to be accepted. Showing consideration for and practicing cultural values such as collectivism, humility, and respect were identified as key ways that a non-local can bridge the gap between insiders and outsiders in Hawai'i.

What are some ways you can tell if someone is local or not? What is something a person cannot be considered local without knowing/doing/etc...? What makes Hawai'i different from the mainland? (Culturally and language-wise)

When asked to provide some ways to tell if someone is local or not, most participants listed attitudes and behaviors as the primary indicators. They said that local people carry themselves with an attitude of humility, respect, and commitment to the community. For example, at a communal gathering in Hawai'i, local guests bring food, ask what the host needs, and everyone works together to clean up at the end. In contrast, participants mentioned that on the mainland, they have noticed that usually just the host bears the burden of providing food, setting up, and cleaning up. Other key differences between Hawai'i and the mainland U.S. identified by participants include the fact that emphasis is placed on community rather than

individual success; the practice of friendliness towards everyone, including strangers; and the nature of Hawai'i as multicultural and welcoming of diversity. Social practices such as friendly driving, taking off shoes before entering a house, and establishing where people are from as a means of forming connections in initial conversations all indicate local status. One participant mentioned the non-confrontational conversation tendencies of local people, who are more likely to understate their abilities in situations such as job training so as to avoid the appearance of arrogance. Knowledge of the Hawaiian culture and history also demonstrates insider status. Several participants mentioned speaking the local dialect or having a local accent as an obvious sign that someone is local. Ultimately, a humble attitude was identified by most participants as the most important aspect of being local, although friendliness and enjoyment of local food were also mentioned as vital.

Hawaiian language and identity

One particularly interesting theme which came up in two of the interviews was the intersect between the Hawaiian language and native Hawaiian identity. One Caucasian interviewee mentioned the issue of telescope construction on Mauna Kea, which has reignited a desire for a revival of native language and culture. She framed what had been done to the Hawaiian people as a hypothetical situation where the U.S. moved to Mexico and demanded Mexicans be American and not speak Spanish, even going so far as to make laws to punish them for speaking their language. She said that is essentially what happened in Hawai'i and expressed her personal commitment to learn at least a little Hawaiian so that she can pass it on and help perpetuate the language and culture.

When speaking to a native Hawaiian teacher of Hawaiian Studies, she recounted the history of suppression of the Hawaiian language. She told the story of her grandmother, who grew up only speaking Hawaiian until she went to school in 7th grade and was punished for speaking her native language. As a result of this, the participant continued, a huge amount of shame was placed on her grandmother's identity, to the point that the participant had never known her grandmother to speak Hawaiian. This "generational shame" was passed onto the participant's father, who was not raised speaking Hawaiian. Currently, there is a movement to reestablish Hawaiian language and culture. As she puts it, "It took a couple of generations for us to figure out that we have a right to be proud of where we come from and who we are and our language." Now, she says that all native Hawaiians have a responsibility to learn Hawaiian, so they can perpetuate the language and culture for future generations. I asked her what she thought the role of language was within the Hawaiian community, and she replied, "It is everything. It is one and the same. Our whole existence was dependent on language because everything that we know about our people was passed down from generation to generation for thousands of years through our language." She then quoted a Hawaiian wise saying, which translates to: "In language there is life; in language there is death." This saying, she said, encapsulates the gravity with which Hawaiians view their language, because language and identity are so intertwined that without the Hawaiian language, the Hawaiian people would lose their identity. When I asked her what she wanted the rest of the world to know, she expressed:

Language and identity are one and the same and tied into so much of who we are as a people and who we've been for hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years. It's something that we are very mindful of—it's deep for us. None of it is surface. There's a

deep connection . . . it's innate and that tie/pull to this place and language and identity and history and culture and stories . . . and all of it. It is one and the same—our identity is in our language . . . because that's where we come from. We come from our language.

In Hawai'i, the Hawaiian language is respected, because locals generally recognize the importance of language in native Hawaiian identity and culture.

Attitude Assessment

The following findings are the results of the survey administered as participants watched three videos. After each video, participants were asked to give their initial emotional reaction, and then they rated the people in the video on a scale of 1-5 for friendliness, competence, intelligence, trustworthiness, social status, and local cultural awareness.

The initial responses to the first video, which contained tourists attempting to guess the meaning of Hawaiian Creole English phrases, are given in chart form below.

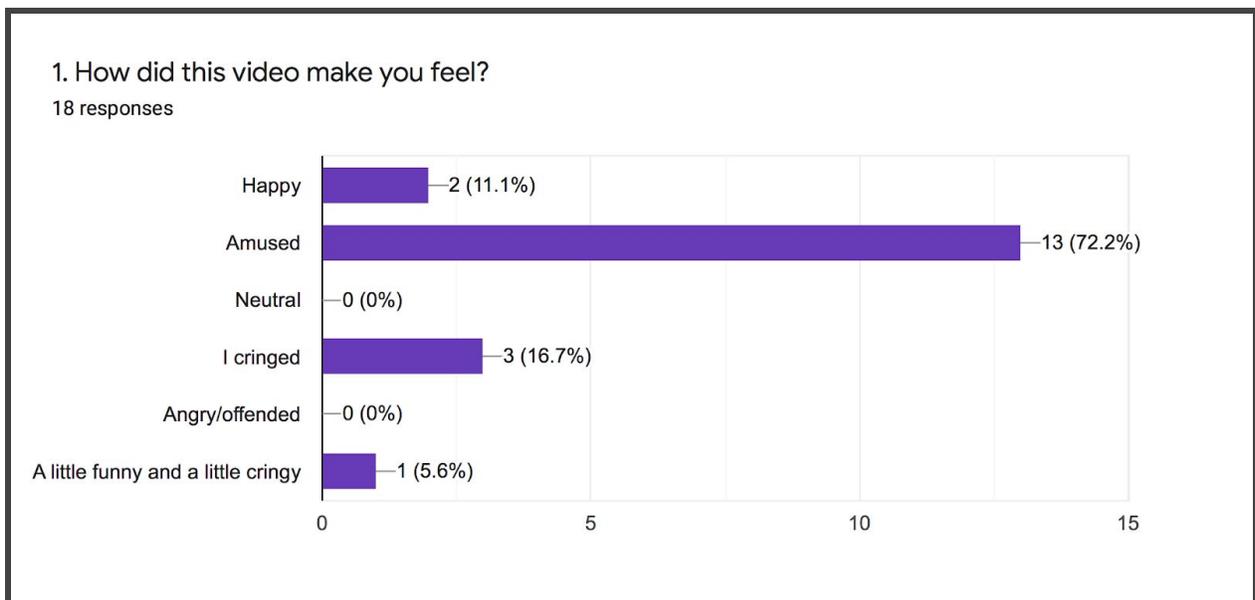


Figure 1

The second video was a local man speaking in HCE about the new status of HCE as an official language. The initial responses are represented in chart form below.

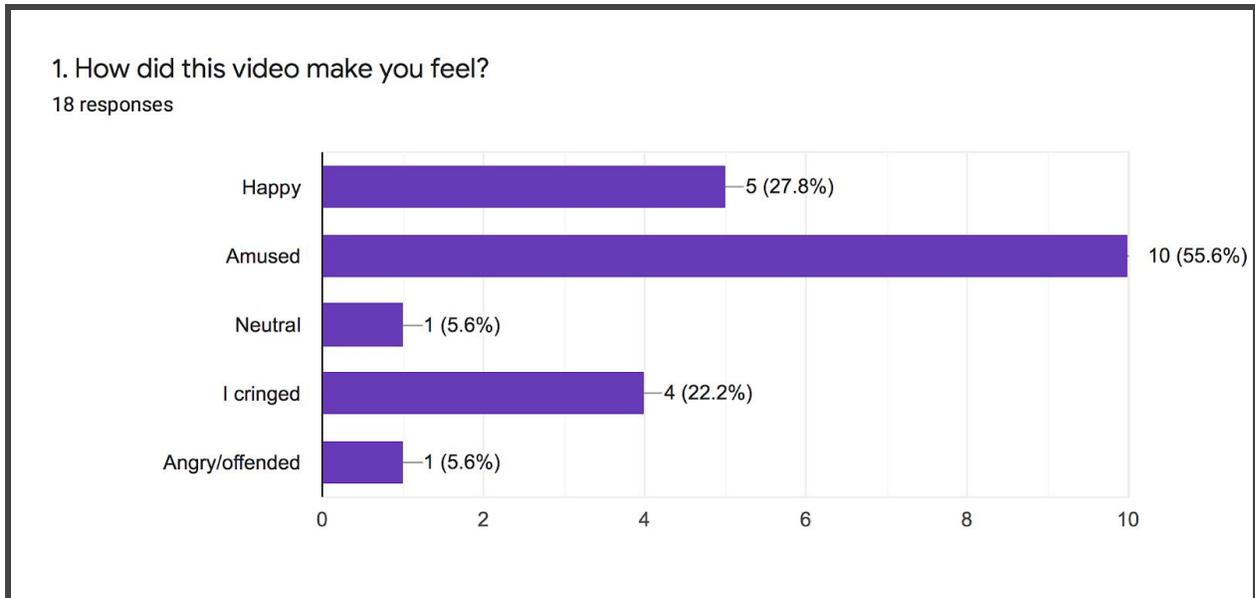


Figure 2

The third video was a comedic dramatization of a white person trying too hard to act like a local by imitating HCE and other local behaviors, and the initial responses are depicted in chart format below.

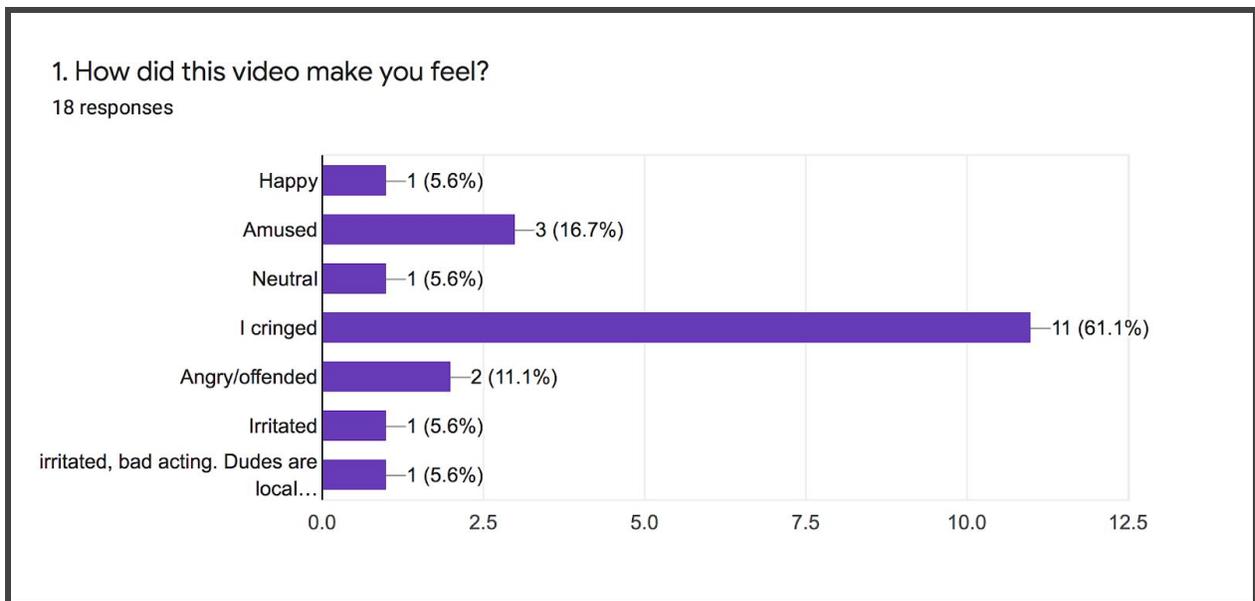


Figure 3

Interestingly, the third video elicited the most negative reactions, while at the same time lacking definite trends. On the question of how local/culturally aware the people in the video were, answers ranged fairly evenly between 1-5, whereas responses to the first two videos leaned in a definite direction.

The calculated mean of the responses to each of the attitude assessment questions have been graphed and are displayed below.

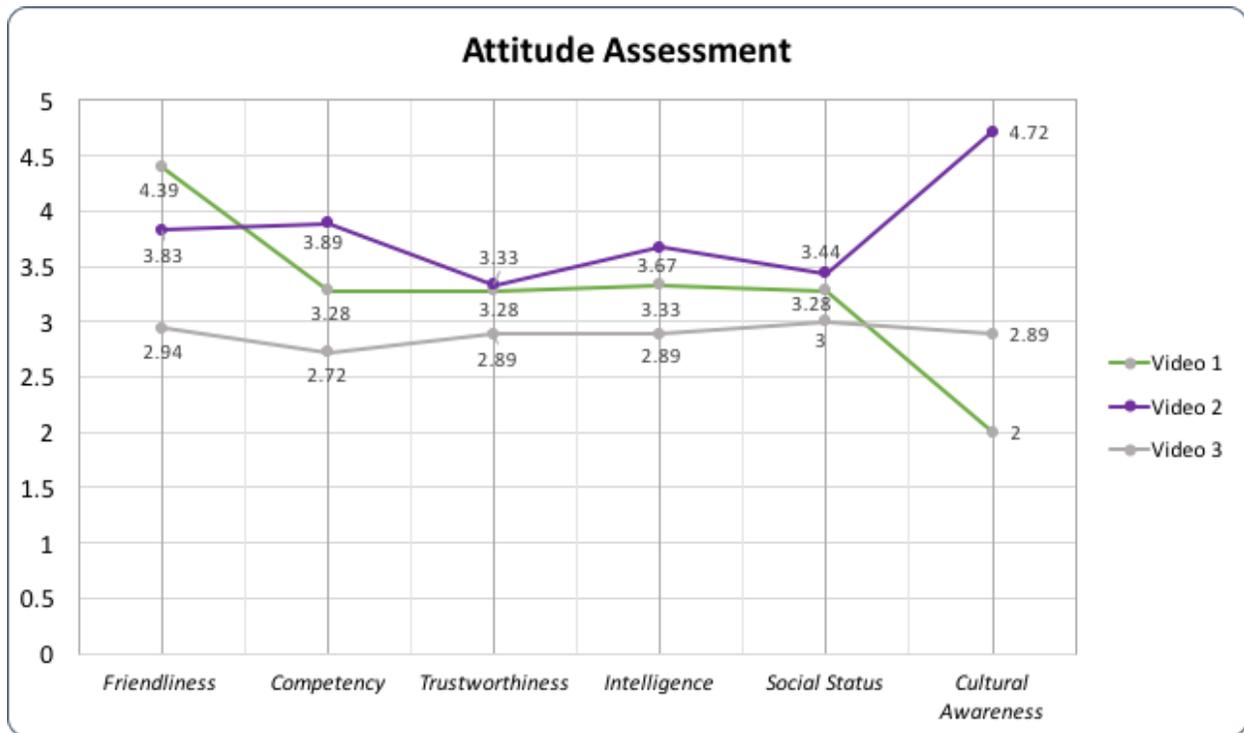


Figure 4

The people in Video 1, who were attempting to guess the meaning of HCE phrases, were rated highest for friendliness but lowest for cultural awareness. The man from the second video, who was a Hawai'i local addressing the official status of HCE as a language, was rated the highest for competency, intelligence, social status, and cultural awareness. The responses to Video 3—the comedic dramatization of a white person trying too hard to act local—had the highest number of middle responses. Video 3 had 51 “3” responses, while Video 1 had 41 and

Video 2 had 29. One respondent said that s/he had a difficult time trying to average the people in Video 3.

Reflective Journal

I was born in Hawai'i and lived almost my entire childhood there, but when I think about my experiences as a child and adolescent, I remember feeling like an outsider. In school we learned about the history of Hawai'i and the role that white people played in destroying and suppressing native culture and language. As a white person, I felt shame for how members of my race had behaved on the islands. I desperately wanted to be considered local, but I felt excluded from the true inside culture. I did not grow up speaking HCE in the home, and my exposure to it outside of the home was minimal. Whenever I tried to replicate things I heard others say, I was laughed at and told to stop. My parents were in the military, so I spent much of my time in that culture, which is different from the rest of island culture. In my teen years, I lamented my inability to tan, as my pale skin marked me as an outsider to many. Still, when I left Hawai'i for college, I began to realize all of the linguistic and cultural things I brought with me. My idiolect still bears the markers of local Hawaiian slang terms, and I sometimes forget that mainland culture is different from the culture in which I was raised, which can lead to misunderstandings. Through studying linguistics, I have been able to reexamine my childhood through the lens of sociolinguistics, which has provided answers to why I felt like an outsider in my childhood home and grown my appreciation for and understanding of Hawai'i.

Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn from this data. Speech style is a significant factor in whether a person is perceived as an insider or an outsider. Specifically, speaking Hawaiian

Creole English well conveys insider status, while speaking it poorly signifies outsider status. A person in Hawai'i does not have to be able to speak HCE to be considered local, but a certain level of familiarity with it is expected. Familiarity with and usage of local slang is considered necessary to be perceived as an insider. In addition, an attitude of respect and humility which is evident in the way a person talks to and interacts with others was also mentioned as an important cultural value that is essential to being a Hawai'i insider. Speech style interacts with a number of other factors, such as race and length of time spent in Hawai'i, but it is one of the first ways a local can determine who is an insider and who is not.

The attitudes of listeners and speakers towards speech style vary. Participants in the attitude assessment rated the Standard English speakers highest for friendliness, but lowest for cultural awareness. The HCE speaker was rated highest for cultural awareness, and he was also rated slightly higher in the categories of competency, intelligence, and social status. This could potentially be because he also demonstrated Standard English capacity in the video, although the majority was in HCE. In interviews, a stigma against HCE as "unintelligent" was discussed, although several participants mentioned that they believed this was changing due to increased education about the origins of HCE. Standard English is often described by locals as "proper English" or "regular English," and the majority of interviewees mentioned that they thought SE is the language of choice in professional settings, while HCE is primarily spoken in informal settings. When asked how they felt about hearing HCE, all interviewees expressed positive emotions, which is consistent with the fact that 83% of initial feelings in response to the first and second videos were positive. In contrast, the third video received 83% negative emotional responses. Considering interview responses and comments on the assessment, this is likely

because the third video contained someone who was not being respectful of the language or culture of Hawai'i, which is highly frowned upon. Attitudes towards the Hawaiian language are fairly consistent; at a minimum, participants said that anyone who lives in Hawai'i should learn how to pronounce Hawaiian words and street names correctly. Several participants expressed a desire to learn more Hawaiian, and the native Hawaiian teacher said that the Hawaiian people have a responsibility to ensure the longevity of their language.

In conclusion, this study confirmed that speech style is a vital factor which influences the social perceptions of Hawai'i residents in terms of insider/outsider status. It is not the only factor, but familiarity with HCE and usage of local slang is considered necessary for someone to be considered truly local. Similarly, people must demonstrate respect for the culture and language of Hawai'i in their speech before they will be regarded as an insider. The data from this study revealed the underlying attitudes of Hawai'i residents towards various speech styles, while also expounding on the topic of what makes a person local or not. Learning and respecting the culture was deemed the most important characteristic of a Hawai'i local by the majority of interviewees. Most participants had positive attitudes towards HCE, although HCE was not considered a professional language. SE is generally regarded as important to be proficient in for professional contexts, and all interviewees spoke it fluently. One limitation I faced was that of distance; all of my data collection was done away from Hawai'i. In the case of the attitude assessment, this prevented participants from being able to ask for clarification if they needed it. For a future study, a broader range of participants for the attitude study and interviews would be beneficial, to ensure accuracy of generalizations drawn from the data. Extending the study to multiple islands would likely yield fascinating results.

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Appendix A

Interview Questions

1. What makes someone local?
2. How would you define/describe a Hawai'i local?
3. What are some ways you can tell if someone is local or not?
4. Have you noticed that some people in HI talk differently in different situations? If so, please explain/give examples.
5. Would you say that familiarity with Pidgin is an important characteristic of being local? If so, how important? Why or why not?
6. If someone mispronounces a Hawaiian word or street name, how do you feel?
7. If someone tries to speak Pidgin, but does so badly, how do you feel?
8. Do you speak any differently with someone who speaks Pidgin? With someone you know is local? With a tourist?
9. If you hear someone calling people older than them "auntie/uncle" how do you feel? How do you feel if they use "Mrs./Mr." or "Ma'am/Sir"?
10. Are there any observations you've made about language and being local or not?
11. What is something a person cannot be considered local without knowing/doing/etc...?
12. Do you feel/think there is a divide between non-local and local? Why or why not?
13. What are some things that if you hear them, you know a local is talking? (Ex: greeting, exclamation, description, etc...)
14. How do you feel when you hear someone speaking Pidgin? How do you think most people in the U.S. would feel?
15. What makes Hawai'i different than the mainland? (Culturally and language-wise)

Appendix B

Attitude Assessment

Please watch at least the first minute of each video and respond.

Video 1



<http://youtube.com/watch?v=cNGkfJmIWzk>

1. 1. How did this video make you feel?

Check all that apply.

- Happy
- Amused
- Neutral
- I cringed
- Angry/offended

Other: _____

2. 2. On average, how friendly are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Very friendly				

3. 3. On average, how competent are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Very competent				

4. 4. On average, how trustworthy are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Very trustworthy				

5. 5. On average, how intelligent are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Very intelligent				

6. 6. On average, what social status are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Low social status	<input type="radio"/>	High social status				

7. 7. On average, how local/culturally aware are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Kama'aina				

Video 2



<http://youtube.com/watch?v=QaolMcl8y0I>

8. 1. How did this video make you feel?

Check all that apply.

- Happy
- Amused
- Neutral
- I cringed
- Angry/offended

Other: _____

9. 2. On average, how friendly are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Very friendly				

10. 3. On average, how competent are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Very competent				

11. 4. On average, how trustworthy are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Very trustworthy				

12. 5. On average, how intelligent are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1 2 3 4 5

Not at all Very intelligent

13. 6. On average, what social status are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1 2 3 4 5

Low social status High social status

14. 7. On average, how local/culturally aware are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1 2 3 4 5

Not at all Kama'aina

Video 3



<http://youtube.com/watch?v=3AxJTSXPIag>

15. 1. How did this video make you feel?

Check all that apply.

- Happy
- Amused
- Neutral
- I cringed
- Angry/offended

Other: _____

16. 2. On average, how friendly are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very friendly

17. 3. On average, how competent are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very competent

18. 4. On average, how trustworthy are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very trustworthy

19. 5. On average, how intelligent are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	Very intelligent

20. 6. On average, what social status are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

1	2	3	4	5	
Low social status	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	High social status

21. 7. On average, how local/culturally aware are the people in this video?

Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Not at all	<input type="radio"/>	Kama'aina				

22. Any other thoughts/comments?
