Styling Hawaiʻi in *Haole*wood: White protagonists on a voyage of self discovery

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Abstract

This article analyzes four Hollywood films set in Hawaiʻi to shed light on how particular languages and language varieties style *(Auer 2007; Coupland 2007) Local/Hawaiian and mainland U.S. characters as certain kinds of people. Through an analysis of films featuring* haole *('white, outsider') male protagonists who are on various journeys in Hawaiʻi, we analyze how cultural difference is constructed through divergent language choice, mock languages, and acts of linguistic bridging by quasi-Local characters. We draw upon Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles & Coupland 1991) to explain how linguistic divergence establishes dichotomous characterizations through language choice and other non-accommodating behaviors. As our analysis shows, Hollywood styling perpetuates Orientalist discourses (Said 1978) about 'whiteness' and 'nativeness' by dichotomizing Local and Hawaiian people, and by characterizing Local characters as largely antagonistic toward outsiders. At the same time, the films attempt to avoid too close a linkage to colonialist discourses by establishing quasi-Local* haole *characters as linguistic 'buffers' who act as conduits for Hawaiian worldviews and Local knowledge, and who are styled linguistically as partially Local through their knowledge of Hawaiʻi Creole and Hawaiian.*

Keywords: style, characterization, whiteness, non-accommodation, Hawaiʻi Creole, Hawaiian, film, divergence, mock language

1. Introduction

Films can offer meaningful insights into contemporary relations between former and/or present colonizers and former and/or present colonized populations.[1] Through constructing characters as likeable, humorous, wise, enviable, despicable, and so on, films establish narratives which

perpetuate particular worldviews about ways of interpreting the world that colonial relations have wrought. Writers, directors, and actors contribute to these 'truth effects' (Foucault 1980) through making decisions about characters' behaviors, including how they speak. Audiences who watch these films are thus exposed to the ideologies bound up in these characterizations, whether they are true-to-life or not:

> Watching a movie is the experience of sharing − or sometimes, of resisting − the way of seeing, the ideology, and the values of the filmmakers, their gaze, and their imagination. Through its technology and its language, films implement ways of looking at class, gender, and race differences. Filmmakers can make us see these differences, but they can also hide them from our sight by creating pleasing fictions. This way of seeing carries the individual and social biases of the filmmakers but also the biases and standpoints of the culture of the people for which films are produced, the culture to which the film belongs.
>
> (Vera & Gordon 2003: 3)

To assess the portrayal of socio-political relations between Hawai'i and the mainland United States, and to unpack the ideologies about cultural difference that audiences are exposed to, we examine four films set in Hawai'i to understand how language choice and non-accommodation *style* characters as certain kinds of people, not only through the languages they speak, but also through other identity indexes such as facial expressions, dress, and gesture (Auer 2007; Coupland 2004, 2007; Eckert 2001). Across the films, non-overlapping linguistic repertoires for Local/Hawaiian characters and protagonists produce stark 'systems of distinction' (Irvine 2001) that encourage audiences to associate certain ethnocultural identities with personality types and good or bad character types. Since films often resort to stereotypes to create stock characters, we also address how mock language is used to *stylize* characters, thereby creating inauthentic, 'designed personas' (Coupland 2007: 150) that exaggerate cultural and linguistic difference among Local/Hawaiian and mainland *haole* ([haʊli] 'white/foreigner') characters. In sociolinguistic literature, the term stylization usually refers to the use of a voice other than one's own, 'displayed and framed for Local, creative, sociolinguistic effect' (Coupland 2004: 249). We find that stylization is an apt term for describing these characters' highly performative, over-the-top ways of talking since the voices that the characters use are not reflective of Hawai'i's linguistic landscape, but instead are acts of *audience design* (Bell 1984) by Hollywood writers and actors. Through designing Local and Hawaiian characters as distinctly opposite to the protagonists in every way, the films can achieve their larger narrative goals of establishing

stories in which the hero faces adversity, struggles, but eventually over-comes it.

As our analysis of cinematic dialogue shows, the shared meta-narra-tive across the films analyzed presents rather stark colonialist depictions of *self* and *other*, as each film privileges the perspective of a *haole* male character who sets off on a journey to find out various truths – about his career, romantic relationship, and more generally, his place in the world. In effect, and largely through the use of linguistic divergence, the films continue an Orientalist grand narrative (Said 1978) about 'white-ness' and 'nativeness' that is reminiscent of much classic colonial litera-ture (e.g., Conrad 1902; Defoe 1719; Melville 1846). As Said (1978) ex-plains, western scholars and writers have collectively created the idea of an Orient by forming a shared set of discourses about non-western lands in their writing, often after having acquired relatively shallow knowledge of the peoples and cultures they were writing about. Their depictions of the Orient are clearly framed within western points of view, but this is not acknowledged in the discourses. Importantly, the discursive forma-tion of the Orient in literature and written historical accounts developed as westerners pursued the occupation of colonial territory. The political occupation of the Kingdom of Hawai'i by American businessmen in the late nineteenth century is just one of many examples of this (cf. Trask 1993). Hence, as Said (1978: 3) argues, Orientalism is ultimately 'a West-ern style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient'. Key features of Orientalist texts that reflect such authority in-volve dichotomous characterizations of 'the savage and the civilized' as white protagonists voyage to 'exotic' locations and reflect on their expe-riences, thereby creating west-based visions of the enlightened self and the inscrutable other.

A key departure from the colonialist literature of the past, and per-haps a sign of progress, is that the *haole* characters in the films analyzed here do not transform by 'going native' – whether linguistically or cul-turally.[3] Though they all interact with Locals and Hawaiians, their en-counters with these characters are always wrought with antagonism. Hence, each *haole* character must resort to finding guidance from a quasi-Local *haole* character who can help him to resolve his various problems. These helpful characters are long-time residents of Hawai'i who have acquired linguistic and cultural knowledge about Hawai'i, and who act as social and linguistic 'buffers' between the mainland protago-nists and the hostile Locals and Hawaiians.

Given the post-colonial context of Hawai'i, it is revealing to see how Local and Hawaiian characters treat *haole* mainlanders in films, and what consequences there could be for mainstream U.S. audience mem-bers' appreciation of these characters. Since the films are geared to a

mostly mainland U.S. market, we focus on the portrayal of Local/Hawaiian characters for that viewing audience. However, we also find it important to consider how Local/Hawaiian audiences might also receive the films.

2. Characterization through (non)accommodation

We draw on Culpeper's (1998, 2001) framework to analyze how *characterization* is achieved through language and other semiotic means. According to Culpeper (1998), systems of contrast often contribute to constructing character, and linguistic deviation in particular invites audiences to attribute deviant behavior to one's character. In applying this idea to Hollywood-produced films set in Hawai'i, one pattern that emerges is that Local and Hawaiian characters are typically portrayed as linguistically 'deviant' for failing to accommodate linguistically to the *haole* protagonists. In terms of Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) (Giles & Coupland 1991; Giles 2009), they express *divergence* since Locals and Hawaiians are characterized by and large through their consistent use of Hawai'i Creole or Hawaiian, even when it is clear that the English-speaking *haole* protagonists fail to comprehend them. Moreover, they antagonize the *haole* characters through harassment, rudeness, and violence. Across the films, then, characterization is achieved by building systems of contrast, and this distinction is achieved by stylizing Locals and Hawaiians as '*über*'-Local, unaccommodating polar opposites to the *haole* protagonists. This characterization is a reflection of audience design, for the *haole* protagonists are portrayed sympathetically while Local/Hawaiian characters are generally depicted as despicable.

The language of the quasi-Local *haole* buffer characters can also be analyzed with reference to CAT since their sociolinguistic style is neither fully appropriated to the Hawaiian context, nor fully lacking in localized inflections and at least quasi-Local understandings. As a result of their in-between degree of language accommodation and group affiliations, the quasi-Local *haoles* are characterized as perfectly poised to guide the *haole* newcomers as they encounter cultural difference and ultimately, self-transformation in Hawai'i. They also act as 'translators' for film audiences as they help to bridge linguistic and cultural gaps.

3. Language in Hawai'i

The majority of island residents are bilingual in Hawai'i English and Hawai'i Creole, with many people dominant in the latter. Though there are some residents who claim not to speak Hawai'i Creole, these individuals typically do have at least receptive competence in the language.

3.1 Hawaiian

Hawaiian has about 8,000 speakers, 1,000 of whom speak it as their first language (ethnologue). Speakers of Hawaiian are typically trilinguals who also speak Hawai'i English and Hawai'i Creole. Since the time of first contact with Europeans in 1778, disease and changes in the overall social and economic structure of Hawai'i led to the increasing influence of English (Day 1985: 166). After a *haole* oligarchy overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, the language nearly died out. A cultural and political Hawaiian Renaissance in the early 1970s changed this state of affairs and led to the establishment of Hawaiian as an official language of the state in 1978. This paved the way for the current revitalization process, in part through the establishment of Hawaiian immersion schools.

3.2 Hawai'i Creole (Pidgin)

The establishment of sugar plantations in Hawai'i during the nineteenth century helped to promote the birth of a new language across the islands. During the latter half of that century, a Hawaiian based pidgin language emerged, and then later a Hawai'i Pidgin English (HPE) developed as a *lingua franca* among plantation workers (Day 1985; Sato 1993). By the 1920s, Hawai'i Creole had developed as a result of children of HPE speakers using this language as their key mode of communication. Hawai'i Creole (still referred to as Pidgin by most Locals) has traditionally been seen as a marker of both working-class and non-white identity in Hawai'i. This has led to an overall stigmatization and perception that it limits its speakers' socio-economic mobility (Eades *et al.* 2006), views which persist to this day despite evidence that the language is widely used across many domains, including business meetings, formal education, advertising, and in casual conversation (Marlow & Giles 2008).

3.3 Hawai'i English

The English used in Hawai'i is distinct from mainland varieties and is influenced by Hawai'i Creole. The features that Sato (1993: 135) lists for standard Hawai'i English are: full vowels in places where mainland U.S. varieties will often used reduced forms such as /t/ and /d/ instead of /ð/ and /θ/ (e.g. [da] 'the' and [tɪnk] 'think'), monophthongs such as /o/ instead of /oʊ/, where mainland U.S. varieties will often use diphthongs (e.g., [boʊt] 'boat'), and dropping of post-vocalic /r/ (e.g., [fada] 'father'). Another key feature is the use of rising-falling intonation in questions in sentence-final position (marked in the transcripts with ↑↓

symbols). Hawai'i English is spoken by the majority of Locally born, educated professionals in a wide variety of domains, and many blend Hawai'i English with Hawai'i Creole in everyday speech.

We transcribe Hawai'i Creole in italics utilizing eye dialect, and we point out the features of Hawai'i English in the transcripts and in the surrounding discussion of the examples. Hawaiian and Mock Hawaiian appear in Arial font in italics. Non-verbal interaction is described in ((double parentheses)), CAPS indicate loud volume, <u>underlining</u> indicates emphasis, and (.) marks short pauses.

4. The four films

We chose films produced by major Hollywood studios since these would be best suited to examining how people in Hawai'i are envisioned by mainland U.S. film producers, actors, and audiences. The following synopses provide general plotlines for each of the films.

4.1 *North Shore* (1987, directed by William Phelps)

North Shore tells the story of Rick Kane (played by Matt Adler), a young *haole* man from Arizona who has just won a surfing contest in an amusement park wave pool. Rick uses his winnings to travel to the North Shore of O'ahu, one of the premiere surfing destinations in the world, before entering art school the next fall. He is unfamiliar with the islands, and because he is so ignorant and gullible, he lands in trouble when all of his belongings are stolen by Local men. Through his new acquaintance Turtle, a quasi-Local *haole*, he manages to get work and lodging in the house of Chandler, a *kama'aina* (long-term resident) *haole* who makes surfboards by hand and who is himself an expert surfer. Chandler eventually apprentices Rick into the art of surfing. Rick's self-development is prompted by his interactions with the *Hui o He'e Nalu* ('wave sliding club'), a Local group of predominantly Hawai'i Creole speaking surfers who constantly challenge his legitimacy, and a burgeoning romance with Kiani, a Hawaiian woman whose cousin is the leader of the *Hui*. Rick overcomes his antagonistic relationship with the *Hui*, by becoming a 'soul surfer,' that is, an expert surfer who possesses deep appreciation of the ocean and leaves Kiani behind when he returns to the mainland to pursue his future as an art student.

4.2 *Honeymoon in Vegas* (1992, directed by Andrew Bergman)

Honeymoon in Vegas is a comedic film about a New York private detective named Jack (played by Nicholas Cage), who, in spite of a promise

to his dying mother to never get married, finally submits to marrying his girlfriend Betsy in Las Vegas. At the hotel, however, Betsy is spotted by Tommy Korman, a professional gambler with mob ties, who instantly falls in love with her due to her strong resemblance to his late wife. As a result of a poker debt that Jack accrues, Tommy convinces the couple to let him spend a platonic weekend with Betsy. Unbeknownst to Jack, Tommy then takes Betsy to his home on the island of Kaua'i, where he tries to win her affections. Jack immediately flies to Kaua'i to find Betsy, but he is misled by Mahi, a Local cab driver who is working for Korman. Tommy takes Betsy back to Las Vegas, where he is able to cancel all the incoming commercial flights to further thwart Jack. Jack's only recourse is to take a chartered flight with skydiving Elvis impersonators and land by parachute. Betsy decides to run away from Tommy after he threatens her, and while in disguise as a Vegas showgirl, she sees Jack as he lands. The film ends with the two getting married.

4.3 50 First Dates (2004, directed by Peter Segal)

This is a romantic comedy about Henry (played by Adam Sandler), a womanizing veterinarian who avoids long-term relationships for fear that they will prevent him from living his dream of traveling to Alaska to study walruses. While eating breakfast at a café on O'ahu, Henry meets a Local *haole* art teacher named Lucy. Returning to the café the next day, he starts talking to Lucy, and they find themselves attracted to each other. They agree to meet the next morning, but she has no memory of meeting him. This is because Lucy has a type of amnesia that causes her to forget what happens each day after she sleeps, effectively causing her to live the same day each day. Despite this apparent obstacle, Henry begins to court Lucy in an effort to get her to fall in love with him. Eventually, he creates a video for her that explains her amnesia with the help of three Local characters. Henry and Lucy's relationship progresses until they decide to get married. Unfortunately, Lucy learns that Henry plans to give up his dream of traveling to Alaska to stay with her, so she destroys the video to ensure that she will forget about him after going to sleep. The couple are eventually reunited, and the film ends with a scene set in the future showing Lucy on a yacht in Alaska with Henry, their daughter, and Lucy's father.

4.4 Forgetting Sarah Marshall (2008, directed by Nicholas Stoller)

This film stars Jason Segel as Peter Bretter, a musician who has recently been dumped by his television-star girlfriend, Sarah Marshall. To console himself, he vacations at a resort on the island of O'ahu, where he

discovers that Sarah is also on vacation. Though he is seriously depressed over the recent break-up, he spends time with Rachel, the front desk clerk. Unlike Sarah, Rachel also admires Peter's creative side, which includes a dream to compose a vampire puppet opera. As the plot unfolds, Peter distracts himself with surfing and other excursions on his vacation, but he repeatedly encounters Sarah at the hotel, where she and her new boyfriend are staying. He struggles with his feelings for Sarah, but as Peter spends more time with Rachel and other quasi-Local characters, he transforms into a man who believes in himself due to their encouragement to pursue his happiness, both in love and in his career. At the end of the film, Peter returns to the mainland U.S., where he begins earnest work on his vampire opera, eventually performing the show at the end of the film. Rachel attends the opening night, and it appears that their relationship and Peter's career are headed for success.

5. Styling Hawai'i through establishing *haole*, Local, and quasi-Local characters

In terms of characterization, linguistic divergence is used in the films to construct a landscape that fits with the grand narrative of finding oneself. The main characters are 'lost' individuals in search of deeper meanings in life, and their wayward characterizations are established through contrasts. This is achieved primarily through the use of the *moke*, a stereotyped and antagonistic character that is the foil to the *haole* protagonist in each film. A *moke* is a Hawai'i Creole word used to refer to a tough Local man who spends a lot of time in outdoor pursuits (hunting, fishing, surfing), who drinks heavily, and who (stereotypically) enjoys getting into physical fights. While the *moke* is usually portrayed as a monolingual speaker of Hawai'i Creole (cf. Meyerhoff 2004), the *haole* characters employ what Lippi-Green (1997) refers to as mainstream varieties of American English (MUSE).

5.1 Characterizations of the haole *self* and Local/Hawaiian *other* through linguistic divergence

Throughout the films, the main characters repeatedly encounter Locals and Hawaiians who speak (sometimes unintelligible) Hawai'i Creole, and who choose not to accommodate them linguistically or socially. A clear illustration of this characterization is in an early scene in *North Shore*, when Rick goes surfing for the first time on the famous North Shore of O'ahu. Rocky, a *moke* character who is a member of the Local surf club, the *Hui*, paddles up to Rick and, in Hawai'i Creole, gets his

attention with the vocative phrase *'Eh haole,'* which Rick interprets as a greeting. In combination with Rocky's message about claiming surf territory, this marks Rick as a clueless outsider, which Rocky declares quite straightforwardly:

(1) Rocky: *Eh haole.*
             ('Hey whitey')
     Rick: Hi! *Haole* to you too.
     Rocky: ((glaring)) *He so haole* he doesn't even know he's *haole.* Beat it *haole* buddy, this is awa ave.
             ('He's so white/foreign he doesn't even know it. Get out of here white buddy, this is our surf spot')
     Rick: Oh yeah? I don't see your name on it.
     Rocky: ((glares at Rick))
     Rick: <u>Fine</u>. ((starts to paddle away))
     Rocky: *Bye haole.*
             ('Bye whitey')

While both Rocky's verbal and non-verbal behaviors can be taken as highly antagonistic, akin to marking territory, Rick's response is quite civil, and he defers to Rocky's wishes to leave the surf area. Linguistic divergence is marked here not only through the non-accommodation by Rocky toward Rick, but also through maintaining (and even highlighting) the outsider's lack of understanding.

In *Forgetting Sarah Marshall*, linguistic divergence is clear in a scene that clearly marks a turning point for the main character, Peter, who decides to risk injury by removing a nude photo of his new love interest, Rachel, from the men's room in a Local bar. Earlier in the film, it is established that Keoki, the owner of the bar, has declared that he will kill anyone who removes the photo. Keoki's *moke* qualities set the stage for Peter to transform himself later in the movie. After he confesses to Rachel that he has had a brief romantic encounter with his ex-girlfriend Sarah, he attempts to prove his loyalty to her. He returns to Keoki's bar and removes her picture, thus marking a rite of passage for himself. Unfortunately, he is discovered removing the picture by Hawai'i Creole-speaking Keoki, who proceeds to beat him up. Keoki's divergent language use aligns with an antagonistic attitude toward Peter's romantic interest in Rachel, and Keoki's reference to the photo of Rachel as 'my art' indicates a sort of possessiveness over Rachel herself. By enduring the physical beating from Keoki, Peter shows that he is willing to face adversity in spite of the consequences:

(2) Keoki: *Brah wot you doing? You stealing my awt? Why don't you put
           em back right now.*
           ('Pal, what are you doing? Are you stealing my art? Why
           don't you put it back right now')
           Put em back brah.
           ('Put it back pal')
           ((Peter begins throwing toilet paper from a stock area at
           Keoki in self-defense)).
     Keoki: *You trowing doo-doo pepah? You trowing do-doo pepah? Give
           me da picha.*
           ('Now you're throwing toilet paper? You're throwing toilet
           paper? Give me the picture')
           Don't be stupid braddah, jus give me da picha.
           ('Don't be stupid pal, just give me the picture')
     Peter: You can hit me as many times as you want. I'm not giving
           you the photo back.
     Keoki: ↑*Oh* ↓*yeah?* ((proceeds to punch Peter multiple times in the
           face)).

In *Honeymoon in Vegas,* Jack's mainland language use and lack of
knowledge of the islands is juxtaposed with a Local character, Mahi, a
Hawai'i Creole-dominant taxi driver. Mahi's cartoonish name, Mahi
Mahi (the name of an ocean fish), is amplified by the fact that his father's
occupation was a fisherman. (While many Local people do earn a living
by fishing, the choice of Mahi Mahi as a name for a person in Hawai'i
is beyond outlandish.) Though arguably less of a stereotypical *moke* than
the Hawai'i Creole speaking characters in the other films, Mahi's consis-
tent use of the language alongside his depiction as an all-knowing insider
helps to establish a major character difference that drives the plot. Since
Mahi is really working for Tommy Korman, who is Jack's nemesis, the
viewing audience knows that his apparent friendliness is actually quite
insincere. As Mahi takes Jack around the island, he leads Jack astray at
every turn, providing the necessary obstacles for Jack to eventually over-
come:

(3) Mahi: *Eh braddah!*
           ('Hey pal')
     Jack: ((Looks startled and somewhat confused))
     Mahi: *You* ↑*like* ↓*ride?*
           ('Would you like a ride?')
     Jack: Yeah, yeah, I need I ride, but I don't know where yet.
     Mahi: *I take your bags.*
           ('I will take your luggage')

Jack: Thanks.
Mahi: *My name Mahi. Mahi Mahi.*
        ('My name is Mahi. Mahi Mahi')
Jack: ((pulls sunglasses down to look at Mahi)) Like the fish?
Mahi: Yeah. My fadda was a fishaman.
        ('Yeah. My father was a fisherman')
Jack: My father left home when I was five. That's why I'm named
        Jack, as in Jack tell your mother I'm going out. I've got to
        make a couple of calls.
Mahi: *Eh Jack, <u>Jack</u>! Whea you like go? Jus tell me. I take you
        anywhere.*
        (Hey Jack, Jack! Where do you want to go? Just tell me. I'll
        take you anywhere')
Jack: You have any idea where a guy named Tommy Korman
        lives?
Mahi: *Shua, everybody know <u>dat</u>.*
        ('Sure, everybody knows that')
Jack: You're kidding!
Mahi: *Nah, dis a small island.*
        ('No, this is a small island')

The *moke* character in *50 First Dates* is Ula, a comedic figure who is
generally quite friendly toward the *haole* protagonist Henry. Ula is por-
trayed as a Hawaiian (played by Rob Schneider, an actor of Filipino,
Jewish, and Caucasian descent), and often espouses what are meant to
be understood as Hawaiian points of view. In the scene below, Ula is
arguably acting as a stereotypical *moke*, rather than just being himself,
as he is helping his friend Henry to win the affections of Lucy, who has
no short-term memory. Here, Ula assists Henry to stage a mugging sce-
nario along Lucy's daily route in an attempt to 'introduce' himself to
her. While doing so, Ula gives a diatribe in Hawai'i Creole and Hawai'i
English which is meant to be heard as a series of Hawaiian complaints
against *haole* visitors and colonists. Even though the scene is comedic,
the actions are meant to portray a 'typical' Hawaiian:

(4) Ula: ((approaches Henry)) Give me your wallet! Okay *haole,
              what you think?* You can come to this island, eat our pineap-
              ple, ((Ula hits Henry))
     Henry: Help me! Ow, not so hard. Take it easy.
     Ula: ((Hitting Henry)) Try to bang our women. Makin' my sister
              clean your hotel room,
     Henry: Okay. What does that have to do with this? Relax. Hey!
              Hey! Help me please!

> Ula: Stupid *haole*.
>   ((Lucy hits Ula in an attempt to defend Henry))
> Ula: Ow!

The depiction of Locals/Hawaiians as *moke* characters who are untrustworthy, hostile, and even violent establishes a clear good guy/bad guy motif across the films. In terms of the larger storyline, this characterization arguably encourages the audience to sympathize with the *haole* protagonists as they face adversity and to root for them as they find ways to overcome it. As we see next, however, their efforts to succeed are further thwarted through encounters with Local/Hawaiian characters who continue to sidetrack them. This is marked through mock language in several of the films we analyzed.

5.2 Stylizing Locals and Hawaiians through mock language

Mock language (cf. Hill 1998; Callahan 2010) is inherently exaggerated and performative since it does not linguistically qualify as an authentic code, but instead relies on familiar linguistic patterns that non-natives might know, which index stereotypes about specific ethnolinguistic groups. As Hill (1998) argues, mock language is racist since it highlights features that support negative stereotypes associated with the speakers of the language being mocked. While Hill's work focuses on white speakers of Mock Spanish, our analysis here examines supposedly Local/Hawaiian characters' use of Mock Hawaiian. Similar to Mock Spanish, Mock Hawaiian indirectly indexes its speakers with negative attributes, including vulgarity, laziness, and a lack of intelligence. Consequently, Hollywood scripts engender the primacy of 'white public space' among mostly white audiences by constructing negative visions of the *other*, and by using such depictions to cast white characters as the sympathetic heroes.

The use of Mock Hawaiian characterizes Local/Hawaiian figures as divergent from the *haole* protagonists by casting them as nature-oriented, visceral natives, a characterization that recalls the colonialist *noble savage* archetype, an idealized individual who is 'noble' since he or she lacks exposure to western civilization and its corrupting influences, yet who is also 'savage' due to unfamiliarity with western modes of civility (Said 1978). The stereotype is clearest in the use of Mock Hawaiian and the maintenance of (pseudo)traditional culture, as represented in *Honeymoon in Vegas*. After Jack arrives in Kaua'i in search of Betsy, Mahi takes him to Chief Orman's home (rather than Mr. Korman's home) in an effort to keep him from locating his fiancée. Chief Orman is played by Peter Boyle, a *haole* actor, and he alienates Jack by engaging

him in a lengthy and opaque 'traditional' toast (only partially shown here), speaking (Mock) Hawaiian (which has no translation). Viewers who are only slightly acquainted with Hawaiian might recognize that mock words like *kabluna* sound 'wrong', as it violates Hawaiian's consonant inventory (it has no /b/) and phonological rules, which do not allow consonant clusters. Still, Orman is portrayed as an authentic Hawaiian chief:

(5) Orman: *Mahaleowakalea.*
     Mahi: *Mahaleowakalea.* ((laughs)) *Mahaleowakalea.*
     Orman: *Kabluna!*
     Jack: *Kabluna!* Listen Mahi, I DON'T HAVE TIME FOR THIS HORSESHIT!

Sexual comments further help to characterize Locals and Hawaiians as noble savages through scripts which index them directly with these attributes. This is another divergent form of characterization, for as Wood (2009) argues, sexualizing the 'natives' in films provides filmmakers with a context in which white characters can have more sophisticated interactions, and transformations, in comparison to their more 'crude' co-stars. This is clear in many of the dialogues in *50 First Dates* between Ula and Henry. In (6), Ula employs Mock Hawaiian when he refers to Henry as '*da kahuna,*' skewing its meaning of 'priest' toward something like 'important, and sexually desirable man,' and when he refers to a sex act as 'the *Waikikiki sneaky between the cheeky*,' using what Hill (1998: 114) calls the 'hyperanglicization of language' for comic effect. As Hill (1995) argues in the case of Mock Spanish, hyperanglicizations are clearly absurd mispronunciations used to produce vulgar puns (e.g., Fleas Navidad, < Span. *Feliz Navidad*):

(6) Ula: By the way *cuz* ('pal'), I met this sexy, blond tax attorney at Starbucks today.
     Henry: Uh huh.
     Ula: I told her *you da kahuna* ('big man', lit. 'priest' in Hawaiian) *she wanna have fun* ('she wants to have fun, i.e., sex with') on this island.
     Henry: Uh huh.
     Ula: You want her *numba*?
     Henry: You pimping tourists for me again, Ula?
     Ula: Yes, I live vicariously through you*,* rememba? My life sucks. Come on, give ha the *Waikikiki sneaky between the cheeky.*

Since Ula's use of *'Waikikiki'* converts a place name, *Waikiki* (a popular tourist area on O'ahu) to a sexual act, the use of Mock Hawaiian here creates an indirect indexicality between hypersexuality, the Hawaiian language, and Hawaiian people, and as such, is an example of 'covert racist discourse' (Hill 1998).

A similar example comes later in the film, when Ula uses the place name *Hanalei* as a novel vocative expression to refer to Henry. In (7), he also uses the made-up word *poi poi* to refer to a penis, a Mock Hawaiian word that features the reduplication of the commonly known Hawaiian word, *poi*, or pounded steamed taro root, which is a Hawaiian staple. In addition to the negative indexicalities attributed to a Hawaiian character, the use of Mock Hawaiian in these examples suggests that Hawaiian vocabulary can easily be borrowed from existing words or invented on the spot through the simple act of repetition:

(7) Ula: Hey, *Hanalei* ('place name'). How's that hot *wahine* ('woman') nympho from Ohio, huh?

Henry: She's great. I dropped her off at the airport this morning.

Ula: Come on, I need some details. *You get some booby, some assy*, a pull on your *poi poi?* Come on.

A similar attitude about sex is found in *Honeymoon in Vegas* when Mahi tells Jack about the possible sexual encounters he could have on the islands minutes after meeting him. Since Mahi knows that Jack is on Kaua'i to find his fiancée, Betsy, his points about the sexual opportunities are at best frivolous, and at worst, painful reminders that Betsy might be persuaded to be unfaithful to Jack while on the island. Here, Mahi uses the reduplicated Mock Hawai'i Creole *freaky-freaky* to refer to the casual sex that non-Local women desire when on vacation:

(8) Mahi: *You like this Jack. Beautiful ae?* So romantic. Boy, the women when they come hea, *ho* they go crazy! They like *freaky-freaky* all night long.

('You will like it here Jack. Beautiful, right? So romantic. Boy, when the women come here, they go crazy! They like sex all night long')

Jack: Yeah, that's really great news. Are we almost there?

Since the protagonists' encounters with *moke*s are always frustrating, and because their experiences with Locals/Hawaiians leave them discouraged or confused, it is only with the help of quasi-Local *haoles* that they can find their way through their sense of alienation and confusion.

5.3 The quasi-Local haole as teacher

In contrast to the characterization of Local/Hawaiian characters, the quasi-Local *haole* is depicted as intelligent, civil, and caring toward the protagonist – a characterization which lends support to the interrelation that Bleichenbacher (this issue) found between multilingualism and positive characterization in Hollywood films, but only among characters with English as a first language. Across the four films analyzed here, the quasi-Local *haoles* speak English as a first language, but they are endowed with multilingual abilities and deep understandings of Local/Hawaiian cultures.

When the quasi-Local *haole* characters help the protagonists to make sense of their experiences, the consequence is that Hawai'i is ultimately represented and interpreted by *haoles* for *haole* main characters as well as mostly *haole* audiences alike. Quasi-Locals are given the duty of explaining the indigenous culture, an act that has been subject to much critique as an act of cultural imperialism (Sumida 1991). In truth, the choice of characterizing the quasi-Local *haoles* may be seen as an act of audience design (Bell 1991; also see Androutsopoulos, this issue) by filmmakers since these characters are necessary go-betweens to help manage linguistic and cultural gaps for mainland U.S. and non-U.S. audiences. However, for those who live in Hawai'i and speak Hawai'i Creole and/or Hawaiian, these characters are not seen as the most knowledgeable representatives of Hawai'i.

In *North Shore,* Rick's first apprenticeship to Hawai'i is through Turtle, a *haole* surfer who has clearly spent a long time on the island. Turtle's quasi-Local status is styled through his mix of Hawai'i Creole and 1980s-era California surfer/skater male language (Kiesling 2004). When Rick asks Turtle for advice about how to report belongings that were stolen by the *Hui*, Turtle teaches him some valuable points about Local language and social categories:

(9)   Turtle: Hey. They're the *Hui* ('group'). Nobody messes with the *Hui.*
                      Stay loose haole ((smiles)).
                      ('keep it relaxed whitey')
         Rick: Hey wait a second, what's a *haole* anyway?
         Turtle: The Local word for tourist like you from *da mainland.*
         Rick: I'm not a tourist.
         Turtle: *Woteva barney.*
                      ('whatever newbie')
         Rick: Then what's a barney?
         Turtle: It's like a barn-o, barnyard, like a *haole to da max, a kuk in*
                      an out of da wada, yeah?

('It's like an ultimate whitey, a totally lame person, in or out of the ocean')

That Turtle explains *haole* and *barney* with reference to Hawai'i Creole labels here might be read as an act of resistance to truly helping Rick understand Local culture and to somehow fit in. Turtle is himself still an outsider in many ways, which is made clear from his own deference to the *Hui*'s surf territory and his own continued apprenticeship in the art of shaping surfboards, which he learns from Chandler, a transplanted quasi-Local *haole* surfboard shaper and expert surfer who is married to a Hawaiian woman.

Chandler eventually grows fond of Rick, and chooses to instruct him about the ocean, teaching him Hawaiian terms along the way. His comparison of Hawaiian's words for waves with the number of Eskimo words for snow[4] helps to style him as having access to indigenous points of view:

(10)   Chandler: What do you see?
                       ((pause))
         Rick: Uh:, waves.
         Chandler: What else?
         Rick: Waves seem to break right there in the same place. There.
         Chandler: There's a reef right there. See, a wave breaks in water that's half as deep as the wave is tall. You've probably heard that the Eskimos have several hundred words for snow, right? Well the Hawaiians have just as many words to describe waves and ocean conditions. It's ebbing sea, decreasing sea. Pretty soon it's going to be *kai malo'oo*, low tide, when the reef gets exposed.

The quasi-Local who guides Jack toward self-discovery is Tommy. Through vying for Betsy's affections, Tommy inspires Jack to overcome his reluctance to get married. Tommy is styled as quasi-Local through his acceptance as an insider by Locals and Hawaiians, and by his use of Hawaiian. Watching the sun set on the horizon, he displays this knowledge to Betsy:

(11)   Betsy: It's so beautiful!
         Tommy: Yeah (.) You know, we have a uh- name for this time of the day here.
         Betsy: *Wakawaka*? Hehe.
         Tommy: It's close. *Manawa o okalakapua*.[5] Time of enchantment.

Betsy shows her understanding of Hawaiian as Mock Hawaiian by using a nonsense reduplicated word (a feature of Mock Hawaiian seen in (7) and (8) as well), and Tommy takes on the role of Hawaiian language expert to impress her with his Local knowledge. The scene is one of many in which he captures her affections; eventually, she agrees to marry him instead of Jack, which sets Jack on a frantic course of action to change their fate.

In *Forgetting Sarah Marshall,* Peter is also invited to appreciate Hawai'i by quasi-Local *haole* characters, though in comparison to the other films, they have the most superficial degree of Local/Hawaiian knowledge. Their apprenticeship of Peter sometimes involves Mock Hawaiian and so adds to the comical aspect of the film, as in the case of Kunu ('Chuck'), a *haole* surf instructor who works at the resort where Peter is staying. In an early scene, Peter signs up for surfing lessons and asks Kunu what his 'Hawaiian' name means:

(12)　Kunu:　It means Chuck. I plugged it into a database. There's a thing you can go on on the internet you just type in your name. And it just says it. What's your name?
　　　　Peter:　Peter.
　　　　Kunu:　Peter! I'm going to give you a Hawaiian name.
　　　　Peter:　Oh ↑great.
　　　　Kunu:　*Piopi.*
　　　　Peter:　(pause) ↓Great.

Similar to Ula's simplistic creation of 'Hawaiian' words and expressions in (6) and (7), Kunu portrays authentic Hawaiianness as easy to achieve and directly accessible to non-Hawaiians. Viewers familiar with the linguistic landscape of Hawai'i would know, however, that the Hawaiian pronunciation of Peter is actually *Pika*.

5.4 Self-discovery

In all of the films, the *haole* protagonist is clearly being put on a path of self-discovery in which his experiences in Hawai'i are meant to show him his own way, but are not meant to give him deep understandings of Local or Hawaiian ways. All of the main characters were constantly othered, even while learning about Local and Hawaiian practices, and this othering helped to refocus their attention on their own trajectory, and their lives outside of Hawai'i. The final scenes of the films show that each character still finds Local and Hawaiian ways challenging, and that each has decided to carry on his self-transformation by leaving Hawai'i.

In *North Shore*, the final scene depicts Rick returning to the mainland to attend art school. His transformation is marked at the end of the film,

when he is escorted to the airport by Turtle, who calls him *braddah* ('pal, brother') rather than *haole* for the first time.

Similarly, in *Honeymoon in Vegas,* Jack is given his farewell at the airport by Mahi, who also calls him *braddah*. He sends Jack on his way with warm wishes in Hawaiian. Though the sentiment is offered in a friendly manner, for Jack, it is only enigmatic:

(13) Mahi: Hey, always rememba. *E ho'opoka i na olelo maika'i wale no mai ha o waha o.* It means always have the good words come out of yo mouth *braddah*.
        Jack: That just doesn't help me at all but I appreciate the thought. ((shrugs in confusion))
        Mahi: So long. *Aloha braddah!*

Nevertheless, at the end of the film, Jack transforms and overcomes his greatest fears, and when he reunites with Betsy in Las Vegas, he marries her immediately.

Similarly, in *50 First Dates*, Henry has clearly found his way by the end of the film, for he is literally on the journey of his life to Alaska. He is now a complete man with his career and family intact. In a farewell scene with Ula, however, the use of (Mock) Hawaiian portrays him as unfamiliar with Hawaiian language and culture:

(14) Ula: *Hanalei, anuai kahana oe no hainani.*
                ('Place-name hello place-name you emphatic nonsense-word')
        Henry: Thank you buddy. What does that mean again?
        Ula: Bring me back a t-shirt.

Ula's Mock Hawaiian sentence is said with great depth, leading Henry to assume that it is a saying used at times of parting or sadness. It is comedic, however, since Ula provides the translation, thus revealing a lack of profound meaning. Audiences familiar with Hawai'i and Hawaiian would recognize that Ula's language is actually Mock Hawaiian, and as such, is quite disrespectful. That the expression is translated as a request for a cheap souvenir adds insult to injury in representing Hawaiian.

6. Conclusion: Styling, stylization, and characterization

In this article, we have attempted to show how the use of sociolinguistic style in modern Hollywood movies set in Hawai'i is drawn upon as a resource to construct and perpetuate Orientalist discourses similar to

older colonial narratives of the civilized *haole* and the noble savage other. As a result of his journey to the 'primitive' islands, the white visitor is given a profound life lesson that can only be experienced through encounters with the inscrutable other. While the existence of quasi-Local characters in these movies lessens the formation of overtly colonial undertones, the language styles often reinforce the role of the white protagonist as a modern, civilized man leaving the native Hawaiian and Local characters to be cast as other. *Haole*wood's image of Hawai'i and its residents still reflects the observations of James Cook when he first landed in 1778 (Wood 1999: 103) as a place of great depth and beauty yet exotically strange and alienating.

Across the films, Locals and Hawaiians are characterized collectively as strange, aggressive, and intimidating people, while *haole*s are portrayed as unwitting heroes who are ultimately incapable of fully understanding or appreciating Local/Hawaiian points of view. It is significant that Local's and Hawaiian's characterization is frequently accomplished through stylization, rather than styling, for their portrayals involve over-the-top exaggerations of Local and Hawaiian behaviors, including Mock Hawaiian, cartoonish names, and exaggerated interest in sex and violence. The likely effect of this stylization for audiences who are unfamiliar with Hawai'i is that they will be seen as less human, and humane, compared to the *haole* protagonists. Since stylization relies on and reproduces stereotypes, it also allows for simplistic, and often racist caricatures of people, rather than complex portrayals of cultural difference. As Androutsopoulos (this issue) points out, films are full of language-ideological statements which construct essentialist ethnic identities through binary approaches to language and culture. Locals/Hawaiians are stereotyped in negative ways, and they lack competence in the code that the majority of audience goers are expected to be familiar with − i.e., mainland U.S. English. It is logical, then, from an Orientalist point of view, that multilingual quasi-Local *haole* buffer characters are depicted as more complex characters who have developed enough intercultural competence to not only fit in with Locals and Hawaiians, but to be able to share it with newcomer *haoles* − and *haole* audiences − in ways they can appreciate.

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Notes

1. Many would argue that Hawai'i is an illegally occupied territory of the United States due to the circumstances under which annexation occurred in 1898, after Queen Lili'uokalani was deposed in a coup d'etat by white landowners from the U.S. (e.g., Fujikane & Okamura 2008; Trask 1993).

2. The capitalized term 'Local' refers to a person who is typically born and raised in Hawai'i. Most Locals are descendants of sugar and pineapple plantation workers who came from China, Portugal, Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Native Hawaiians may also claim the identity of Local, but non-Hawaiian Locals do not refer to themselves as 'Hawaiian'. For a fuller discussion of these terms, see Sumida (1991: Preface).

3. Writers such as Jack London (1911) became intrigued with indigenous activities like surfing in Hawai'i, even though the sport had been all but banished by missionaries by the time he traveled there in the early 1900s. In his travelogue, *The Cruise of the Snark*, his prose is full of admiration that recalls 'noble savage' stereotypes.

4. Chandler's reference to Eskimo words for snow should be seen as 'mock indigenous knowledge' since this myth has been debunked many times over (e.g., Martin 1986; Pullum 1991). The number of words for types of waves and ocean conditions is similar in nature to this myth and simply serves to exoticize the Hawaiian language.

5. The correct pronunciation is *manawa o ho'okalakapua*.

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