

10

PROMOTING PIDGIN AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAI'I AT MĀNOA

Christina Higgins

Introduction

A number of scholars working in linguistics and related programs at universities in the United States have developed language and dialect awareness programs to educate university communities, and oftentimes, the general public, about linguistic difference. Much of this work has taken place in connection to encouraging a deeper understanding of social varieties around which many myths and misconceptions circulate, such as African American English (e.g., Baugh, 2001; Wolfram et al., 2008). Notable work has also been done that addresses language discrimination towards regional varieties of English, such as Appalachian English (Hazen & Butcher, 2011) and Southern varieties of English (Charity Hudley & Mallinson, 2015; Reaser et al., 2011). Most of this work aims to educate people about the systematic and rule-governed nature of language variation. Through showing people that these language varieties have their own grammatical systems, these efforts align with the principles of linguistics, which treat all languages equally while also recognizing that societies often judge speakers of certain languages from a deficit perspective that are ultimately grounded in racism, sexism, and classism. However, as Rosa and Flores point out, efforts by linguists to demonstrate the systematic nature of language variation has not led to widespread understanding of or greatly reduced discrimination toward languages like AAE:

Since the project of modernity is premised on the stigmatization of racialized subjects across nation-state and colonial contexts, efforts to legitimize racially stigmatized linguistic practices are fundamentally limited in their capacity to unsettle the inequities that they seek to disrupt.

(Rosa & Flores, 2017, p. 622)

This raciolinguistic argument is not entirely new however, as other scholars have long shown how the root cause of language discrimination is not due to a misunderstanding of how language works. Instead, language discrimination is the result of the continued marginalization of people because of their ethnicity, gender, region, and class (Paris, 2012; Lippi-Green, 1997; Smitherman, 1973). Lippi-Green (1997) describes the process in her model of linguistic subordination, which deconstructs how standard language ideologies perpetuate the (mis)recognition that non-mainstream ways of speaking are less valuable by virtue of their linguistic differences. Describing the phenomenon of “accent discrimination,” she writes, “such behavior is so commonly accepted, so widely perceived as appropriate, that it must be seen as the last back door to discrimination” (Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 73). The idea that language discrimination is a proxy for racial discrimination of people was underscored as long ago as the 1970s. In *Lau vs. Nichols* (1974), immigrant parents fought for the rights of their Chinese-speaking children to have access to supplemental ESL instruction in U.S. schools. The decision asserted that a person’s language is so closely intertwined with their national origin that any form of language discrimination is equivalent to national origin discrimination. Nonetheless, there has not been sufficient change in society toward people who are discriminated against through the proxy of language discrimination.

More recent scholarship and outreach of a sociolinguistic nature that goes beyond the argument for linguistic systematicity tends to emphasize people’s language rights and the importance of language for identity (Hutcheson & Cullinan, 2017; Paris & Alim, 2017; Smitherman, 1995). Such work requires not only an understanding of the linguistic differences found across and among communities, but also an engagement with the social inequality and active oppression that works to present these linguistic differences as deficiencies tied to social differences, including race, class, gender, sexuality, and region. The films produced by the team of scholars and filmmakers at North Carolina State University’s Language and Life Project are exemplary in this regard, as they probe the historical, social, and emotional aspects of languages such as AAE and Southern English, language varieties whose speakers have long been judged negatively not because of their linguistic features, but because of their speakers’ racial and regional identities. In addition, the “Educating the Educated” program at NCSU is also remarkable for its direct engagement with the campus community to raise critical language awareness in the form of workshops, trainings, and alternative spring break opportunities that provide outreach to communities beyond the university. Through developing a registered student group of Language Diversity Ambassadors, NCSU has also created a network of graduate students who have developed their own projects and events, including examining linguistic discrimination in the legal system and the use of language in politics (Dunstan et al., 2018).

At the University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (UHM), recent initiatives have attempted to deepen the community’s understanding of Hawai‘i Creole, the English-lexified creole that is known more commonly as Pidgin. While Pidgin speakers have

historically been discriminated against on the UHM campus and beyond, this chapter reports on efforts to encourage greater awareness about the language by creating opportunities for speakers to share their perspectives and their pride in the language. By celebrating the language and encouraging pride among speakers of Pidgin, the goal of this work is twofold, as it seeks to challenge negative views toward the language that are rooted in race and class-based discrimination while creating more space for Pidgin speakers to assert their rights.

The History of Pidgin

Pidgin is a historically stigmatized language due to its association with working class life on plantations and segregated schooling that only ended in 1960. The language emerged on sugar plantations in the late nineteenth century when plantation workers from China, Japan, Portugal, and a number of Pacific islands worked alongside one another on lands that were largely administered by white, English-speaking landowners from the United States. A Hawaiian-based pidgin developed first in the isles as a result of maritime trade and early plantation work, which included some Hawaiians (Roberts, 1998). However, due to diseases brought on by foreigners, the Hawaiian population was decimated in the last part of the nineteenth century, and the seizure of the government of Hawai'i by U.S. businessmen in the 1890s resulted in the dominance of English. Hawaiian remained spoken and written, but after Hawai'i was illegally annexed and became a U.S. Territory, pressures by the new government to adapt to U.S. norms meant that most families no longer transmitted the language in the home. English became the only language allowed in schooling, which in turn resulted in a more English-lexified pidgin. Ultimately, this pidgin developed into a creole language in the early twentieth century when the children of plantation workers went to school together and used it as their primary language, even in the English-medium schools.

Pidgin speakers were discriminated against in K-12 education in the 1920s, when more Caucasian families from the U.S. moved to Hawai'i in search of better livelihoods. These newcomers were reluctant to send their children to schools that the non-white, Pidgin-speaking plantation children attended, so they successfully lobbied for their own "English standard schools" that would segregate children based on spoken English language ability. In arguing for these schools, the White families expressed a fear that "their children would be outnumbered by the orientals, [*sic*] who have little in common with them and whose language difficulties impede the progress of all" (Bureau of Education, 1920, p. 217). The English standard schools were established by way of a language test as the criterion for admission. Henceforth, Pidgin-speaking children were segregated into separate public schools after failing the test, in spite of the fact that all public schools were English-medium, as dictated by a law passed by the Territorial government in 1896.

The segregation meant that Pidgin speaking children maintained Pidgin due to the critical mass of speakers who stayed together in the regular schools, and it also resulted in marking Pidgin as a language associated with lesser education and English as a language associated with European American oligarchy (Tamura, 1996). Acknowledging the unfairness of the system, the Territory voted to phase out the English standard schools in the 1940s, and the last graduating class was in 1960. Despite the efforts to reduce Pidgin through education, the language remains widely spoken in all realms of life in Hawai'i, though it is becoming more influenced by English (Drager, 2012).

Pidgin at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

In the heyday of sugarcane plantations, UHM began in 1907 as a college dedicated to tropical agriculture, and it became a university in 1919 when the College of Arts and Sciences was created. The Territorial Normal School (the precursor to the UHM College of Education) tested those training to be teachers on their English in the 1920s and dismissed those who used Pidgin features. Tamura (1996) explains that in the 1940s, in the context of the bombing of Pearl Harbor by Japan, Pidgin became a focal issue again during a time of heightened xenophobia, and campaigns to “speak American” abounded. In 1943, all freshmen were required to take speech courses, and those who did not improve were dismissed from the university. Speech courses continued as a requirement through the 1970s, when the field of pidgin and creole studies started to develop. At that time, renowned creole scholar Derek Bickerton and later, Charlene Sato, researched the structure and history of Pidgin and argued for its recognition as a language at the university, in public schools, and in the wider public sphere. Sato developed a fourth-year course titled “Pidgin and Creole in Hawai'i” for ESL majors in the 1990s, and the class is now taught every semester as a required course for B.A. students majoring in Second Language Studies (see www.hawaii.edu/sls/ba).

To find ways to advocate for Pidgin speakers, a group called Da Pidgin Coup (DPC) formed in the late 1990s that was comprised of faculty, students, staff, and community members. Under the guidance of UHM faculty Jeff Siegel and Diana Eades, the group initially met to discuss Pidgin research and to address language discrimination through outreach efforts. Early work by Da Pidgin Coup focused on addressing myths and misconceptions about Pidgin that circulate in public education. In the fall of 1999, the chairperson of Hawai'i's Board of Education, Mitsugi Nakashima, publicly blamed Pidgin for some students' low scores on standardized tests. In response, Da Pidgin Coup's members wrote a position paper on Pidgin and forwarded it to the State of Hawai'i's school superintendent (see Da Pidgin Coup, 2008). The paper summarized the sociolinguistic history of Pidgin, sketched its grammatical features, and then focused on issues regarding attitudes towards Pidgin in education. The superintendent of the Department of

Education (DOE) met with Da Pidgin Coup and acknowledged these key points. The meeting resulted in a pledge by Da Pidgin Coup to offer voluntary workshops about Pidgin for DOE teachers as frequently as possible, and the superintendent recognized Pidgin's place in public education, although he emphasized the importance of oral English (Higgins, 2010).

There have been more recent developments at UHM which make a place for the scholarly study of Pidgin as a language with its own history and linguistic system. This includes the establishment of the Charlene Sato Center for Pidgin and Creole Studies in 2002, in honor of Sato's legacy in the field. In 2009, UHM approved an undergraduate certificate in Pidgin and Creole studies, which required 15 credits in related coursework such as the history of ethnic groups in the state and local literature in Hawai'i. Moreover, in 2018, a general education freshman-level course was established titled "Introduction to Pidgin in Hawai'i" that invites undergraduates of all majors to learn more about this language in its contemporary form from a language rights perspective.

Other activities of Da Pidgin Coup members include a 2009 documentary film produced in conjunction with high school students about Pidgin called *Ha Kam Wi Tawke Pidgin Yet?* (Higgins et al., 2012). The film's three parts and subtitled and non-subtitled versions have been viewed more than 80,000 times (www.youtube.com/watch?v=8bgP2ic38gA&t=803s). In 2011, we installed a permanent exhibit about Pidgin at a local museum on sugar plantations in Hawai'i, and in 2017, we held a conference for the public that invited an array of educators who teach from elementary to graduate school to share how they use Pidgin as a resource in their instruction of language arts, social studies, Hawaiian language, and statistics (Higgins, forthcoming).

Reaching out to the University Community

Da Pidgin Coup has normally seen the community beyond the university as the target context for engagement with discussions of Pidgin. However, as recent work on language discrimination at university campuses has demonstrated (e.g., Dunstan & Jaeger, 2016), there is need to assess how Pidgin speakers are treated on university campuses as well. At UHM, where the student population is approximately 18,000, and 65% of the undergraduate student body is comprised of residents of the state of Hawai'i (MIRO, 2018), the majority of the student population presumably either speaks Pidgin or has had significant exposure to the language due to living in Hawai'i. This also means that non-resident students are likely to encounter Pidgin. Observations of Da Pidgin Coup members show that this is the case in dorms, where newcomer students report learning Pidgin from their local roommates and friends. Pidgin is also visible in the UHM linguistic landscape. Figure 10.1 is a handwritten sign that was taped to the computer station where a dorm resident manager sits. It reads "Went lua no touch!" ("Went to the bathroom, don't touch!") to tell UHM dorm residents to leave the computer alone.

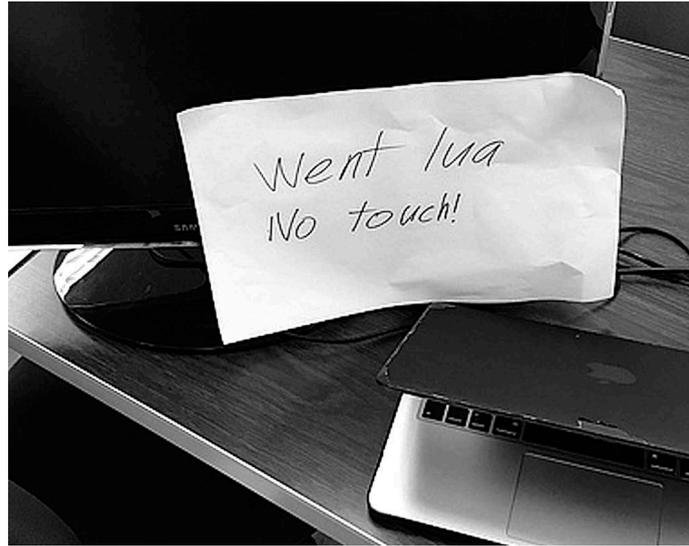


FIGURE 10.1 Went lua no touch! (“Went to the bathroom, don’t touch!”).

Figure 10.2 illustrates a sign made by a student in the dorm in an effort to remind his non-local roommate to take off his slippers (or flip-flops, as referred to in the continental U.S.) when entering the dorm room. Taking off one’s shoes is common practice in Hawai’i, though it is often a cross-cultural experience for some students from the continental U.S. Interestingly, the sign uses Pidgin to address a non-resident roommate, which itself provides a language learning opportunity. The use of Pidgin rather than English can be read as a means to upgrade the sentiment and to underscore the importance of following this house rule. Pidgin also indexes the local footwear norms that are being asserted in the local language, no matter who the audience is.

Outreach on the UHM Campus

In consideration of the need to encourage dialogue about Pidgin on the UHM campus, Da Pidgin Coup has worked in recent years to develop outreach events held on campus that would invite the campus community to share their perspectives on the language. In 2016, we organized two language awareness events, once in April and once in October, titled “Get Pidgin?” The title of the event is itself meant to be interpreted in a multitude of ways, including the purely Pidgin reading “Is there (still) Pidgin?,” which asks Pidgin speakers to consider whether or not the language is losing its vitality among newer generations of speakers. It can also be read with a more English point of view, as in “Do you understand Pidgin?” The events were designed around three different activities at tables on campus where passers-by were invited to take part and then receive a free T-shirt

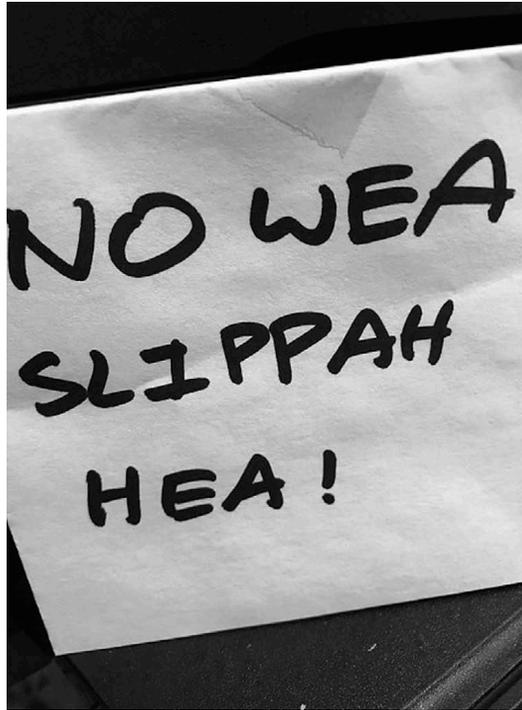


FIGURE 10.2 No wea slippah hea! (“Don’t wear flip-flops in here”).

that promoted pride in Pidgin. The T-shirt was designed with “Get Pidgin?” on the front and the answer to the question on the back (Figure 10.3), “Ho brUH, I get em!” which can also be interpreted from a Pidgin point of view as “Oh yes, Pidgin is (still) here!,” or from an English perspective as “Oh yes, I understand it!”



FIGURE 10.3 “Get Pidgin?” T-shirt design.

One of the three activities that we offered at these events was a 10-item Pidgin grammar quiz which asks them to identify grammatical and ungrammatical Pidgin. This was the most popular choice by the UHM community. The quiz involves presenting the reader with 10 written sentences on a paper and then asking if each is grammatical or ungrammatical. If it is ungrammatical, they are asked to correct it to grammatical Pidgin. When we give the quiz, we regularly note the need to remind quiz takers that we are not looking for them to correct the sentences to English, which is an indication of many people's experiences with Pidgin in the realm of tests and quizzes. We have made the quiz available online as well so anyone can test their knowledge of Pidgin through both an easy and advanced level quiz (www.sls.hawaii.edu/Pidgin/pidginQuiz.php). The second activity we offered was to take part in a Pidgin trivia game, which involved short-answer questions and a tic-tac-toe game. If participants got an item correct, they would then be able to make a mark an X on the tic-tac-toe board, and if they were wrong, the Pidgin Coup facilitator would mark an O, following the usual rules of the game. Even if the participant did not win, they received a T-shirt for trying. The questions we asked included the following:

- Name two of the five languages which influenced the emergence of Pidgin.
 - Answer: Chinese, English, Hawaiian, Japanese, Portuguese.
- What century did Pidgin start to develop? 18th, 19th, or 20th?
 - Answer: 19th.
- How many people speak Pidgin? 50,000, 100,000, or 500,000?
 - Answer: 500,000.
- Which language does Pidgin resemble in this sentence? "Cute your dog."
 - Answer: Hawaiian.

The purpose of asking these questions was to see what people know about Pidgin while also drawing attention to the vitality of the language and the history of its development.

Stances toward Pidgin

The third activity at our "Get Pidgin?" events invited participants to be interviewed on camera for a few minutes. Most people who chose this option were born and raised in Hawai'i and identified as familiar with Pidgin or as Pidgin speakers. The interviews themselves took a general approach to understanding people's experiences with Pidgin. After asking where people were from, we asked about their experiences with Pidgin as they were growing up; whether more attention should be given to Pidgin in the education systems; whether they

notice differences in regional varieties of Pidgin; and what they believe the future holds for the vitality of the language.

Next, I synthesize what the 19 different interviewees who chose this option reported by considering how they took up stances about Pidgin. Stance is seen in discourse when a speaker takes up positions with reference to the expressive, referential, interactional, and social implications of their speech (Jaffe, 2009). The concept of *sociolinguistic stance-taking* (Jaffe, 2015) has been used to examine how speakers express their views on how they perceive their own linguistic proficiency vis-à-vis others, including native speakers and other language learners. Sociolinguistic stances can include a range of dispositions toward a language, including expressions of linguistic insecurity, deference, linguistic authority, and persistence. In examining participants' stances, I consider how they used language to position themselves and others, and also how they articulated value judgements in relation to Pidgin.

The next section presents a stance analysis of representative comments that showed the university participants' stances on their own and others' views towards Pidgin. The analysis section ends with an examination of how people took up stances that projected rights and responsibilities regarding Pidgin at the university in particular. As part of Da Pidgin Coup's ongoing efforts to encourage dialogue about Pidgin and to make spaces for people to express pride in Pidgin, all of the interviews have been uploaded to the Sato Center website (www.hawaii.edu/satocenter/?p=951).

UHM Students' Experiences with Views towards Pidgin

UHM is located in Mānoa, a valley on O'ahu, which is the most populated of the eight islands that make up the state. Participants from the neighbor islands, where Pidgin is conventionally thought to be spoken more than on the island of O'ahu, presented Pidgin as a normal and unremarkable language while growing up, though they did note that teachers would assert the importance of speaking English at the same time. In Excerpt 1 below, a student from Kōloa, Kaua'i responded by taking a stance of puzzlement at the idea that Pidgin might evoke negative language attitudes, though she did move on to framing Kaua'i as a place where Pidgin receives positive attention as a majority language, using the phrase "even at school," which points to the effect that English as the medium of instruction has on views toward the language. In Excerpt 2, a student from Hanamā'ulu, Kaua'i echoed the normalcy of the language, evaluating it as "just the way everyone spoke" and as the way "everyone" talked. She acknowledged the ways that Pidgin is seen in a negative light in education but expressed a countering stance, stating "even teachers" spoke Pidgin, and that she did not see a problem with the language. In Excerpt 3, a student from Waimea, on the island of Hawai'i, also questioned the idea that there can be a negative attitude towards Pidgin, calling it

the norm and going further to frame it as “like our life” and an innate way of being that cannot be questioned.

1. Um, attitudes? Well, there’s a bunch of people that speak it. It’s more—that’s like the majority of language I feel like on Kaua’i. And it’s very accepting. Even at school sometimes the teachers even speak Pidgin. People speak Pidgin all the time. It feels like it’s like the main language on Kaua’i especially.
2. I guess growing up, Pidgin was just the way everyone spoke. So I didn’t notice it as much. That was the way everyone talked. Even teachers as well. I didn’t see any problem with it.
3. I wouldn’t say there was necessarily any attitude toward it. Cause um, it’s, it’s I feel like it’s something we grow up with. So, it’s kind of the norm, so it’s just—people don’t really—it’s kind of like a—like our life, so people don’t really think about it. Like, as Pidgin being anything more than what we are, it’s a part of us, yeah?

Other students conveyed a more mixed view of Pidgin by noting that their teachers in particular would advocate for speaking English instead of Pidgin. Crucially, however, they did not align with their teachers’ stances. In Excerpt 4, a student from Hā’ena, Kaua’i noted that while Pidgin was the majority language, teachers would refer to a “need” to speak “properly,” a widely used expression for speaking English. She then goes on to debunk their stance, pointing out that “none of them (spoke English),” and that the humorous irony challenged their authority. In Excerpt 5, a student from Nānākuli, O’ahu, also expressed similar stances, pointing out how teachers would discourage Pidgin. His response is one of perseverance and pride, and he articulates a lot of agency in the face of authority, stating “we didn’t let that stop us in speaking Pidgin.”

1. Growing up, all my teachers spoke Pidgin in high school and elementary school everything. So they would tell us that you need to learn to speak properly, but none of them did, so it was funny.
2. It was the norm for us, growing up everyday people spoke it within our community. It was spoken at school, so it didn’t really look upon—like down upon on us. I mean, you would have some in the school settings in the elementary and secondary level. Like you know, some teachers say you know, “don’t speak Pidgin.” But you know, we didn’t let that stop us in speaking Pidgin.

Only two participants expressed their own negative views about Pidgin in the past, though these were also couched in stances that promoted Pidgin. While it was surely face-threatening for people to express negative sentiments about Pidgin at our pro-Pidgin event, these comments are still important in

understanding what has influenced people to treat Pidgin as a language with more or less value. In Excerpt 6, a student from Wailuku, Maui, acknowledged actively trying to reduce his own Pidgin in spite of speaking Pidgin at home, and this decision was shaped by the schooling context. He then contrasts this perspective with how he uses Pidgin currently outside of the home and as a language of friendship, though it is unclear what his views are about Pidgin in higher education. In Excerpt 7, a student from Kaua'i depicted her experiences as dictated by others' expectations. She expresses an understanding of why Pidgin is "looked down upon" but then quickly rejects the morality of such a judgment. After the interviewer asked for clarification, she states how "people can get the wrong impression" of Pidgin since its grammar is distinct from English, making clear that such a view was not from her own perspective. Similarly, a student from Waipahu, O'ahu in Excerpt 8 uses passive voice to express the epistemic viewpoint of Pidgin as inferior as distant from his own views in saying "it was seen as like, kind of like a lower thing like a dialect." In stating "Pidgin wasn't seen as like another language," he articulates his own stance that Pidgin is in fact a language, even though he is explaining that others did not see it as such.

1. When I was growing up I tried less to speak Pidgin, but I mean growing up around my family, we spoke a lot of Pidgin. In schools, I felt like it was more proper to speak less Pidgin. But, now I just think that speaking Pidgin is fun and like just a fun way to hang out with your friends and speak Pidgin.
2. When I was growing up, pretty much, you're kind of—You were expected to speak English or speak as properly as possible, and I can see why it might be seen as looked down upon but that's—it shouldn't mean like anything like that. [Interviewer: Why do you think it's looked down upon?] I guess to contrast with English the grammar is different. So that can be seen as—People can get the wrong impression that speaking Pidgin means that someone is less intelligent. Which is absolutely wrong.
3. So I'm like fourth generation so anyways, and my family has been here for a long time. So Pidgin is just like natural for us, but growing up especially like in schools and stuff like that, Pidgin wasn't seen as like another language. Like, but like, Pidgin is—it was seen as like, kind of like a lower thing, like a dialect and stuff like that.

Based on the interview data, it is clear that for these UHM students from across the State of Hawai'i, Pidgin is a natural and normal language that has not always been treated with respect by others, especially in educational contexts. The interviews also reveal that these students understand how Pidgin has a history of being tied to negative social traits and has been framed in deficit discourses. However, the promising finding is that the interviews also show that these students are able and willing to counter these discourses in their sociolinguistic stancetaking.

Pidgin at UHM and Beyond

Next, I analyze excerpts from the interviews in which comments specifically about the university context emerged in order to shed light on the viewpoints about Pidgin in higher education. We did not directly ask about this topic, but it arose in a handful of the interviews.

In Excerpt 9, the student from Koloa, Kaua'i expressed concern that Pidgin will soon be an endangered language, based on her observations of generational language shift in her own family, expressing dismay at the lack of Pidgin in the youngest generations. When we asked her how to prevent this language shift, she pointed to the university and schools as the key mechanism for addressing this problem. Since UHM is one of the contexts that has historically stigmatized Pidgin speakers, it is interesting to see the university presented as a site for protecting the language.

1. I feel like it's dying out, I wish it wouldn't though, but I feel like it is. Just because, the, like my dad who was a plantation—he knows all like Pidgin, and everything. Generations from now, and then from like my nieces and nephews don't really know that much Pidgin. And I wish it wasn't. So that's why I think people should be aware of it. [Interviewer: How can we stop that from happening?] More courses in the language, I feel like. There's nothing to do much in the community unless people are already speaking it, so I feel like schools should emphasize Pidgin in some sort of courses and in other programs.

In Excerpt 10, a student from Aiea, O'ahu, took the view that Pidgin should be encouraged at UHM so that people from the continental U.S. could be given the opportunity to learn to understand it. He characterizes non-local students as confused by Pidgin and presents their lack of proficiency in Pidgin as a detriment. His comments present a counter discourse to the more common rhetoric that promotes English at the expense of Pidgin based on the argument that Pidgin is limited to Hawai'i and hence, limits people to a parochial existence (Higgins et al., 2012).

1. I think if more people spoke Pidgin especially at UH, like mainlanders would be able to understand like some of us locals. Some things that we say like shoots and stuff like that and people are like “what the heck are we talking about?” [Interviewer: So you think it has a future, it's healthy?] It would benefit some college students. Us people that grew up here in Hawai'i, it's like, we say slang, and like Pidgin, and like, it doesn't benefit mainlanders to like not know it.

Finally, a student from Sacramento, California, shed light on the value of Pidgin for college students like himself who are not from Hawai'i. In Excerpt 11,

he explains how his experiences in athletics and in his extended family who live on the neighbor island of Moloka'i have exposed him to Pidgin. He expresses the stance of a willing learner by saying "It's kind of opened me up to a whole new world of language." He continues to advocate for others to appreciate Pidgin, arguing that it is a "huge part of this culture." He suggests that in order to have an authentic experience in Hawai'i, others should learn some Pidgin as well.

1. Well my brother in law is from Moloka'i and I play on the football team so I'm around a lot of locals. So I didn't grow up around Pidgin but being around it for the last year and a half. It's kind of opened me up to a whole new world of language. [Interviewer: Do you use Pidgin with people on the team?] Sometimes. I don't try and over, overpress it. There are a few things that I'll say. It's kind of, because I'm with them so often, it's kind of become, the little things have become a part of me. [Interviewer: Do you think that you want to learn Pidgin, or what do you think the advantages of learning Pidgin in Hawai'i are?] Yeah, I think well it's a huge part of this culture, it's a huge part of this place. And so in order to truly kind of put yourself into where you're living and like enjoy the full experience, I think learning Pidgin would be a smart thing to do. At least pick up as much as you can.

The interviews with these 19 students revealed a significant degree of pride in Pidgin and indicate that it is a language that deserves greater attention and appreciation on the UHM campus. Anecdotal comments from other students have shown us that non-local students have a genuine interest in Pidgin words and expressions, and that they have the opportunity to learn aspects of the language through living in the dorms and interacting with the student body, the majority of whom are from Hawai'i.

At both of our "Get Pidgin?" events, we ran out of T-shirts to give away in less than two hours. From our experiences hosting outreach events, we believe that if we had more resources to organize such events on a regular basis, we would have a greater impact in both assessing and spreading pride in Pidgin.

The Future of Pidgin Advocacy at UHM

There has never been a systematic approach to educating the UHM campus community about Pidgin, so little is known about how Pidgin speaking students experience higher education in terms of feelings of belonging and academic success. Future work that needs to be undertaken includes research similar to Dunstan and Jaeger (2016), who interviewed students from rural Appalachia to learn more about experiences at NCSU. It is important to know, for example, whether Pidgin speaking students feel hesitant to speak up in class due to their perceptions of Pidgin in education. Since the majority of UHM faculty are people

from outside of Hawai'i, it seems likely that Pidgin speaking students have experienced linguistic discrimination or other negative treatment, and research about instructors' perceptions is also important to carry out. A large-scale survey and questionnaire would be a useful approach for obtaining compelling results that could lead to university funding of new projects going forward.

Beyond UHM, we intend to continue on with the work of advocating for Pidgin in the public sphere. This work includes building a crowd-sourced linguistic landscape website and app on which university students, faculty, and the community can post images of written Pidgin that they find in public spaces (cf. Higgins, 2015) and use the citizen science data for research, outreach, and creative purposes. We have future plans to host a Pidgin film festival that will feature films made by students in the University of Hawai'i system. The festival will be a means of celebrating Pidgin by enjoying films about and in the language and will be the first of its kind. Both of these projects focus on encouraging Pidgin speakers at UHM and in the community to not only research and document Pidgin, but most importantly, to celebrate their language. Using a two-pronged approach that can address linguistic discrimination while also supporting expressions of language pride has the potential to lead to more widespread, positive stances toward the language at the university and beyond.

References

- Baugh, J. (2001). Applying linguistic knowledge of African American English to help students learn and teachers teach. In S. Lanehart (Ed.) *Sociocultural and historical contexts of African American English* (pp. 319–330). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bureau of Education. (1920). *A survey of education in Hawaii*. Bulletin no. 16, Department of the Interior. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Charity Hudley, A., & Mallinson, C. (2015). *Understanding English language variation in US schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Da Pidgin Coup. (2008). Pidgin and education: A position paper. *Educational Perspectives* 41, 30–39.
- Drager, K. (2012). Pidgin and Hawai'i English: an overview. *International Journal of Language, Translation and Intercultural Communication* 1, 61–73.
- Dunstan, S. B., & Jaeger, A. J. (2016). The role of language in interactions with others on campus for rural Appalachian college students. *Journal of College Student Development*, 57(1), 47–64.
- Dunstan, S. B., Eads, A., Jaeger, A. J., & Wolfram, W. (2018). The importance of graduate student engagement in a campus language diversity initiative. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 46(3), 215–228.
- Hazen, K. & Butcher, P. (2011). *Enduring and fading features in West Virginia: An education unit for secondary school teachers*. Morgantown, WV: West Virginia Dialect Project. Retrieved from <https://dialects.wvu.edu/home>.
- Higgins, C. (2010). Raising critical language awareness in Hawai'i at Da Pidgin Coup. In B. Migge, I. Léglise, & A. Bartens (Eds.), *Creoles in education: An appraisal of current programs and projects* (pp. 31–54). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Higgins, C. (2015). Earning capital in Hawai'i's linguistic landscape. In R. Tupas (Ed.), *Unequal Englishes* (pp. 145–162). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Higgins, C. (forthcoming). Engaging the public in sociolinguistics for social justice: Promoting Pidgin in Hawai'i. In D. Warriner & E. Miller (Eds.), *Extending applied linguistics for social impact: Collaborations in diverse spaces of public inquiry*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Higgins, C., Nettel, R., Furukawa, G., & Sakoda, K. (2012). Beyond contrastive analysis and codeswitching: Student documentary filmmaking as a challenge to linguisticism in Hawai'i. *Linguistics and Education*, 23(1), 49–61.
- Hutcheson, N., & Cullinan, D. (Producers) (2017). *Talking Black in America*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Language and Life Project, North Carolina State University.
- Jaffe, A. (Ed.). (2009). *Stance: sociolinguistic perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jaffe, A. (2015). Defining the new speaker: Theoretical perspectives and learner trajectories. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 231, 21–44.
- Lippi-Green, R. (1997). *English with an accent: Language, ideology and discrimination in the United States*. New York: Routledge.
- MIRO. (2018). Fast facts. Retrieved from <https://manoa.hawaii.edu/miro/quick-facts>.
- Paris, D. (2012). Culturally sustaining pedagogy: A needed change in stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational Researcher* 41(3), 93–97.
- Paris, D., & Alim, H. S. (Eds.). (2017). *Culturally sustaining pedagogies: Teaching and learning for justice in a changing world*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Reaser, J., Boddie, P. D., Wolfram, W., Locke, D., Lynn, C., & P. Howard. (2011). *Ocracoke still speaks: Reflections past and present*. Oral history CD and book. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Language and Life Project, North Carolina State University in collaboration with the Ocracoke Preservation Society.
- Roberts, S. J. (1998). The role of diffusion in the genesis of Hawaiian Creole. *Language*, 74(1), 1–39.
- Rosa, J., & Flores, N. (2017). Unsettling race and language: Toward a raciolinguistic perspective. *Language in Society*, 46(5), 621–647.
- Searider Productions. (2009). *Ha kam wi tawh Pidgin yet?* Documentary film. Wai'anae, HI: Searider Productions. Retrieved from www.youtube.com/watch?v=NesfQ2oNBcA.
- Smitherman, G. (1973). Grammar and goodness. *The English Journal* 62(5), 774–778.
- Smitherman, G. (1995). Students' right to their own language: A retrospective. *The English Journal*, 84(1), 21–27.
- Tamura, E. H. (1996). Power, status, and Hawai'i Creole English: An example of linguistic intolerance in American history. *Pacific Historical Review*, 65(3), 431–454.
- Wolfram, W., Reaser, J., & Vaughn, C. (2008). Operationalizing linguistic gratuity: From principle to practice. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 2(6), 1109–1134.