Sociolinguistic Variation in Loanword Phonology: The Case of Japanese and Hawaiian Loanwords in Hawai‘i Creole

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Abstract

Hawai‘i Creole exhibits a wide range of loanwords whose pronunciations vary from speaker to speaker. While recent research pertaining to its phonology is limited, previous sociolinguistic studies on Hawai‘i Creole reveal that speakers’ preservation of linguistic features non-standard to English stems from their desire to uphold their Local identity. Through the auditory analyses of the data collected from four speakers of diverse ethnic and linguistic backgrounds, as well as considering the sociolinguistic context of Hawai‘i, this study explores the phonological variation found in Japanese-derived and Hawaiian-derived loanwords. While informants demonstrated imported sound structure pronunciation derived from and associated with their respective substrates (e.g., /r/ in Japanese *karaoke* as *ka*[ɾ]*aoke*, /#ts/ in Japanese *tsukemono* as [ts]*ukemono*, and /ʔ/ in Hawaiian *ali‘i* as *ali*[ʔ]*i*), their adapted counterparts derived from and associated with the superstate were also considered acceptable (e.g., *ka*[ɹ]*aoke*, [s]*ukemono*, and *ali*[⌀]*i*). The pronunciation of [ʔ] in Hawaiian loanwords is viewed as the activation of “dormant” phoneme /ʔ/, as it has no phonetic equivalent in the lexifier of Hawai‘i Creole, English. In addition, this thesis describes two cases of variation not yet thoroughly explored in previous works: /fu/ found in Japanese loanwords (e.g., [ɸu]*ton* vs. [fu]*ton*) and /w/ found in Hawaiian loanwords (e.g., *Ha*[w]*ai‘i* vs. *Ha*[v]*ai‘i*). While certain Hawaiian loanwords containing /w/ appear to retain the feature of free variation from the source language (e.g., *Ha*[w~v]*ai‘i*, described in this thesis as /W/), others appear to have adapted, split, and become lexically bound to either /w/ [w] (e.g., [w]*ahine*) or /v/ [v] (e.g., [v]*ana*). Furthermore, it is argued in this thesis that even though their relatively high rates of pronunciation indicate speakers’ attention and reverence to the source languages, imported sound structures cannot be considered native to the phonological system of Hawai‘i Creole but rather a result of conscious sociolinguistic expression demonstrated by speakers.

要旨

ハワイクレオール（Hawai‘i Creole）には，日本語やハワイ語からの借用語が顕著に存在しており，その発音は話者によって異なる傾向がある。これらの借用語の音韻論に関する研究はわずかであるが，社会言語学的な研究によれば，話者が非標準的な英語の特徴を保持することには，自分のローカル・アイデンティティ（Local identity）を表現しようとする欲求と関連しているとされている。本論文では，ハワイの社会言語学的背景を考慮し，多様な人種と言語背景を持つ4人の話者から収集したデータを音響音声学的分析することで，日本語やハワイ語由来の借用語の音声的バリエーションを明らかにすることを目指す。話者は，借用された変異（imported variant）として発音する場合（例：karaokeの/r/をka[ɾ]aokeやtsukemonoの/#ts/を[ts]ukemono, ali‘iの/ʔ/をali[ʔ]iと発音する）もあれば，適応させた変異（adapted variant）として発音する場合（例：ka[ɹ]aoke, [s]ukemono, ali[ø]iと発音する）もある。また，英語の音韻体系に存在しない/ʔ/の具現化を説明するためにハワイ由来の単語における[ʔ]は，「休眠音素（“dormant” phoneme）」として活性化されるという仮説を提出する。さらに，本論文では，先行研究では詳しく扱われてこなかった特定の借用語でしか起こらない変種についても分析する。具体的には，日本語の/fu/ [ɸu]（例：[ɸu]ton対[fu]ton）とハワイ語の/w/ [w～v]（例：Ha[w]ai‘i対Ha[v]ai‘i）に焦点を当てる。ハワイクレオールにおける特定のハワイ語の借用語では，/w/を含むものはハワイ語の特徴である自由変異[w～v]が保持されているようであり，これを本論文ではハワイクレオールにおける音素/W/と認める。一方，他の単語では[w]（例：[w]ahine）または[v]（例：[v]ana）に固定されており，本論文ではそれぞれ/w/と/v/として，/W/とは別音素とする。最後に，本論文では，借用された変種の使用率が比較的高いことは，話者がソース言語に注目し，尊重していることを示しているものの，それはハワイクレオールの音韻体系の一部ではなく，むしろ話者による意識的な社会言語学的表出の結果であると主張する。

タイトル：　借用語音韻論における社会言語学的変異―ハワイクレオールの日本語・ハワイ語由来の借用語を例に―

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ELW	English loanword
HC	Hawai‘i Creole
HE	Hawai‘i English
HLW	Hawaiian loanword
HPE	Hawai‘i Pidgin English
JLW	Japanese loanword
MLW	Te reo Māori loanword
NZE	New Zealand English
S(A)E	Standard (American) English

FOREWORD

I would like to preface this thesis by mentioning a few disclaimers. Previous research regarding Hawai‘i Creole phonology, let alone its loanword phonology, is criminally sparse. It is no one’s fault but my own if such published research went unnoticed.

The research process and writing of this thesis heavily relied on the astounding work in Sakoda and Siegel (2003, 2008a), which provide the most comprehensive and widely-available grammar sketches of Hawai‘i Creole in the world. This thesis challenges only a *small* portion of what is presented in their incredible and important work.

The intention of this thesis is to apply new sociolinguistic findings, such as those published in Hashimoto (2019) and Havlík and Wilson (2017), to the phonological data gathered in the current investigation. I want to clarify that I am in no way criticizing the work of the brilliant linguists who have worked tirelessly in their fields long before I was even born. I hope that the findings in this thesis can create even the smallest ripple in the wider oceans of Hawai‘i Creole as a studyable language, and the sociolinguistics of Hawai‘i.

Furthermore, this thesis is by no means perfect, free of error, or free from criticism. I accept full responsibility for any inaccuracies or errors.

Here is the most important disclaimer. Despite the politically driven and decolonized nature of Chapter 2 regarding Hawaiian history, Locals, non-Locals, and the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, I would like to make clear that I am in no way supportive of the physical or verbal violence, physical or verbal harassment, or social ostracization of any person or any group in any given situation or context, inside or outside of Hawai‘i. There are no ifs, ands, buts, or howevers to this stance.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research background

Hawai‘i Creole[1] (HC) is an English-lexifier[2] creole language whose words and sounds are as diverse as its speakers. According to Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 219–220), its lexicon contains over 100 Hawaiian loanwords (HLWs) and around 40 Japanese loanwords (JLWs) in its repertoire. In terms of phonology, Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 226–227, see also 2003[3]: 5, 21) describe the sound system of HC as one which contains three sounds that do not occur in English but appear only in loanwords derived from their respective source languages: from Japanese, the alveolar flap /ɾ/ [ɾ] (e.g., *ka*[ɾ]*aoke*) and the affricate /#ts/ [ts] (e.g., [ts]*unami*); and from Hawaiian, the glottal stop /ʔ/ [ʔ] (e.g., *Hawai*[ʔ]*i*)[4]. Indeed, these sound realizations non-standard to English are characteristic of HC speakers and appear in HLWs and JLWs even when speaking English (Carr 1972: 92). Additionally, the informants of this investigation demonstrated variation in Hawaiian /w/ [w~v] and Japanese /fu/ [ɸu] in certain loanwords. However, considering the sociolinguistic context of Hawai‘i, the phonological data gathered from the current investigation’s survey, the thoughts and opinions of the informants, and the social perception of HC sound variation, it is argued in this thesis that the above realizations should be viewed as non-native sounds and should not be mistaken as a “separate phoneme” from the native sounds found in HC as claimed in Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 226).

It is perhaps instinctual to attribute ‘decreolization’[5] or ‘debasilectalization’ (see §2.2.5.5) as the phenomenon contributing to the substitution of Japanese-adjacent [ɾ] in favor of English-adjacent [ɹ] in JLWs (§4.2), the deletion of [t] in /#ts/ [ts] found only in JLWs (§4.3), and the presence or absence of glottal stop realization in HLWs where they are (or are not) present in the source language (§5.2). After all, the lexifier language, English, is one of overt prestige, dominance, and power on the islands, which undoubtedly influences HC speakers who must cope with its severe sociolinguistic and political chokehold (§2.2). One may also attribute the fact that not every glottal stop in Hawaiian was retained when it was pidginized to Pidgin Hawaiian (mentioned in Sakoda and Siegel 2003: 5), so it is only natural to find variation in its realization or lack thereof in HLWs. However, we can only hypothesize

[1] In Hawai‘i, this language is colloquially known as “Pidgin”. In addition to this term, many academics analyze this language as “Hawaiian Creole English”, “Hawai(‘)i Creole English”, or “Hawai(‘)i Creole”. Some mistakenly refer to HC as “Hawai(‘)i English”, which is actually the name of the English dialect also spoken in Hawai‘i (detailed in Drager 2012). In order to assert its independence as its own fully-developed language that is not bound to a specific ethnic group (i.e., Hawaiians), I have elected to refer to this language as “Hawai‘i Creole (HC)” throughout this thesis, with occasional usage of “Pidgin” when appropriate.

[2] The terms “lexifier” or “lexified” in this thesis refers to the language which serves as a lexical base of a contact language.

[3] Romaine (2005) is a review of Sakoda and Siegel (2003). The reviewer was more critical of unmentioned HC lexical items and grammatical features and their use of certain technical terms or lack thereof than anything else. She appears to have trodden lightly on critically viewing the book’s description of HC phonology. To my knowledge, there are no other reassessments or reviews of this book or its revised version.

[4] Sakoda and Siegel’s (2003, 2004, 2008a) sketches of HC are highly influential—for good reason. Of the sources used in this thesis, Velupillai’s (2017) sketch of HC cites Sakoda and Siegel’s (2003) /ʔ/ and /ɾ/; Long and Nagato’s (2015: 146) lexical study of Japanese words used in Hawai‘i cite Sakoda and Siegel’s (2003) /ɾ/ and [#ts]; one or more of Sakoda and Siegel’s (2003, 2004, 2008a, 2008b) works are also cited by Furukawa (2010), Hiramoto (2011), Drager (2012), Kirtley (2014), Grama (2015), Lockwood and Saft (2015), Parker Jones (2018), Saft et al. (2018), Sasaoka (2019), Grama (in press), and Grama et al. (in press); see also the footnote above.

[5] Please note that Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 217) express their rejection of the “decreolization” theory.

that the phenomena mentioned above are in effect if we are assuming that /ʔ/ and /ɾ/ are stand-alone phonemes and /#ts/ is an additional affricate carried into HC when it was nativized and/or as it stabilized as a full-fledged language in the late 19th century (Bickerton 1983). If this were the case, then the unproblematic intelligibility between the non-native structures of [ɾ]-realized, [ts]-realized, and [ʔ]-realized forms (e.g., *hichi*[ɾ]*in*[6], [ts]*unami*, and *liliko*[ʔ]*i*) and their native-structure counterparts (e.g., *hichi*[ɹ]*in*, [s]*unami*, and *liliko*[Ø]*i*) should be called into question (compare this with the similar interchangeability also found in this investigation: [lili]*koi* ⇄ [lɪli]*koi*, *híchirin* ⇄ *hichirín*, *tsun*[ɑː]*mi* ⇄ *tsun*[ɐː]*mi*).

This thesis aims to assess the soundness of Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a, 2003) aforementioned attestations by considering the sociolinguistic variables which appear to influence variation in JLW /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] (§4.2), JLW /#ts/ [s~ts] (§4.3), and HLW /ʔ/ [ʔ~Ø] (§5.2). Additionally, the results of this investigation reveal loanword-specific pronunciation variation which may have never been documented before: /fu/ [fu~ɸu] in JLWs (§4.6) and /W/ [w~v] in HLWs (§5.3). The various comments, feedback, and personal anecdotes provided by the informants regarding their usage of sounds in HC, as well as other critical sociolinguistic analyses from outside of the present data set (§4.4.3 for JLWs and §5.4.2 for HLWs), support the view that [ɹ], [#s], [fu], and [Ø] are native[7] pronunciation variants whereas [ɾ], [#ts], [ɸu], and [ʔ] are their non-native pronunciation variant counterparts which were imported from their respective source languages and whose continued usage is sociolinguistically motivated rather than phonologically nativized or triggered (see Hashimoto 2019; Havlík and Wilson 2017). Additionally, Hawaiian /w/ [w~v] appears to have split to the adapted forms /w/ [w] and /v/ [v] in some HC HLWs, while a handful of words appear to retain the original free variation found in the source language as the imported variant /W/ [w~v]. This does not imply that the non-native (imported) sounds are any less significant to the language or its speakers, nor that they should ever be dismissed from future assessments on HC. On the contrary, distinguishing sounds as 'native' and 'non-native' in juxtaposition to the relatively high rates of non-native sound realization opens new doors in understanding the continued maintenance of Local identity through language in the face of the historical, political, and sociolinguistic situation of Hawai'i (covered in §2.2). This thesis views the withstanding usage of these non-native variants as an act of Local expression, and one of many conscious methods used by speakers to distinguish themselves from non-Locals. Furthermore, by recognizing the (non-)native status of these sounds, HC loanword phonology can be more accurately assessed when considering the sociolinguistic foreground in which their speakers must (or must not) accommodate to (for must, see Tamura 1996; Sato 1989, 1991; for must not, see Romaine 1999; Furukawa 2017; Lockwood and Saft 2016).

However, the fact that some words are pronounced using non-native variants at differing rates from others should not be ignored. To explain why certain cases of /r/ and /#ts/ in JLWs tend to be pronounced as [ɹ] instead of [ɾ] and [s] instead of [ts] and vice versa, this thesis includes discussions on how 'prestige' is attributed to these 'non-standard' variants depending on their 'domestication' as loanwords

[6] This notation strategy is adapted from Hashimoto (2019).

[7] The author would like to make clear the distinction between the usage of 'Native' and 'native' in this thesis. Uppercased 'Native' is used specifically in reference to Native Hawaiians, the aboriginal people of the Hawaiian Islands. Lowercased 'native' is used in regular linguistic terms, such as 'native speaker', 'native language', and so on. That is to say, the author's argument that [ʔ] is a 'non-native sound variant' used in HC does not to take away from the Native-ness of Hawaiian /ʔ/. There should also be no mistaken insinuation that 'native' = 'native to Hawai'i' = 'Native' or 'non-native' = 'foreign' = 'not Native'. Again, the linguistic usage of the term 'native' here refers to the sounds which are 'native' to HC. '[L]ocal' is capitalized when it specifically refers to the Local people of Hawai'i (also employed in Okamura 1980, Grama et al. in press).

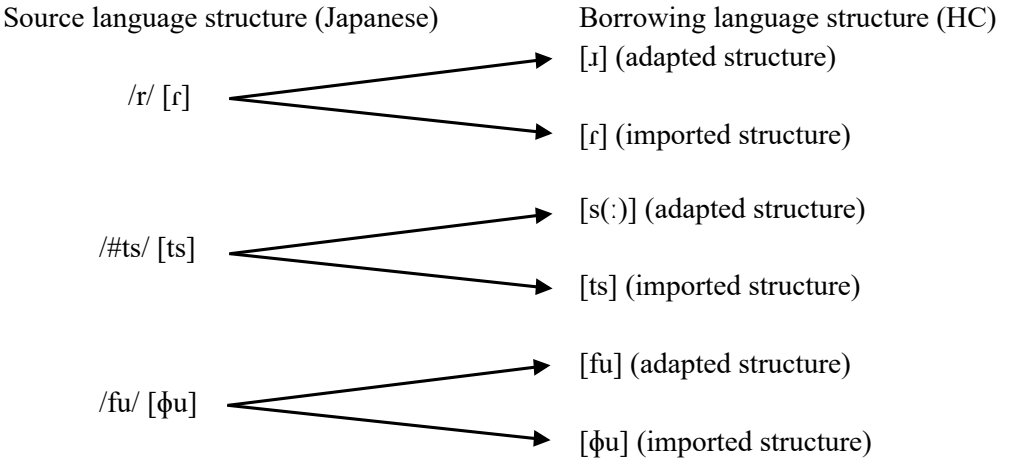
in the context of the HC lexicon (adapted from Havlík and Wilson 2017). The author of this thesis posits 'non-standard' forms as imported sound variants which carry a sociolinguistic significance in the likes of [ɾ] used in te reo Māori /r/ sounds in their loanwords amongst New Zealand English speakers (Hashimoto 2019), and the phonological variation of word-final /k/ [k~g] in English loanwords (ELWs) amongst native speakers of Czech (Havlík and Wilson 2017). On the other hand, in order to explain why some Hawaiian words containing /ʔ/ may or may not be realized in the same position as in their source language within HC, the glottal stop is conceptualized as a "dormant phoneme", whose realization as [ø~ʔ] depends heavily on the speaker's sociolinguistic identity. This thesis also covers cases of pronunciation variation that may have never been analyzed in previous studies: /fu/ [fu~ɸu] in JLWs, and /w/ in HLWs, which is indistinguishable between [w~v] in their source language.

1.2. Research questions

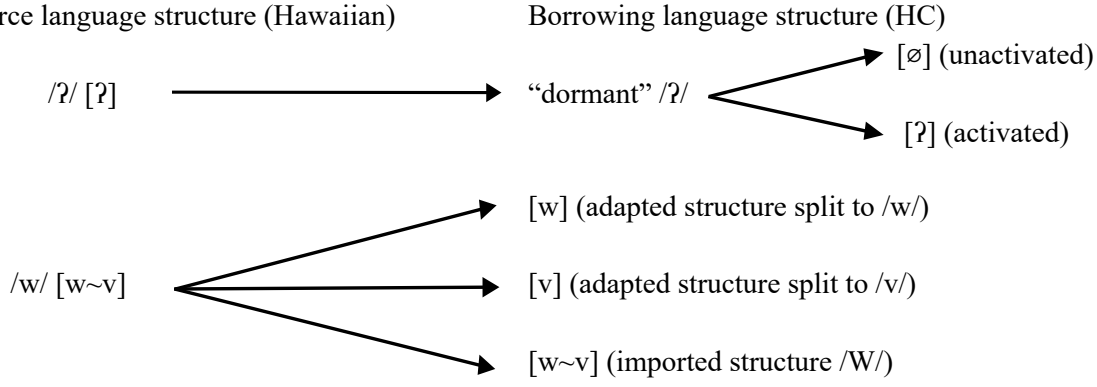
1) *What kind of phonological variation appears in Japanese-derived and Hawaiian-derived loanwords amongst HC speakers?*

With loanword phonology comes pronunciation variation amongst recipient language speakers, e.g., adapted variants and imported variants (Hashimoto 2019; Havlík and Wilson 2017; Kang 2011; Hussain et al. 2011; Kay 1995). HC loanword phonology is regrettably underexplored, and therefore, the reassessment of HC loanword phonology through a critical sociolinguistic lens is well overdue. Below is a representation of the phonological variation to be analyzed in this thesis:

Variants under study in Chapter 4 (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3)



Variants under study in Chapter 5 (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3)



2) *What influences sound variant selection in JLWs and HLWs amongst the informants (i.e., sociolinguistic motivation or phonological conditioning or both)?*

Hashimoto (2019) outlines the sociolinguistic effects which influence the phoneme /r/ in te reo Māori loanwords borrowed into New Zealand English to be pronounced using the non-native structure [ɾ] rather than the native structure [ɹ]. Havlík and Wilson (2017) similarly explore the adapted structure [k#] and imported structure [g#] in ELWs in Czech; however, the former pronunciation was found to be preferred (+prestige) in 'domesticated' loans and the latter in 'non-domesticated' loans. This indicates that [k#]~[g#] variation is not only phonologically conditioned but can also be sociolinguistically influenced depending on the 'domestication' of an ELW. While bearing these two studies in mind, it is proposed in this thesis that all variants imported from Japanese and Hawaiian to HC are most likely not affected by phonological conditioning, but solely realized through the sociolinguistic attitudes of the informants, similar to the relationship between New Zealand English speakers and te reo Māori loans as demonstrated in Hashimoto (2019).

3) *What attitudes are held regarding 'adapted' sound variants versus 'imported' sound variants?*

As seen in Havlík and Wilson (2017), positive attitudes were attached to domesticated ELWs pronounced using native Czech structures (adapted variants) and non-domesticated ELWs pronounced using non-native Czech structures (imported variants). It was also found that there are negative attitudes regarding the speech of native Czech speakers who do not adhere to this pattern. To understand whether a similar phenomenon exists in HLWs and JLWs in HC, this thesis examines interviews, skits, opinionated newspaper articles, and other media published outside of this investigation. The results from these examinations suggest that the aforementioned non-native structures found in JLWs and HLWs in HC are not necessarily restricted, unique, or unilateral amongst HC speakers, as similar patterns can also be found in SAE speakers from the continental United States, albeit much less so, who themselves may pronounce non-native sounds to express their personal identities and maintain "correct" pronunciation of word borrowings. Combined with the phonological data gathered from the current investigation, the examined materials also provide evidence that the non-native structures are viewed prestigiously and pronounced more often amongst HC speakers, and amongst smaller pockets of SAE speakers with an affinity to Japanese culture or Hawaiian culture or both. This thesis suggests that the motivation to use non-native structures amongst these speakers is congruent with the findings of Hashimoto (2019), i.e., "(i) topics in speech, (ii) presented cultural images, (iii) speakers' association with a source language and its culture, and (iv) words' association with a source language and its culture" (Hashimoto 2019: 2, see §2.3.4.1).

1.3. Research methodology

Data were collected from five HC-speaking informants (see Chapter 3 for more details on this investigation's field methodology and informants). Each informant participated in a recorded 2-hour video call interview with a 10-minute break after the first hour. The interview began with personal questions about the informants, with questions designed to elicit enough information to write their linguistic biographies (§3.3). The next portion of the interview included word elicitation activities. In one activity, informants were shown photos and asked to say the name of the picture as it is called in HC. Cases when words were not immediately elicited, a hint or hints were required from the researcher, or a

word could not be recalled but was remembered upon being revealed by the author were noted (adapted from Inoue 1991; see Appendices B–F). This same procedure was followed in activities where English translations of Hawaiian and Japanese words were read and answered in HC read-aloud sections. The recorded audio data was processed and analyzed by the author using the audio editing freeware Audacity. The author also wrote the phonetic transcription for each word (organized in Appendix F). The author then analyzed the gathered transcription data in order to answer the research questions (Chapter 4 for JLWs and Chapter 5 for HLWs).

1.4. Thesis organization

Chapter 2 is a literature review with three main sections: contact languages (§2.1), Hawai‘i sociolinguistics (§2.2), and loanword phonology (§2.3). §2.1 introduces general background information regarding language shift (§2.1.2), the creation of pidgins and creoles (§2.1.3, §2.1.4), and the concept of debasilectalization (§2.1.5) so as to provide a basis as to how HC was formed and continues to evolve. §2.2 introduces the sociolinguistic situation of Hawai‘i beginning with a brief overview of modern Hawaiian history (§2.2.2), languages in Hawai‘i (§2.2.4), and an overview of Local identity exploring its emergence on the plantations, the importance placed on its maintenance, and its relationship to HC (§2.2.5). This information is crucial in understanding the development of HC, as well as the current sociopolitical situation that speakers find themselves in today. Finally, §2.3 summarizes foundational information regarding loanword phonology, focusing on the distinction between adaptation (§2.3.2) and importation (§2.3.3). Relevant sociolinguistic studies regarding this subject are also summarized (§2.3.4).

Chapter 3 details the fieldwork methodology regarding the current investigation. The chapter begins with an overview of the study (§3.1). The materials used for this investigation (§3.2), descriptions of each language informant (§3.3), and an explanation of the language informant selection process (§3.4) are discussed.

Chapter 4 deals with the data presentation and analysis of JLWs. Japanese /r/ (§4.2) and Japanese /#ts/ (§4.3) is discussed in detail (also §4.4 and §4.5), while Japanese /fu/ (§4.6) is discussed only briefly due to a lack of gathered data. §4.4 considers informant comments and the author’s opinion concerning the former two pronunciation variants. Additionally, evidence from outside this investigation (a newspaper editorial and interview) is included so as to support the claim that pronunciation variation seen in Japanese /r/ and Japanese /#ts/ is sociolinguistically influenced (§4.4.3).

Chapter 5 deals with the data presentation and analysis of HLWs. Hawaiian /ʔ/ (§5.2) and Hawaiian /w/ (§5.3) is discussed in detail. §5.4 considers the informants’ comments concerning pronunciation variants and evidence from outside this investigation (a newspaper editorial, interviews, skits) so as to support the claim that pronunciation variation seen in Hawaiian /w/ and Hawaiian /ʔ/ is sociolinguistically influenced.

Chapter 6 covers sound phenomena not mentioned in Chapters 4 or 5. The author decided to emphasize the findings in Chapters 4 and 5 to support the main arguments of this thesis. Nonetheless, this chapter outlines other interesting findings based on the informants’ phonological data. This includes consonant adaptation strategies (§6.2.1 for JLWs, §6.3.1 for HLWs) and stress patterns (§6.2.2, §6.3.2). The author hopes that these points can be useful to future studies regarding HC (socio)phonology.

Chapter 7 ends this thesis with concluding remarks and future research suggestions. The informant questionnaire (Appendix A), glossaries of the words used in this investigation (glossary guide in Appendix B, JLWs in Appendix C, HLWs in Appendix D, others in Appendix E), and the raw data transcribed in IPA (Appendix F), are organized in the appendices following the references section.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Contact languages

2.1.1. Introduction

In order to explain the creation, evolution, and sociolinguistic situation of HC, this section covers literature and relevant terminology pertaining to general contact linguistics. *Contact language* is an umbrella term used to describe types of languages whose creation was possible due to the prolonged contact between two or more different language communities. Contact languages include pidgins, creoles, semi-creoles, creoloids, and mixed languages (Holm 2000; see also Heinrich et al. 2009; Long 2007). The term *language hybridization*[8] refers to the processes of *pidginization* and *creolization*.

2.1.2. Language shift

Language shift is defined in Winford (2003: 15) as, "the partial or total abandonment of a group's native language in favor of another". Generally, any language community undergoing a language shift receives influence from a dominant language onto their native language. In cases when a complete language shift does not occur, linguistic influences ranging from phonological features to lexical entries can appear in the recipient language.

Winford (2003: 15–16) describes two categories of the language shift phenomenon which have appeared frequently throughout human existence: 1) the gradual influence of a new dominant language onto a community's L1, and 2) the introduction of a new dominant language by invaders with intent to replace an Indigenous community's L1 or L1s. Examples of the former situation can be witnessed through immigrant communities who absorb the dominant language of their new settlement with gradual detachment from their heritage language across the generations. While the former situation describes the passive acceptance of influences from a target language, the latter situation describes an involuntary, often violent, usurpation of a community's L1 in favor of the tongue of the dominating force (Krämer et al. 2022; Degraff 2005). Countless Indigenous languages around the world have fallen victim to endangerment or downright extinction throughout human history as a result of this form of language shift. Sayedayn (2021) portrays language as a "colonial tool" which can effectively wipe out the identity and heritage of one group and replace it with that of the invading culture. Indeed, the result of Western imperial expansion beginning in the 17th century and onward provoked generations of indispensable human suffering and a global loss in linguistic and cultural diversity (Trask 2004).

2.1.3. Pidgins

Holm (2000: 5–6) provides a brief overview of the creation of pidgins. Pidgins are languages created spontaneously with no set grammatical rules or importance placed on structural stability. Due to the nature of their creation, pidgins are all spoken as an L2 and therefore are not nativized languages. Instead, they are often restricted to a specific domain in terms of communicative capabilities. It is often the case that one dominant language is selected by speakers as the *superstrate language* based on its power and high social prestige. This superstrate, or *lexifier*, is used as the base language, whose lexicon

[8] Language hybridization should not be confused with language borrowing (for example, the English word 'nice' being borrowed in Japanese as '*naisu*'). The former births new languages, whereas the latter implements non-native words to the pre-existing lexicon of a recipient language.

and grammatical features dominate over the remaining *substrate language(s)* spoken by the speakers perceived to be socially inferior. Pidgins are inherently simplified; complex grammatical structures such as relative clauses and passive voice are not found. Superstrate L1s can perceptually adapt their pidgin to accommodate substrate L1s and *vice versa* by altering their speech to match their listener's L1. Pidgin structures constantly alter for however long they survive, and depend heavily on the speaker. Historically, pidgins have been used as the language of trade and commerce, or in settings in which humans displaced from their motherland due to slavery or indentured labor are suddenly surrounded by a new dominant language.

2.1.4. Creoles

Holm (2000: 6–7) outlines the creation of creoles. Children who receive language input from pidgin-speaking parents are able to acquire and expand this pidgin as a rule-based language, called creoles. This process, known as *nativization* or *creolization*, is striking in that, despite a child's sole source of language input being an incomplete pidgin language, which is limited or reduced by nature, what they acquire becomes an expanded rule-based language. Creoles contrast with pidgins not only in their emergence, but also in their grammatical structures. Whereas pidgin structures are associated with their simplicity, creoles are expansive and elaborated upon by their speakers. Creoles also contain features not seen in pidgins, such as a "coherent verbal system to complex phrase-level structures such as embedding" (Holm 2000: 7). Figure 2.1 below illustrates the spread of just some of the pidgins and creoles heard around the world.

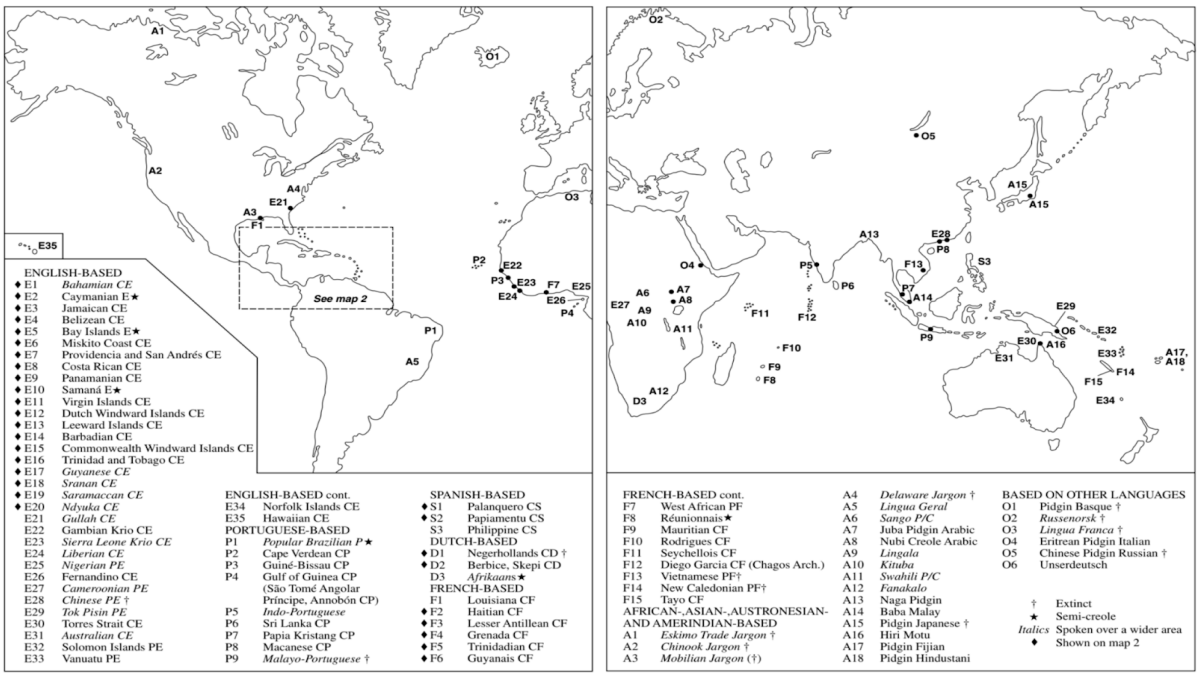


Figure 2.1. Pidgins and creoles around the world (Holm 1988-9: xviii–xix, in Holm 2000: xviii–xix)

2.1.5. Debasilectalization as a form of language change

Decreolization and *debasilectalization* are both terms used to explain the progressive language change that many creoles undergo in which features associated with the basilectal variety are replaced with features more similar to the lexifier. While both terms describe a similar phenomenon, the former implies

that such changes are unique to creoles, whereas the latter may apply not only to creoles, but say, non-standard dialects or languages of lower prestige (Siegel 2010)[9]. The author of this thesis agrees with Siegel's (2010) critical review of problems surrounding the term "decreolization" and the support of the usage of debasilectalization.

Holm (2000: 9–10) describes decreolization as the process by which creole speakers progressively drop substrate influences from their speech and adapt more influence from the superstrate language. The effects of decreolization are expedited in cases where creole speakers receive prolonged exposure to the lexifier (superstrate language), and a sociolinguistic need to conform to it (Holm 2000: 49–50). Over time, this phenomenon creates a *creole continuum*, ranging from the *basilect*, which is the variety least similar to the superstrate, to the *acrolect*, which is the variety most similar to the superstrate. The medium between these two varieties is known as the *mesolect* (see Sato 1989, 1991 for HC as a creole continuum).

However, Siegel (2010) critically reviews the soundness of the term decreolization and its usage in creolistics. The paper's main argument calls to question how the process of "decreolization" is any different to the process of general language change. He contends that all languages, whether a creole or not, evolve through language change processes not dissimilar to each other. That is to say, language change in creoles is not simply restricted to a linear unidirectional movement toward the lexifier—the changes fluctuate as dynamically as the changes in non-creole languages do. Furthermore, the paper suggests that basilect-to-acrolect pulling occurs not only in creole-to-lexifier situations, but also in non-standard variety to standard variety situations as well, citing Carton's (1981) evaluation of a continuum-like relationship between Picard French and Standard French (Siegel 2010: 94). Additionally explored are a number of other problematic points that decreolization cannot answer, such as the questionability of the target(s) of decreolization (e.g., "the lexicon, a grammatical domain, a sociolect, the language, the speech community, or any and all of the above?"), the burden of proving a feature to be "more creole" or "less creole", and the dubious link between decreolization and the creole continuum (Siegel 2010: 84–85). He calls upon linguists to drop the term 'decreolization' in favor of 'debasilectalization', which is summarized below:

> Debasilectalization implies a systematic avoidance of the lowest prestige variants, whether they are phonemes, structures, or lects. The term avoids the pitfall of decreolization in that it does not imply that specifically creole features (in the typological sense) are lost, nor does it imply that the process is unique to creoles, thereby forging a possible link between creolistics and mainstream socio- and historical linguistics. It also provides a unitary operating principle (—avoid the basilect) that a variety of scholars … have cited as being just as important in decreolization as a desire to specifically acquire features of a higher lect. Moreover, it subsumes each of the four processes as integral parts of the process, rather than as incidents of it, which seems more in line with what most scholars mean when they use decreolization. Therefore, it would seem preferable to adopt Mufwene's term over decreolization as a unique scientific term with clear boundaries. (Siegel 2010: 92)

Taking into account Siegel's (2010) review and the instances of non-linear variation witnessed during the data collection and analysis processes of the current study, the author considers basilectal to

[9] Jason Siegel authored Siegel (2010) and should not be mistaken for Jeff Siegel, author of Siegel (2000) and co-author of Sakoda and Siegel (2003, 2008a, 2008b).

non-basilectal patterns as a result of debasilectalization as opposed to decreolization.

2.1.6. Summary of §2.1

Pidgins are formed as languages without established grammatical rules or structural stability between two or more parties of differing mother tongues. They are commonly used as a secondary language and are influenced by a dominant superstrate language. In contrast, creoles develop when children acquire and expand a pidgin into a language with well-defined rules. Creoles exhibit more complex grammatical structures compared to pidgins. The phenomenon of language shift is pertinent to the creation of contact languages. For instance, the gradual dominance of English on the Hawaiian Islands led to the decline of Hawaiian and immigrant languages. Various language change phenomena related to contact languages, as well as non-standard dialects, can be attributed to debasilectalization. This process occurs when speakers discard basilectal features and adopt standard features in their speech under the influence of sociological pressures.

2.2. Hawai‘i sociolinguistics

2.2.1. Introduction

The goal of this section is to uncover the intricate relationship between Hawai‘i[10] society and language through a critical lens. The chapter begins with a brief historical overview of Hawai‘i, including the illegal 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom. Other key historical, political, and societal events which shape the sociolinguistic landscape of Hawai‘i are also discussed. These events serve as an integral basis of the data given by the informants of this study. This leads to sociolinguistic descriptions regarding the languages in Hawai‘i which pertain to this thesis (Hawaiian, Japanese, English, and Hawai‘i’s hybrid languages). Afterward, a discussion on the emergence of Local identity in plantation-era Hawai‘i, and how Localness is tied to the Indigenous Hawaiian concepts of *aloha kanaka* (‘love of the people’), *aloha ‘āina* (‘love of the land’), and *mālama ‘āina* (‘care of the land’) (Okamura 1980; Trask 2000a, 2000b). The ethnic boundaries between Local Hawaiians, Japanese, Chinese, Filipinos, and other non-racialized groups on the islands are also considered. Furthermore, the societal position of Local Haole[11], who are perceived as non-Local despite their inherent Localness, are also considered. The conclusion of this section examines how HC, which despite its gradual acceptance in some non-Local domains, faces constant institutionalized and sociolinguistic threats, as well as how its speakers must battle to maintain their Local identities through language. This section discusses how the expression of “Localness” through language is influenced by different social complexities and the role of identities. By the end of this section, how various social complexities and identities play into Local expression through language will become clear.

2.2.2. Overview of the modern history of Hawai‘i

Hawai‘i is the name of the largest and easternmost island of the Hawaiian archipelago located in the Pacific Ocean. It also serves as a proper noun synonymous with “the Hawaiian Islands”. Located in the northernmost point of the Polynesian triangle, Hawai‘i was first populated by Polynesians sometime between A.D. 200 and 400 (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 210).

[10] The ‘okina <‘> is a Hawaiian diacritical marking that denotes [ʔ]. In this thesis, the English demonym and adjective “Hawaiian” specifically refers to Native Hawaiians, and the place name “Hawai‘i” refers to the archipelago inhabited by Native Hawaiians and non-Native Hawaiian residents.

[11] The Hawaiian word “Haole” refers to “White(s)”.

According to Gonschor (2013: 160), before unification, Hawaiians had developed one of the most stratified societies in Polynesia, with four monarchies in power of their respective islands by the 1700s. The pre-contact Hawaiian population is estimated to be around 1 million (Trask 1991: 1199), though more conservative accounts estimate around 200,000 or 300,000-800,000 (Stannard 1989, in Hall 2005: 406 and Ohara 2018). In 1778, the first Westerners to arrive on the islands were aboard the British captain James Cook's final expedition (Gonschor 2013: 157), bringing with them plagues of diseases which would later devastate the Native population (Trask 1993: 7). In 1795, the islands of Oʻahu, Maui, Molokaʻi, and Lānaʻi were united by the ruler of Hawaiʻi island, Kamehameha the Great. By 1810, the entire archipelago (including Kauaʻi and Niʻihau) was unified as the Hawaiian Kingdom. The political system of the nation combined the existing centralized features of the previous kingdoms along with heavy influence from the monarchical system of Great Britain (Gonschor 2013: 160–161). Following a five-month occupation by rogue British naval officer George Paulet in 1843, through careful diplomacy, King Kamehameha III was able to officiate national sovereignty via the Anglo-Franco Proclamation (1843, November 28) in the same year. In effect, Britain and France became the first two nations to formally recognize the sovereignty of the Hawaiian Kingdom, and by the 1890s, the Hawaiian Kingdom held international treaties with eighteen countries, and eventually over ninety legations and consulates worldwide (Gonschor 2013: 161; see also Marumoto 1976).

The first sugarcane plantation was opened in 1835 (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 210). The early plantations mainly employed Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Chinese laborers. Due to the increasing demand for cheap labor and the rapid decimation of the Hawaiian population[12], large waves of immigrant workers of Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Okinawan, Puerto Rican, and Scandinavian origin arrived throughout the 20th century (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 210–211; Allen 2015).

In 1893, the Hawaiian Kingdom was illegally overthrown in a U.S.-backed military coup led by a group of Haole[13] businessmen and missionary descendants (Silva 2004; Trask 1993: 1–28, 2000a: 375; Saranillio 2010a, 2010b; Hall 2005: 404–406; Romaine 1994: 549; Tamura 1996: 433). Sanford B. Dole[14] assumed the (unelected) position as president of the Provisional Government from 1893 to 1894 and the Republic of Hawaiʻi from 1895 until the illegal 1898 annexation of the islands. In 1897, around 38,000 (around 90%) of the Native Hawaiian population signed petitions in opposition to the American annexation of the islands (Silva 2004, in Saranillio 2010a: 297, also in Mei-Singh and Gonzalez 2017: 181). Despite this, the islands were unlawfully annexed, and the U.S. government appointed Dole the first governor of the Territory of Hawaiʻi from 1898 to 1903 (Saranillio 2010b: 463; see also Grama et al. in press: 2–4 for the impact of American imperialism to the sociolinguistic situation of Hawaiʻi).

2.2.3. Language shift in Hawaiʻi

In the context of Hawaiʻi the gradual shift from Hawaiian to English became evident around 1875 due to the massive flow of Haole missionaries and businessmen and their socioeconomic influence on the Kingdom (Sakoda & Siegel 2008a: 212). This led to the emergence of Hawaiʻi Pidgin English (§2.3.3.4), which replaced Pidgin Hawaiian as the language of communication amongst the indentured laborers and their Haole bosses (Sakoda & Siegel 2008a: 211; Bickerton and Wilson 1987, in Sato 1989: 193). These two shifts fit the first category of language shift proposed in Winford (2003), as Hawaiian remained the

[12] By 1890, there were less than 40,000 Hawaiians left (Trask 1993: 7).
[13] In the context of Hawaiʻi, a person or group of people that are racially White.
[14] Haole jurist born in the Hawaiian Kingdom, son of missionaries, and relative to the founder of Hawaiian Pineapple Company (Pukui et al. 1974: 192).

common language of the Native-led Kingdom. Conversely, the shift from Hawaiian to English, which occurred following the 1898 annexation of the islands to the U.S. (Bickerton 1983: 60), saw the suppression of the Hawaiian language and the prioritization of the English language (see also Grama et al. in press: 2–4). This process fits Winford's (2003) second category of language shift, as the new conquerors of the islands intentionally conspired to eliminate traditions and culture from the Native people (see Trask 1993, also cited in Grama et al. in press).

2.2.4. Language in Hawai‘i today

According to the Hawai‘i State Data Center (2016: iii), approximately 25% of the population in Hawai‘i speaks a language other than English at home. This figure is likely underestimated, as Hawai‘i Creole (labeled 'Pidgin') appears to be severely underreported with only 1,275 self-reported speakers in the 2016 census. Nonetheless, the table below illustrates the linguistic diversity of present-day Hawai‘i.

Table 2.1. Top 25 languages other than English spoken at home for the State of Hawaii (Hawaii State Data Center 2016: 8)

Rank	Language	Number of speakers	% of total speakers	Speak English less than "Very Well"	% speak English less than "Very Well"
1	Tagalog	58,345	17.8	30,147	51.7
2	Ilocano	54,005	16.5	33,085	61.3
3	Japanese	45,633	14.0	21,262	46.6
4	Spanish	25,490	7.8	7,010	27.5
5	Hawaiian	18,610	5.7	3,010	16.2
6	Chinese	17,360	5.3	10,450	60.2
7	Korean	17,276	5.3	11,713	67.8
8	Samoan	12,795	3.9	4,400	34.4
9	Vietnamese	9,418	2.9	6,686	71.0
10	Cantonese	7,890	2.4	5,375	68.1
11	Marshallese	6,930	2.1	3,840	55.4
12	Mandarin	5,650	1.7	3,705	65.6
13	German	4,615	1.4	825	17.9
14	Trukese	4,475	1.4	3,410	76.2
15	French	4,405	1.3	715	16.2
16	Micronesian	3,965	1.2	2,210	55.7
17	Tongan	3,860	1.2	1,515	39.2
18	Bisayan	3,005	0.9	1,640	54.6
19	Laotian	2,279	0.7	1,462	64.2
20	Thai	1,920	0.6	1,045	54.4
21	Portuguese	1,915	0.6	320	16.7
22	Pidgin	1,275	0.4	185	14.5
23	Russian	1,169	0.4	347	29.7
24	Indonesian	880	0.3	570	64.8
25	Chamorro	820	0.3	235	28.7

2.2.4.1. Hawaiian in Hawai‘i

Hawaiian (known as 'ōlelo Hawai‘i by its speakers) is a "critically endangered" language indigenous to the Hawaiian islands (UNESCO 2010: 58–59; see Lyovin et al. 2017 for a sketch of Hawaiian; see Parker

Jones 2018 for an outline of Hawaiian phonology). It is an Austronesian language under the Eastern Polynesian subgroup with a close genetic relationship to Marquesan, Māori, and Samoan (Lyovin et al. 2017: 278). Though its morphology includes an extent of affixation, Hawaiian fits typologically as an analytic language and is known for its simple phonology (Lyovin et al. 2017: 278–281; Parker Jones 2018).

According to Stannard (1989), it is estimated that 200,000 to 1 million people inhabited the islands prior to 1778 (Hall 2005: 406; Trask 1991: 1199; see also Ohara 2018: 14). Hawaiian served as the lingua franca and an official language of the government of the Hawaiian Kingdom (1795-1893) used by both Native and Haole citizens of the nation (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 211–212). Although the Native Hawaiians are attested to have had one of the highest literacy rates in the world during their independent rule, the Hawaiian population faced a devastating decline due to the introduction of Western diseases and the forced imposition of Western religious and culture (Warchauer and Donaghy 1997; Trask 1993). All schools in the nation were initially Hawaiian-medium until the first instance of English-medium instruction appeared in 1849 (Romaine 1994: 530). Eventually, all public elementary schools were made English-medium by 1896. This was a result of the implementation of a ban on Hawaiian-medium education, dubbed by Nordstrom (2015: 321) as the "English Only law". This ban effectively resulted in the forced closures of approximately 150 Hawaiian-medium schools by 1902. As a result, the number of native or fluent speakers dropped to less than 50 children speakers in the early 1980s, and 500-1,000 overall in 1992 (in Ohara 2018: 18). As of 2017, the number of total speakers has risen to 5,000-7,000, with the number of Hawaiian L2 speakers surpassing L1 speakers. Following the 1978 Hawai‘i State Constitutional Convention, road signs displaying Hawaiian place names were corrected in their spelling accuracy, with the addition of diacritical markings. These progressive steps can be credited to the push for Hawaiian language revitalization, which rapidly expanded through the development of Hawaiian medium education in the 1990s (Wilson and Kawai‘ae‘e 2007; Wilson, Kamanā, and Rawlins 2006; see also Ohara 2018).

Thanks to the efforts of Hawaiian rights activists throughout the Hawaiian Renaissance movement of the mid-20th century, the call for reinstating Hawaiian language education, amongst other demands seeking retribution for the population and culture loss of Native Hawaiians following the 1893 overthrow, shook the political landscape of the islands. As a result, the 1978 Hawai‘i State Constitutional Convention reversed the ban on Hawaiian-medium education, and (re)instated it as an official language of the islands, alongside English (Lucas 2000). By that point, nearly four generations had passed since Hawaiian-medium education was legal in schools, and to this day, Hawaiian-speaking elders reflect on the trauma stemming from the punishments they received when speaking their ancestral tongue at school (Lucas 2000; Kawakami and Dudoit 2000: 385; Hawai‘i State Department of Education n.d.). Needless to say, the reintroduction of Hawaiian to the islands was not as simple as gaining legal recognition as an official language. Nonetheless, the first government-funded Hawaiian-medium classes were held at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo (UH Hilo) in 1982, and one of the first private non-profit Hawaiian-medium preschools, ‘Aha Pūnana Leo, was opened in 1983 (Ohara and Slevin 2019; ‘Aha Pūnana Leo n.d.). Today, the outlook for Hawaiian is bright, with most public high schools on the islands offering world language elective courses to its students[15], and the stigma against the language and its

[15] Through a personal investigation, it was found that 18 of the 22 surveyed O‘ahu public high schools offered Hawaiian language elective courses in school year 2021-2022. Interestingly, despite Hawaiian being an official language of the State of Hawai‘i, all 22 schools offered Japanese and Spanish language courses, while four did not offer Hawaiian.

people being replaced with interest and passion. The Hawaiian language revitalization movement, a byproduct of the Hawaiian Renaissance, is credited for the growing number of L2s of an Indigenous language superseding the number of L1s (Iokepa-Guerrero 2016, in Ohara and Slevin 2019; Warner 2001, in Ohara 2018). Though once thought of as obsolete and savage, many Hawaiian concepts, phrases, and proverbs are now used in community, educational, business, commercial, and religious settings by Locals, regardless of fluency (for example, see Hawaii United Okinawa Association 2015, May/June: 2). Many of these phrases are words which are familiar to Locals by way of HC (organized in Appendix D).

2.2.4.2. English in Hawai‘i

English was first heard on the islands upon the arrival of the British captain James Cook and his crew in 1778; before then, Polynesians had been inhabiting the islands for, at the very least, 1000 years prior to their arrival, and had been speaking their Indigenous language, Hawaiian (Wells 1982: 649; Grama et al. in press: 2; Siegel 2000: 199; Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 210; Lucas 2000: 1; Hall 2005: 40; see also Ohara 2018). Although among the first varieties of English introduced to the islands were British, by the nineteenth century, northeastern American (New England) English had become the predominant spoken on the islands introduced by Christian missionaries (Carr 1972: 58; Drager 2012: 63). The influence of English strengthened through the spread of Christianity, which itself spread through the establishment of missionary schools from the 1820s. By the early twentieth century, northern, midwestern, and western American English-speaking teachers began transplanting their ways of speech into dominance. According to Lind (1967: 28), SE was a minority language during this period spoken chiefly by European Americans (7.7 percent in 1920) (in Tamura 1996: 433). Nonetheless, the upward trend of English speakership and the drastically falling trend of Hawaiian speakership were exacerbated as a result of the illegal 1893 overthrow of the Hawaiian Kingdom, 1898 annexation, and subsequent closures of Hawaiian-medium schools thereafter. Today, English continues to be viewed as the language of prestige, professionalism, opportunity, success, and education in the islands (Tamura 1996; Sato 1989, 1991; see also Grama et al. in press: 2–7; Saft et al. 2018: 417–419; Furukawa 2017: 41–42). Hawai‘i also has its own dialect of English, called Hawai‘i English, and should not be mistaken for SAE or HC (Drager 2012; Grama et al. in press; Carr 1972: 57–77 for “Hawaiian Near-standard English” and “Hawaiian Standard English”). Kawamoto (1993: 194) also describes Hapa Haole English, a short-lived Pacific pidgin spoken by some foreigners in the early days of Western presence in Hawai‘i (Grama et al. in press: 2).

2.2.4.3. Japanese in Hawai‘i

The first instance of mass immigration from Japan to the Hawaiian Kingdom occurred in 1868, when 148 Japanese immigrants, known as the *gannen-mono*, landed ashore seeking work on the sugarcane plantations (Nordyke and Matsumoto 1977; Ikeda 2016; for international relations between the Hawaiian Kingdom and the Empire of Japan, see Marumoto 1976). At the time, Japan was transitioning from a feudal empire into a modern nation. However, this transition was initially met with economic turmoil, as well as “problems of unemployment, political chaos and rioting” (Ikeda 2016: 4–5). Conversely, the Hawaiian sugarcane economy was booming during the 1850s, and the demand for more cheap contract laborers grew as a result (Nordyke and Matsumoto 1977: 162–3). Initially, many of these Japanese laborers planned to move back to Japan after saving enough money to support themselves while sending money earned working in the plantations to their families (Ikeda 2016: 5). However, the number of

Japanese immigrants who remained in Hawai‘i far outnumbered those who returned to Japan, with a total of 611,111 people of Japanese race recorded in 1900 (Nordyke and Matsumoto 1977: 163). As of 2021, an estimated 314,102 people in Hawai‘i identify with Japanese ancestry (U.S. Census Bureau 2021). Additionally, around 45,633 people speak Japanese at home as of 2016 (Hawaii State Data Center 2016: 8; see Table 2.1).

The majority of Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i came from Hiroshima and Yamaguchi prefectures, bringing with them the Chūgoku dialect of Japanese (Fukazawa and Hiramoto 2004). By the time the Japanese arrived at the plantations, the Hawaiian, Chinese, and Portuguese laborers had already formed Hawai‘i Pidgin English, meaning that the Japanese language did not particularly influence the structure of the pidgin or creole (Reinecke 1969: 93, in Siegel 2000: 203). However, a significant number of Japanese-derived loanwords do appear frequently in modern HC, such as *habut(eru)* (‘to pout or sulk’), *shoyu* (‘soy sauce’), *tako* (‘octopus’) and ‘chicken-skin’ (calqued from *tori-hada*, meaning goosebumps) (Fukazawa and Hiramoto 2004: 165; Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 220, 216). Words that have lost widespread usage in Hawai‘i include *komai* (‘small’), *nigaru* (‘stomach or tooth pain’), and *erai* (‘tired or exhausting’) (Fukazawa and Hiramoto 2004: 165). Furthermore, it has been speculated that Japanese may have influenced HC discourse markers and the structure of narratives in HC (Masuda 2010, in Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 216; Reinecke and Tokimasa 1934: 128, in Siegel 2000: 207), though further research is needed to sustain such a connection (see also Furukawa 2010). There also exist studies on Japanese language contact and Japanese-influenced contact languages in Hawai‘i other than HC (Asahi and Long 2011 for plantation-era “koine Japanese” in Hawai‘i; Ikeda 2016 for “Hawai‘i Plantation Pidgin” with a focus on Japanese immigrants; Inoue 1991 for “Hawaiian Japanese”; Nagara 1972 for “Hawaii Japanese Pidgin English”; Shimada and Honda 2006 for “Japanese in Hawaii”).

Masuyama (2002) outlines the history of Japanese language education in the United States, including Hawai‘i. The first Japanese school on the islands opened in 1893. The early Japanese immigrants placed importance on maintaining their national identity, which resulted in a large number of second-generation Japanese children attending Japanese language schools, often run by Buddhist and Shinto institutions. Following the 1941 surprise attack by the Imperial Japanese Navy Air Corps on the American naval base, Pearl Harbor[16], Japanese language schools around the islands were shut down (Tamura 1993: 42, in Drager 2012: 63). Many *nikkei-jin*[17] living outside of Japan faced discrimination, especially after the 1941 attack, which led to many communities to distancing themselves from their Japanese identity and rapidly assimilating to the dominant culture in order to demonstrate allegiance and loyalty. Thus, Japanese *issei* and *nisei* did not place importance on teaching their children Japanese post-WWII.

In the author’s personal experience, Japanese is said to be one of the most useful world languages to learn in Hawai‘i due to the massive Japanese tourism and business markets (Okamoto 1994) and perhaps an overall reverence for Japanese culture amongst many Locals. Hawai‘i is home to one of the largest populations of *nikkei-jin* in the world, and it is common to see Local Japanese families sending their children to Japanese language schools on the weekend, as well as primary, secondary, and post-secondary students attending elective Japanese language courses[18]. Furthermore, as of the 1960s, Hawai‘i *nikkeijin*

[16] Pearl Harbor is situated in Ke Awalau o Pu‘uloa of O‘ahu.
[17] Persons of Japanese descent.
[18] After a personal investigation, I have found that nearly all secondary schools in the Honolulu and Greater O‘ahu regions offer Japanese language courses, with most offering four years of curriculum, and even some courses at the honors and Advanced Placement (AP) levels. The same cannot be said for Hawaiian (see footnote 15).

have been known to hold high positions of sociopolitical power (Nordyke and Matsumoto 1977: 168–169; Okamoto 1994).

2.2.4.4. Hawai‘i Pidgin English

Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 211–212) describe the creation of Hawai‘i Pidgin English (HPE), the precursor to HC. In the mid-1830s, the early plantation workers of Chinese, Gilbertese, and Melanesian backgrounds brought along their own pidginized English varieties (Chinese Pidgin English and South Sea Jargon, respectively). However, it was Pidgin Hawaiian that was the common language spoken on these plantations by laborers of diverse backgrounds and the Haole plantation owners. Pidgin Hawaiian stabilized by the 1870s and was widely spoken on plantations into the 1890s (Sakoda & Siegel 2008a: 211; Bickerton and Wilson 1987, in Sato 1989: 193).

During this time in the mid-1870s, the Reciprocity Treaty was signed, which prioritized free trade relations with the United States, resulting in increased foreign Western interest as well as their economic dominance of the islands (Romaine 1994: 530; Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 212). This event contributed to the shifts in dominance from Hawaiian to English in general Hawaiian society, and Pidgin Hawaiian to Hawai‘i Pidgin English (HPE) on the plantations. From there, the newly emerged HPE was spoken alongside Pidgin Hawaiian until it stabilized and became the dominant language within this domain by 1900. By this time, HPE was being spoken as a second language by L1 speakers (both adults and children) of Hawaiian, Portuguese, Cantonese, Japanese, and many other languages on plantations and at schools. HPE would eventually become the primary language of input for the children of most first-generation immigrants, many of whom intermarried with spouses of differing first languages.

2.2.4.5. Hawai‘i Creole[19]

Hawai‘i Creole (hereby, HC), also known as Hawai‘i Creole English and colloquially as “Pidgin”, is a language spoken by an estimated 600,000 (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 210) to 700,000 people (Velupillai 2013). It was creolized by the children of Hawai‘i Pidgin English speakers sometime before 1880 and its usage became stabilized by the 1910s (Bickerton 1983; Sakoda and Tamura 2008: 41). English serves as the lexifier of HC, which itself received grammatical influence from Hawaiian, Portuguese, Cantonese, and “‘Beche-la-mar,’ i.e., the Pidgin English of the southwestern Pacific” (Reinecke and Tokimasa 1934: 50, 57, 123, 130 in Siegel 2000: 206–207) and lexical influence from Hawaiian, Japanese, Cantonese, Portuguese, Ilocano, Visayan, Tagalog, Korean, and others (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a, 2008b; Carr 1972: xiii). According to Balaz (2022: 203), HC was declared a “language” by the United States Census Bureau in 2015, though it is still often referred to as “broken English” amongst speakers and non-speakers (see Sato 1989: 208; Reinecke 1938; Drager 2012: 70; Sakoda and Tamura 2008: 41). This section ends here, as the discussion of HC sociolinguistics cannot begin without an introduction to Local identity, which is discussed in the next section.

[19] Sakoda and Siegel’s (2003) book “Pidgin Grammar: An Introduction to the Creole English of Hawai‘i” is perhaps the most readily available grammar sketch of basilectal HC. This thesis relies heavily on the revised version of this sketch, which is divided by HC phonology (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a) and morphology and syntax (Sakoda and Siegel 2008b).

2.2.5. Overview of [L]ocal identity in Hawai‘i[20]

Alongside the emergence of pidgins and creoles on the islands amongst plantation workers, so too emerged a Local identity around this time period (Okamura 1980; Sakoda & Siegel 2008a). As a result of historical mass immigration during the plantation era and the flows of immigration seen today, the modern population of Hawai‘i is predictably extremely diverse, including ethnic communities (listed alphabetically) of Chamorro, Chinese, Chuuk, Filipino, Hawaiian, Japanese, Korean, Marshallese, Okinawan, Palauan, Ponpean, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, Samoan, Tongan, and mixed ancestries, as well as racialized Whites (called ‘Haole’) (Okamura 1994, 2018).

Although Hawai‘i is often painted as an all-inclusive “ethnic rainbow” or “multicultural paradise” perhaps due to the perceived sense of “tolerance” and “harmony” [L]ocals have toward their diverse society, and a strikingly lower rate of interethnic conflicts than seen on the continental United States, many authors agree that this narrative cloaks deeper social issues, hardships, systemic racism, and harassment experienced by virtually every ethnic/racial group on the islands even in modern times (Okamura 1980, 2018, 1994; see Haas 1984 and Hiramoto 2011 for the experiences of Local Filipinos, Trask 2000a for Hawaiians, Okamura 2018: 164–165 for Local Micronesians, and Allen 2015 for Local Okinawans). Okamura (2018: 175) also mentions higher rates of harassment toward Haoles on the islands, which is an experience atypical for Whites in the continental United States. Okamura (1980: 122–123) warns that what ties [L]ocals together cannot be summed up with their similarities in “diet, folklore, recreation”, or “character traits or ‘values’” that are visible today. Instead, it is the Indigenous concepts of *aloha kanaka* (‘love of the people’) and *aloha ʻāina* (‘love of the land’) that are the central cultural values shared amongst Locals (Okamura 1980: 121–122). It is claimed that Local culture emerged during the plantation era (c. the 1850s) through:

> (1) factors of high oppression and low compatibility in superordinate-subordinate (WASP[21] institutions-ethnic groups) interactions, giving rise to culture creation by the subordinate group, and (2) a subordinate group (a subculture) characterized by a blending of aspects of disparate ethnic cultures. Yamamoto (2020: 78)

This theory of the creation of Local culture through the historical solidarity of non-Haole plantation workers of diverse backgrounds against the Haole elite may explain the long-standing divisions which separate Locals, Local Haole, “transplanted” Haole, immigrants (usually from Asia or other Pacific Islands), and other American “mainlanders”[22] to this day (Okamura 1980: 129–130, 2018: 95–96). In more recent times, Trask (2000a: 150) attributes the traditional Hawaiian values of *aloha ʻāina*, *mālama ʻāina* (‘care for the land’), *lokahi* (‘cooperation and unity’), *ohana* (‘a family sense of belonging’) as the uniting forces behind the organization of Native rights protests in the 1970s which saw non-Native supporters standing alongside Hawaiian leaders. The above Indigenous values are clearly vital in the preservation of Local culture, and by virtue, HC.

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[20] To easily distinguish the concept of “Local” in the context of Hawai‘i, I capitalize its first letter. In its general SE usage, “local” is represented in lowercase. Cited quotations which do not employ this capitalization, or in cases when it must be emphasized to clear confusion, as in the title of this section, it is written as [L].

[21] White, Anglosaxon, Protestant.

[22] “Mainland”, whose usage is contested by some critics, refers to the continental United States. Nonetheless, the majority of Locals refer to this place as the “mainland”.

2.2.5.1. The *us* in *us-vs-them*: "[L]ocal" as a term used to describe the people of Hawai‘i

In the context of Hawai‘i society, "[L]ocal" has been described in the following ways: "used to refer to people born and raised in Hawaii" (Okamura 1980: 119), and "the shared identity of those in Hawai‘i who have an appreciation of and attachment to the land, peoples and cultures of the islands" (Okamura 2018: 117). Okamura (2018) positions "Local" as one of the most inclusive terms to describe people from Hawai‘i regardless of their ethnic background(s). This usage also extends as an adjective—modern "Local" culture developed through decades of multiple ethnic groups interacting and "accommodating" to each other while maintaining interethnic social expectations imposed under a white American system (Okamura 1980).

Terms similar to "Local" exist on the islands, such as the HLW *kama‘āina* ('child of the land') or the straightforward HE terms *Hawai‘i resident/local resident*, but these perhaps do not capture the socio-semantic power nor exist on the catch-all sociolinguistic register that simply "Local" does. For instance, *kama‘āina* is often appropriated by local businesses (e.g., discounts and reward programs for Kama‘āina) and, according to Okamura (1980: 22), by Haole who are not Local by definition but feel (L)ocalized enough to distinguish themselves from non-permanent Haole or other "mainland" transplants. *Hawai‘i residents*, *local residents*, or simply *residents* are common in local legal matters (e.g., the law requires Hawai‘i residents to…) and news reporting (e.g., "Survey: Residents' Views on Tourism are Improving, but Tensions Remain"[23]). A combination of "Local", "resident", and an ethnonym can be found in Hawai‘i Public Radio headlines such as "Local Japanese Residents Remember the Attack on Pearl Harbor 81 Years Ago"[24] and "Local Resident with Korean Roots on Feeling Embraced in Hawai‘i"[25]. On the other hand, other HLWs such as *Kanaka Maoli, Kanaka ‘Ōiwi*, or simply *Kanaka* or *‘Ōiwi* are similarly used as descriptors to describe someone of Hawaiian ancestry (Okamura 1980; Mei-Singh and Gonzalez 2017; Warner 1999; Trask 1993, 2000a; Reinecke and Tsuzaki 1967: 99).

The most condensed definition of "Local" can be equated to a birthright of sorts; this concept should not be confused with the demonym "Hawaiian". Indeed, "Hawaiian" has come to exclusively refer to people of aboriginal Hawaiian ancestry (Okamura 1980; Hall 2005). According to Hall (2005: 406), the modern distinction between "local" and "Hawaiian" emerged during the Hawaiian Renaissance movement which began in the 1970s. This demonstrates a semantic split from the SE usage of "Hawaiian", which is used as a catch-all demonym (as opposed to just an ethnonym) which describes anyone living on the islands (Merriam-Webster 2023). Specifically, the usage of "Hawaiian" to represent any inhabitant of the islands, such as the headline "18-Year-Old Hawaiian Singer Wins 'American Idol'"[26] (the singer is a non-*kanaka maoli* Local) or to mark association with the islands, such as the term "Hawaiian shirt" (known as 'aloha shirt' in Hawai‘i), may strike a Local as odd or insensitive to Native Hawaiians. However, the headline "Hawai‘i Overtourism: Residents Beg Tourists to Stop Visiting amid Post-Pandemic Boom" reported by a European news source[27] demonstrates that "Hawaiian" is not always the go-to term used to describe Locals, possibly due to the rising awareness of this distinction outside of the islands.

Beyond news headlines and legal discourse, Okamura (2018) ascertains that the majority of Locals

[23] Davis, Chelsea (2023, February 9)
[24] HPR News Staff (2022, December 7)
[25] Han, Stephanie (2023, May 24)
[26] KGUN (2023, May 23)
[27] McDonagh, Shannon (2022, December 21)

have a proclivity to identify as "Local" before "American". Additionally, racialization (i.e. grouping ethnicities together into a specific race), a common strategy used for self-identification in the United States, contrasts with the strategy of Locals, who prefer to identify with their specific ethnic group(s) (Okamura 2018, 1994). An exception to this practice is Whites and African Americans, Local or not, who are often grouped together as *Haole* or White (Okamura 2018: 171–175) or *Popolo* or Black[28] (Okamura 2018; Hiramoto 2011: 369). For example, it is not uncommon for one to compound (or omit but imply) "Local" with "Portuguese", "Haole"[29], "Filipino Japanese", or "*hapa Haole*". This preference in self-identification contrasts with terms commonly used in the United States, such as "European American", "White American", "Filipino-Japanese American", "Asian American", "Hawaiian-Caucasian American", or "White Pacific Islander American". The following quote summarizes internal challenges to Local identity when a Local is uprooted from the islands:

> Detached from the land, [Locals and Native Hawaiians] are faced with some unpalatable choices. They resist "Asian American" identification, because they are not really American; Hawai'i is not America. What I mean by this statement goes beyond the illegality of Hawai'i's annexation and subsequent incorporation as a state. Geographically, culturally, and spiritually, Hawai'i is very far away from the United States. If one leaves the East Coast and flies east for the same amount of time, one ends up in England. (Hall 2005: 407)

In the case of Locals of Asian descent[30], Okamura (1994) claims that their conscious distinction from the Asian American identity is tied to the differences in historical, economic, and cultural factors between Local Asians and Asian Americans. The paper mentions that the 1960s pan-ethnic movement led by Asian Americans in the continental United States did not resonate with or impact the social consciousness of the Local Asians of that time. That is to say, whereas Asian Americans have historically sought pan-ethnic group solidarity toward a similar struggle, Local Asians, which include Chinese, Japanese[31], Filipinos (Ilocano, Tagalog, and Visayan), Koreans, Okinawans, and Vietnamese seek solidarity toward individually shared struggles amongst their own ethnic community or communities.

Local solidarity is not without its critics[32], especially when comparing the distinguishing struggles of Native Hawaiians vs. non-Native Hawaiian Locals. Though Okamura (1994) cites the Hawaiian sovereignty movement as another impetus whose effects seem to have trickled into Local (Asian) consciousness, Trask (1991), who herself was an influential member of the movement, criticized non-Native Locals (she refers to them as Non-natives), particularly Asians and [H]aole, for their superficial understanding of *mālama 'āina*, a Hawaiian concept of caring for the land, and the appropriation of Hawaiian culture as a tool for their own economic agendas (i.e., tourism) (see also Hall 2005). Trask (2000b) later ascertains that non-Native [L]ocals, though able to coexist with Native

[28] In my opinion, the term "African-American" has recently replaced *Popolo* and Black in most formal settings, and sometimes *Popolo* in informal settings. Nonetheless, these people are considered "others", but not for the same reasons as Haole.
[29] "Haole American" is likely only used as an identifier for others, such as in Trask's (1991) critical assessment of Hawaiian and American relations.
[30] According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2023), an estimated 37.2% of Hawai'i identify as Asian Alone, and 19.4% as Asian in Combination, totaling to 56.6%. On the other hand, those who identified as Asian Alone make up an estimated 6.1% of the total US population.
[31] Asahi (2021: 39-41) covers the significance of the usage of JLWs and Local identity in Hawai'i.
[32] See also Hiramoto (2011) for the negative effects of "Local elitism" suffered by Filipino immigrants.

Hawaiians under an American system, benefit greatly and perhaps ignorantly from the continued subjugation of Hawaiians on their motherland and continue to perpetuate American ideologies such as the narrative of struggling middle-class descendants of poor immigrants while ignoring the underlying issues experienced by Native Hawaiians (also cited in Grama et al. 2023). Thus, Trask (2000b) claims that Locals who identify as Americans perpetuate behavior and lifestyles harmful to the decolonization efforts of the movement. That is to say, the "*us-vs-them*" of Hawaiian sovereignty activists and its supporters leans toward an identity striving to literally and figuratively remove itself from the United States, whereas the mindset of Locals described in Trask (2000b) is one which leans toward multiple identities (i.e., Local ≥ ethnic group(s) ≥ American).

2.2.5.2. The *them* in *us-vs-them*: Haole and *haoleness* as the "other" in Hawai‘i

The perhaps antithetical term to Local is Haole. Haole is a commonly used HLW in Hawai‘i with multiple variations created through morphological affixation and compounding (Carr 1977: 5, 47, 55, 86; Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 219, 221). The pre-contact meaning of Haole was literally 'foreign/foreigner (i.e., to Hawai‘i; e.g., flora, fauna, traditions, concepts, people)', but became more associated with Haole (i.e., Euroamericans) during the period of first Western contact in the late 1700s (Okamura 1980; Trask 1991: 1199). Its Hawaiian usage retains the original 'foreign' or 'foreignness' meaning as well as an association to 'Haole(ness)' (e.g., Hawaiian 'English language' can be either *ʻōlelo Pelekane*, *lit.*, 'Britain language' or *ʻōlelo haole*, *lit.*, 'foreign language') in an arguably congruent manner. However, in the Local context, the associated meaning of 'haole' arguably centers around 'White(ness)' and 'foreign(ness)' as opposed to Local(ness) and the 'foreign(ness)' of, say, Japan or Zimbabwe. Furthermore, Okamura (1980: 128–129) notes that Locals make a clear distinction between "[L]ocal haole" and "mainland [H]aole"—the former describes a racially White Local, and the latter describes a racially White non-Local from the continental United States. Thus, from the perspective of Locals, we can assume that the word "haole" represents "otherness" specific to those perceived to be Haole or portray perceived Haole qualities regardless of an individual's actual race, ethnicity, or birthplace.

Okamura (2018: 175) claims that Haoleness or Whiteness is a set of cultural (and physical) characteristics perceived by Locals as those which contrast with the "cultural norm" of the islands, which had been firmly established during the plantation era. The paper continues:

> As such, local represents the unmarked category in relation to which nonlocals—including haoles, immigrants, military, and tourists—are constructed as socially and culturally different, if not inferior, especially as outsiders to island society and culture. Being viewed and treated as a perpetual stranger is certainly not part of the meaning and experience of being White in the continental United States, where being American is commonly racialized as White. In Hawai‘i, [the term] local has decentered Whiteness, especially White supremacy, from its paramount position of power and privilege in continental America, although locals do not necessarily wield power over nonlocals. Thus, as an expression of resistance, the emphasis on being local underlies the racism against haoles, as well as Micronesians[33], both groups being perceived as unwelcome cultural and social outsiders to Hawai‘i. (Okamura 2018: 175)

As stated above, unlike non-Haole groups on the islands, Whites (as well as Blacks) in Hawai‘i are

[33] Although they face discrimination in Hawai‘i, Micronesians and "Micronesian-ness" (and other non-White ethnic groups) are not considered "Haole" by Locals (i.e., Haole = White or American or both).

often racialized into one category, and accordingly deemed as the "other" (Okamura 2018). To substantiate this claim, Okamura (2018: 171–175) examined the societal reaction to a legal case regarding the 2011 murder of a Native Hawaiian committed by a non-Local Haole. The convicted claimed his actions were justified in self-defense in response to a verbal and physical altercation perceived to be a racially motivated attack after the victim inserted "Haole" multiple times during the heated exchange. The paper's analysis of this case points out that the racialization of Whites was evident amongst the local media's reporting of the case, statements made by the defendant's lawyer, and internet comments made by Locals. To clarify the significance of this finding, had the perpetrator been (a Local) Japanese (American), or (a Local) Micronesian (American), the chance of widespread racialization of the said perpetrator as "Asian" or "Pacific Islander" would likely be very low.

As mentioned earlier, Haole is used as an identifier by Locals with full or partial European ancestry (Okamura 1980: 128); however, that is not to say that every White person is comfortable being called "Haole". To explain the challenging perspectives surrounding the term *haole*, we must review the famous case between a non-Local Haole student at the University of Hawai'i student, Joey Carter, and Hawaiian Studies professor and Native rights activist Dr. Haunani Kay-Trask. Carter (2002, November 15), an article published in the university's student-led newspaper, condemned the normalized usage of the term *haole* in Hawai'i and regards the word as a racial slur against Whites, and one which normalizes harassment toward Whites. However, in direct response, Trask (2002, November 15) fiercely defends the usage of *haole* and criticizes nay-sayers for advocating the erasure of a Hawaiian word from Native Hawaiian consciousness, comparing the act to the Hawaiian language ban imposed by the self-appointed all-*haole* government which lasted from 1896 to 1976.

2.2.5.3. I wan [ˈloko] *vs.* I'm a [ˈlo͡okəl]: Language as a Local identity marker

As inferred up until now, there has been a historical paradoxical relationship between the common notions shared amongst Locals regarding English. However, social happenings such as the Hawaiian sovereignty movement and the constant systemic attacks of HC (to be reviewed in the next section) appears to drive some speakers to sound "more Local". The following quote ties HC ("'pidgin' English") to Local identity through its connection to Hawaiian indigeneity, which, according to Okamura (1980) and Hall (2005), by virtue, marks one as Local regardless of their heritage:

> Local culture is firmly grounded in key indigenous elements—Hawaiian culture's inclusivity and openness to innovation and change; the structure of Hawaiian thought that underlies "pidgin" English, and most importantly, the relationship to the land. "Local"-ness is about where you are from, and where you are. (Hall 2005: 406–407)

While the usage of HC in formal settings is generally frowned upon (Sato 1991: 137–142; Furukawa 2010: 68), Saft et al. (2018) adopt a heteroglossic lens to examine how a Local politician utilized HC during commencement speeches he delivered at two Hawai'i universities. They tied his employment of basilectal HC pronunciation, syntax, and lexical items (including HLWs) as an indirect commentary against the expected formality of his position as a politician and guest speaker, as well as a tool to add emphasis and humor to his message while connecting with Local audience members.

Another point to consider is how, in informal Local domains, English appears to mark non-Locals in a negative light. Furukawa (2017) examined Local comedy skits and how language was used to emphasize the contrasting personalities between their Local and non-Local characters. Local characters

spoke in HC, which tied them to positive traits such as "honesty, simplicity, and sincerity". On the other hand, non-Local characters spoke English, tying them to negative traits such as "cold" and "lacking authenticity" (see also Romaine 1994: 534–538). §5.4.2.1 analyzes Okimoto (2022, June 14), a scripted Instagram video written and uploaded by a Local Hawaiian-Japanese influencer who portrays a non-Local tourist whose speech patterns are heavily exaggerated to mock Haole-coded English. Additionally, §5.4.2.2 analyzes Parker and Stone (2012, October 17), an episode of *South Park* which depicts Non-Local Haoles with a fetishized affinity for Hawai'i, who go as far as falsely claiming Native Hawaiian ancestry and are characterized with typical American English speech mixed with Localisms (i.e., HLW usage and pronunciation variants typical to Locals), casting them under an unlikable light. It is no coincidence that the English-speaking characters in these examples were portrayed by White characters, with the exception of Okimoto (2022, June 14), who himself portrayed a non-Local Haole-coded character. These examples support Okamoto's (1980) claim that Local-ness can be seen to be attributed to non-Whiteness. This explains why Whites tend to be immediately perceived as non-Local regardless of their upbringings or time spent on the islands. In fact, work as early as Reinecke (1938), himself a "mainland" Haole researcher of language in Hawai'i, noted the "outsider" position that Haole experience when interacting in Local domains. He discouraged the unnatural use of [P]idgin amongst Haole incomers who seek to "belong" in Local social groups. He recalls an anecdote of a Japanese man who questioned a Haole attempting to emulate Pidgin speech: "Why the —— don't you talk English?" When documenting Locals' perception of Haoles and English, he quotes the opinion of a young Japanese immigrant regarding English, the language of the Haole, as "good" and "beautiful" (Reinecke 1938: 783). He also included a discussion amongst Local HC-speaking high schoolers regarding how English is associated with social benefits and economic success, whereas "the use of 'pidgin' is an educational and…social hindrance" (Reinecke 1938: 786). The quote below demonstrates this long-standing paradoxical relationship between HC *versus* English and Localness *versus* Haoleness:

> To be like a Haole has been, by and large, to share in his economic and social advantages, to feel one's self more closely approximate to that state of a "real American" which the schools and press glorify. Yet at the same time it implies being "haolefied," dissociating oneself from one's class and racial group. Therefore the use of "good English," always a class fetish emphasized by the pedagogic mind, becomes in Hawaii doubly a fetish, about which play ambivalent sets of attitudes. (Reinecke 1938: 783)

From the viewpoint of HC sociolinguistics, we can summarize the cases above as: "non-White = Local = HC" and "White = non-Local = English"[34].

2.2.5.4. Social stigma against Hawai'i Creole and its speakers in English-revered Hawai'i

Creole Exceptionalism is a set of beliefs postulated by early creolists who believed that creoles portray "exceptional and abnormal characteristics in the diachrony and or synchrony of Creole languages as a class" yet claim that creoles "are a 'handicap' for their speakers" (Degraff 2005: 534, 533)[35]. Degraff (2005) presents a critical perspective on this hypothesis, highlighting its role in perpetuating negative

[34] See Grama et al. (in press: 4) for the connection between traditional Hawaiian values, identity, and language.
[35] Degraff (2005) explains the case of social disadvantages that Haitian Creole speakers face in Haiti. Haitian Creole, a French-based creole spoken by the majority of the Haitian population, is systemically underutilized in education and underrepresented in the government, with standard French pegged as the language of dominance and prestige.

attitudes surrounding creoles amongst both linguists and non-linguists. These attitudes include the dismissive treatment of creoles as cognitively and socially functional languages. Consequently, these widely held beliefs cast creoles in a negative light, portraying them as inherently limiting for their speakers and unsuccessful attempts at acquiring a language, typically of European origin. Communities where creoles are spoken tend to be postcolonial societies whose common language shifted from a language or languages native to the region to the language of the occupying force[36]. Indeed, creole language speakers face systemic discrimination and social disadvantages due to the stigma tied to creole "brokenness" to the ears of "standard" (i.e. non-creole) speakers (see Romaine 1994: 549–550 for HC). Degraff's (2005) analyses of the sociolinguistic situations of Caribbean creoles can be applied to that of HC, which itself is categorized as one of many "marginal language varieties" (Siegel 2006, in Saft et al. 2018: 417). The remainder of this section discusses more recent cases regarding systematic discrimination against HC and its speakers.

First, we should consider how the perception of HC is directly tied to race, ethnicity, and social class. Sato (1989) outlines the social perceptions of HC in the context of Hawai'i based on a number of other sociolinguistic surveys. This assessment concluded that Whites and Asians are established as the "bureaucratic-professional middle class", while Native Hawaiians, Filipinos, and "recent immigrant Asians and Pacific Islanders" make up the working class. Sociolinguistically, the former group was found to be more often associated with English, whereas the latter with HC. Furthermore, English was generally found to be viewed positively, whereas HC is viewed negatively and attributed to "low academic achievement, and low socioeconomic status" (Sato, 1989: 197). As mentioned in the previous section, this societal perception of "English is good, Pidgin is bad" is not a new one (see Reinecke 1938).

Next, we should review the social backlash surrounding two highly publicized anti-HC events which appear to have lent a helping hand to encouraging Locals to embrace HC despite its subject to constant threat. In the first case, two highly experienced meteorological specialists, who, per Sato's (1991: 139–141) analysis, spoke the acrolectal variety (near-English), were rejected positions at the Public Service Unit of the National Weather Service's Honolulu office in the mid-1980s. In both cases, the vacant positions were instead offered to young White males who spoke with a "mainland American accent" and held far fewer credentials than the Local HC speakers. This was viewed as an act of discrimination against the two HC speakers, and justice was sought through *Kakahua et al. v. Friday, 1988*. In the end, a California-based judge ruled in favor of the National Weather Service. This decision generated shock and grief in the Local community. The second case occurred in 1987 when the Hawai'i Board of Education proposed a new language policy that would specifically require "Standard English" to become the "mode of oral communication for students and staff in the classroom setting and all other school-related settings except when the objectives cover native Hawaiian or foreign language instruction and practice" (Hawai'i Board of Education memorandum, August 1987, in Sato 1991: 138). This proposal caused yet another source of outrage amongst Locals, many of whom viewed this proposal as discriminatory against HC speakers. As a result, the Hawai'i Board of Education softened this language policy by simply encouraging the use of "Standard English" amongst their employees. The results of Sato's (1991) analyses of these two cases suggest that these events of perceived attacks against HC speakers' identities by large institutions may, in fact, influence speakers to become less inclined to speak more mesolectally (rather than basilectally).

[36]Although, critics describe Hawai'i as a sovereign nation under a prolonged colonial occupation under the United States military (see Trask 1993; 2002, November 15; Silva 2004; Stannard 1989; Mei-Singh and Gonzalez 2017; Saranillio 2010a, 2010b).

Sato (1991: 137–139), Furukawa (2017), and Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 217–218) agree that HC has become solidified as an identity marker used by Locals to separate themselves from English speakers (i.e., non-Locals). Furthermore, it is the language of prestige in some pockets of the community; however, HC speakers are generally susceptible to discrimination and under constant threat. Such threats can be perpetuated in institutions that are either Local (such as the Hawai‘i Department of Education) or non-Local (such as the National Weather Service). It would be remiss not to mention the remarks made by former Hawai‘i governor Ben Cayetano, who is not only an HC speaker but also holds a law degree. Cayetano referred to HC as a "tremendous handicap" (Wong 2013, March 2]) and questioned the belief that allowing [P]idgin in schools would be beneficial for the students (Dunford 1999, November 28) (Saft et al. 2018: 417–418). His comments confirm Wong's (1999b: 220) belief that Pidgin speakers are the ones who tend to be the most ruthless toward other Pidgin speakers (Lockwood and Saft 2016). Considering the background given above, it is clear that from the public sector to casual social situations, HC speakers face discrimination and social disadvantages due to the language's attribution to poor education, as well as the negative stigma which ties HC to ethnicity and social class.

2.2.5.5. [L]ocals as the "other": The perception of Hawai‘i Creole in the continental United States

Wright (1979) documented the experiences of Locals who felt *othered* during their time living in the continental United States, reporting language as one of many contributing factors. Interestingly, this parallels the experience of non-Local Haole who feel *othered*, often for the first time, when interacting in Local domains (Okamura 1980, 1994, 2018). It should be noted that Wright, a "Mainland" Haole researcher of geography, indicated that only 16 out of 78 Locals agreed to participate in one of his studies, to which he explains: "Undoubtedly, those in Hawaii tended to be much more self-conscious of their English and worried about making a bad impression on a presumed (correctly) Mainland-born Haole" (Wright 1979: 439). The footnote continues, "A number of those interviewed reported being self-conscious and defensive about their English when they first moved to the mainland". Despite this, it appears that Wright only included summaries of two participant testimonies regarding language: 1) a Local Japanese woman who attended junior college in California emphasized that "mainlanders" did not understand "pidgin", and 2) a Local Chinese man felt "[United States] Mainland" Chinese looked down on Local Chinese due to their "accent" and relaxed clothing, which projects negative impressions such as unintelligence, informality, sleaziness, and an inability to speak English (Wright 1979: 381, 498). Wright (1979: 441) noted that in regard to a separately conducted interview, "...[All participants] appeared to have lost their Island speech patterns to at least some extent [after living on the Mainland]. Among those interviewed who were born in Hawaii there was a positive relationship of adoptions of Mainland speech patterns…".

The data collected above provide insight into how the stigma attached to HC tends to follow its speakers when they step out of their own domain. The data also suggests that HC speakers appear to Americanize (i.e., debasilectalize) their speech patterns at an accelerated rate when they are detached from a Local domain for a prolonged period of time.

2.2.6. Summary of §2.2

In the bigger picture of Hawai‘i society, English is highly revered and regarded as the language of prestige, whereas HC and to a lesser extent HE are viewed with lower prestige (Tamura 1996; Sato 1991, 1989; Carr 1972; Sakoda and Siegel 2008a). However, within informal domains of the Local community, the exact opposite can be said to be true (Sato 1991, 1989; Furukawa 2017). In fact, attitudes regarding

HC are currently shifting in a positive way even outside of domains where their speakers are expected to speak "good" English (see Saft et al. 2018; Lockwood and Saft 2016; Romaine 1994). This mirrors the shift in social perception regarding Hawaiian, whose usage in educational and government facilities was once banned for 80 years (Nordstrom 2015; Trask 1993; Lucas 2000; Romaine 1994: 531) and is currently the subject of renormalization and revitalization through the promotion of Hawaiian immersion schools (Warner 1999; 2001, in Ohara 2018; Ohara and Slevin 2019), and the Japanese language, which faced a sudden drop in speakership due to Japanese language school closures following the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor (Masuyama 2002).

The origin of negative perceptions toward HC and HE can be attributed to the historical relationship between the English-speaking Haole elites and the class of subordinate non-Haole non-native English-speaking plantation workers in the late 19th to early 20th century (Okamura 1980, 2018, 1994). The imbalance of power and shared struggles of the plantation workers, whose ethnic origins ranged from the Asian, Pacific, European, and Caribbean regions, led to the creation of a panracial group solidarity, while still retaining close ties to their specific ethnic communities. This comradery is said to have evolved into the Local culture that exists today, which retains the mentality of "us-vs-them". This mentality reveres aspects of perceived Local culture while simultaneously rejecting aspects of perceived non-Local culture. This is not to say that Locals co-exist in a peaceful and multicultural dystopia (Okamura 1980). Namely, Hawaiians suffer from generations of culture and land loss, and statistically face social disadvantages at disproportionately higher rates than any other ethnic group (Trask 1993, 2000a, 2000b, 2004). Moreover, newcomers from Micronesia, the Philippines, and to a lesser extent, the United States (specifically Whites and African Americans), and Local Haole suffer from issues including harassment, systemic racism, and violence (Okamura 1980, 1994, 2018; Haas 1984; Hiramoto 2011).

2.3. Loanword phonology: adaptation vs. importation

2.3.1. Introduction

With language contact comes the introduction of loanwords. *Borrowing* is the event of one language receiving a foreign lexical item from another language (see Haugen 1950). This thesis refers to the receiving language as the *recipient language*, and the language of origin of the borrowed word as the *source language* (as in Winford 2003 and Hashimoto 2019). As stressed by Hashimoto (2019), there is an important distinction to be made when dealing with loanword phonology. The recipient language speaker may either 1) *adapt*, or alter the phonological structure of the foreign word to the closest approximation available in the recipient language's native phonology, or 2) *import*, or adopt non-native structures which violate the native phonology of the recipient language (Kang 2011, Hashimoto 2019). In Havlík and Wilson (2017), the process of adaptation is also referred to as *nativization*[37], so as to signify that foreign loanwords are subject to the same phonological conditioning as words native to the recipient language. Those loanwords which are *nativized* are sometimes called *domesticated* or *nativized* loanwords. In contrast, loanwords that enter through importation are sometimes called *non-domesticated* or *non-nativized* loanwords because they do not follow the native sound structure of the recipient language and instead mirror the phonological features of the source language. The following sections detail loanword adaptation, importation, and previous studies regarding the sociolinguistic perception of loanword phonology in various languages.

[37] Not to be confused with *nativization* in the context of creolization.

2.3.2. Adaptation

Hussain et al. (2011: 3) describes loanword adaptation as the remodeling of "foreign"[38] words according to the phonological system of the recipient language. The resulting product of a word borrowing reflects the phonological perception of a foreign word by a native speaker of the recipient language. In other words, through nativization, the phonological segments of a foreign word are adapted by recipient language speakers to best match the (perceived) pronunciation of the source language. They also assert that investigating loanword adaptation in a language allows linguists to understand, "the contact of different languages, socio-psychological factors, language enrichment in terms of vocabulary, grammar, phonology, and definitely we learn about the sound and grammatical structure in ways we cannot otherwise test." Below summarizes the significance of sound adaptation in loanwords:

> Speakers of one language often have difficulty reproducing the sounds of another language which do not exist in their own. The borrowing of lexical items containing such sounds usually entails adaptation of their pronunciation. An example from English is the anglicization of the 'r' sound in word [*sic*] such as 'restaurant' borrowed from French. (Kay 1995: 69)

The following is a framework of loanword adaptation strategies which is used as a basis throughout Chapters 4, 5, and 6 to describe how HLWs and JLWs are phonologically adapted to HC. According to Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003), there are four "repairs" that occur cross-linguistically during the word borrowing process, as seen in (1a)~(1d):

(1) Repair strategies in loanwords (revised[39] from Peperkamp and Dupoux 2003: 367)

(a) segmental change	[kələ]	<	Sarah	Hawaiian
(b) suprasegmental change	[wɔkmán]	<	walkman	French
(c) epenthesis	[sɯ̥fiŋkɯ̥sɯ̥]	<	sphinx	Japanese
(d) deletion	[pe.si]	<	pepsi	White Hmong

A segmental change, as seen in (1a), refers to a change which occurs in a discrete unit (i.e., consonants and vowels) in a stream of speech, or a segment. Suprasegmental change (1b) refers to the change of a prosodic feature of a word, such as stress or intonation. Epenthesis (1c) refers to the addition of a sound to a word, whereas deletion (1d) refers to the removal of a sound from a word.

A possible confounding factor to the theory of perceptual loanword adaptation is how the orthographic representation of a loanword may influence the way a word is pronounced (Peperkamp and Dupoux 2003: 369). For example, the Afrikaans word 'Boer' is realized in French as [bor], despite the fact that [bur] is phonotactically plausible. As it will be seen in §6.2.1.2, the Japanese phoneme /n/, which may be realized as [n], [m], [ŋ], or [N] when positioned medially depending on its environment, is often orthographically represented as <n> in Hawai'i (and perhaps elsewhere). Although [ŋ] is triggered in both languages when /n/ appears medially under certain conditions, [m] is not triggered in HC despite its plausibility, and frankly, its atypicalness (i.e., Japanese /menpachi/ [mempatɕi] was spelled and pronounced *me*[n]*pachi* <menpachi> by all informants, whereas Japanese /tenpura/ [tempɯra] was

[38] In the context of HC, 'foreign' refers to non-lexifier (i.e. non-English) words. Hawaiian is the Indigenous language of the Hawaiian islands, and English is certainly not.

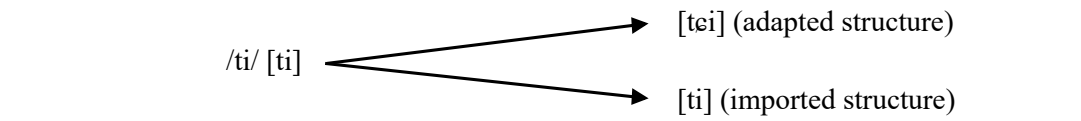
[39] Example (a) was replaced (personal knowledge) and (c) has been revised for clarity per feedback from Professor Aoyagi.

spelled and pronounced *te*[m]*pura* <tempura> by all informants).

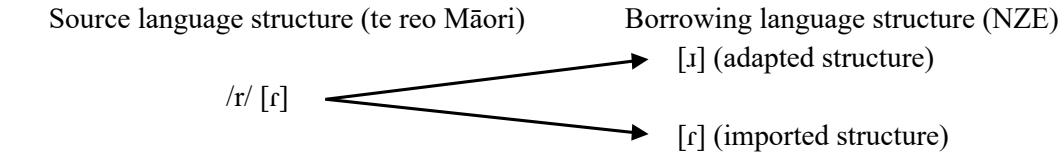
2.3.3. Importation

Hashimoto (2019: 1) describes imported sound structures as pronunciation variants which retain the phonemic quality of the donor language despite violating the phonological grammar of the recipient language. Hashimoto (2019) and Havlík and Wilson (2017) agree that sociolinguistic variables can influence speakers' social perception of loanword pronunciation. According to Kay (1995: 69), imported sounds from English into Japanese affect not only the sound system of the recipient language but also its orthography (i.e., Japanese /ti/ [ti] <テイ> is only found in foreign loanwords in Japanese whereas /ti/ [tɕi] <チ> is mostly found in native (Sino-)Japanese words. Below are examples of adapted sound variants *versus* imported sound variants in Japanese, New Zealand English (NZE), and Czech (visuals below are adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3):

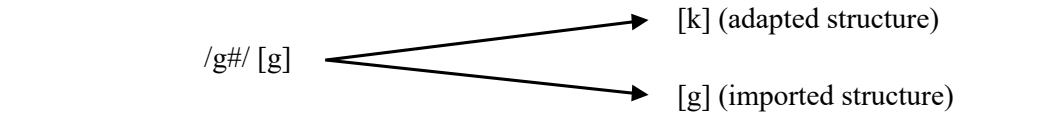
(2) English[40] → Japanese (data adapted from Kay 1995)



(3) Te reo Māori → NZE (Hashimoto 2019)



(4) English → Czech (data adapted from Havlík and Wilson 2017)



2.3.4. Previous studies on loanword pronunciation variation

The following sections summarize key points of a list of previous studies regarding the effects of sociolinguistic variables on loanword pronunciation. These findings provide a formal basis for the data analyses of this thesis. These works contribute to this thesis' claim that Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a, 2003) inclusion of /ʔ/ [ʔ] and /ɾ/ [ɾ] as stand-alone phonemes and [ts] as an additional affricate in HC phonology is questionable and due for revision, as well as offer suggestions for the classification of Hawaiian /w/ and Japanese /fu/ in HC.

2.3.4.1. The case of te reo Māori /r/ [ɾ] in New Zealand English /r/ [ɹ~ɾ]

Centuries before English was spoken in present-day New Zealand, te reo Māori has been spoken by the Indigenous Polynesians of the archipelago known as Aotearoa (Hashimoto 2019: 2–3). Though the Māori have faced generations of systemic racial injustice in their own homeland, it appears that modern

[40] Though English serves as an exemplary case, Japanese /ti/ [ti] is not limited to ELWs.

Pākehā[41] are shifting away from colonial narratives spouting European superiority and becoming more embracive of Māori culture and history while maintaining their national identity as New Zealanders (Pedersen et al. 2022). This embracing of Māori culture can be reflected in the way te reo Māori loanwords (hereby, MLWs) are pronounced in NZE (Hashimoto 2019). When borrowed into NZE, the te reo Māori structure /r/ [ɾ] may be adapted to [ɹ] to make it well-formed in the borrowing language, or it may be imported without modification (Hashimoto 2019: 3; see (3) in the previous section). For instance, the /r/ in MLWs spoken in NZE may be adapted as the native structure, rhotic [ɹ] (e.g., *ko*[ɹ]*u* and *ma*[ɹ]*ae*), or imported as the non-native structure, flapped [ɾ] (e.g., *ko*[ɾ]*u* and *ma*[ɾ]*ae*)[42]. In order to examine the sociolinguistic factors influencing the pronunciation of the te reo Māori /r/ sound among monolingual NZE speakers who are non-bilingual Pākehā between the ages of 18 and 35, Hashimoto (2019) conducted two phonological experiments involving a group of 32 eligible participants. Additionally, a questionnaire was administered to assess each participant's personal attitude toward Māori culture.

In the first experiment, participants were given ten short passages to read aloud in a pseudo-randomized order. Four were about general leisure activities in New Zealand ('neutral passages'), another four were about Māori culture ('Māori passages'), and the remaining two were fillers. Each of the 'neutral passages' and 'Māori passages' was divided into four groups: A, B, C, and D, with each group containing one 'neutral passage' and one 'Māori passage'. The group lettering corresponded to the four /r/-containing te reo Māori place names used in both passages (e.g., both Group A passages contained the MLWs A_1, A_2, A_3, and A_4; both Group B passages contained the MLWs B_1, B_2, B_3, and B_4; and so on), with each loanword strategically placed in sentence-medial positions. Of the viable 1,924 /r/ tokens analyzed from this experiment, it was found that 'acoustically identified tap [ɾ]' occurred 848 times (44%), 'acoustically identified approximant [ɹ]' occurred 904 times (47%), 'impressionistically identified tap [ɾ]' occurred 108 times (5.7%), 'impressionistically identified approximant [ɹ]' occurred 14 times (0.7%), and 'others' occurred 50 times (2.6%). Upon analysis, the following factors[43] were found to positively influence the participants' likelihood of producing the imported structure: 1) reading 'Māori passages', especially if the participant did not begin with a 'neutral passage', 2) having more positive attitudes toward Māori, 3*) having a strong connection to Māori culture and language, 4*) being from the North Island, 5*) pronouncing North Island place names, and 6) pronouncing MLWs in the second half of the experiment.

The second experiment took place after the first. In this experiment, participants read MLWs one by one as they appeared inside one of two illustrated picture frames: one frame designed with a traditional Māori motif ('Māori cultural frames'), and one with a western design ('neutral cultural frames') (see Hashimoto 2019: 11). There were 36 'target loanwords' which in total contained 40 instances of /r/, and 74 filler words including MLWs without /r/. The combination of words and frames was pseudo-randomized and strategically counter-balanced. Upon analysis, the following factors[44] were found to positively influence the participants' likelihood of producing the imported structure: 1*) reading MLWs framed in 'Māori cultural frames', 2) having more positive attitudes toward Māori, 3) reading MLWs strongly associated with Māori, 4) being from the North Island, and 5*) pronouncing MLWs in

[41] Perhaps the New Zealand equivalent to 'Haole' in Hawai'i (see Hashimoto 2019: 9).
[42] Te reo Māori /r/ [ɾ] → NZE [ɹ~ɾ] variation appears to be identical to the variation in Japanese /r/ [ɾ] → HC [ɹ~ɾ] discussed in §4.2.
[43] * = factors deemed statistically insignificant (Hashimoto 2019: 17–20).
[44] * = factors deemed statistically insignificant (Hashimoto 2019: 21–23).

the second half of the experiment.

The results of the experiments above suggest that sociolinguistic variables such as "...topics in speech, and speakers' and words' association with the source language and its culture" strongly influence loanword adaptation (Hashimoto 2019: 32). That is to say, loanword adaptation output is not always structurally bound to phonological or phonetic properties. The position of a speaker in a specific sociolinguistic context paired with the speaker's association with the source language must be taken into account when approaching phonological variation in loanword pronunciation.

2.3.4.2. Foreign pronunciation and prestige: The case of Czech /k#/ [k~g]

Havlík and Wilson (2017) examine the phonological variation in loanwords amongst native speakers of Czech in relation to their individual independent variables, whose data were gathered in a separate investigation. Czech has historically imported borrowings from Greek, Latin, German, French, and Russian; however, the Czech lexicon is now most influenced by English. Non-native words which have fully nativized into Czech are referred to as "domesticated loanwords", and those which have not nativized are "non-domesticated loanwords". Czech society has recently become critical of how non-domesticated loanwords ought to be pronounced, with numerous cases of its speakers ridiculing the pronunciation of speakers who hyperadapt (hypercorrect) loanwords to Czech. That is to say, applying traditional Czech loanword adaptation strategies to non-domesticated loanwords is perceived as "incorrect", whereas applying imported structures similar to such loanwords' (especially ELWs) source language is perceived as "correct". The exact opposite is true for domesticated loanwords. It has been documented that this notion of "correctness" is perpetuated by native Czech speakers whether monolingual or multilingual. The paper concludes that the notion of "correctness" is tied to prestige, which is explained below (see §4.4 for the argument for the connection between prestige and loanword pronunciation in JLWs and §5.4 for that of HLWs).

To test whether pronunciation "correctness" correlates to independent variables regarding its speakers, Havlík and Wilson (2017: 191–217) provide analyses on a handful of loanwords which demonstrated two pronunciation variants in which the non-dominant variant occurred at least one-third of the time amongst the 300 tested native Czech speakers. Of the 300 loanwords tested amongst the 300 informants, 34 loanwords fit this definition. The independent variables set were sex (female or male), age (18 to 39, 40 to 59, and 60+), and education level (school, college, or university). The following summary focuses on only three of the analyzed words which focus on how word-final /k/ varies in Czech ELWs.

In the case of the word-final consonant in the domesticated Czech form of ELW 'training' (Czech: *trénink*), it was found that the final consonant was pronounced as [g] more commonly by women, the 18 to 39 age group, and "college" and "university" groups, whereas [k] was more common amongst men, the 40 to 59 and 60+ age groups, and the "school" group. With these groups combined, the distribution of [g] vs. [k] was roughly equal. It should be noted that native/nativized Czech word-final /g/ is conditioned to [k] under typical circumstances due to word-final obstruent devoicing[45]. Furthermore, the [g] vs. [k] ratio and distributions based on sex and age in English 'training (adj.)' (Czech: *tréninkový*) did not significantly differ from that of *trénink*; however, education appeared to play a less significant role.

[45] We can connect the [k] pronunciation in '*trénink*' to Peperkamp and Dupoux's (2003) definition of a "segmental change" from English [g] to Czech [k]. However, the [g] pronunciation of '*trénink*' amongst some informants appears to reject the aforementioned traditional loanword adaptation strategy of Czech in favor of the pronunciation imported from English.

Havlík and Wilson (2017: 196) suggest two hypotheses to explain the variation between [g] vs. [k] in *trénink* and *tréninkový*: 1) it is influenced by the orthographic representations of *trénink* and *tréninkový*, which was used as the method of elicitation for this study, and 2) a certain level of prestige is attached to the [k] pronunciation, whereas the usage of [g] may be perceived as "foreign" or "non-standard", and therefore "peripheral" in Czech. The second hypothesis may seem paradoxical to the sociolinguistic attitudes concerning loanword pronunciation "correctness" mentioned above; however, we should remember that these two loanwords have been domesticated in Czech, meaning that the "correct" or "prestigious" pronunciation of such loanwords follow native Czech phonological rules.

The next analysis reviews non-domesticated (recent lexical additions) ELWs which also demonstrated variation in word-final /k/ between [g] and [k]. That would be the ELW 'leasing'. This loanword does not have a domesticated orthographic representation and was presented to informants as <*leasingu*>. About 63% of informants pronounced the final consonant as [g], and 37% pronounced [k]. Compared to the results of *trénink* and *tréninkový*, [g] was pronounced in *leasingu* at a similarly high rate amongst women, and at a significantly higher rate amongst men, who actually surpassed the rate of women. The [k] pronunciation was significantly high amongst the informants who identified as 60+ and "school", though the ratio of [g] vs. [k] usage in this group was roughly balanced. Below is a chart summarizing the relationship between loanword phonology and prestige based on the findings above.

Table 2.2. Summary of prestige markings in Czech ELWs (based on Havlík and Wilson 2017: 193–198)

	domesticated ELWs	**non-domesticated ELWs**
standard Czech pronunciation variant	+prestige *faithful to recipient language phonology*	-prestige *not faithful to source language phonology*
non-standard Czech pronunciation variant	-prestige *not faithful to recipient language phonology*	+prestige *faithful to source language phonology*

Predictably, it appears that the higher rate of the so-called non-standard variant [g], and the lower rate of the otherwise standard variant [k] can be attributed to the "prestige" connected to non-nativized loanwords and their foreign pronunciations (Havlík and Wilson 2017: 196, 218). Thus, this creates a split in the sociolinguistic perception between what is "correct" and "incorrect" in loanword pronunciation amongst native Czech speakers, whereby prestige is attached to the standard pronunciation of domesticated loanwords, and the non-standard pronunciation of non-domesticated loanwords (summarized in Table 2.2 above). Factors such as age, sex, region, and to a lesser yet significant extent education also influence standard vs. non-standard pronunciation. For example, the results of this paper support Milroy and Milroy's (1998: 47–64) claim that women prefer the standard or prestigious forms whereas men prefer forms closer to their regional dialect or sociolects (Havlík and Wilson 2017: 196). It is likely that the overall prestige and dominance of English (as well as French) are what influence native Czech speakers to associate foreign variants of non-domesticated loanwords with prestige, and native pronunciation of those words with ridicule.

2.3.4.3. The case of variation in Bislama phonology

Crowley (2008) provides a description of the phonetics and phonology of Bislama, an English-lexified (of the British variety) creole and national language of the island nation Vanuatu, located in Melanesia. The Bislama lexicon contains entries from French (6%-12%), "local vernacular sources" (around 3.75%), other languages and jargons that had historical contact with the islands (0.25%), and the rest English (Crowley 2008: 146). Below is a table of the consonantal phonemes in Bislama which show contrast with each other:

Table 2.3. Bislama consonants (Crowley 2008: 151)

p	t	c	k	
b	d		g	
m	n		ŋ	
v				
f		s		h
	r			
	l			
w		j		

Typical for pidgins and creoles, many sounds found in the stratum of Bislama have merged into one phoneme (e.g., the contrasts seen in English and French between /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, and /ʒ/ are merged to /s/ in Bislama). This also appears to be true for Bislama /c/, where English /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are merged as Bislama /c/ [tʃ~ts], whose variation depends on the speaker's region or linguistic background, or both. Examples include: /cec/ (from English 'church'), /kaucuk/ ('rubber' from French 'caoutchouc'), and /cac/ (from English 'judge'). That is to say, the removal of stand-alone phonemes such as /s/ or /c/ from Bislama would leave massive holes in the analysis of phonemes that have the ability to alter the meaning of words (see §4.2.1 and §5.2.1 for the arguments against Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a, 2003) attestments to /ɾ/ and /ʔ/ as two distinct stand-alone phonemes in HC).

As noted in Crowley (2008: 152), the realization of liquid /r/ varies between alveolar flap [ɾ] and alveolar trill [r], with the latter less common variant being stigmatized due to its association with local languages of low prestige. Nonetheless, the [ɾ] variant is the most commonly realized form of liquid /r/, and in the opinion of the author of this thesis can thus be classified as the native variant of Bislama. Thus, the usage or non-usage of the perhaps non-native variant [r] can be attributed to the sociolinguistic motivations of its speakers. That is to say, though /r/ is pronounced [ɾ~r], it would not be feasible to assume that these two sounds exist as separate phonemes.

Now, let's think of a hypothetical situation. Although such a phenomenon is not mentioned in Crowley (2008)[46], let's imagine there were a sizable group of Bislama speakers who were proud of their French heritage or felt a reverence toward French culture, or both. In order to exercise their French-revering identities, they employ the characteristically French sound [ʒ] to their realizations of French-derived loanwords which contained /ʒ/ [ʒ] before merging to Bislama /s/ [s] (see Fougeron and Smith 1993 for French phonology). For example, these hypothetical speakers would pronounce the /s/ in Bislama /sondan/ ('French police' from French '*gendarme*') as [ʒ]. It would be problematic to separate

[46] Though, it appears that the distinction of 'anglophone' or 'francophone' is colloquially employed based on the subject's linguistic educational background (Crowley 2008: 155). I am unfamiliar with Tahitian-French relations or their attitudes toward each other, and the situation projected in this paragraph is purely hypothetical.

/ʒ/ [ʒ] from /s/ [s] in Bislama mostly because this hypothetical [ʒ] variant does not change the meaning of /sondan/, it would only be heard in the relatively low number of loanwords imported from French (and perhaps French → English loans), and the speaker variation between /s/~/ʒ/ would challenge the notion of what makes a phoneme a "stand-alone phoneme".

2.3.5. Summary of §2.3

Variation in loanword pronunciation can be pointed out by distinguishing sounds into variants: sounds which conform to the native structure are adapted variants, whereas sounds which retain the phonemic quality of the non-native structure and thereby violate the phonological rules of the recipient language are imported variants. The motive to pronounce non-native structures appears to stem from speakers with positive attitudes toward the donor language (as seen in Hashimoto 2019, Havlík and Wilson 2017). In the case of te reo Māori words in NZE, speakers prefer to use the non-native structure in order to project their "cultural image" and demonstrate reverence to the source language. In the case of English words in Czech, native speakers prefer to use the adapted variant in domesticated ELWs and the imported variant in non-domesticated ELWs—violating these preferences subjects speakers to ridicule and mark their pronunciations with low prestige. As seen in Bislama, there are cases in which certain non-native structures transferred from non-prestigious languages can mark speakers with low prestige. From a sociolinguistic standpoint, it is certainly possible that speakers may elect to pronounce one variant over the other in order to "assimilate" with their environment due to social pressure.

CHAPTER 3
FIELD METHODOLOGY

3.1. Study overview

The present study aims to investigate the nature of loanword phonology of Japanese-derived and Hawaiian-derived loanwords in HC through the phonological data analysis of four HC speakers. The initial goal of this thesis was to provide a general description regarding how HLWs and JLWs are adapted into HC. However, upon the analysis of the informants' data, the topic of this thesis shifted to a more critical reconsideration of Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a, 2003) inclusions of the glottal stop /ʔ/ and alveolar flap /ɾ/, amongst others, to the phonemic inventory of HC. The author's views were heavily influenced by Hashimoto's (2019) sociolinguistic analysis of /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] variation in te reo Māori loanwords used by NZE speakers, and Havlík and Wilson's (2017) analysis of word-final /k/ [k~g] variation in ELWs used by Czech speakers. Therefore, we also aim to assert the necessity to distinguish pronunciation variants as either "adapted" or "imported" in order to more accurately describe HC (socio-)phonology in future studies.

Initially, the author of this thesis intended to perform face-to-face fieldwork on the island of O'ahu by interviewing a wide range of HC-speaking informants. However, due to the circumstances of COVID-19[47], the author instead performed this fieldwork virtually via Zoom Video Telecommunications. Readers should rest assured that all normal fieldwork procedures were followed diligently and the project was able to continue smoothly. The interviews were conducted from mid-November to early December in the year 2022. The informants were given pseudonyms (listed from youngest to oldest): Malu, Kina, Chris, and Fumiko (see §3.3 for full profiles of each informant). Furthermore, personal feedback and comments given by each informant are considered in explaining the phonological variation witnessed in their speech patterns.

3.2. Materials

In preparation for the interviews, the author prepared the following: 1) a personal information questionnaire to be completed orally (Appendix A); 2) a list of Japanese-derived, Hawaiian-derived words, and others used in Hawai'i and their definitions (organized in Appendices B–D); 3) a document containing instructions, disclaimers, agreements, and informed consent; and 4) word elicitation activities prepared on Google Slides utilizing photos and text.

The author prepared the list of HLWs and JLWs whose entries can be found in grammar sketches, previous studies, and papers pertaining to HC and varieties of English and Japanese in spoken in

[47] For context, the author first entered Japan in October 2019 as an international exchange student, then began his current graduate program at Nanzan University in September 2021. In response to COVID-19, Japan's border policies were made strict particularly for foreigners, and curiously, for foreign residents already in Japan who were allowed to exit but not re-enter the country from April 2020 (see Vogt and Qin 2022; Takahara 2022, August 30). The government opened and closed borders unpredictably until October 2022, when all travel restrictions were finally lifted. Please note that although the author conducted this survey in November and December 2022, it was unclear whether the Japanese government would again restrict travel freedom of foreign residents after the lifting of travel restrictions in October.

Hawai‘i[48], and words whose usage can be seen in community newsletters and academic papers which do not necessarily pertain to language documentation[49][50]. Japanese place names (major cities such as Tokyo and Osaka), and common Hawaiian and Japanese last names in Hawai‘i and Japanese place names and last names to this list using. In total, 394 entries were elicited and transcribed. Of that number, 203 entries were considered derived from Hawaiian, 180 were considered derived from Japanese, and 11 were considered being of mixed origins (see glossaries in Appendices B–E). The author also included Hawaiian place names using Pukui et al. (1974), a dictionary of place names of Hawai‘i, and HART (2017, 2019), documents listing proposed station names for the then-upcoming Honolulu Rail project. Finally, Japanese last names were retrieved using Forebears (n.d.), an online genealogical database which updates a list of the most common last names in Hawai‘i.

The document containing instructions, disclaimers, agreements, and informed consent was drafted by the researcher and reviewed by his advisor. This document follows the research procedures, policies, and ethics set by Nanzan University. The interested informants were emailed this document and asked to read it independently before confirming an interview date. On the day of the scheduled interviews, the author read this document to the informants from top to bottom and answered any questions before receiving their oral consent. This agreement included the consent for the author to record and store the recording (audio and video) of the interview, which would include their personal information, for the purpose of the study. This document-reviewing process took around 15 minutes to complete.

Next, the researcher asked informants about their personal backgrounds, which included information such as age, gender identity, ancestry, residence history, education level, language(s) spoken at home, language learning history, and so on. The personal information questionnaire took around 15-30 minutes to complete per informant.

The elicitation portion of the survey consisted of six activities: A) photos I; B) Hawaiian street signs; C) photos II; D) passage; E) word translation; and F) Japanese last names. With the exception of parts B and F, JLWs and HLWs were elicited together. Activities A, B, and E required informants to recall specific Pidgin words—A and C asked informants to view a photo and say its name as they would in Pidgin, twice; E asked informants to listen to the definition of a word and say its Pidgin equivalent, twice. Throughout these three activities, the researcher recorded how familiar speakers were with the words, from 1 (recalled without additional hints from the researcher) to 4 (could not recall even with additional hints from the researcher) (see Appendices C–E, adapted from Inoue 1991). Activities B, D, and F did not require informants to recall but to read aloud words which appeared on their screens. Activity B focused on Hawaiian proper nouns with some Japanese city names, Activity F focused on Japanese proper nouns, and Activity D included words from both languages.

After conducting each interview, the author saved the video (.mp4) and audio (.mp4a) files per the

[48] Fukuzawa and Hiramoto (2004), Long & Nagato (2015), Center for Oral History, University of Hawai‘i at Mānoa (2004), Asahi (2021), and Asahi and Long (2011) for Japanese words; Reinecke and Tsuzaki (1967), Reinecke (1938), and Pukui et al. (1974) for Hawaiian words; Carr (1972), Sakoda and Siegel (2008a, 2003), and Inoue (1991) for both Japanese and Hawaiian words; and Carr (1972), Sakoda and Siegel (2008a, 2003), and Da Pidgin Coup, Charlene J. Sato Center for Pidgin, Creole, and Dialect Studies (2010), Grama (in press), and Bickerton (1983) for blends.

[49] Hawaii United Okinawa Association (2005, May/June; 2014, November/December; 2021, July/August) for Japanese words; Mei-Sing and Gonzalez (2017), Wong (1999a), Okamura (1980), and Hawaii United Okinawa Association (2015, May/June), Trask 2000a for Hawaiian words.

[50] The following words could not be found in any resources used by the author. However, the author can say with confidence that these words are well-known by Locals: Japanese *arare* and *Kikkoman Shoyu*; Hawaiian *honu*, *‘ōhi‘a lehua*, *kumu*, *niele*, *pa‘i*, *pīkake*, *poke*, and *wana*; also *ainokea*, *dramalani*, *Kam Highway*, and *kanak attack*.

consent of the informants. The audio files were converted to (.wav) files at the highest possible quality in order to import them to Audacity, a freeware digital audio editor, which allowed for the ease of visualizing audio wave levels, scrubbing through the .wav files, and bookmarking timestamps during the transcription process.

3.3. The language informants

The following information was documented by the author as reported by the informants and are presented as true facts as of the time of their 2022 interviews. Information such as town descriptions are included as needed at the author's discretion. This section employs "Pidgin" as it is the colloquial term used by all of the informants during their interviews as opposed to the more technical "Hawai'i Creole". Below is a table summarizing the personal profiles of each informant, with more detailed information written below (see also Appendix A for the questionnaire).

Table 3.1. Summary of the language informants' personal information

	Malu	**Kina**	**Chris**	**Fumiko**
YOB (age)	1998 (24)	1994 (28)	1981 (41)	1946 (76)
Gender	M	F	M	F
Birthplace	Ilocos Nortes, Philippines	Honolulu, O'ahu	Darnestown, Maryland, USA	Kea'au, Hawai'i
Mostly raised in	Wahiawa, O'ahu from age 6mo	Hilo, Hawai'i after birth	Kapa'a, Kauai from age 9	Hilo, Hawai'i from age 6mo
Current residency	"	"	Honolulu, O'ahu	Washington State, USA
Ancestry	Hawaiian-Puerto Rican-Chinese	Japanese (4th gen)-Hawaiian-Portuguese-Chinese	Caucasian	Japanese (3rd gen)
Language(s) spoken at home	Pidgin	Pidgin, English	English	English
Other language(s)	fluent Hawaiian; grew up hearing Tagalog, Ilocano, and Spanish	Japanese (conversational), Hawaiian (some)	Japanese (some)	Japanese (learned some)

Malu (YOB: 1998) is a 24-year-old male of Hawaiian, Puerto Rican, and Chinese descent who resides in Wahiawa, a rural town in central O'ahu approximately 33 kilometers northwest of Honolulu. He was born in the province of Ilocos Norte in the Philippines and lived in Wahiawa since he was 6 months old. After graduating from high school, he began working at a local chain

restaurant in Wahiawa where he now holds the position as a front staff trainer. Malu is not married, though he mentioned that he is in a relationship.

Malu is bilingual in Pidgin and Hawaiian. Throughout his childhood, he spoke Pidgin at home and at school. He learned Hawaiian through self-studying as well as attending Hawaiian language courses during his school days, culminating in over 10 years of Hawaiian language usage. He happily spoke of his family's support of his Hawaiian language studies. His Hawaiian-Puerto Rican-Chinese mother, born in Oʻahu, is monolingual in Pidgin, and his father[51], born in the Philippines, is multilingual in Ilocano, Tagalog, Pidgin, and English, though Malu noted that he speaks Pidgin more frequently than he speaks English. Malu's paternal family members living in Hawaiʻi are Ilocano speakers who had hoped he would pick up Ilocano, and he also has Tagalog-speaking siblings living in the Philippines. Today, the language he speaks at home is primarily Pidgin, and throughout his childhood, multiple other languages could also be heard. The first language of his maternal grandfather was Hawaiian, who spoke it sparingly, and that of his maternal grandmother was Spanish. He fondly recalls his grandmother playing Puerto Rican music for all to hear.

Kina (YOB: 1994) is a 28-year-old female of Japanese (*yonsei*, fourth generation), Hawaiian, Portuguese, and Chinese descent who resides in Hilo, a rural town and population center of Hawaiʻi Island located in the east. She was born in Honolulu, Oʻahu, but her family returned to Hilo immediately after her birth. Although she spent most of her life in Hilo, she participated in an exchange program during her undergraduate studies where she attended classes at a partner university in Las Vegas, Nevada for six months. After returning home, she finished her undergraduate studies, which included a degree in Japanese studies and a 1-month study program in Japan. She then went on to earn a graduate degree in education. Before her current career as a Hilo elementary school teacher, she worked at a local chain restaurant in Hilo for over eight years.

Kina is bilingual in Pidgin and English. She has experience learning Japanese up to the third-year level at her university, though she notes that she does not use Japanese very often these days. She also enrolled in two semesters of Hawaiian language courses during her undergraduate studies. Kina reports that her Hilo-born mother speaks mostly English, and her ancestors came from Hilo, Hawaiʻi; Kumamoto, Japan; and Azores, Portugal. Her father, on the other hand, speaks English and Pidgin, but could also speak Hawaiian fluently until the passing of his grandmother in the 1980s, and his ancestors came from Honolulu, Kauaʻi Island, and China. Kina's long-time partner was born and also raised in Hilo, and they switch between English and Pidgin. She noted that Pidgin "comes out" of them when giving instructions or commands.

Chris (YOB: 1981) is a 41-year-old male of Caucasian descent who resides in Mililani, a suburban town on central Oʻahu approximately 28 kilometers northwest of Honolulu. He was born in Darnestown, a rural town in the state of Maryland on the middle east coast of the continental United States. Darnestown borders the state of Virginia to its south. At the age of 9, he moved to Kapaʻa, a rural town and population center of Kauaʻi. He lived in Kapaʻa until graduating from high school, and moved to Tacoma, Washington to pursue his undergraduate studies. After obtaining his undergraduate degrees, which included a minor in Japanese, he briefly returned to Kauaʻi before moving to urban Honolulu, where he resided for about 15 years. During his time in Honolulu, he

[51] *Author's note*: Malu did not mention the ethnic background(s) of his father.

pursued a graduate degree in computer science and graduated in 2019. Afterward, he moved to Mililani in 2020. Throughout the majority of his professional career, Chris has worked for the public education sector with the specific role of disseminating fair learning guidelines and academic assessments for young students enrolled in Hawaiian immersion schools. His previous work experience includes five years of computer repairing, which included lots of inter-island travel, and one year as a front desk support staff at a private school in Honolulu.

Chris's mother was born in Pennsylvania, was raised by German-speaking parents from Eisdorf (now the Czech Republic and formerly part of Germany), and is a "Standard East Coast English" speaker. His father, who lived in Minnesota and the east coast of the United States throughout his life, was raised by Finnish-speaking and "(perhaps) Louisiana English-speaking" parents, and passed away when Chris was five-years-old. However, Chris was monolingual in English until moving to Kapa‘a, where he picked up Pidgin from age 9. Additionally, Chris studied Japanese during his undergraduate years and reports to have retained a good foreground on grammar, though he is not confident in vocabulary. Chris's wife was born in Long Island, New York, and they speak primarily in English. He noted that his partner does not feel comfortable speaking Pidgin[52].

Fumiko (YOB: 1946) is a 76-year-old female of Japanese (third generation) descent who resides in Kirkland, a suburban town in the state of Washington on the upper west coast of the continental United States. She was born in ‘Ōla‘a (now part of Kea‘au), a rural town on eastern Hawai‘i Island approximately 13 kilometers south of Hilo. Her highest level of education is a bachelor's degree, and is a retired social worker. She began working in the early 1970s, with job assignments ranging from hospitals to housing services. Fumiko mentioned that although she was taught the importance of speaking "good" English at her university, most of her career was spent serving clients who spoke Hawai‘i Creole.

Fumiko is bilingual in Pidgin and English. She noted that during her undergraduate studies, she tried learning Japanese at community classes in the 1960s, and that she recently began using a language learning application to self-study. Although not fluent, she is familiar with some Japanese vocabulary. She also noted that she took two years of Spanish in high school. Her mother was a *nisei* (second-generation Japanese) born in Hawai‘i, and her maternal grandmother was an *issei* (first-generation Japanese) born in Yamaguchi prefecture. She fondly remembers stories from her mother regarding her grandmother as someone who spoke "good" Japanese due to her family's connections to *samurai* warriors. However, when she relocated to Hawai‘i, her "good" Japanese was often pointed out by her peers as too formal. As a result, her grandmother switched from "Pidgin Japanese" to "standard Japanese" depending on the social situation. For instance, she would speak "Pidgin Japanese" amongst her peers, and switch to "standard Japanese" when speaking with Buddhist priests. Her father was born in Waiakea, an area in Hilo, whose ancestors came from Hiroshima prefecture. She noted that her father mostly spoke English and was a "quiet guy…except when drinking!" Her husband was raised by his *issei* grandmother. He mostly spoke English, Pidgin, and some Japanese.

3.4. Language informant selection process

The author uploaded a digital flier requesting the participation of Pidgin speakers onto various Hawai‘i community social media pages in early September 2022. The flier included that informants would each

[52] *Author's note*: Perhaps due to lack of fluency.

be awarded a $20 USD online shopping gift card at the conclusion of their interviews. The two social media websites these fliers were uploaded to were Facebook and Reddit. There were no specific requirements or "preferred informant" chosen by the author besides those who self-identified as Pidgin speakers. That means that the classification of 'basilectal', 'mesolectal', or 'acrolectal' speech was not important during the selection process. There were many good-willed comments posted by users wishing the author luck on the search; however, very few messages of interest were received by the author. One commenter said that they were "too shy" to participate, another comment playfully read something along the lines of, "so wat u like [k]no u f—a?", and a personal friend of the author was told by his grandmother that she did not feel "confident that her English was good enough", despite the target audience of the flier being Pidgin speakers. In any event, Malu, Kina, Chris, and the daughter of Fumiko directly messaged the author after viewing the flier. Fumiko's daughter informed the author of her mother's interest in the survey. At the time, Fumiko was visiting her daughter in Hilo, and her daughter was kind enough to continue to contact the author on her mother's behalf. Then, the author sent these interested individuals or their loved ones the instructions document via email. Afterward, the interview dates were decided, with the first interview scheduled for 14 November 2022 and the last interview for 5 December 2022.

3.5. Summary

The above methods were used to investigate the nature of loanword phonology in HC. As previously mentioned, the original goal of this thesis was to provide a broad description of loanword adaptation; however, after considering the findings of Hashimoto (2019) and Havlík and Wilson (2017) which emphasize how sociolinguistic effects influence sound adaptation vs. importation, the analysis portion of this thesis aimed to answer the research questions. Nevertheless, the participation and phonological data of the four language informants of diverse backgrounds provide the author the means to describe HC loanword phonology and defend the arguments to be made in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 4
VARIATION IN JAPANESE LOANWORDS

4.1. Introduction

It is notable that general SE speakers do not pronounce /r/ [ɾ] or /#ts/ [ts] in JLWs present in English[53]—save for some speakers of Japanese descent (§4.4.3) and perhaps Japan aficionados (see Daulton 2022: 533–534). They instead adapt these sounds to [ɹ] and [s], respectively (§4.2 and §4.3). On the other hand, it is arguably characteristic of HC speakers to pronounce [ɾ] and [#ts] in JLWs. However, we argue that we must not be quick to assume that these two sounds are native to the HC sound system. This chapter discusses the infeasibility of /ɾ/ as a stand-alone phoneme and /#ts/ as an additional affricate as suggested in Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 226–227; /ɾ/ also mentioned in 2003: 21). Below are this thesis' approaches to the sounds that are discussed in this chapter in comparison to Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a) descriptions (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3):

(1) Variants under study in this chapter (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3)

Source language structure (Japanese)	Borrowing language structure (HC)
/r/ [ɾ] →	[ɹ] (adapted structure)
	[ɾ] (imported structure)
/#ts/ [ts] →	[s(ː)] (adapted structure)
	[ts] (imported structure)
/fu/ [ɸu] →	[fu] (adapted structure)
	[ɸu] (imported structure)

(2) Variants according to Sakoda and Siegel (2008a) (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3)

Source language structure (Japanese)	Borrowing language structure (HC)
/r/ [ɾ] →	/ɾ/ [ɾ] (nativized structure)
/#ts/ [ts] →	/#ts/ [ts] (nativized structure)

Japanese /fu/ is not mentioned in Sakoda and Siegel (2008a, 2003).

[53] For example, see Merriam-Webster's (2023) prescribed SAE pronunciations for *karaoke* as *ka*[ɹ]*aoke* and *tsunami* as [s]*unami*.

4.2. Japanese /r/ in Hawai‘i Creole

4.2.1. Rethinking Sakoda and Siegel’s (2008a, 2003) /ɾ/

Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 226, 2003: 21) identifies /ɾ/ as a stand-alone phoneme which occurs in most JLWs and is separate from /r/ used elsewhere[54]. Here is an excerpt from the short section it was mentioned in:

> Hawai‘i Creole also has the flap [ɾ] as a separate phoneme, found in Japanese borrowings, such as [kaɾate] ‘karate’ and [kaɾaoke] ‘karaoke’. The /ɾ/ phoneme can be shown to contrast with /l/ in two Hawai‘i Creole loanwords: [kaɾai] ‘spicy hot’ (from Japanese) and [kalai] ‘hoeing’ (from Hawaiian). (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 226)

However, the results from the present study suggest that [ɾ] in JLWs is a non-native variant of /r/, and its pronunciation in words such as *ka*[ɾ]*aoke* or *Hi*[ɾ]*oshima* are not phonologically conditioned but sociolinguistically motivated (data analysis in §4.2.4). To support this claim, the following sections present my arguments based on the phonological data collected through this study, feedback from the informants, and analyses from outside of this investigation.

4.2.2. A note on the minimal pair ‘karai’ and ‘kalai’

In their discussion on the proposed /ɾ/, Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 226) include one example of a minimal pair between JLW *ka*/ɾ/*ai* (‘spicy hot’) and HLW *ka*/l/*ai* (‘hoeing’). One issue with *karai* is that it does not appear to be widely used today, at least amongst the informants. In fact, the informants familiar with the meaning of the word were the two informants who have a history of formal Japanese studies and the one informant who is third-generation Japanese and over the age of 70 with no history of formal Japanese study. While those three reported that the usage of this word is virtually unheard of these days, Malu reported that he had never heard of this word before his interview. On the other hand, *kalai* was not included in this investigation; however, from the personal intuition of the author, it can be safely assumed that both *karai* and *kalai* have fallen out of widespread usage even amongst basilectal speakers, both young and old. Nonetheless, these two words were once widespread amongst HC speakers at some point and may serve as a convincing minimal pair, as *ka*[ɾ]*ai* and *ka*[l]*ai* are indeed historical loans. However, we should speculate how *ka*[ɹ]*ai* could be understood as *ka*[ɾ]*ai*, but probably never as *ka*[l]*ai* to HC speakers who know these two words. If we assume so, then this further supports the claim that [ɾ] cannot be represented by /ɾ/, but rather a variant under /r/.

4.2.3. [ɹ] as the adapted variant and [ɾ] as the imported variant of /r/

The interchangeability of [ɾ] and [ɹ] in Sakoda and Siegel’s (2008a, 2003) proposed /ɾ/ should raise a red flag regarding its feasibility as a stand-alone phoneme. Thus, this section outlines the arguments which support the view of [ɹ] as an adapted variant and [ɾ] as an imported (non-native) variant (see Hashimoto 2019, Havlík and Wilson 2017). This view allows for a convincing argument supporting the revision of HC /r/ [ɹ] and /ɾ/ [ɾ] to HC /r/ [ɹ~ɾ], where usage of the imported variant [ɾ] in JLWs (and perhaps non-Japanese loanwords such as those from te reo Māori) is sociolinguistically motivated amongst HC speakers and perhaps even HE speakers.

Let’s first consider the broader picture of what constitutes a sound to be classified as a stand-alone

[54] Long and Nagato (2015: 140) and Long and Taki 2019: 100–101) also contend that Hawai‘i English speakers pronounce JLW /r/ [ɾ] while American English speakers pronounce [ɹ].

phoneme. True stand-alone phonemes, such as /b/, /p/, /m/, /n/, /s/, /r/, *et cetera* in HC[55] cannot be used interchangeably to signify the same word. Now, there are no other examples of minimal pairs with Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a) proposed /ɾ/ besides the one quoted above. This is likely because when counted as a stand-alone phoneme, /ɾ/ is extremely restricted in its lexical presence, with the majority of those words included in Table 4.1 below. Nevertheless, the author examines below other HC minimal pairs in order to illustrate the infeasibility of /ɾ/ as a stand-alone phoneme.

In the case of HC /_at/ minimal pairs, the following words of completely different meanings, with the exception of the final example, can be made: /bat/ [bạ̈t] 'bat', /pat/ [pạ̈t] 'pat', /mat/ [mạ̈t] 'mat', /nat/ [nạ̈t] 'gnat', /sat/ [sạ̈t] 'sat', /ɹat/ [ɹạ̈t] 'rat', and ?/ɾat/ ?[ɾạ̈t].[56] You cannot replace the [p] in /pat/ [pạ̈t] with [b] and expect an HC speaker to imagine a small winged rodent or a wooden stick used to hit baseballs. However, you *can* pronounce either [ɾ] or [ɹ] in *Kimu*/r/*a* '(person's name)', '*ka*/r/*aok*e', and *fu*/r/*o* 'bathtub' without altering the meanings of these words.

Next, we should emphasize that we cannot prove or assume that /ɾ/ was acquired as a stand-alone phoneme by the first generation of HC speakers in the late 19th century. Perhaps some Japanese immigrants did pronounce, for example, *fu*[ɾ]*o* 'bathtub', and as a result, its lexical usage or at least knowledge of the word spread to HPE speakers or HC speakers, or both. However, there is no evidence that points to /ɾ/ being an acquired phoneme amongst monolingual HC speakers of any generation. We must also question why consonantal phonemes from much more influential languages such as Cantonese or Portuguese did not make their way into HC phonology via language contact or nativization (see Siegel 2000). Even if we imagine a large group of speakers who may pronounce the consonantal sounds in HC loanwords from Cantonese or Portuguese closer to their original forms, we cannot simply add those consonants to HC's phonological inventory. The reason is that those speakers are simply making a sociolinguistically motivated choice to mix non-native sounds into their HC speech. This is also true with the adapted native variant [ɹ] and imported non-native variant [ɾ] in JLW /r/.

With this in mind, let's consider the data in the present investigation. The overall rate of [ɹ]~[ɾ] usage in JLWs was roughly equal amongst the four informants of diverse backgrounds. In fact, the two non-Japanese male informants, one in his 40s with Japanese language learning experience and one in his 20s without, used the [ɾ] variant at a slightly higher rate than the third and fourth-generation Japanese female informants, the former in her 20s with Japanese learning experience and the latter in her 70s without. The /r/ in words such as *arare*, *hichirin*, and *furo* were unanimously pronounced as [ɾ], the /r/ in words such as *ramen*, *karaoke*, and *Tamura* experienced variation between [ɾ~ɹ] (e.g., [ɾ]*amen*~[ɹ]*amen*), and words such as *Oshiro*, *Kimura*, and *Uehara*, were unanimously pronounced as [ɹ]. Despite this, the meaning of any JLW in HC do *not* change whether realized as [ɾ] or [ɹ], and both forms are likely equally as intelligible[57]. Upon consultation with the informants, both *fu*[ɾ]*o* and *fu*[ɹ]*o* are acceptable, and most importantly, intelligible amongst speakers—albeit the latter pronunciation was perceived as unnatural and perhaps less prestigious (=non-Local). The same could be assumed true with *ka*[ɾ~ɹ]*ai* or *fu*[ɾ~ɹ]*ikake*. This [ɹ]~[ɾ] variation further suggests that the [ɾ] sound is not stable enough to be considered a stand-alone phoneme /ɾ/. However, even if the [ɾ] variant stabilized amongst some or even all first-generation speakers, this still does not explain why it is interchangeable with [ɹ], and not [l] or in

[55] The sketches of HC phonology by Sakoda & Siegel (2008a, 2003) are used throughout.
[56] The author speculates that a HC speaker would likely perceive, if perceive at all, ?[ɾạ̈t] as [ɹạ̈t], and most likely never the other way around.
[57] Further research regarding HC [ɹ] and [ɾ] phonemic perception is needed. However, the informant comments support this claim.

an extreme example [h]. Therefore, if we project /ɾ/ as a stand-alone phoneme, then *fu*[ɹ]*o* should be as unrecognizable as ? *fu*[l]*o* or even ? *fu*[h]*o*.

This is not to say that [ɾ] never appears outside of JLWs. For example, Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 225) mention [miɾiŋ] 'meeting', [bɑɾi] 'body', and [wɪɾɑʊt] 'without'[58][59]. This begs to question, why do these instances of [ɾ] count as allophones of /t/, /d/, and /θ/ in place of /t/, and not count as the stand-alone phoneme /ɾ/? The answer to this question simultaneously explains why [ɾ] belongs to /r/ and should not be considered a stand-alone phoneme in the first place. As stated in Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 225), "/t/ and /d/ are flapped intervocalically in an unstressed syllable in normal speech". They also state that /θ/ in place of /t/ triggers flapping as well. That is to say, there is a rule—in this case, a phonological one—which allows for the flapping of /t/, /d/, and others under certain environments. Conversely, no phonological rule can explain why or predict when [ɾ]~[ɹ] may or may not occur in JLWs. Instead, we must view these variants through the lens of a sociolinguist (see Hashimoto 2019; Havlík and Wilson 2017). We should consider the fact that /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] appears in borrowings from source languages not limited to Japanese. Regardless of the source language, the split in pronunciation variation occurs for the same reason: the realization of the non-native variant [ɾ] in favor of the native variant [ɹ] is a sociolinguistically motivated choice made by HC speakers. For example, it is not an exaggeration to claim that many HC speakers would pronounce /r/ [ɾ] in te reo Māori words such as *Māo*[ɾ]*i* and *Aotea*[ɾ]*oa*, but not be misunderstood if they pronounced it with the native-variant [ɹ][60]. Flaps exist in te reo Māori /r/ in the same way they exist in Japanese /r/—as true stand-alone phonemes. However, when those words are borrowed (specifically, imported) into HC, the foreign /r/ [ɾ] indeed adapts to HC /r/ [ɹ~ɾ], where [ɹ] is considered the native variant, and [ɾ] is considered the non-native variant. That is to say, the /r/-flapping of English words occurs only when it is phonologically acceptable, whereas the imported /r/ [ɾ] in loanwords, domesticated or not, can only be attributed to the sociolinguistic motivations of the individual speaker.

4.2.4. Data analysis of /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] usage amongst informants

Below is a table summarizing the variation between adapted variant [ɹ] and imported variant [ɾ] in JLW /r/ amongst the four informants. Of the 39 words listed in this chart, all proper nouns and the common noun *mirin* were elicited through isolated readings, whereas all remaining common nouns were elicited through photos or definitions (see Appendix C). The instances of the adapted variant [ɹ] are highlighted in gray for convenience. Please note that Chris had not heard of *girigiri* or *boroboro* before the day of his interview, so the data he provided for these words were elicited through reading.

Table 4.1. Informants' realizations of JLW /r/ by word

HC Loanword	Malu	Kina	Chris	Fumiko
Kaneshiro	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Kimura	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Nakamura	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ

[58] Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 225) also include, "[poɾogi] 'Portuguese' because of /ɔ/ in place of /ɔr/"; however, I could not think of any other words which follow this pattern of conditioned flapping.

[59] Similar to how [miɾiŋ~mitiŋ], [bɑɾi~bɑdi], and [wɪɾɑʊt~wɪθɑʊt] are intelligible and acceptable whether flapped or not, so too are [kaɾɑoke~kaɹɑoke], [kaɾɑi~kaɹai], and other imported JLWs with Japanese /r/.

[60] Credit to Hashimoto (2019: 10), whose work reminded me that some people from Hawai'i, like many NZE speakers, also pronounce /r/ as [ɾ] in te reo Māori loans.

Nishimura	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Oshiro	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Tamashiro	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Uehara	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Uyehara	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Arakawa	ɾ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
Miyashiro	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɾ
Morita	ɹ	ɹ	ɾ	ɹ
ramen	ɹ	ɾ	ɹ	ɹ
Shiroma	ɹ	ɹ	ɾ	ɹ
Tamura	ɹ	ɹ	ɾ	ɹ
teriyaki	ɹ	ɹ	ɾ	ɹ
Harada	ɾ	ɹ	ɾ	ɹ
Murakami	ɹ	ɾ	ɾ	ɹ
origami	ɾ	ɾ	ɹ	ɹ
Hiroshima	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɹ
karaoke	ɾ	ɹ	ɾ	ɾ
Shimabukuro	ɾ	ɹ	ɾ	ɾ
Shirokiya	ɾ	ɹ	ɾ	ɾ
a**r**are	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
ara**r**e	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
arigato	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
bakatare	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
bo**r**oboro	ɾ	ɾ	~~ɹ~~	ɾ
boroboro	ɾ	ɾ	~~ɹ~~	ɾ
furikake	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
furo	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
gi**r**igiri	ɾ	ɾ	~~ɾ~~	ɾ
girigi**r**i	ɾ	ɾ	~~ɾ~~	ɾ
hichirin	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
karate	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
mirin	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
nigiri	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
nori	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
sakura	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
samurai	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
sayonara	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
tempura	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
Yoshimura	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ	ɾ
	[ɹ]: 15 [ɾ]: 27	[ɹ]: 18 [ɾ]: 24	[ɹ]: ~~14~~ *12* [ɾ]: ~~28~~ *26*	[ɹ]: 18 [ɾ]: 24

Overall, the imported variant [ɾ] was pronounced at a higher rate than the adapted variant [ɹ] in JLWs.

When Chris's guesses of *bo*[ɹ]*obo*[ɹ]*o* and *gi*[ɾ]*igi*[ɾ]*i* are disregarded, the results above show that the informants pronounced /r/ as [ɾ] 101 times, and /r/ as [ɹ] 63 times. Malu, the informant with no Japanese language background, pronounced [ɾ] at the highest rate (27 of 42 possible times), though only once more than Chris, while Kina and Fumiko pronounced [ɾ] five times fewer than Chris. This is interesting in many ways. First, Milroy and Milroy (1998: 47–64, in Havlík and Wilson 2017: 196) suggest that women may prefer prestigious or standard pronunciation forms, whereas men prefer the forms of their regional or social dialect. The results above appear to agree with this hypothesis. Second, it could have been predicted that Kina and Fumiko, who are ethnically Japanese, would prefer to use the imported [ɾ] more than the non-Japanese informants; however, this was not the case when compared to the slightly higher rates of [ɾ]-pronunciation by Malu, who is Native Hawaiian-Puerto Rican-Chinese, and Chris, who is White. The sample size for this investigation was small, so more research is needed to understand the relationship between personal identities and variant preference.

4.2.5. Japanese /r/ variation in Hawai'i Creole

Below is a table containing the 39 JLWs that contain /r/ analyzed in the previous section organized by their rate of variant realization. The leftmost list ([ɹ]-preferred words) shows the JLWs whose /r/ was pronounced as [ɹ] amongst all four informants, and the rightmost list ([ɾ]-preferred words) shows the JLWs whose /r/ was pronounced as [ɾ] amongst all four informants. The words in the middle lists ([ɹ]~[ɾ] words) shows the JLWs whose /r/ varied between the two variants. The words above the dashed lines are proper nouns, and those below are common nouns. Of the words listed in this chart, all proper nouns and the common noun *mirin* were elicited through isolated readings, whereas all other common nouns were elicited through photos or definitions (see Appendix C).

Table 4.2. Informants' JLW /r/ variation

[ɹ]-preferred words	[ɹ]~[ɾ] words			[ɾ]-preferred words
High [ɹ]-preference	*Medium [ɹ]-preference*	*Equal [ɹ] and [ɾ]-preference*	*Medium [ɾ]-preference*	*High [ɾ]-preference*
Kaneshiro	Arakawa	Harada	Hiroshima*	Yoshimura
Kimura	Miyashiro	Murakami	Shimabukuro	----------
Nakamura	Morita	----------	Shirokiya	arare
Nishimura	Shiroma	origami*	----------	arigato
Oshiro	Tamura		karaoke*	bakatare
Tamashiro	----------			boroboro[61]
Uehara	ramen*			furikake
Uyehara	teriyaki*			furo
----------				girigiri[62]
				hichirin
				karate*

[61] One informant, Chris, was unfamiliar with the words *boroboro* or *girigiri* until participating in this survey. For the purpose of this analysis, I exclude his guesses from his statistical count.

[62] "

				mirin* nigiri* nori* sakura* samurai* sayonara* tempura*

*JLWs which also appear in American English according to Merriam-Webster (2023).

As seen in the data above, the informants were more likely to realize the /r/ in Japanese common nouns as the non-native variant [ɾ], while proper nouns were more likely to be realized as the native variant [ɹ]. A few of the common nouns in the table above also exist as loanwords in English[63]. Those words are: *Hiroshima*, *karaoke*, *karate*, *mirin*, *nori*, *origami*, *ramen*, *sakura*, *samurai*, *tempura*, and *teriyaki*. Interestingly, it appears that the /r/ in these JLWs is more susceptible to being pronounced as [ɹ]. This contrasts with JLWs not present in English (i.e., the common nouns that were not marked with asterisks), including *arare*, *furo*, and *girgiri*, which were unanimously pronounced as [ɾ]. From the author's viewpoint, while HC-specific JLWs may sound subjectively unnatural when /r/ is pronounced as [ɹ], they convey the same meaning—albeit an invitation for a raised eyebrow from some HC speakers. Therefore, while /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] are in free variation phonologically, there appears to be a sociolinguistically linked relationship that influences most JLW common nouns (especially those which are not present in SE) to be pronounced as [ɾ], and most JLW proper nouns to be pronounced as [ɹ]. This is a sociophonetic feature that is not present in SE, but evidently present in HC.

4.3. Japanese /#ts/ in Hawai‘i Creole

4.3.1. Rethinking Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a) /#ts/

Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 227) identifies the word-initial affricate /ts/ as an "additional affricate" in HC, with *tsunami* used as a representative example[64]. The author questions this inclusion. Even if a sizable number of speakers pronounce [tsu]*nami* rather than [su]*nami*, we still cannot prove that /#ts/ is a legitimate addition to native HC phonology via the JLW pronunciation amongst some individuals. This inclusion insinuates that all native HC monolinguals pronounce the former form and would dismiss the latter form as unnatural or incorrect. This situation mirrors the issues surrounding the inclusion of /ɾ/ as a stand-alone phoneme.

We should mention how /tu/ [tsɯ] works in Japanese. The /ts/ sound in Japanese is considered a single phoneme that appears only in one environment: [t] → [ts] / _u (Shibatani 1990: 164–165). Japanese /tu/ [tsɯ] (romanized as <tsu>) can appear anywhere in a word, native or foreign (e.g., Japanese *Matsumoto*, Russian → Japanese *tsundora* ('tundra'), English → Japanese *supōtsu* ('sport(s)'). So, we must question the need for the inclusion of /#ts/ in the sound system of HC as it only occurs word-initially, does not include the final /u/, and is limited to only a small handful of Japanese words—not to mention the lack of evidence that shows [#ts] is widely pronounced in the first place. Conversely, the affricate [ts] in English occurs in words such as *Wa*[ts]*on* (from 'Walter's son') or *cat*[ts] (when *cat* is pluralized), but indeed never in the word-initial position unless we count the very small

[63] Although, according to Daulton (2022), usage of JLWs in English varies amongst speaker to speaker.
[64] Long and Nagato (2015: 140, 146) and Long and Taki (2019: 102–103) also contend that HE speakers pronounce [tsu] in JLWs while American English speakers pronounce [su] (e.g., [tsu]*nami* vs. [su]*nami*).

number of Japanese-derived words such as *tsunami*. Therefore, it would be more reasonable to attribute the variation seen in this study (e.g. [(t)s]*unami* and [(t)su]*e*) as examples of native and non-native pronunciation variation. That is to say, in /#tsu/, [su] is the native variant, and [tsu] is the non-native variant in both HC *and* English (see §4.2.2.2).

With this in mind, we will describe the data regarding the JLWs where Japanese /tsu/ appeared in the word-initial position. All four informants pronounced 'tsunami' with its non-native variant ([ts]*unami*). In the case of the last name *Tsue*, Malu and Fumiko both used the adapted variant to pronounce [suɛ] and [sːue], respectively. Fumiko's pronunciation appears to have been influenced by the imported variant, though she did not pronounce [t] and instead strengthened [s]. Kina tended to pronounce /#ts/ as [ts]; however, in one case, she pronounced the last name *Tsuha* as [s]-strengthened [sːuhɐ]. In the case of *tsukemono*, Chris deleted the [u] vowel and pronounced [ts]*kemono*, whereas everyone else pronounced [tsu]*kemono*. The author notes that the [u]-deletion of [tsu] demonstrated by Chris, who has experience learning Japanese, can also occur in Japanese (i.e., [u]-devoicing in Japanese /tsukemono/). All in all, the author speculates that [#ts], [#ss], and [#s] are acceptable in both HC and English realizations of word-initial /ts/ of JLWs; however, the prescribed pronunciation of 'tsunami' in some English dictionaries optionalize the initial [t] sound (Merriam-Webster 2023).

4.3.2. [s] as the adapted variant and [ts] as the imported variant of /#ts/

/#ts/ appears infrequently in HC, as it only appears in a small number of JLWs. This is especially apparent for /#ts/ in English. Nonetheless, it appears that the informants realized /#ts/ relatively interchangeably between [s(ː)] and [ts]. The Merriam-Webster (2023) dictionary of American English prescribes [s] pronunciation for JLWs beginning with *tsu-*. This justifies the classification of /#ts/ [s] as the adapted variant and /#ts/ [ts] as the imported variant.

4.3.3. Data analysis of /#ts/ [s~ts] usage amongst informants

Below is a table summarizing the variation between the adapted variant [s] and imported variant [ts] in JLW /#ts/ amongst the informants. Instances of the adapted variant [s] are shaded for convenience.

Table 4.3. Informants' realizations of JLW /#ts/ by word

Loanword	Malu	Kina	Chris	Fumiko
Tsue	sː	ts	ts	sː
Tsuha	s	sː	ts	ts
tsukemono	ts	ts	ts	ts
tsunami	ts	ts	ts	ts
	[s(ː)]: 2 [ts]: 2	[s(ː)]: 1 [ts]: 3	[s(ː)]: 0 [ts]: 4	[s(ː)]: 1 [ts]: 3

The results above show that the informants pronounced the imported variant [ts] 12 out of the 16 times (75%) /#ts/ appeared in the tested JLWs. Conversely, the adapted variant [s] or geminated [sː] was pronounced 4 out of the 16 times (25%) /#ts/ appeared in JLWs. Chris pronounced the imported variant [ts] 4 out of 4 times, Kina and Fumiko 3 out of 4 times, and Malu half of the time. The adapted variant was strengthened to [sː] in all cases except for Malu's pronunciation of 'Tsuha' [ˈsuhɐ].

4.3.4. Japanese /#ts/ variation in Hawai‘i Creole

As seen in the data above, the informants realized the /#ts/ in Japanese common nouns as the imported variant [ts], while those in proper nouns were equally distributed between the adapted and imported variants. Due to the lack of data regarding /#ts/ in this investigation (and frankly, /#ts/ JLWs in general[65]), we cannot suggest whether /#ts/ variation occurs as a rule-based phonological change. One plausible explanation for /#ts/ variation is the sociolinguistic motivation of the informants. That is to say, the imported [ts] pronunciation may convey the speaker's attention to Japanese pronunciation, and thus, reverence for Japanese culture. From the author's viewpoint, JLW /#ts/ does not sound subjectively unnatural whether pronounced as [s] or [ts]. Furthermore, either pronunciation is intelligible and acceptable; however, the latter variant's status as the "correct" pronunciation is perhaps debated amongst certain speakers (§4.4.3.2).

4.4. /r/ [ɾ] and /#ts/ [ts] as the prestigious variants

4.4.1. Kina's comments about /r/ [ɹ]~[ɾ] in Japanese loanwords

Kina held some contention about her own usage of the native variant [ɹ] when pronouncing JLWs. When the author showed her a photo of people singing joyfully in a small room during the elicitation survey, Kina giggled regrettably and preambled her response with, "Aww, I feel like I say *ka*[ɹ]*aoke*[66]...". This pronunciation is close to the American English pronunciation of the word, as opposed to the basilectal pronunciation of *karaoke* [kaɾaoke] (from Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 226), which is roughly closer to the original Japanese pronunciation [kaɾaoke]. Kina also confessed her embarrassment for pronouncing *Shirokiya*, the name of a now-closed Japanese department store in O‘ahu, as *shi*[ɹ]*okiya*, and felt that *shi*[ɾ]*okiya* is the "correct" pronunciation. Also, when reading Japanese last names, she appeared to reluctantly pronounce many of them using the native-variant [ɹ] (e.g., *Nakamu*[ɹ]*a*, *Ueha*[ɹ]*a*), and noted that she would pronounce /r/ as [ɾ] if she knew that the person was of Japanese nationality out of respect for their name and language. The case of Kina's discomfort toward using the native variant [ɹ] in JLWs perhaps reveals that some HC speakers are aware of the sociophonetic implication of pronouncing [ɹ] *versus* [ɾ], where the former sound is attached to non-Localness while the latter implies Localness. It appears that Kina feels that [ɹ] pronunciation is damaging to her Local identity.

4.4.2. A tangent on /r/ and prestige

It is unclear why informants unanimously pronounced the *-mura* in *Yoshimura* as *-mu*[ɾ]*a*, while *Nakamura* and *Nishimura* were pronounced unanimously as *-mu*[ɹ]*a*. In the author's personal experience as a Local born and raised in rural O‘ahu and partially raised in rural Hawai‘i, the usage of the non-native variant [ɾ] in Japanese last names is extremely uncommon in Hawai‘i. For instance, many HC speakers with a Japanese last name containing /r/ more often than not introduce themselves using [ɹ]. However, there appears to be a time and place where using [ɾ] is appropriate. I recall a male intermediate school

[65] Not included in this analysis are other instances of /tsu/ in HC. It is noteworthy that word-medial /tsu/ (e.g., *katsu* ('Japanese-style cutlet')) and word-final /tsu (e.g., *Matsumoto* (last name)) were both pronounced [tsu]. This suggests that word-initial /tsu/ shows variation between [su~tsu], while word-medial and word-final /tsu/ is strictly pronounced [tsu]. The adapted [su] pronunciation demonstrates the unmarked English pronunciation of JLW /#ts/, while the [tsu] pronunciation marks a HC speaker for their Localness (see §4.4.3.2). Furthermore, Hawaiian *tutu* ('grandmother') was not pronounced as [tsutsu] by the informants who were able to recall the target word. This suggests that /tsu/ is most likely restricted to JLWs. Furthermore, the /tsu/ and /su/ found in JLWs are also distinct, as the /su/ in words such as *sumo* and *musubi* ('rice ball') were only pronounced [su].

[66] Pronounced as [kæ̟ɹiˈoʊki].

teacher of Japanese heritage who would normally pronounce Local students' Japanese last names using [ɹ] throughout the school year but recited their names using [ɾ] during the graduation ceremony with great pride and gusto. Other teachers, Japanese or not, announced their students' Japanese last names with [ɹ]. Conversely, I recall a female manager of Korean descent at one of my part-time jobs in O'ahu who always used [ɾ] when pronouncing the /r/ in Japanese last names of our co-workers, and would playfully suggest that the [ɹ] pronunciations are "wrong" and "shameful". These personal anecdotes combined with Kina's opinion on the pronunciation of Japanese last names may allow us to predict that [ɾ] pronunciation of Japanese words occur more often in a specific social register (i.e., when showing respect to another person). Furthermore, there may be cases where /r/ is not flapped to conceal one's identity as a Local. For example, during a podcast interview held in California, Mark Kanemura, a Local professional dancer who has been residing on the West Coast of the United States for most of his adulthood, briefly spoke about how he felt compelled to "adjust" his pronunciation of *ka*[ɾ]*aoke* to *ka*[ɹ]*aoke*, amongst other Localisms, since leaving Hawai'i (Moguls of Media 2023). Further research is needed to understand the deeper social implications of [ɾ]~[ɹ] preference amongst HC speakers.

4.4.3. Evidence from outside of this investigation

4.4.3.1. The attitude of a prominent English-speaking Japanese American toward English /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] in Japanese loanwords

Asakawa's (2021, August 6) "A Pronunciation Guide for Japanese Words Including panko, udon, sake, anime and karaoke" is an opinionated newspaper article published in *Pacific Citizen - The National Newspaper of the JACL*[67]. This article, authored by an experienced Japanese American news writer and editor, was originally published as a blog post in 2009 which was met with viral attention by blog visitors. He later revised and submitted this post to *Pacific Citizen* in 2021 with the intention to catch the attention of reporters (and perhaps viewers) of the postponed 2020 Tokyo Olympics. Here is an excerpt from the beginning of the article:

> I assume the broadcasters got coached on pronouncing Japanese words, but many have been mangled, or are sometimes spoken correctly, sometimes not — often by the same anchor or reporter, within the same report. 'Tokyo' is probably the word that gets the most varied treatment. (Asakawa 2021, August 6)

It continues,

> Here are some words that I often hear mispronounced and how they should be spoken (note to my Japanese-speaking friends: I know I say some of these words with an Americanized accent … what can I say, I'm Japanese American! … (Asakawa 2021, August 6)

Amongst his prescriptivist views outlined in this word-by-word "pronunciation guide" advocating against American anglicisms in JLW pronunciation, ranging from syllable count to vowel and consonantal adaptations, his distaste for [ɹ] appears to stand out from the rest. His entries for 'Hiroshima', 'karaoke', 'karate', 'ramen', 'tempura', and 'teriyaki' suggest to readers that the "correct" Japanese pronunciation of /r/ ought to be "(slightly) trilled" ([ɾ]), unlike the "Western R" ([ɹ]) (he writes

[67] JACL: Japanese American Citizens League.

both as <R>). Reading Asakawa (2021, August 6) perhaps allows us to better understand Kina's similar distaste for the so-called "Western R" (recall §4.4). Although Kina, a person of partial Japanese descent, is bilingual in HC and English, it is the author's intuition that her and Asakawa's disapproving attitudes toward JLW /r/ [ɹ] stem from a longing for linguistic authenticity. As an added layer in the case of Kina, who is also a Local of partial Native Hawaiian heritage, we could assume that her identities play a large role in retaining Japanese "authenticity" over what she may agree to call the "Western R". In any event, although we could critique how truly "authentic" Asakawa's (2021, August 6) pronunciation suggestions are, the main point to take away from here is that even some English speakers appear to be hypercritical about the pronunciation of JLW /r/.

The author of this thesis speculates that this attitude is perhaps not restricted to anglophones of Japanese descent. For example, Daulton (2022: 533–534) mentions how some JLWs in English are "highly relevant to certain 'sophisticated' individuals", and describes obscure JLWs as, "*boutique words for the culturally savvy*". He continues, "[t]he JLW borrowing process [in English] … follows orthodox patterns that include changes in pronunciation, form, and meaning". However, the author of this thesis would like to mention that he has met many speakers, regardless of nationality, ethnicity, or L1, who pronounce JLWs in their L1 using non-standard variants so as to sound, with air quotes, "more Japanese". This may be due to such speakers' reverence to Japanese culture. This phenomenon is no different from English speakers pronouncing Spanish borrowings such as "Puerto Rico" with a trilled [r]—the speakers may choose to use such a variant to display their reverence for Latin culture or to sound "correct".

4.4.3.2. The attitude of a prominent English-speaking Japanese American toward *tsunami*

The Howard Stern Show (2019, August 13) is a clip of an interview with guest George Takei, a prominent Japanese American actor, who was born in Los Angeles, California in 1937. The title of the clip is "George Takei's Articulation Is Infectious". The topic of Takei's soothing diction arose with a focus on his usage of sophisticated terminology and sentence formations. The main host imitated his *Takei-isms* in the following quote: "I must say … that when George is on the air with us, I do find myself speaking in a different manner." The other hosts join with the main host in imitating Takei's pronunciations of non-English-derived words, which Takei is famously known to pronounce in a way not standard to English, such as French *Château Rocher*; Spanish *Guatemala* and *guacamole*; and Japanese *tsunami* and *Tokyo*. Takei appeared genuinely amused, laughing and pronouncing these words along with the hosts. Specifically, after the host mimicked Takei's pronunciation of *tsunami* (the host heavily exaggerated the initial [ts]), Takei made the following remark: "Well, you're speaking *correctly*, though. Tsunami. You've improved your, uh, language usage." This exchange shows that some while English speakers, such as Takei, place importance on the pronunciation of [#ts] in JLWs, others, such as the hosts, point it out for its non-standardness.

Now, the author regrettably did not ask the informants about their attitudes toward [ts]*unami*/[ts]*ukemono*' versus [s]*unami*/[s]*ukemono*. However, based on the data, we can predict that HC speakers are more likely to pronounce [ts] than [s] in comparison to "standard" English speakers. We must also consider the possibility that there may be those who "know" that [ts] is "correct", but do not particularly see importance in pronouncing it that way. Whatever the case may be, it is crucial to note that [ts]~[s] variation is not unique to HC, and it would be as misguided to include /#ts/ as an "additional affricate" in English as it would be to include it in HC (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 227).

4.5. A note on domesticated *versus* non-domesticated Japanese loanwords

Fumiko noted that she makes an effort to call a dish by its "authentic" Japanese name as opposed to the word typically used by Locals. To be specific, Fumiko noted that she used to call both Hawai'i-style and Japanese-style noodle soups *saimin*[68], but only recently learned of their difference when Japanese *ramen* shops began opening around her hometown in Hilo a few years prior. She proudly stated that she can now distinguish *saimin* from *ramen* (she pronounces [ɹ]*amen*). While *ramen* is a Japanese word, we can predict that this lexical item was introduced into mainstream HC speech relatively recently through English. This can be supported not only through Fumiko's recent discovery but also because *ramen* is not mentioned in Inoue's (1991) "A Glossary of Hawaiian Japanese", though saimin is. It should also be noted that Inoue (1991) does not mention *karaoke*, either. The results of this investigation show that this word is usually pronounced as *ka*[ɾ]*aoke*, so it is perhaps dubious to assume that JLWs that are not associated with plantation-era Hawai'i ought to be categorized based on glottochronological grounds. Perhaps the high rate of usage of /r/ [ɾ] in *karaoke* suggests that JLWs that have been domesticated in HC tend to be pronounced with the imported sound more than in non-domesticated loanwords. However, if we project *ramen* as a new Japanese word introduced through the prestigious lexifier English, then we can attribute Fumiko's motive to drop *saimin* in favor of *ramen* as an example of lexical debasilectalization. As opposed to Kina, however, Fumiko appeared to hold a sense of responsibility in changing her speech to separate Local terminology from Japanese terminology as a form of paying reverence to her Japanese heritage.

4.6. Japanese /fu/ in Hawai'i Creole

There were seven JLWs elicited in this investigation which include /fu/: *Fujimoto*, *Fukuda*, *Fukumoto, furikake*, *furo*, *futon*, and *tofu*. Below is a table summarizing the variation between the adapted variant [fu] and imported variant [ɸu] in JLW /fu/ amongst the informants. Instances of the adapted variant [fu] are shaded for convenience.

Table 4.4. Informants' realizations of JLW /fu/ by word

Loanword	Malu	Kina	Chris	Fumiko
Fujimoto	fu	fu	fu	ɸu
Fukuda	fu	fu	fu	fu
Fukumoto	fu	fu	fu	fu
furikake	fu	fu	fu	fu
furo	fu	fu	fu	fu
futon	fu	ɸu	fu	fu
tofu	fu	fu	fu	fu
	[fu]: 7 [ɸu]: 0	[fu]: 6 [ɸu]: 1	[fu]: 7 [ɸu]: 0	[fu]: 6 [ɸu]: 1

Except for two cases, all informants adapted Japanese voiceless bilabial fricative in /fu/ [ɸu] with voiceless labiodental fricative (as [fu]). In one exception, Kina pronounced *futon* as [ɸuˈtoːn]. In the other exception, Fumiko pronounced *Fujimoto* as [ɸudʒiˈmotto]. The author speculates that [fu~ɸu]

[68] 'Saimin' (from Cantonese *xìmiàn* 'small noodles') is commonly used in Hawai'i representing both the Hawai'i-influenced noodle dish as well as 'instant ramen noodles'. The author would like to note that while many Local saimin stands exist around the islands, Japanese ramen shops have become increasingly popular.

variation in JLWs is not unheard of, albeit not well-researched or well-documented[69]. Furthermore, the existence of this variation is likely to parallel that of /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] and /#ts/ [s~ts]—[fu] can be viewed as the adapted pronunciation variant, whereas [ɸu] can be viewed as the imported pronunciation variant. This variation can likely only be found in JLW /fu/, though more research is needed to investigate the frequency of [ɸu] in specific words. This current investigation's lack of data regarding JLW /fu/ [fu~ɸu] stands in the way of an in-depth analysis; however, the author is confident that this variation exists amongst some HC speakers, though [ɸ] realization is not as widespread as [ɾ] and perhaps limited to those with an intense connection to or reverence for the Japanese language and culture.

4.7. Summary

The usage of imported pronunciation variants in certain loanwords is not grounds for proposing a phonemic split between that and the adapted variant (e.g., /r/ [ɹ]; /ɾ/ [ɾ] only found in JLWs). Instead, we should view the non-native sound as an imported variant that stands alongside its adapted counterpart below the same phoneme (e.g., /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] in JLWs) (see also Hashimoto 2019). Japanese /#ts/ variation between [s~ts] can be viewed through a similar lens, though /#ts/ cannot be a stand-alone phoneme in HC, nor is it one in Japanese. One informant, Kina, noted in an almost self-deprecating way that pronouncing [ɹ] in JLWs feels incorrect and is something that should be fixed. She also reported that using [ɾ] feels more respectful toward the Japanese language, and becomes more motivated to flap /r/ when speaking English with Japanese L1s or if the topic is regarding a Japanese L1. Nonetheless, her rate of [ɾ] usage was no different from that of Fumiko, and her rate of [ɾ] realization was slightly lower than that of Malu and Chris. It is remarkable that the imported variant was used at an overall higher rate than the adapted variant across all four informants. Therefore, although Sakoda and Siegel's (2008a) /ɾ/ and /#ts/ is due for revision, ignoring the sociophonetic significance of [ɾ] and [ts] would be regrettable. Further research regarding /fu/ in JLWs is also necessary to explore the variation between [fu~ɸu].

[69] In fact, Long and Taki's (2019: 100) study found that informants did not demonstrate the [ɸu] pronunciation in JLWs containing /fu/. Rather, those informants consistently used [fu]. The paper gave the example of *tofu* being pronounced as *to*[f]*u.* However, the author remembers his aunty's pronunciation of *tofu* being [toːɸuː].

CHAPTER 5
VARIATION IN HAWAIIAN LOANWORDS

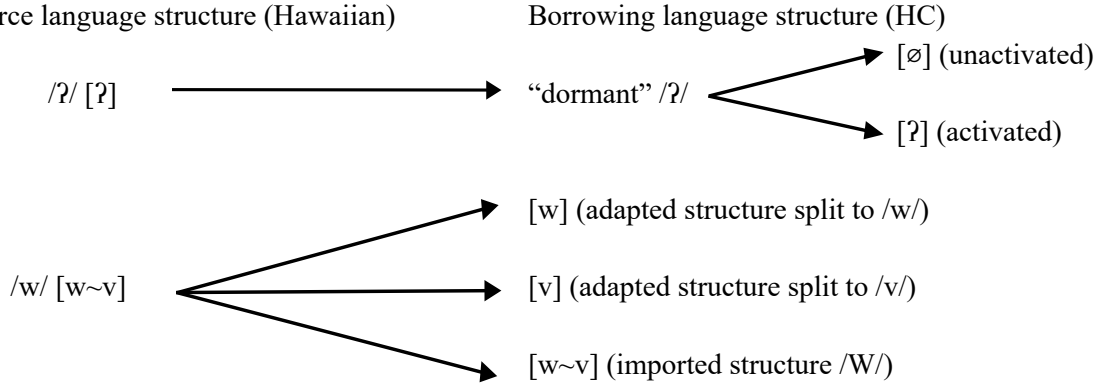
5.1. Introduction

55 of the HLWs used in this study contain one or more glottal stops. /ʔ/ is a stand-alone phoneme in Hawaiian, orthographically represented with an ‘okina (<‘>), and can change the meaning of a word in Hawaiian (e.g., *‘uku* means ‘louse’ while *puku* means ‘to gather together’). However, this distinction does not appear to exist in HC, and the realization of glottal stops in HLWs varies from speaker to speaker. This allows us to predict that the /ʔ/ phoneme in HLWs present in HC is “dormant” (loosely adapted from Potet 1995: 535). In other words, despite not being part of the natural HC sound system, speakers may choose to “activate” /ʔ/ as either [ʔ] or [Ø] in free variation. However, social factors may influence how and when [ʔ] and [Ø] are realized.

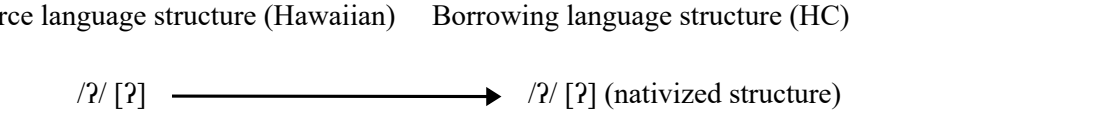
Variation in Hawaiian /w/ was not discussed in Sakoda and Siegel (2008a) nor Sakoda and Siegel (2003); however, this chapter explores the variation in its pronunciation amongst the informants. While Hawaiian /w/ does not distinguish [w] or [v] (Parker Jones 2018: 106), it appears that HC speakers attribute “correctness” to one pronunciation variant over the other in some HLWs, while other HLWs can be freely pronounced as [w~v] (§5.3). It should be noted that Hawaiian /w/ [w~v] is orthographically represented as <w> in the source language as well as when loaned to English or HC.

Below are this thesis’ approaches to the sounds that are discussed in this chapter in comparison to Sakoda and Siegel’s (2008a) descriptions (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3):

(1) Variables under study in this chapter (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3)



(2) Variants according to Sakoda and Siegel (2008a) (adapted from Hashimoto 2019: 3)



Hawaiian /w/ is not discussed in Sakoda and Siegel (2008a) or Sakoda and Siegel (2003).

5.2. Hawaiian /ʔ/ in Hawai‘i Creole

5.2.1. Rethinking Sakoda and Siegel’s (2008a, 2003) /ʔ/

In Sakoda and Siegel (2003: 21), it is written that HC “includes” glottal stops in HLWs, though in Sakoda and Siegel (2003: 5), it is mentioned that some glottal stops were not carried into Pidgin

Hawaiian (e.g., *pi‘i mai* → *pi mai*), which would eventually influence Hawai‘i Pidgin English. Furthermore, Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 227) identify [ʔ] as a sound found in HLWs used by “many speakers”. Below is an excerpt from the short section it was mentioned:

> Many speakers of Hawai‘i Creole also use the glottal stop [ʔ] in words from Hawaiian, for example in [kɑmɑʔɑɪnɑ] ‘person born in Hawai‘i or long term resident’ and [niʔihɑʊ] ‘Ni‘ihau’ (an island in the Hawaiian group). (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 226)

In the HC orthography section on the same page, the glottal stop sound is represented by the phoneme “/ʔ/” (see §7.1.4 for a discussion on Odo orthography).

In contrast, the results from the present study suggest that [ʔ] realization in HLWs is a structure imported from Hawaiian to HC, and its realization in words such as *Ni*[ʔ]*ihau* or *kama*[ʔ]*aina* are not phonologically conditioned but sociolinguistically motivated. Similar to JLW /ɾ/ [ɹ~ɾ], HLWs are most likely intelligible whether pronounced with the adapted structure or imported structure (e.g., [ø]~[ʔ]). That is to say, whether the glottal stop is pronounced or not, the meaning of a word do not change; although, “incorrect” usage or non-usage of [ʔ] may raise the eyebrows of those who are critical of Hawaiian pronunciation. However, what makes [ʔ] pronunciation in HC unique is that the glottal stop phoneme /ʔ/ does not have an actual *phonemic* equivalent in HC or SE. For instance, the glottal stop phonemes in Hawaiian /muʔumuʔu/ are deleted in English to /muumuu/ (Merriam-Webster 2023)—the appearance of the glottal stop in HC *mu*[ʔ]*umu*[ʔ]*u* should be understood as a sound epenthesis since /ʔ/ [ʔ] is not a stand-alone phoneme in English, the superstrate, nor in its child, HC. This claim is justifiable when considering [ʔ] does *not* contrast with any other SE/HC sound, and its realization does *not* provide distinguishment in meaning with other words. Therefore, we cannot assume that /ʔ/ exists as a stand-alone phoneme in HC in the same way actual attestable phonemes exist (e.g., /tʃ/, /d/, /k/). However, viewing /ʔ/ as a *dormant phoneme* in HC allows for an explanation as to why it is possible for speakers to realize or not realize [ʔ] in HLWs. To support these claims, the following sections present my argument based on the phonological data collected through this study, feedback from the informants, and personal analyses.

5.2.2. /ʔ/ as a “dormant phoneme”: [ø] as the adapted variant and [ʔ] as the imported variant

First, we must consider the change the Hawaiian-introduced /ʔ/ phoneme experienced through generations of language hybridization. /ʔ/ is a stand-alone phoneme in Hawaiian that can be contrasted with other phonemes (recall *‘uku* vs. *puku*). However, this feature apparently began to disappear in Hawaiian Pidgin (Sakoda and Siegel 2003: 5) until completely disappearing in HC (or possibly HPE). Aside from the effects of general language mixing, the sudden drop in the Hawaiian population from 1778 and the subsequent ban on Hawaiian language medium education from 1896 to 1976 must have further attributed to the phonetic obsoletion of /ʔ/ in Hawaiian-influenced contact languages. However, it would be erroneous to say that the realization of [ʔ] in HLWs was lost amongst HC speakers. On the contrary, many HC speakers continue to pronounce [ʔ] despite its “unimportance” in terms of the conventional ideas of phonetics and phonology. HC speakers (especially post-Hawaiian Renaissance) likely place great importance on retaining or rediscovering glottal stops in HLWs—the informants in this investigation retained the [ʔ] in HLWs at a high rate, and in some cases even demonstrated [ʔ]-hypercorrection. Regardless of this high rate of realization, however, we still cannot regard the glottal stop as a stand-alone phoneme in HC for the reasons given in the previous section.

Therefore, an issue arises in how we approach the categorizations of the very real variation between [⌀] and [ʔ], for the stand-alone phoneme attached to these variants (Hawaiian /ʔ/) simply does not exist in HC or SE. Perhaps the "disappearance" of Hawaiian /ʔ/ in HC phonology could be summed to the "death" or "dormancy" of this phoneme. However, its widespread phonological realization despite its "death" cannot be ignored. The Hawaiian phoneme /ʔ/ may exist in HC as a so-called "dormant phoneme[70]", whose phonetic realization is "revived" by speakers who choose to activate it. Research on a similar linguistic phenomenon appears to be non-existent. Nonetheless, we can postulate that Hawaiian /ʔ/ is omnipresent in HC, and its realization as [ʔ] can be projected to spread rather than be completely lost due to the reverence for the Hawaiian language and culture amongst HC speakers (Okamoto 1980; Wong 1999).

5.2.3. Data analysis of dormant /ʔ/ [ʔ~⌀] usage amongst informants

5.2.3.1. [ʔ] retention (activation of dormant /ʔ/)

18 of the 45 HLWs containing dormant /ʔ/ were elicited with the glottal stop realized its medial position(s) by all four informants. Those words are listed below.

(3) HLWs with word-medial dormant /ʔ/ realized as [ʔ] by all informants

(a) aliʻi	'Hawaiian chief'
(b) Hawaiʻi	place name
(c) Honokaʻa	place name
(d) Hōʻaeʻae	place name
(e) hoʻoponopono	'to make right'
(f) humuhumunukunukuapuaʻa	'reef triggerfish (Rhinecanthus rectangulus)'
(g) Kahoʻolawe	place name
(h) Kalanianaʻole	'family name of Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalanianaʻole'
(i) kamaʻāina	'a person born on the Hawaiian islands'
(j) Kaʻahumanu	'family name of Queen Kaʻahumanu'
(k) Keaʻau	place name
(l) Koʻolau	place name
(m) muʻumuʻu	'a loose dress worn in Hawaiʻi'
(n) Niʻihau	place name
(o) Nuʻuanu	place name
(p) Puʻuhonua	place name
(q) ʻaʻole	'no'

Below is a table summarizing the rate of retention of word-medial glottal stops in HLWs. The leftmost list shows words in which none of the informants realized the word-medial glottal stop, and the rightmost list shows words in which all informants realized the word-medial glottal stop. The words appearing above the dashed line are proper nouns, and those below are common nouns.

[70] The term "dormant phoneme" and "activated" is nominally adapted from Potet (1995: 353), a historical linguistic analysis of Tagalog which provides brief examples of proposed "dormant phonemes" whose (non-)activation remains undetermined.

Table 5.1. Summary of informants' realizations of word-medial dormant /ʔ/

[ø] words	[ø~ʔ] words			[ʔ] words
0% retention	*25% retention*	*50% retention*	*75% retention*	*100% retention*
Kualakaʻi	Keoneʻae	Haleʻiwa	ʻEleʻele	Hawaiʻi
----------	Kāneʻohe	Haʻikū	Hawaiʻi Kai	Honokaʻa
	Kūkuluaeʻo	Kapiʻolani	Kauaʻi	Hōʻaeʻae
	Lāwaʻi	Liliʻuokalani	Lānaʻi	Kahoʻolawe
	Mokulēʻia	Lāʻie	Oʻahu	Kalanianaʻole
	Pepeʻekeo	Līhuʻe	----------	Kaʻahumanu
	Waiʻanae	Molokaʻi	lūʻau	Kaʻū[71]
	----------	Māʻili	maikaʻi	Keaʻau
		ʻŌmaʻo		Koʻolau
		Waipiʻo		Niʻihau
		----------		Nuʻuanu
		liliko'i		Puʻuhonua
				----------
				aliʻi
				hoʻoponopono
				hu…apuaʻa
				kamaʻāina
				muʻumuʻu
				ʻaʻole

There are many possible reasons as to why some words experience glottal stop realization at varying rates. §5.4.2.3 considers the "*Moloka*(ʻ)*i* debate", whose glottal stop usage is fiercely regarded as "incorrect" by inhabitants of the island. Place names such as *Kualakaʻi* and *Keoneʻae* are not quite widely known to Locals, though efforts are being made to revive traditional place names (see HART 2017, 2019). Finally, the author believes that there is a movement amongst Locals to "revive" the "lost" ʻokina in more-or-less well-known HLWs such as *Kāneʻohe*, *Waiʻanae*, and *likoʻi*—further sociolinguistic research is needed to accurately assess this claim.

5.2.3.2. /ʔ/-deletion (non-activation of dormant /ʔ/)

Word-initial glottal stops are not uncommon in Hawaiian, not to mention in a handful of loanwords present in HC. The data below show that all informants tend to delete this initial glottal stop when reading and recalling HLWs. Kina deleted all eighteen word-initial glottal stops, Chris seventeen, Fumiko fifteen, and Malu ten.

(4) Word-initial /ʔ/-deletion in HLWs

The word-initial glottal stop was deleted in…

(a) *ʻahi* ʻtuna fish' by all informants;

(b) *ʻĀhuimanu* place name by all informants;

[71] It is assumed that one informant, Chris, had never encountered this word until participating in this survey, as he is not from the island, Hawaiʻi, where this town is located. For the purpose of this analysis, his response is ignored.

(c) *ʻAiea*	place name	by all informants;
(d) *ʻāina*	‘land’	by Kina and Fumiko;
(e) *ʻauʻau*	‘to bathe; to shower’	by all informants;
(f) *ʻaʻole*	‘no’	by Kina, Chris, and Fumiko;
(g) *ʻEleʻele*	place name	by Kina, Chris, and Fumiko;
(h) *ʻEwa*	place name	by all informants;
(i) *ʻIolani*	place name	by all informants;
(j) *ʻōkole*	‘buttocks’	by all informants;
(k) *ʻŌmaʻo*	place name	by Kina, Chris, and Fumiko;
(l) *ʻono*	‘delicious’	by Kina, Chris, and Fumiko;
(m) *ʻōpala*	‘rubbish; trash’	by all informants;
(n) *ʻopihi*	‘Hawaiian blackfoot (Cellana exarata)’	by all informants;
(o) *ʻōpū*	‘stomach; belly’	by Kina, Chris, and Fumiko;
(p) *ʻuku*	‘head lice’	by Kina and Chris;
(q) *ʻukulele*	‘a small Portuguese guitar’	by Kina and Chris;
(r) *ʻulu*	‘breadfruit’	by all informants.

Word-medial glottal stops underwent deletion by all four informants. Chris deleted eighteen word-medial glottal stops, Fumiko fifteen, Kina thirteen, and Malu two.

(5) Word-medial dormant /ʔ/-deletion (non-activation) in HLWs[72]

(a) *Haleʻiwa* was read as	[hɐlɛˈiːvə]	by Kina;
	[hɑleˈiːvə]	by Chris.
(b) *Hawaiʻi (Kai)*[73] was read as	[həˈwəɪˈkaːɪ]	by Chris.
(c) *Haʻikū* was read as	[hɐɪˈkuː]	by Kina;
	[haɪˈku]	by Fumiko.
(d) *Kāneʻohe* was read as	[kanɛˈoːhɛ]	by Kina;
	[kɑˌniˈoːhe]	by Chris;
	[kɐneˈoːhe]	by Fumiko.
(e) *Kapiʻolani* was read as	[kəpiˌoˈləni]	by Kina;
	[kɑpiˌoˈlɑːni]	by Chris.
(f) *Kauaʻi* was read as	[ˈkʌːwaɪ]	by Fumiko.
(g) *Kaʻū* was read as	[ˈkaʊ]	by Chris.
(h) *Keoneʻae* was read as	[ˌkeˈoˌnɛˈɐiˌ]	by Malu;
	[keʔonɛˈaiˌ]	by Kina;
	[keəˈnaɪ]	by Chris.
(i) *Kualakaʻi* was read as	[kuɐləˈkəi]	by Malu;
	[kuʔaləˈkaɪ]	by Kina;

[72] See footnotes for common noun definitions. The proper nouns in this list and the lists onward can be considered place names.

[73] *Hawaiʻi Kai* is a Honolulu subdivision recorded in Pukui et al. (1974: 43). Although the etymology is not clearly defined in this dictionary, the *Kai* in *Hawaiʻi Kai* is rumored to come from the clipping of the surname of Henry Kaiser when he began developing the area in 1959 (Pili 2020). Coincidentally, *kai* in Hawaiian translates to ‘sea water’ (Pukui and Elbert 1986), which leads many HC speakers to assume that this place name is of Hawaiian origin, though technically this word would be the result of a blend and clipping if we consider the Kaiser theory.

	[kuːləˈkɐɪ]	by Chris;
	[kualaˈkaɪ]	by Fumiko.
(j) *Kūkuluae‘o* was read as	[kukuluːˈao]	by Kina;
	[kuːkuːluˈaɪo]	by Chris;
	[kuːkuːluːˈaːɛːo]	by Fumiko.
(k) *Lāna‘i* was read as	[lɐːˈnaɪ]	by Fumiko.
(l) *Lāwa‘i* was read as	[ləˈvaɪ]	by Kina;
	[ləˈwaɪ]	by Chris;
	[lɐːˈwaɪ]	by Fumiko.
(m) *Lā‘ie* was read as	[ˈlaːɛː]	by Kina;
	[lɐːˈie]	by Chris.
(n) *Līhu‘e* was read as	[lɛːˈhuɛ]	by Kina;
	[liˈhue]	by Fumiko.
(o) *liliko‘i*[74] was recalled as	[ˈlɪlikoj]	by Chris;
	[liliˈkoj]	by Fumiko.
(p) *Lili‘uokalani* was read as	[lɪˈlioˌkəˈlɐːni]	by Chris;
	[liliuːkəˈlani]	by Fumiko.
(q) *lū‘au*[75] was recalled as	[luːˈʁʊ]	by Chris.
(r) *maika‘i*[76] was recalled as	[maɪˈkai]	by Fumiko.
(s) *Mā‘ili* was read as	[ˈmaɪli]	by Kina and Chris.
(t) *Mokulē‘ia* was read as	[mokuˈlɛɪə]	by Kina;
	[moːkuˈlɛɪə]	by Chris;
	[mokuˈlɛʁ]	by Fumiko.
(u) *Moloka‘i* was read as	[moloˈkəi]	by Chris;
	[moloˈkaɪ]	by Fumiko.
(v) *O‘ahu* was read as	[oʊˈɑːhu]	by Chris.
(w) *Pepe‘ekeo* was read as	[pɛpɛˈkɛːo]	by Kina;
	[peːpeːˈkeo]	by Chris;
	[pɛpɛˈkɛo]	by Fumiko.
(x) *Wai‘anae* was read as	[waɪəˈnaɪ]	by Kina;
	[ˈwaɪnaɪ]	by Chris;
	[ˈwaɪənaɪ]	by Fumiko.

Table 5.2. Summary of informants’ /ʔ/-deletion (non-activation) in HLWs[77]

Gloss	Malu	Kina	Chris	Fumiko
Hale‘iwa	[hʁleˈʔiva]	[hʁlɛˈiːvə]	[hɑleˈiːvə]	[hʁlɛˈʔivə]
Hawai‘i Kai	[həˈwɐjʔiˈkəi]	[həˈwəʔiˈkaːɪ]	[həˈwəɪˈkaːɪ]	[həˈwɐjʔiˈkaɪ]
Ha‘ikū	[hʌʔiˈkuː]	[hʁɪˈkuː]	[haˈʔiku]	[haɪˈku]

[74] ‘passionfruit’
[75] ‘a traditional gathering with lots of food and entertainment’
[76] ‘good’
[77] Deletion is defined in relation to the original position(s) of Hawaiian /ʔ/.

Kāneʻohe	[kɐːnɛˈʔohɛ]	[kanɛˈoːhɛ]	[kɑˌniˈoːhe]	[kɐneˈoːhe]
Kapiʻolani	[kəpiˌʔoˈləni]	[kəpiˌoˈləni]	[kɑpiˌoˈlɑːni]	[kɐpiʔoˈlani]
Kauaʻi	[kɐˈwəʔi]	[kəˈwəʔi]	[kəˈwəʔi]	[ˈkʌːwaɪ]
Kaʻū	[kʌˈʔuː]	[kaˈʔuː]	[ˈkaʊ]	[kɐːˈʔuː]
Keoneʻae[78]	[ˌkeˈoˌnɛˈɐiˌ]	[keʔonɛˈaiˌ]	[keəˈnaɪ]	[keʔoneˈʔaʔɛ]
Kualakaʻi	[kuɐləˈkəi]	[kuʔaləˈkaɪ]	[kuːləˈkɐɪ]	[kualaˈkaɪ]
Kūkuluaeʻo	[kuːkuluˈaiʔo]	[kukuluːˈao]	[kuːkuːluˈaɪo]	[kuːkuːluːˈaːɛːo]
Lānaʻi	[laːˈnʌʔi]	[lɐːˈnəʔi]	[ləːˈnəʔi]	[lɐːˈnaɪ]
Lāwaʻi	[lɐːˈvəʔi]	[ləˈvaɪ]	[ləˈwaɪ]	[lɐːˈwaɪ]
Lāʻie	[lɐːˈʔie]	[ˈlaːɛː]	[lɐːˈie]	[laːˈʔie]
Līhuʻe	[liːˈhuʔɛ]	[lɛːˈhuɛ]	[liˈhuːʔɛ]	[liˈhue]
lilikoʻi	[liliˈkoʔi]	[lɪliˈkoʔi]	[ˈlɪlikoj]	[liliˈkoj]
Liliʻuokalani	[liːˈliːʔuːoːkəːˈləːni]	[lili:ʔuokəˈləni]	[lɪˈlioˌkəˈlɐːni]	[liliuːkəˈlani]
lūʻau	[ˈluːʔɐʊ]	[luːˈʔaʊ]	[luːˈɐʊ]	[ˈluːʔɐʊ]
maikaʻi[79]	[məiˈkʌʔi]	[məɪˈkʌʔi]	[məɪˈkʌʔi]	[maɪˈkai]
Māʻili	[maːˈʔili]	[ˈmaɪli]	[ˈmaɪli]	[mɐˈʔili]
Mokulēʻia	[mokulɛːˈʔiˌɐ]	[mokuˈlɛɪə]	[moːkuˈlɛɪə]	[mokuˈlɛɐ]
Molokaʻi[80]	[moloˈkʌʔi]	[moloˈkɐʔi]	[moloˈkəi]	[moloˈkaɪ]
Oʻahu	[oˈʔahu]	[oˈʔɐːhu]	[oʊˈɑːhu]	[oˈʔɐːhu]
Pepeʻekeo	[pɛːpɛʔɛˈkɛo]	[pɛpɛˈkɛːo]	[peːpeːˈkeo]	[pɛpɛˈkɛo]
Waiʻanae	[wəiʔəˈnəɪ]	[waɪəˈnaɪ]	[ˈwaɪnaɪ]	[ˈwaɪənaɪ]
ʻahi	[ˈɐhi]	[ˈɐhi]	[ˈɑːhi]	[ˈɐhi]
ʻĀhuimanu	[ɐːhuiˈmənu]	[əhuiˈmɐːnu]	[ɐhjuːˈmɑnu]	[ahuiˈmɐːnu]
ʻAiea	[ˈəi.ɛ.ɐ]	[ɐɛˈɐː]	[aɪ.ˈʔɛ.ə]	[aɪ.ˈʔe.ə]
ʻāina	[ˈʔəinɐ]	[ˈəinɐ]	[ˈʔɐinə]	[ˈainɐ]
ʻauʻau[81]	[ˈəʊəʊ]	[ɐʊˈɐːʊ]	[ɑʊˈɑːʊ]	[ˈəʊəʊ]
ʻaʻole[82]	[ʔɐˈʔɐlɛ]	[aˈʔoːlɛ]	[ɑːˈʔolɛ]	[ɐˈʔoli]
ʻEleʻele[83]	[ʔɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]	[ɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]	[ɛleˈɛle]	[ɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]

[78] Fumiko demonstrated [ʔ]-epenthesis due to hypercorrection.
[79] Chris was unable to recall the target word with additional hints, but recognized the word.
[80] §5.4.2.3 for a discussion on Molokai vs. Molokaʻi.
[81] Chris was unable to recall the target word nor recognize the word.
[82] Fumiko was unable to recall the target word with additional hints, but recognized the word. Kina, Chris, and Fumiko deleted the word-initial glottal stop and retained the word-medial glottal stop.
[83] Kina, and Fumiko deleted the word-initial glottal stop and retained the word-medial glottal stop. Chris deleted both glottal stops.

‘Ewa	[ˈɛvə]	[ˈɛvɐ]	[ˈɛvɐ]	[ˈɛvə]
‘Iolani	[ioˈləni]	[ioˈləni]	[ioˈlɐni]	[ioˈlɐni]
‘ōkole	[oˈkolɛ]	[oˈkoːlɛ]	[oˈkoːlɛ]	[oˈkolɛ]
‘Ōma‘o[84]	[ʔoːˈmɐʔo]	[oˈmaːʔo]	[oˈmaʊ]	[oˈmɐːo]
‘ono	[ˈʔono]	[ˈono]	[ˈono]	[ˈono]
‘ōpala	[oˈpɐlɐ]	[oˈpɐːlə]	[oːˈpɑlə]	[oːˈpɐlɐ]
‘opihi	[oˈpʰihi]	[oˈpihi]	[oˈpiːhi]	[oˈpihi]
‘ōpū[85]	[ˈʔoːpuː]	[ˈoːpu]	[ˈopuː]	[ˈoːpuː]
‘uku	[ˈʔuku]	[ˈukuː(z)]	[ˈuku]	[ˈʔuku]
‘ukulele	[ˈʔuku˛lɛlɛ]	[ukuˈlɛːlɛ]	[ukuˈlɛlɛ]	[ʔukuˈlɛːli]

The author suspects that the main reason why glottal stops were not pronounced in some HLWs is likely because informants were not aware or unconfident of its presence in the original word. For example, the word *liliko‘i* is often pronounced without the glottal stop amongst HC speakers and often spelled without an ‘okina on the islands (e.g., passionfruit flavored juices and sweets); however, the two participants with Hawaiian language learning experience (Malu and Kina) pronounced *liliko*[ʔ]*i*. On the other hand, another reason for the occurrence [ʔ]-deletion is possibly due to phonological reasons. For instance, despite reading *Hawai*[ʔ]*i* in a separate elicitation, Chris read *Hawai*[⌀]*i Kai* without a glottal stop. This may have occurred through assimilation due to the appearance of *Kai*. However, it is possible that Chris himself varies between *Hawai*[ʔ~⌀]*i* (*Kai*). In any event, Chris demonstrated his knowledge of the existence of a glottal stop in Hawaiian *Hawai‘i* and activated it in his reading of *Hawai*[ʔ]*i*, though it was not activated in *Hawai‘i Kai*. Another phonological factor to consider is the possible difficulty it takes to pronounce [#ʔ] for non-Hawaiian speakers, as this pronunciation does not occur in SE. More research is needed to study the patterns of glottal stop deletion in HLWs.

5.2.3.3. [ʔ]-epenthesis due to hypercorrection

Informants epenthesized a glottal stop or glottal stops to a handful of HLWs where they do not usually occur in Hawaiian. Fumiko epenthesized glottal stop(s) to six HLWs, Kina to five, and Chris to two. [ʔ]-epenthesis occurs specifically between two vowels, following Hawaiian’s (C)V_1(V_2) syllable pattern (Parker Jones 2018: 110). It should be noted that the data elicited through reading were presented to the informants without ‘okina (the diacritical marking signifying [ʔ])[86]. This means that informants were not able to rely on orthography to determine the placement or existence of glottal stops in these words, which may have led them to recall by memory or to use their intuition to decide where the glottal stop would appear in words they were unfamiliar with. In all cases of [ʔ]-epenthesis due to hypercorrection, glottal stops appeared between two vowels, which does not necessarily violate Hawaiian syllable pattern rules

[84] Kina deleted the word-initial glottal stop. Chris and Fumiko deleted both glottal stops.
[85] Chris was unable to recall the target word nor recognize the word.
[86] (6a) and (6d~f) are the traditional pre-contact place names that have fallen out of usage. As an effort to reintroduce them to Hawai‘i society, they are proposed station names for the upcoming Honolulu rail system (HART 2017, 2019).

but is atypical to the original state of the source words[87]. (6a) is the most extreme example of this hypercorrection.

(6) [ʔ]-epenthesis in HLWs

(a) *Hōʻaeʻae* was read as	[hoːˈʔaʔeʔaʔe]	by Fumiko.
(b) *Kalaniana'ole* was read as	[kəlɐniʔɐnəˈʔoːlɛ]	by Kina;
	[kəlɑːniʔɑnəˈʔole]	by Chris.
(c) *kanaka maoli*[88] was recalled as	[kəˈnɑkəmɑˈʔoli]	by Chris;
	[kəˈnɐːkəːməˈʔoli]	by Fumiko[89].
(d) *Keoneʻae* was read as	[keʔonɛˈai˛]	by Kina;
	[keʔoneˈʔaʔɛ]	by Fumiko.
(e) *Kualakaʻi* was read as	[kuʔaləˈkaɪ]	by Kina.
(f) *Kuloloia* was read as	[kuloːloːˈʔiə]	by Kina.
(g) *niele*[90] was recalled as	[ˈniʔelɪ]	by Fumiko.
(h) *ʻAiea* was read as	[aɪ.ˈʔɛ.ə]	by Chris and Fumiko.

Table 5.3. Summary of [ʔ]-epenthesis due to hypercorrection in HLWs and JLW *Aoki*

Gloss	Malu	Kina	Chris	Fumiko
Aoki	[ɐˈoki]	[aɪˈʔoki]	[ɑˈʔoki]	[ɑˈʔoki]
Hōʻaeʻae	[hoˈʔɐɪʔɐɪ]	[hoˈʔaɪʔaɪ]	[hoˈʔaɪʔaɪ]	[hoːˈʔaʔeʔaʔe]
Kalaniana'ole	[˛kəˈlə˛niˈɐ˛nɐˈʔo˛lɛ]	[kəlɐniʔɐnəˈʔoːlɛ]	[kəlɑːniʔɑnəˈʔole]	[kəlaniɐnəˈʔoli]
kanaka maoli[91]	[kəˈnəkəˈmɐʊli	[kəˈnakəˈmɐʊli]	[kəˈnɑkəmɑˈʔoli]	[kəˈnɐːkəːməˈʔoli]
Kualakaʻi	[kuɐləˈkəi]	[kuʔaləˈkaɪ]	[kuːləˈkɐɪ]	[kualaˈkaɪ]
Keoneʻae	[˛keˈo˛nɛˈɐi˛]	[keʔonɛˈai˛]	[keəˈnaɪ]	[keʔoneˈʔaʔɛ]
Kuloloia	[kuloˈloiə]	[kuloːloːˈʔiə]	[kuːloːˈloːiə]	[kuloːloːˈiːə]
niele	[ˈniɛlɛ]	[ˈniɛlɛ]	[niˈɛlɛ~niˈɛlɛɪ]	[ˈniʔelɪ]
ʻAiea	[ˈəi.ɛ.ɐ]	[ɐɛˈɐː]	[aɪ.ˈʔɛ.ə]	[aɪ.ˈʔe.ə]
[ʔ] epenthesis	0	5	4	8

[87] To a much smaller extent, /ʔ/-epenthesis was also found in some Japanese words.

(i) /ʔ/-epenthesis in Japanese loanwords

(a) Aoki was read as [aɪˈʔoki] by Kina, [ɑˈʔoki] by Chris, and [ɑˈʔoki] by Fumiko.

(b) ume was recalled as [ˈʔumɛ] by Malu.

(ia) seems to follow the same VʔV overgeneralization pattern seen in (6a). (ib) was the only instance where a glottal stop was epenthesized (or perhaps, prothesized) in the word-initial position. This specific case may be attributed to language transfer from Malu, who is a Hawaiian speaker, as word-initial glottal stops are not uncommon in Hawaiian. The author notes that English words such as 'coordinate' is sometimes pronounced as *co*[ʔ]*ordinate* by HC speakers. More research is needed to confirm the regularity of [ʔ]-epenthesis in non-Hawaiian words.

[88] 'a Native Hawaiian'

[89] Fumiko was unable to recall the target word with additional hints, but recognized the word.

[90] 'nosy'

[91] See footnote 87.

5.2.3.4. Attempt to analyze /ʔ/ variation as a phonologically governed phenomenon

Based on the data above, [ʔ] in HC HLWs are pronounced before a vowel and are more often than not pronounced between two vowels. Furthermore, [ʔ] tends to appear in the original position of the borrowed language, Hawaiian. However, this sound is not always pronounced in the original position (hypercorrection), if at all (non-activation or deletion). Additionally, the position of Hawaiian /ʔ/ as a stand-alone phoneme (e.g., minimal pair *ʻono* vs. *pono*; *ʻono* means 'delicious' while *ono* means 'large mackerel type fish (Acanthocybium solandri)' (Pukui and Elbert 1986)) must be considered. On the other hand, [ø~ʔ]*ono* would likely be understood as either Hawaiian *ʻono* or *ono* based on context in HC[92]. With this basis in mind, we can predict that glottal stops in HC HLWs are not semantically necessary in HC; however, the sociolinguistic situation of Hawaiian in Hawaiʻi seems to compel HC speakers to retain the Hawaiian /ʔ/ phoneme in their speech as [ʔ] (and perhaps writing <ʻ>) to demonstrate their reverence to the language, amongst other reasons also found in Hashimoto (2019). That is to say, the glottal stop amongst HC speakers, whether they are speakers of Hawaiian or not, is most likely pronounced due to sociolinguistic motivation rather than a set of phonologically governed rules. However, the Hawaiian consonant /ʔ/ [ʔ] certainly does appear due to phonologically governed rules, i.e., in Hawaiian's (C)V_1(V_2) syllable pattern (Parker Jones 2018: 110), which perhaps explains the adherence to this pattern in the cases of [ʔ]-epenthesis due to hypercorrection amongst the informants.

5.3. Hawaiian /w/

5.3.1. Hawaiʻi Creole /w/ [w] and /v/ [v] as split variants and /W/ [w~v] as the imported variant

This analysis indicates that some occurrences of the Hawaiian /w/ show similarities to the phoneme in the source language, which displays free variation[93] between [w] and [v]. This thesis proposes labeling this phoneme as /W/ [w~v], which is specific to HC and absent in Standard English (SE). However, other instances of Hawaiian /w/ in HC HLWs behave more like English, where each phoneme corresponds to a specific sound, namely /w/ [w] and /v/ [v]. Table 5.4 illustrates this division.

5.3.2. Data analysis of Hawaiian /w/ in Hawaiʻi Creole

According to Parker Jones (2018: 106) and Lyovin et. al (2017: 279), Hawaiian /w/ does not contrast between [w] and [v], and these sounds occur in free variation. However, it seems that the HC-speaking informants hold a sense of "correctness" which varies from word to word which is not found in Hawaiian. Below is a table summarizing the rate of [w]~[v] preference in HLWs found amongst informants. The leftmost list shows words in which informants pronounced Hawaiian /w/ as [w], and the rightmost list shows words in which informants pronounced Hawaiian /w/ as [v]. The words appearing above the dashed line are proper nouns, and those below are common nouns.

[92] Regrettably, *ono* was not included in this investigation. However, according to the intuition of the author, this statement is most likely true.

[93] Additionally, Hawaiian /k/ occurs in free variation between [k] and [t]; however, it appears that virtually all cases of Hawaiian /k/ in HC are pronounced [k]. In this set of data, one exception exists: *tūtū* (which could theoretically be pronounced 'kūkū' in Hawaiian) (see Parker Jones 2018: 105–106; Pukui and Elbert 1986).

Table 5.4. Informants' realization of Hawaiian /w/ in HC

/w/ [w] (adapted variant then split)	/W/ [w~v] (variant imported from Hawaiian /w/)			/v/ [v] (adapted variant then split)
High realization rate of [w]	*Medium realization rate of [w]*	*Equal realization rate of [w]~[v]*	*Medium realization rate of [v]*	*High realization rate of [v]*
Hawai‘i Kai Wahiawā Waikele Waikīkī Waikōloa Waimalu Waimānalo Waimea Waipi‘o Wai‘anae ---------- auwē wahine	Hawai‘i ---------- wikiwiki	Ala Wai Lāwa‘i Maunawili ----------		Hale‘iwa Kaho‘olawe Kawela ‘Ewa ---------- hewa kiawe wana

Based on the data above, the author predicts that the Hawaiian phoneme /w/ [w~v] has experienced a remarkable sound change through the creolization of HPE. It appears that the free variation nature of Hawaiian /w/ is retained lexically through certain HLWs in HC (/W/ [w~v] above). However, certain words appear to be lexically bound to either [w] or [v] (/w/ [w] and /v/ [v] above). The argument for lexical boundness is covered in §5.3.2.1. The table below summarizes the informants' pronunciation of Hawaiian /w/ between [w] and [v]. Cases where /w/ was pronounced as [w] are not shaded gray, and cases where /w/ was pronounced as [v] are shaded gray.

Table 5.5. Summary of /w/ realization in HLWs

Gloss	**Malu**	**Kina**	**Chris**	**Fumiko**
auwē	w	w	w	w
Hawai‘i Kai	w	w	w	w
Wahiawā	w	w	w	w
Wahiawā	w	w	w	w
wahine	w	w	w	w
Waikele	w	w	w	w
Waikīkī	w	w	w	w
Waikōloa	w	w	w	w
Waimalu	w	w	w	w

Waimānalo	w	w	w	w
Waimea	w	w	w	w
Waipiʻo	w	w	w	w
Waiʻanae	w	w	w	w
Hawaiʻi	w	w	v	w
wikiwiki	v	w	w	w
Ala Wai	w	v	v	w
Lāwaʻi	v	v	w	w
Maunawili	v	v	w	w
Haleʻiwa	v	v	v	v
hewa	v	v	v	v
Kahoʻolawe	v	v	v	v
Kawela	v	v	v	v
kiawe	v	v	v	v
wana	v	v	v	v
ʻEwa	v	v	v	v
	[w]: 15 [v]: 10	[w]: 15 [v]: 10	[w]: 16 [v]: 9	[w]: 16 [v]: 7

Pronouncing high [w]-preference words such as *Wahiawā* as [v]*ahia*[v]*a* or *wahine* as [v]*ahine* is acceptable to Hawaiian speakers (see 7b. and 8b. in Davidson and Parker Jones 2023: 8–9) but likely unnatural to non-Hawaiian-speaking HC speakers. Similarly, pronouncing high [v]-preference words such as *ʻEwa* as /ewa/ or *wana* as /wana/ is acceptable in Hawaiian, but likely unnatural in HC. That is to say, although there are no lexical differences made between either variant in both Hawaiian and HC, violating the [w] or [v] preference in HC may create a sense of unnaturalness for those speakers. As the number of Hawaiian L2 learners increases (Iokepa-Guerrero 2016, in Ohara and Slevin 2019; Warner 2001, in Ohara 2018), future research should investigate how the split from Hawaiian /w/ [w~v] to HC /w/ [w] /v/ [v] might affect HC L1 Hawaiian L2 output and learners' perception of Hawaiian /w/.

5.3.2.1. Hawaiian /w/ variation in Hawaiʻi Creole

It is difficult to pinpoint a phonologically systematic reasoning as to why some instances of Hawaiian /w/ were realized solely as [w], some as [v], and some as [w~v] by viewing the data summary above. Nonetheless, the following generalizations can be made:

1. With the exception of 'wana', only [w] occurs in /#wa/
2. [w~v] occurs in /awa/, /awi/, /iwi/, /wa#/, /#wi/
3. Only [v] occurs in /awe/, /ewa/, and /iwa/.

Most of these conclusions, however, are easily contradictable when considering examples from within

and outside (as determined by the author, marked by footnotes) of this data set, as summarized in the next section.

5.3.2.2. Attempt to analyze /w/ variation as a phonologically governed phenomenon

This section analyzes Hawaiian /w/ variation in HC (Hawaiian /w/ → HC [w]~[v]~[w~v]) in HLWs based on the data collected from this investigation. The goal of this section is to dispel the possible argument that the realization of Hawaiian /w/ in HC is conditioned predictably based solely on its phonological environment.

1. When we assume that *wana* is an exception, /w/ → [w] / [#_a]
   From the collected data, it would appear that /w/ [w] is always realized in [#_a] (e.g., [w]*ahine*, [w]*aikīkī*), with the exception of *wana* ([v]*ana*). Indeed, realizations such as [v]*ahine* and [v]*aikiki* sound perhaps unnatural in HC speech[94] despite [w] and [v] being undistinguished sounds in Hawaiian. However, the rule proposed above would find many more exceptions when we begin to consider HLWs which were (regrettably) not included in this study. For example, it would not be unusual to hear an HC speaker pronounce the place name *Waiawa* as [w]*aia*[v]*a* or [v]*aia*[v]*a* (but rarely [w]*aia*[w]*a* and most likely never [v]*aia*[w]*a* for undetermined reasons). Moreover, if an HC speaker were asked how to say 'water' in Hawaiian, they would likely answer *wai* ([v]*ai*). Also, the /w/ in Hawaiian given names which include *Wai-* or *-wai* (e.g., *Wai*, *Wailani*, *Kawai*) are almost always pronounced [v], yet Ala Wai can be pronounced either *Ala* [w]*ai* or *Ala* [v]*ai*. This seemingly unpredictable variation suggests that /w/ realization is lexically determined rather than phonologically triggered.

2. /w/ → [w~v] / [a_a] [a_i] [i_i] [_a#] [#_i]
   The /w/ in some words represented in this generalization may be realized as either [w~v] depending on the speaker. However, it does not consider the fact that there are words that appear in these combinations that appear to be unanimously bound to either [w] or [v]:

   /awa/: Wahiawa is [w]-preferred; Lāwa'i is [w~v]-mixed; Nāwahī[95] and Halawa[96] are likely [v]-preferred.
   /awi/: *No other examples.*
   /iwi/: wikiwiki is [w]~[v]; 'i'iwi[97] and Kuahiwi[98] is likely [v]-preferred.
   /wa#/: Wahiawa is [w]-preferred; Waiawa[99] is likely [w~v]-mixed; Hale'iwa and Halawa are likely [v]-preferred.
   /#wi/: wiki[100] is likely [w]-only; wikiwiki is likely [w]~[v].

[94] Author's intuition.
[95] K-12 Hawaiian language immersion school located in Kea'au, Hawai'i Island, named after the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Hawaiian Kingdom, Iosepa Kaho'oluhi Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u (Ke Kula 'o Nāwahīokalani'ōpu'u n.d.).
[96] Place name.
[97] Scarlet honeycreeper, also known as 'iwi.
[98] Place name.
[99] Place name.
[100] A word used in many elementary and intermediate schools meaning the first short recess break during the school day. Its original meaning is 'to hurry; fast'. Its reduplicated form, *wikiwiki*, was included in this data set.

3. /w/ → [v] / [a_e] [e_a] [i_a]
This generalization may be acceptable but more research is needed to confirm this rule.

The treatment of Hawaiian /w/ in HC has likely been influenced by various factors. One notable factor is the impact of English, which serves as the lexifier in HC and dominant language in contemporary Hawai‘i. Unlike Hawaiian, English and HC distinguish /w/ [w] and /v/ [v]. Consequently, the natural tendency to distinguish between [w] and [v] contrasts with the absence of such distinction in Hawaiian /w/. As a result, the majority of Hawaiian /w/ in HC HLWs adapt to either /w/ [w] or /v/ [w]. However, there are instances where the variability of the Hawaiian /w/ sound [w~v] is preserved in certain HLWs as HC /W/ [w~v] (introduced in this thesis). These assignments of HC phonemes to Hawaiian-derived words are likely unpredictable and specific to each word, as suggested by the aforementioned analysis.

5.4. Prestige and pronunciation in Hawaiian loanwords

5.4.1. Informants' comments about /ʔ/ [∅~ʔ] and [w~v]

When asked about how when [w] or [v] is "correct" in Hawaiian /w/, all informants agreed to an extent that they learned the "correct" pronunciation of Hawaiian words when they were young and distinguish [w] and [v] depending on the word, with some words being acceptable as either [w] or [v]. The informants provided similar feelings toward their pronunciation of [ʔ]. Malu, whose first language is HC and second language is Hawaiian, simply noted, "[It's] just how I say it". Kina noted that speakers who mispronounce Hawaiian /w/ are either not Local or are Local but grew up in "the city", referring to urban O‘ahu. What is interesting about Kina's comment is that she was most likely referring to Hawaiian <w> → HC /w/ [w], HC /v/ [v], HC /W/ [w~v], which is treated phonologically differently from Hawaiian <w> /w/ [w~v]. Nonetheless, the above remarks suggest that HC speakers attribute the pronunciation of [w] and [v] in certain HLWs as "acceptable" and "unacceptable", and thereby judge a speaker's Localness based on their adherence to the phonological treatment of /w/, /v/, /W/, and dormant /ʔ/.

5.4.2. Evidence from outside of this investigation

5.4.2.1. The attitude of a Hawai‘i Creole-speaking Local influencer toward /ʔ/ [∅]~[ʔ]

Okimoto (2022, May 19; 2022, June 26; 2022, June 14) are Instagram videos posted by a Local influencer with a following of around 18,700 users. Many of his video uploads are short clips of him asking trivia questions regarding Hawaiian history, language, and culture to non-Locals outside of Hawai‘i (and to Locals in or outside of Hawai‘i). Those who answered correctly received a small amount of money, whereas those who answered incorrectly would be told the correct answer. He also writes, performs, and uploads comedic skits delivered in HC or SE, or both, centering around Local matters. This section analyzes three of Okimoto's videos in an attempt to understand the perception of Local-vs-non-Local speech in regards to Hawaiian glottal stops.

Okimoto (2022, June 26) is an Instagram video which depicts the influencer holding Ka Hae Hawai‘i (the Hawaiian flag) while asking two young non-Local students (S1, S2) at a public university in Utah, United States to name the place represented by the flag. The interviewees juggled between various Latin American and European countries or other countries which may be associated with the Union Jack. The influencer (O) was pleasantly surprised when one of the students guessed Fiji, thus the caption of the video being "Fiji was the closest guess!" Below is a transcript of the revealing of the answer:

O: This is from Hawai[ʔ]i.
S1: Hawa[ː]i[⌀]i!
S2: That's Hawa[ː]i[⌀]i?
O: This is our Hawai[ʔ]i state flag, yes.

(Okimoto 2022, June 26)

Amongst other phonological features not found in SE, Okimoto clearly pronounced the glottal stop in 'Hawai'i[101]' despite conducting the interview in SE (or perhaps HE). Nonetheless, the non-HC-speaking interviewees were able to understand Okimoto, and each pronounced 'Hawai'i' without the glottal stop.

Now, let's take a look at Okimoto (2022, June 14), which is a skit that depicts the influencer as a SE-speaking tourist in Hawai'i who is speaking to an HC-speaking Local in a hotel room. The influencer exaggerates the "mainland" accent, which emphasizes his out-of-place Localisms, to create the character of a non-Local tourist juxtaposed with the Local male character (M). Below is an excerpt transcript of the video:

O: Aloha, braddah!
M: Ho, whachu doin in here!?
O: I'm just here to show you something cool. <He appears on the bed with P.> Aloha! You're from Hawai[⌀]i, right? I love Hawai[⌀]i. Can you teach me how to surf one day? Did you know that aloha means "hello" *and* "goodbye"?

(Okimoto 2022, June 26)

Compared to Okimoto (2022, May 19), the glottal stop in *Hawai'i* is purposely omitted by the influencer, probably to convey the "non-Localness" of his character. This deliberate choice by the influencer reinforces this thesis's claim that the glottal stop /ʔ/ exists as a dormant phoneme in HLWs, which may or may not be activated by speakers to project "Localness" or "non-Localness" to listeners.

Finally, let's analyze Okimoto (2022, May 19), which depicts the influencer asking various non-Local students (S3, S4, and S5) how to correctly pronounce the word <Ukulele>, whose writing was shown to participants on his smartphone[102].

O: For five dollars, pronounce this Hawaiian word correctly. (He shows S3 the word.)
S3: [juːkəˈleɪli]
O: That is false. I'm sorry.
S3: Oh, jeez.
O: This is pronounced [ˈʔukulɛlɛ].
S3: Oh. Sick. Well now I know. Now I know.
O: Yeah, cuz a lot of people pronounce it like [juːkəˈleɪli] here.
…
O: <He shows S4 the word.>
S4: Bro, you think I'm dumb? [juːkəˈleɪleɪ].

[101] The /w/ in 'Hawai'i' was pronounced [w], which is typical in SE but interchangeable between [w~v] in HC. Okimoto's vowel pattern and lack of vowel lengthening in 'Hawai'i' appears to be typical to that of HC.
[102] For reference, here are how the informants pronounced *ukulele* (elicited through a photo): Malu [ˈʔukuˌlɛlɛ], Kina [ukuˈlɛːlɛ], Chris [ukuˈlɛlɛ], Fumiko [ʔukuˈlɛːli].

O: Say it one more time.
S4: [juːkəˈleɪleɪ].
O: That is wrong. I'm sorry.
S4: Let me try again, let me try.
O: No…This is [ˈʔukulɛlɛ]. Yeah. Everywhere *besides* Hawai[ʔ]i, it gets mispronounced.
…
O: <He shows S5 the word.>
S5: [ˈuːkklɛlɛ]?
O: She got it right. She actually pronounced it right. Everyone says [juːkəˈleɪli] here that's why.
S5: Oh, I speak Spanish, so I…
…

(Okimoto 2022, May 19)

Although the influencer pronounced the initial glottal stop in *ʻukulele*, it appears that he was more critical about the participants' [j]-epenthesis to the initial position of the word as well as their vowel quality, which was remarkably different from his preferred pronunciation. Perhaps the influencer forgot to add the initial <ʻ> to <ukulele> or did not know the Hawaiian orthography for *ʻukulele*, though <ukulele> is correct in SE. Nonetheless, it appears that this influencer has a critical awareness of Hawaiian glottal stops and perceived vowel quality and uses them to gauge whether someone is Local or non-Local.

5.4.2.2. Satirical usage of Hawaiian /w/ [w]~[v] and /ʔ/ [ø~ʔ] in *South Park*

South Park is a long-running adult-oriented American animated television series whose episode plots tackle social issues in a heavily satirical manner. The main characters of the series are the children of South Park, a fictional town in Colorado, United States. The episode entitled "Going Native" depicts one of the characters, Butters Stotch (B), who is sent to his "homeland", Hawaiʻi, by his father, Stephen Stotch (S) (Parker 2012, October 17; see also Maile's 2017 critical analysis of this episode). Stephen and his wife reveal to their son that he was born in Hawaiʻi; thus, as a "native Hawaiian", Butters must return home to fulfill his ceremonial duties before approaching adolescence. Below is an excerpt transcript from the episode:

S: Butters, you've reached the age where you must journey to your birthplace for the ceremony of Hapa Noa.
B: B-but I'm from here! (Referring to South Park.)
S: No, we moved here just before you started preschool. You were born in our native land, Butters. A distant and very secluded island world… called 'Ha[v]a[ʔ]i'.
B: …We're from Ha[w]ai[ø]i?
S: Only *haoles* pronounce it Ha[w]ai[ø]i, Butters. But those of us from Ha[v]a[ʔ]i are a very special people. We have many customs and traditions to keep our culture alive. We drink chi-chis from the coconut. We eat *poke* that the Safeway provides. And when we've chosen a mate, we marry at the Fern Grotto, as your mother and I did so very long ago. As a Stotch, Butters, you are actually Hawaiian royalty. Your grandma and grandpa were there in the time of the King. <He shows Butters a photo of Elvis Presley holding an ʻukulele in Oʻahu.>

(Parker 2012, October 17)

In true satirical *South Park* fashion, it is implied that the "nativeness" of Butters was bestowed upon him as a birthright resulting in his Haole parents' extravagant wedding on the islands, with Stephen later boasting about their abundant collection of shopping rewards points. It is clear that Stephen marks himself as a Native Hawaiian Local through his "correct" pronunciation of HLWs. As seen through the transcript above, Stephen pronounces the /w/ in *Hawai'i* as [v] and realizes the glottal stop in its original position in the source language, which results in a form virtually unheard of outside of most Pacific Islands, and certainly unheard of in Colorado. He even shames Butters for his "*haole*"-like pronunciation of *Hawai*ʻ*i*. Throughout the episode, the speech of the Haole "natives" reflects that of "correct" Hawaiian pronunciation (e.g., *Kaua*[ʔ]*i*, the (over)usage of HLWs such as *keiki*, *haole*, *aloha*, and *mahalo*). These examples, though satirical, perhaps critique the appropriation of the Hawaiian language by non-Locals who try to appear to "fit in" with or to "become" a Local (or more regrettably, a Native Hawaiian). In conclusion, Parker and Stone (2012, October 17), themselves non-Local Haoles from real-life Colorado, satirizes the self-righteous attitudes of certain visitors to Hawaiʻi who overstep their position on the islands and create an artificial bridge to connect with Native Hawaiian culture through, amongst other things, language.

5.4.2.3. The Molokai vs. Molokaʻi debate

This thesis has thus far adopted Hawaiian place name spellings from Pukui et al. (1974). However, Aki (2008, October 15), an editorial published by *The Molokai Dispatch*, the only print newspaper service on the island of Molokaʻi (or perhaps, Molokai), contends that despite widespread belief, likely fueled by multiple dictionary entries of the island spelled *Molokaʻi* (e.g., Pukui et al. 1974: 156), there should be no ʻokina in the place name *Molokai*. The written records of various 19th-century explorers and one missionary are used to defend this claim. Furthermore, the article cites the book "Tales of Molokai, The Voice of Harriet Ne" (Ne and Cronin 1992) for its note that the original pronunciation of the island name is "Moh-loh-kī", and its pronunciation may have been altered beginning in the 1930s due to its lyrical pronunciation by musicians (Aki 2008, October 15). The article concludes with, "Lots of Molokai people still pronounce it in the old way how their family taught them. Now how to get the dictionary corrected and the University of Hawaii professors on board is a different set of problems. If only they did some scholarly research it could be easily accomplished."

Regardless of which pronunciation is "right" and which is "wrong", this widely debated topic demonstrates the existence of disagreements amongst HC speakers (and perhaps Hawaiian speakers) about which words ought to be pronounced with or without [ʔ]. It also demonstrates that variation exists within certain communities. This underscores the importance of "authenticity" to Hawaiian culture which is perhaps longed for by many Locals (see Wong 1999a) and reflected in their speech. This thesis claimed that the activation of dormant /ʔ/ [ʔ~ø] depends on the individual speaker's sociolinguistic attitude toward the Hawaiian language—those who feel reverence toward Hawaiian may feel compelled to pronounce [ʔ] if they are already aware that it is pronounced by other speakers. Therefore, the pronunciation of *Moloka*[ʔ]*i*, which is supposedly limited to those outside of the island, was likely able to become widespread due to its perceived "correctness", while *Molokai* appears to have remained glottal stop-less within the island. Therefore, the activation of /ʔ/ in those who view *Moloka*ʻ*i* as correct and the lack of /ʔ/ activation in those who view *Molokai* as correct stem from the same sociolinguistic motivation, i.e., their individually perceived reverence to Hawaiian.

5.5. Summary

In HLWs present in HC, the realization of /ʔ/ varies between [ʔ] and [(ʔ)], and the realization of /W/ varies between [w] and [v]. Whereas the realization of /ʔ/ may alter the meaning of words in the source language, Hawaiian, the difference between [w] and [v] is undistinguished. On the other hand, neither the realization of /ʔ/ nor /W/ alters the meaning of HLWs in HC. However, with the idea of sociolinguistic variation in mind, we can predict that the way HC speakers (and non-speakers) on the islands realize these two phonemes in HLWs is sociolinguistically motivated. For example, a tourist may understandably read <Kahoolawe> as *Kaho*[⌀]*ola*[w]*e*, whereas Locals may tend to read it as *Kaho*[ʔ]*ola*[v]*e* (the <w> in HC *Kahoʻolawe* is /v/ [v]). Both readings are most likely intelligible to HC speakers as *Kahoʻolawe*; however, the former reading would mark the speaker as non-Local, regardless if they are actually Local or not[103].

Furthermore, because no phonological rules of /w/-realization can be concluded through this set of data, it is possible that the realization of /w/ in some HLWs has split (i.e., Hawaiian /w/ [w~v] → HC /w/ [w] and /v/ [v]) while other HLWs demonstrate the same [w~v] interchangeability as the source language (i.e., Hawaiian /w/ [w~v] → HC /W/ [w~v]). Whereas monolingual Hawaiian speakers do not distinguish [w] and [v], HC speakers do, which explains the aforementioned adaptations of Hawaiian /w/. Remnants of Hawaiian /w/ are found in HC HLWs which can be pronounced as either [w~v] through the imported phoneme /W/. To put it clearly, pronouncing Hawaiian /w/ which have in HC, e.g., *Waikīkī* as [v]*aikīkī* and *hewa* as *he*[w]*a*, may mark the speaker as non-Local.

Perhaps worth noting is the treatment of Hawaiian /ʔ/ and /w/ when borrowed into SE. Referring to Merriam-Webster (2023), Hawaiian-derived word entries such as *Hawaii*, *muumuu*, *luau*, and *ukulele* lose their glottal stop realization(s) in their prescribed pronunciations and orthography. Furthermore, the /w/ in the English pronunciations in the entries such as *Hawaii*, *Kahoolawe*, and *wiki* (as in *Wiki*pedia) are prescribed as [w]. That is to say, glottal stop deletion (e.g., *Hawai*[⌀]*i*) and pronouncing HC /v/ [v] as [w] (e.g., *Kahoola*[w]*e*) may mark a speaker as non-Local. Nonetheless, the Local participants of this investigation themselves deleted glottal stops from their original position(s) in some HLWs.

[103] However, beyond the consonantal phonemes in this word, certain realizations of its vowels may also further contribute to the marking of Local or non-Local. More research is needed regarding vowels in HC loanword phonology.

CHAPTER 6
OTHER FOUND PHENOMENA

6.1. Introduction

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the original aim of this thesis was to cover general HC loanword phonology. This chapter covers the phenomena not mentioned in Chapters 4 or 5 so as to help disseminate data and information regarding this sparsely studied subject.

6.2. Japanese loanwords

6.2.1. Consonantal adaptation strategies

The following table lists generalizations of consonant realization in JLWs based on the informants' data.

Table 6.1. Summary of Japanese consonant adaptation/importation in HC

Japanese		HC	Example
/p/	→	[p]	panko
/t/	→	[t] [ɾ]	[t]*ako*, *Fukumo*[t~ɾ]o
/k/	→	[k]	katsu
/b/	→	[b]	bachi
/d/	→	[d] [ɾ]	[d]*aikon*, *Yama*[ɾ]*a*
/g/	→	[g]	girigiri
/m/	→	[m]	musubi
/s/	→	[s]	somen
/z/	→	[z]	Suzuki
/fu/ [ɸu]	→	[fu~ɸu]	futon
/n/	→	[n]	[n]*ori*
/N/ [n] [ŋ] [m] [ɴ]	→	[n] [m] [ŋ]	*ichiba*[n], *te*[m]*pura*, *ja*[ŋ]*kenpo*
/r/	→	[ɹ~ɾ]	ramen
/sj/ [ɕ]	→	[ʃ]	shoyu
/si/ [ɕi]	→	[ʃi]	shishi
/tj/ [tɕ]	→	[tʃ]	chawan
/ti/ [tɕi]	→	[tʃi]	chichi
/w/	→	[w]	Watanabe
/j/	→	[j]	Yokohama
/h/	→	[h]	haiku
/tu/ [tsɯ]	→	[su~tsu]	Tsue

6.2.1.1. Segmental changes

The consonant inventory of Japanese provided by Shibatani (1990: 159) states that sixteen consonantal phonemes are present in the language. A handful of these consonantal phonemes do not appear naturally in HC or its lexifier English. The following analysis identifies the Japanese phonemes which undergo segmental changes when adapted into HC, as found through this study.

Table 6.2. Segmental changes in Japanese phonemes found in this data set

Japanese		HC	Example
/fu/ [ɸu]	→	[fu~ɸu]	furo, futon
/N/ [n] [ŋ] [m] [ɴ]	→	/n/ [n] [ŋ] /m/ [m]	*me*[n]*pachi*, *ja*[n~ŋ]*ke*[n]*po*, *te*[m]*pura*
/r/ [ɾ]	→	[ɹ~ɾ]	ramen, arare
/sj/ [ɕ]	→	[ʃ]	shoyu
/ti/ [tɕ]	→	[tʃ]	chichi, bocha
/tu/ [tsɯ]	→	[su~tsu]	tsunami, Tsue

/N/ will be detailed below, as it was not already mentioned in Chapter 4. Due to their straightforwardness, /ɕ/ and /tɕ/ are not discussed.

6.2.1.2. Japanese /N/

In its source language, the Japanese moraic consonant /N/ is conditioned a variety of ways (i.e., [n] [m] [ŋ] [ɴ]) depending on its phonological environment (see Shibatani 1990: 167–170). The informants realized Japanese /N/ [n] in *benjo* and *banzai*, which phonologically aligns with Japanese. HC speakers realized [n] in words ending with /N/ (e.g., *chawan*, *daikon*, and *futon*), which differs from the Japanese realization of /N#/ [ɴ]. Velar consonants appearing after /N/ (e.g. /panko/ and /dango/) triggered [ŋ], a phenomenon that occurs in both Japanese and English; however, the first /N/ in *ja*/N/*ke*/N/ was realized as [ŋ] by one informant, Fumiko, while other informants realized it as [n]. /N/ appearing before a bilabial consonant triggers [m]-conditioning in Japanese. For instance, /tenpura/ is realized as [tempɯra] in Japanese, and is loaned into HC and English [m]-conditioned. However, it appears that not all JLWs are loaned in their [m]-conditioned form. For example, informants realized Japanese /N/ as [n][104] in /menpachi/ and /senbei/, which would be otherwise predictably conditioned to [m] in Japanese. It is reasonable to believe that the first Japanese immigrants in Hawai‘i who introduced such words pronounced them [m]-conditioned, as /N/-conditioning is prevalent in nearly all Japanese dialects (see Shibatani 1990: 168–170). However, at some point, some [m]-conditioned words appear to have shifted to their current [n]-realized form when loaned into HC (and SE or both). The author speculates that, although /mempachi/ and /sembei/ are plausible pronunciations in both HC and English phonology (compare to empathy and member), [m]-conditioning in /N/-containing JLWs was lost possibly due to the common romanization of Japanese /N/ [n] [ŋ] [m] [ɴ] as <n>. For instance, the spellings of such words commonly seen in Hawai‘i supermarkets and bakeries include <menpachi>, <senbei>, and <anpan>. These orthographic choices seem to have influenced the substitution of [m] to [n] in /n/ amongst some JLWs. The opposite is true in <tempura>, which is never written as <tenpura> (see Figure 6.1 below). Additionally, Japanese restaurants not limited to Hawai‘i often romanize menu items such as Japanese [dombɯri] to <donburi> or [kampai] to <kanpai>. Relatively new Japanese borrowings into English such

[104] In the portions of the survey in which the researcher elicited Japanese common nouns, informants were shown photos of the target word and asked to recall their HC names from memory. They were not shown the orthographic representation of these words until 1) the correct word was elicited to them, or 2) they could not recall the word even with spoken hints. In the case of words such as *tempura* and *menpachi*, informants were shown <te_pura> and <me_pachi> and asked to confirm the “correct” spelling of these words. Amongst all informants, their reported spellings aligned with their individual pronunciations of these words (i.e., /tempura/ is spelled <tempura>, and /menpachi/ is spelled <menpachi>), and substituting [n] or <n> for [m] or <m> and *vice versa* was deemed unacceptable by all informants.

as *senpai* (‘one’s social superior’) mirror this supposed phonological influence of <senbei> orthography, while *kombu-cha* (‘a type of tea’) mirrors that of *tempura*.

Figure 6.1 Romanizations of *tempura* and *senbei* at Tamura’s, a supermarket chain on O‘ahu (taken by the author in 2023)

6.2.2. Notes on stress[105]

JLWs used in this study are organized according to their syllable count and placement of stress realization below. Footnotes are used to indicate when an informant did not realize the stress in the same syllable as the majority.

(1) 2-syllable JLWs

(a) Primary stress realized on initial (penultimate) syllable

Abe	haiku	ocha	sushi
anime[106]	heka	Oda	taiko
bachi[107]	Higa	panko	tako
baka	Ige	ramen	tofu
bento	ika	sake	Tokyo
bocha	katsu	sensei[109]	Tsue
bonsai	Kyoto	shaka	Tsuha
daikon	manga	shishi	ume
dashi	miso	shoyu	uni
futon	mochi[108]	soba	

[105] The analysis will exclude data from informants for words that were unsuccessfully recalled and/or words that were not recorded by the author due to unforeseen reasons. Those words were: *hapi*, *hibachi*, *kabuki*, *okazuya*, *tamago*, *tatami*, and *umami*. The recorded data for these words can be found in Appendix F.

[106] Kina stressed the final syllable.

[107] Fumiko stressed the final syllable.

[108] "

[109] "

geisha	ninja	somen
gyoza	nori	sumo[110]

(b) Primary stress realized on final syllable

haiku[111]	udon[112]

(c) Primary stress realization distributed equally (initial syllable or final syllable)

furo	mirin

(2) 3-syllable Japanese loanwords

(a) Primary stress realized on initial syllable

nigiri[113]

(b) Primary stress realized on medial (penultimate) syllable

Aoki	kimono	Nakano	Suzuki
emoji	kinako	obake	Tanaka
Fukuda[114]	Matsuda[116]	otaku	tsunami
Harada	menpachi	shiitake[119]	Uyeda
Hayashi	mochiko	Shimizu	
Ikeda[115]	Morita[117]	Shiroma	
Inouye	Nagoya[118]	sudoku	

(c) Primary stress realized on final syllable

arare	jankenpo	karate[120]	musubi[121]

(d) Primary stress realization significantly varied

Gloss	Malu	Kina	Chris	Fumiko
andagi	final	final	medial	initial
azuki	medial	medial	initial	final
hichirin	final	initial	initial	final
ichiban	initial	initial	final	final
Kimura	medial	medial	final	final
Osaka	medial	medial	initial	initial
Oshiro	medial	medial	initial	initial
sakura	initial	final	medial	initial

[110] Regrettably, Chris's response was not recorded.
[111] Chris stressed the final syllable.
[112] Malu stressed the final syllable.
[113] Kina stressed the final syllable.
[114] Chris stressed the initial syllable.
[115] Fumiko stressed the initial syllable.
[116] Chris stressed the initial syllable.
[117] "
[118] Malu stressed the initial syllable.
[119] Chris stressed the initial syllable.
[120] Malu stressed the initial syllable.
[121] "

samurai	initial	final	initial	final
sashimi	initial	final	medial	final

(3) 4-syllable and 5-syllable JLWs

(a) Primary stress realized on penultimate syllable

Arakawa	Matsumoto	Okamoto	Uehara
arigato[122]	misoyaki	Okinawa	Uyehara
bakatare	Miyamoto[124]	origami	Watanabe
edamame	Miyashiro[125]	shabu-shabu	Yamamoto
furikake	Murakami	Shimabukuro	Yamashita
kamaboko	Nakagawa	Shirokiya	Yokohama
Kaneshiro	Nakamura	sukiyaki	Yoshimura
karaoke	Nakashima	Takenaka	Yoshioka
Kawamoto	Nakasone	Tamashiro	
Kinoshita	Nishimoto[126]	teriyaki	
Kobayashi[123]	Nishimura	tsukemono[127]	

(b) Primary stress realization distributed equally (initial syllable or penultimate syllable)

Fujimoto	Ishikawa
Fukumoto	sayonara
Hashimoto	

Table 6.3. Summary of informants' stress realization patterns in JLWs[128]

2-syllable JLWs

Primary stress most often realized on initial (penultimate) syllable

Gloss	**Malu**	**Kina**	**Chris**	**Fumiko**
Abe	[ˈɐbɛ]	[ˈɐbɛ]	[ˈɑbɛ]	[ˈɐbi]
anime	[ˈæ̞nɪmɛ]	[aːnɪˈmɛː]	[ˈɑːnimɛ]	[ˈæ̞nimɛː]
bachi	[ˈbɐːʧi]	[ˈbɐʧi]	[ˈbɑʧi]	[bɑːˈʧi]
baka	[ˈbɐkɐ]	[ˈbɐkə]	[ˈbɑːkə]	[ˈbɐkɐ]
bento	[ˈbɛntoː]	[ˈbɛnto]	[oˈbɛnto]	[ˈbento]
bocha	[ˈbotʃɐ]	[ˈbotʃa]	[ˈboːtʃɐ]	[ˈbotʃa]
bonsai	[ˈbonsaɪ]	-	[ˈbonsaɪ]	[ˈbonsaɪ]
daikon	[ˈdaɪkoŋ]	[ˈdaɪkon]	[ˈdaɪkon]	[ˈdaɪkoŋ]

[122] Fumiko stressed the final syllable.
[123] Malu stressed the initial syllable.
[124] Chris stressed the initial syllable.
[125] Fumiko stressed the initial syllable.
[126] Chris stressed the initial syllable.
[127] Malu stressed the second syllable.
[128] Cases in which the informant's stress placements did not align with the majority are shaded gray.

dashi	[ˈdəʃi]	[ˈdɑʃi]	[ˈdɑːʃi]	[ˈdɐːʃi]
futon	[ˈfuton~ˈfutɐn]	[ɸuˈtoːn]	[fuˈtəʊn]	[ˈfuton]
geisha	[ˈgeɪʃə]	[ˈgeɪʃə]	[ˈgeːʃa]	[ˈgeɪʃɐ]
gyoza	[ˈgjozɐ]	[ˈgjoːza]	[ˈgjoːzɐ]	[ˈgjoːzɐ]
haiku	[hɐɪˈkuː]	[hɐɪˈkuː]	[ˈhɐɪku]	[haɪˈkuː]
heka	[ˈhɛkɐ]	[ˈhɛkɐ]	[ˈhɛkɐ]	[ˈhɛkɐ]
Higa	[ˈhigə]	[ˈhigə]	[ˈhigə]	[ˈhiːgə]
Ige	[ˈiːgɛ]	[ˈigɛ]	[ˈigɛː]	[ˈiːgɐ~ˈiːgɪ]
ika	[ˈikɐ]	[ˈiːkə]	[ˈikɐ]	[ˈiːkə]
katsu	[ˈkɐtsu]	[ˈkaːtsu]	[ˈkɑːtsu]	[ˈkɐːtsu]
Kyoto	[ˈkjoto]	[ˈkjoːto]	[ˈkjoːto]	[ˈkjotto]
manga	[ˈmɑːŋgɐ̨]	[ˈmɑːŋgɐ]	[ˈmɑːŋgɐ]	[ˈmɑːŋgɐ]
miso	[ˈmiːsọː]	[ˈmiso]	[ˈmiːso]	[ˈmiːsoː(ˈʃiːɾu)]
mochi	[ˈmotʃi]	[ˈmotʃi]	[ˈmotʃi]	[moːˈtʃiː]
ninja	[ˈnɪndʒə]	[ˈnɪn.dʒɐː]	[ˈnɪndʒə]	[ˈnindʒːa]
nori	[ˈnoɾi]	[ˈnoɾi]	[ˈnoːɾi]	[ˈnoːɾi]
ocha	[ˈotʃɐ]	[ˈotʃɐ]	[ˈotʃɐ]	[ˈottʃɐ]
Oda	[ˈoɾə]	[ˈoɾɐː]	[ˈodə]	[ˈoːdɐ]
panko	[ˈpɐŋko]	[ˈpaŋko]	[ˈpɑːŋko]	[ˈpɐŋko]
ramen	[ˈɹɑːmɛn]	[ˈɾaːmɪn]	[ˈɹɑːmɛn]	[ɹɑːˈmɪn]
sake	[ˈsɑkɛ]	[ˈsɐːkɛ]	[ˈsɑːkɛ]	[ˈsɐːkkɛ]
sensei	[ˈsɛnsɛː]	[ˈsɛnsɛː]	[ˈsɛnsɛɪ]	[sɛnˈsɛː]
shaka	[ˈʃɑkə]	[ˈʃɑkə]	[ˈʃɑːkə]	[ˈʃɑkə]
shishi	[ˈʃiʃiː]	[ˈʃiʃi]	[ˈʃiʃi]	[ˈʃiʃiː]
shoyu	[ʃoːˈjuː]	[ˈʃoːju]	[ˈʃoju]	[ˈʃoːju]
soba	[ˈsoːbɐ]	[ˈsobɐː]	[soˈbəː]	[ˈsoːba]
somen	[ˈsoːmɛn]	[ˈsomɪn]	[ˈsomɛn~soˈmɛn]	[ˈsoːmɪn]
sumo	[ˈsumo]	[ˈsuːmoː]	-	[ˈsumo(ˈtoɾi)]
sushi	[ˈsuʃi]	[ˈsu(ː)ʃi]	[ˈsuːʃi]	[ˈsuʃi]
taiko	[ˈtaɪko]	[taɪˈkoː~ˈtaɪko]	[ˈtaɪko]	[ˈtaɪko]
tako	[ˈtɐko]	[ˈtaːko]	[ˈtɑːko]	[ˈtakko]
tofu	[ˈtoːfu]	[ˈtofuː]	[ˈto(ː~ʊ)fu]	[ˈtoːfu]
Tokyo	[ˈtọkjọ]	[ˈtokjoː]	[ˈtoːkjo]	[ˈtokkjo]
Tsue	[ˈsːuɛ]	[ˈtsuɛ]	[ˈtsuɛ]	[ˈsːue]

Tsuha	[ˈsuhɐ]	[ˈsːuhɐ]	[ˈtsuhɑ]	[ˈtsuhɐ]
ume	[ˈʔumɛ]	[ˈumɛ]	[ˈumɛ]	[ˈuːme]
uni	[ˈuni]	[ˈuːni]	[ˈuni]	[ˈuni]
2-syllable JLWs *Primary stress realization distributed equally*				
furo	[ˈfuɾo]	[fuˈɾoː]	[ˈfuɾo]	[fuˈɾoː]
mirin	[miˈɾin]	[ˈmiɾɪn]	[ˈmɪːɾɪn]	[miˈɾin]
2-syllable JLWs *Primary stress realized on final syllable*				
haiku	[hɐɪˈkuː]	[hɐɪˈkuː]	[ˈhɐɪku]	[haɪˈkuː]
udon	[ˈudɐn]	[uˈdɔːn]	[uˈdɔn]	[uːˈdɔŋ]
3-syllable JLWs *Primary stress on initial syllable*				
nigiri	[ˈnigiɾi]	[nɪgiˈɾiː]	[ˈniːgiɾi]	[ˈniːgɪɾi]
3-syllable JLWs *Primary stress on medial (penultimate) syllable*				
Aoki	[ɐˈoki]	[aɪˈʔoki]	[ɑˈʔoki]	[ɑˈʔoki]
emoji	[iˈmoːdʒiːz]	[ˈemoːdʒi]	[iˈmoːdʒi]	[ˈɛmodʒi]
Fukuda	[fuˈkuɾɐ]	[fuˈkuːda]	[ˈfuːkuda]	[fuˈkuːda]
Harada	[hɐˈɾɐɾə]	[həˈɹɑːɾə]	[həˈɾɑːɾə]	[həˈɹɐːdə]
Hayashi	[hɐˈjaːʃi]	[haˈjɐːʃi]	[hɑˈjɑːʃi]	[hɐˈjɑːʃi]
Ikeda	[iˈkɛɾə]	[iˈkɛɾə]	[iˈkɛɾə]	[ˈikɛdɐ]
Inouye	[iˈnoːjɛ]	[iˈnoːeː]	[iˈnoːeː]	[iˈnoːe]
kimono	[kiˈmono]	[kiˈmoːno]	[kiˈmono]	[kiˈmoːno]
kinako	[kiˈnɐːko]	[kiˈnaːko]	[kiˈnɑːko]	[kiˈnɐːko]
Matsuda	[mɐˈtsuːɾɐ]	[mɐːˈtsuɾɐː]	[ˈmɑːtsuɾɑ]	[mɑːˈtsudɐ]
menpachi	[mɛnˈpatʃi]	[mɛnˈpaːtʃi]	[mɛnˈpaːtʃi]	[mɛnˈpaːtʃi]
mochiko	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɛn]	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɪn]	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɪn]	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɪn]
Morita	[moˈɹitɐ]	[mʌˈɹitɐ]	[ˈmoːɾitə]	[moˈɹiːtɐ]
Nagoya	[ˈnɐːgojɐː]	[naˈgoːjɐ]	[nɑːˈgojɐ]	[naːˈgojɐ]
Nakano	[nəˈkɐːno]	[nɐˈkɐːno]	[ˈnɑːkəno]	[nɐˈkɐːno]
obake	[oˈbɐkɛ]	[oˈbaːkɛ]	[oˈbɑːke]	[oˈbaːke]
otaku	[oˈtɐku]	[oˈtaku]	[oˈtɑːku]	[oˈtaku]
shiitake	[ʃ(i)ˈtɐkɛ]	[ʃ(i)ˈtɐkɛ]	[ˈʃiːtaːkɛ]	[ʃiːˈtakke]
Shimizu	[ʃiˈmiːzu]	[ʃiˈmiːzu]	[ʃiˈmiːzu]	[ʃiˈmiːzu]

Shiroma	[ʃiˈɹoːmə]	[ʃiˈɹoːmɐ]	[ʃiˈɾoːmɐ]	[ʃiˈɹoːmə]
sudoku	[suˈdoku]	[suˈdoːku]	[suˈdoːku]	[suˈdoːku]
Suzuki	[suˈzuːki]	[səˈzuki]	[suˈzuːki]	[suˈzuːki]
Tanaka	[təˈnɐːkə]	[təˈnakə]	[təˈnɑːkə]	[təˈnɐːkə]
tsunami	[tsuˈnɑːmi]	[tsuˈnɐːmi]	[tsuˈnɑːmi]	[tsuˈnaːmi]
Uyeda	[uˈjɛɾə]	[uˈɛːɾɐ]	[uˈɛɾɐ]	[uˈɛːdə]
3-syllable JLWs *Primary stress most often realized on final syllable*				
arare	[ɐɾɐˈɾɛ]	[ɐɾəˈɾeː]	[ɑɾɑˈɾɛ]	[ɐɾɐˈɾeː]
jankenpo	[dʒɑːnkɛnəˈpoː]	[dʒɐːnkɛnəmɐːnɛnəsakasakaˈpo]	[dʒʌnkɐ̟ˈpoː]	[dʒɑːŋ.kɛnˈpo]
karate	[ˈkaɾaˌtɛː]	[kaɾaˈtɛː]	[kɐɾɐˈtɛː]	[kaɾɐˈtɛː]
musubi	[ˈmuːsubiː]	[musuˈbiː]	[musuˈbiː]	[musuˈbiː]
3-syllable JLWs *Primary stress realization varied significantly*				
andagi	[əndəˈgiː]	[ɐndɐ(ː)ˈgiː]	[ɑnˈdɑːgi]	[ˈɐndəgiː]
azuki	[ɐˈzuki]	[ɐˈzuki]	[ˈɐzuːki]	[ɐːzuˈkiː]
hichirin	[hitʃiˈɾin]	[ˈhitʃiɾin]	[ˈhitʃiɾɪn]	[hɪtʃiˈɾin]
ichiban	[ˈitʃibɐn]	[ˈitʃibɐn]	[itʃiˈbɑŋ]	[itʃiˈbaːn]
Kimura	[kiˈmuːɹə]	[kiˈməɹ.ə]	[ˈkimuɹə]	[ˈkiːmuɹə]
Osaka[129]	[oˈsɐkɐ]	[oˈsɐkɐ]	[ˈoːsa]	[ˈoːsakə]
Oshiro	[oˈʃiːɹo]	[oʃˈɪːɹo]	[ˈoːʃɪo]	[ˈoːʃɪo]
sakura	[ˈsɐkuɾə]	[saːkuˈɾaː]	[sɐːˈkuɾə]	[ˈsakuɾa]
samurai	[ˈsɐmuɾ̠ɑɪ]	[sɐmuˈɾaɪ]	[ˈsɑːmuɾaɪ]	[sɐmuˈɾaɪ]
sashimi	[ˈsɐːʃimi]	[sɐʃiˈmiː]	[sɐˈʃiːmi]	[sɐʃiˈmiː]
4-syllable and 5-syllable JLWs *Primary stress most often realized on the penultimate syllable*				
Arakawa	[ɐ.ɾəˈkɐʊ.ə]	[ɐ.ɹəˈkaʊ.ə]	[ɐɹəˈkawə]	[ˈɑɹəkɑwə]
arigato	[ɐɾiˈgɐːto]	[ɐɾiˈgɐːto]	[ɑɾiˈgɐːto]	[aɾigatˈto]
bakatare	[bɐkɐˈtɐːɾɛ]	[ˈbɐˌkəˈtɑːˌɾɛ]	[bɑkəˈtɑːɾɛ]	[ˈbɐˌkəˈtɑːˌɾɛ]
edamame	[ɛdəˈmɐmɛ]	[ɛdɛˈmɑːmɛ]	[ɛdəˈmɑːmɛ]	[ɛdɐˈmɑːmɛ]
furikake	[fuɾiˈkɐːkɛ]	[fuɾɛˈkaːkɛ]	[fuɾiˈkɑːkɛ]	[fuɾiˈkɐːke]
kamaboko	[kɑmɑˈboko]	[kɑməˈboːko]	[kɑːməˈboːko]	[kɐːmɐːboːˈko]
Kaneshiro	[kɐniˈʃiːɹo]	[kɐnɛʃˈiːɹo]	[kɑnəˈʃiɹo]	[kɐnɛˈʃiːɹo]

[129] Chris: Audio issue.

karaoke	[kaɾaˈoːkɛ]	[kæ̟ɪiˈoʊki]	[kɐɾəˈoːkɛ]	[kɐɾəˈoke]
Kawamoto	[kɐwəˈmoːɾo]	[kaʊˈmoɾo]	[kɑwəˈmoːɾo]	[kɐwəˈmotto]
Kinoshita	[kinoˈʃiːtɐ]	[kinoˈʃiːtʌ]	[kinoˈʃitə]	[kinoˈʃiːtɐ]
Kobayashi	[ˈkobajaːʃi]	[kobɐˈjɐːʃi]	[kobɐˈjɐːʃi]	[kobəˈjɑːʃi]
Matsumoto	[mɐtsuˈmoɾo]	[mɐtsuˈmoɾo]	[ˈmɑtsumo(ː)ɾo]	[mɐtsuˈmoːtto]
misoyaki	[ˌmiˈsoˈjɐːˌki]	[ˈmiˌsoˈjɐːˌki]	[misoˈjɑːki]	[misoˈjɑːki]
Miyamoto	[mijaˈmoɾo]	[mijəˈmoːɾo]	[ˈmijəmoɾo]	[mijaˈmoto]
Miyashiro	[mijɐˈʃiːɹo]	[mijɐˈʃiːɹo]	[mijəˈʃiːɹo]	[ˈmijaʃiːɹ.ɾo]
Murakami	[muɹɐˈkami]	[muɾəˈkɑːmi]	[muɾəˈkɑːmi]	[muɹaˈkaːmi]
Nakagawa	[nɐkəˈgɐːwə]	[nɐ.kəˈgɐːʊ.ɐ]	[nɐkəˈgɐːwə]	[nakəˈgɐːwə]
Nakamura	[nɐkəˈmuːɹə]	[nɐ.kəˈməːɹ.ə]	[nɑkəˈmuːɹə]	[nakəˈmuːɹə]
Nakashima	[nɐkɐˈʃiːmə]	[nɐkɐˈʃiːmə]	[nɑkəˈʃiːmə]	[nɐkəˈʃiːmɐ]
Nakasone	[nɐkaˈsoːnɛ]	[nɐkʌˈsoːnɛ]	[nɑkəˈsoːnɛ]	[nɑkʌˈsoːne]
Nishimoto	[niʃiˈmoːɾo]	[niʃiˈmoɾo]	[ˈniʃimoːɾo]	[niʃiˈmotto]
Nishimura	[niʃiˈmuːɹə]	[niʃˈməɹə]	[niʃiˈmuɹə]	[nɪʃiˈmuːɹə]
Okamoto	[okɐˈmoɾo]	[okəˈmoːɾo]	[okəˈmoːɾo]	[oːkəˈmotto]
Okinawa	[okiˈnɐwə]	[okiˈnɐʊə]	[okiˈnɑwɑ]	[okiˈnaːwɐ]
origami	[oɾiˈgɐːmi]	[oɾiˈgɐːmi]	[oɹiˈgɑːmi]	[oɹiˈgɐːmi]
shabu-shabu	[ˈʃɐˌbuˈʃɐˌbu]	[ʃɐbuˈʃɐːbu]	[ʃɑbuˈʃɑːbu]	[ʃɐbuˈʃɐːbu]
Shimabukuro	[ʃimənbuˈkuːɾo]	[ʃi.mə.bə.ˈkəɹ.o]	[ʃimənˈbukuɾo]	[ˈʃimaˈbukuɾo]
Shirokiya	[ʃiˈɾokjaː]	[ʃiɹoˈkijə]	[ʃiɾoˈkiːja]	[ʃiɾoˈkijɐ]
sukiyaki	[ˌsuˈkiˈjɐːˌki]	[ˈsuˌkiˈjɐːˌki]	[sukiˈjɑːki]	[sukiˈjɑːki]
Takenaka	[tɐkɛˈnɐːkə]	[tɐkeˈnɐːkɐ]	[ˈtɑkenɑːkə]	[tɐkeˈnɐːkɐ]
Tamashiro	[tɐmɐˈʃiːɹo]	[tɐməˈʃiɹo]	[ɾɑməˈʃiɹo]	[taməˈʃiɹo]
teriyaki	[tɛɹiˈjɐki]	[tɛɹiˈjaːki]	[tɛɾiˈjɑːki]	[tɛɹiˈjɐki]
tsukemono	[tsuˈkɛmono]	[tsukɛˈmono]	[tskɛˈmoːno]	[tsukeˈmono]
Uehara	[ueˈhɑɹə]	[u.ɛ.ˈhɐɹ.ə]	[uɛˈhɑːɹə]	[uɛˈhɐɹ.ə]
Uyehara	[ˈuˌjɛˈhɐˌɹə]	[ueˈhɑːɹə]	[ujeˈhɑːɹə]	[ˈuehɑːɹə]
Watanabe	[wataˈnaːbɛ]	[wɐtəˈnɐːbɛ]	[wɑtəˈnɐːbɛ]	[wɐtɐˈnɐːbɪ]
Yamamoto	[jamaˈmoɾo]	[jɐməˈmoːɾo]	[jɐməˈmoːɾo]	[jɐməˈmotto]
Yamashita	[jɐmɐˈʃtɐ]	[jɐˈmɐːʃtɐ]	[jɑməːˈʃitə]	[jɐməˈʃttə]
Yokohama	[jokoˈhɐmə]	[jokoˈhɐmə]	[jokoˈhɑmə]	[jokoˈhamɐ]
Yoshimura	[joʃiˈmuɾɐ]	[joʃiˈməːɾə]	[joːʃiˈmuɾə]	[joʃiˈmuːɾɐ]

Yoshioka	[joʃiˈoːkɐ]	[joʃ.i.ˈoː.kɐ]	[joʃi.ˈoː.kə]	[joʃiˈoːkɐ]
4-syllable JLWs				
Primary stress realization distributed equally (initial syllable or penultimate syllable)				
Fujimoto	[fudʒiˈmoːɾo]	[ˈfudʒimoɾo]	[ˈfudʒimoto]	[ɸudʒiˈmotto]
Fukumoto	[ˈfukuˌmoɾo]	[fukuˈmoːɾo]	[ˈfukumoɾo]	[fukuˈmoto]
Hashimoto	[ˈhaʃiˌmoɾo]	[hɐʃiˈmoːɾo]	[hɐʃiˈmoɾo]	[ˈhaʃimoto]
Ishikawa	[ˈiʃikɐwə]	[iʃiˈkɐːʊə]	[iʃiˈkɑːʊə]	[ˈiʃikɐːwɐ]
sayonara	[saˈjoːnɐɾɐ]	[sajoˈnɐɾə]	[sɐˈjoːnɐɾɐ]	[sɐjoˈnɐɾɐ]

It would be unwise to compare syllabic stress placement with the pitch accent system of the standard Tokyo dialect of Japanese. After all, it was not the variety widely spoken in Hawai‘i during the plantation era (see Fukazawa and Hiramoto 2004 for Chūgoku Japanese influence on the HC lexicon), and moraic pitch accent realization varies astoundingly in Japanese from dialect to dialect (see Shibatani 1991: 187–190). This section does not attempt to compare the above findings with the appropriate variety (or varieties) spoken during that time period due to lack of resources. However, the author would like to point out the cases when stress was placed on the final syllable of JLWs with two to four syllables: *andagí*, *animé*, *araré*, *arigató*, *azukí*, *bachí*, *hichirín*, *jankenpó*, *kamabokó*, *mochí*, *nigirí*, *sakurá*, *samurái*, *sashimí*, *senseí*, and *udón*. While the majority of these listed words do not appear in SE, the author notes that future research should investigate why cases of final syllable stress occur at this rate specifically in HC JLWs and not HLWs or others. The author also speculates that final syllable stress realization in JLWs is connected to Local identity or reverence to Japanese or both due to JLWs in English not following this unique pattern.

6.2.3. Other adaptation strategies unique to individual informants

Below is a list of words where /t/-gemination occurred in word-medial /t/ and /tʃ/ amongst one informant, Fumiko.

(4) /k/- and /t/-gemination in Japanese loanwords by Fumiko

(a)	arigato	*ariga*[tt]*o*	‘thank you’
(b)	Fujimoto	*Fujimo*[tt]*o*	last name
(c)	Kawamoto	*Kawamo*[tt]*o*	last name
(d)	Kyoto	*Kyo*[tt]*o*	place name
(e)	Matsumoto	*Matsumo*[tt]*o*	last name
(f)	Nishimoto	*Nishimo*[tt]*o*	last name
(g)	ocha	*o*[tt]*cha*	‘green tea’
(h)	Okamoto	*Okamo*[tt]*o*	last name
(i)	sake	*sa*[kk]*e*	‘rice wine’
(j)	shiitake	*shiita*[kk]*e*	‘type of mushroom’
(k)	Tokyo	*To*[kk]*yo*	place name
(l)	Yamamoto	*Yamamo*[tt]*o*	last name
(m)	Yamashita	*Yamashi*[tt]*a*	last name

The gemination of /k/, /t/, and other consonants are characteristic of Japanese phonology as a way to distinguish different words and tenses, or to mark emphasis. Long and Nagato (2015: 145) mentions that JLWs in HC lose this distinction due to loanword adaptation. On an idiolectal level, it appears that Fumiko geminates /k/ and /t/ in free variation, as words such as *obake*, *Kikkoman (Shoyu)*, *Hashimoto*, and *Kinoshita* did not receive gemination where they would be expected. The author notes that he has met a number of HC speakers, especially those of Japanese ancestry and older age, who employ this strategy to certain JLWs.

6.3. Hawaiian loanwords

6.3.1. Consonantal adaptation strategies

The consonant inventory of Hawaiian provided in Parker Jones (2018) states that eight consonantal phonemes are present in the language. These consonants also appear in English, which allows us to assume that HC speakers are able to produce these consonants with ease. The following table is based on the informants' data.

Table 6.4. Summary of Hawaiian consonant adaptation in HC

Hawaiian		HC	Example
/m/	→	[m]	mahalo
/p/	→	[p]	puka
/v/	→	[v]	wana
/n/	→	[n]	niele
/k/[130]	→	[k]	kōkua
/l/	→	[l]	lehua
/ʔ/	→	[ø~ʔ]	ali‘i
/h/	→	[h]	honu

6.3.2. Notes on stress[131]

The majority of two-syllable HLWs were pronounced with stress on the first syllable. A handful of two-syllable words were pronounced with stress on the second syllable. Those words are:

(5) 2-syllable HLWs

(a) Primary stress most often realized on the initial syllable

aku[132]	hula	mana	puka
auwē	imu	Maui	pupu[133]
hale	kāne	mauka	wana
Hāna	kapu	mauna	‘ahi
hānai	keiki	nēnē	‘āina

[130] Similar to Hawaiian /w/ [w~v], Hawaiian /k/ does not distinguish [k] with [t], and both occur in free variation (Parker Jones 2018: 105–106). However, all instances of /k/ in HLWs were pronounced as [k] by the informants.

[131] The analysis will exclude data from informants for words that were not recorded by the author due to unforeseen reasons. Those words were: *Halawa*, *Waialua*, and *Waipahu*. The recorded transcription data for these words can be found in Appendix F.

[132] Chris stressed the final syllable.

[133] Malu stressed the final syllable.

haole	Kīhei	pali	ʻEwa
hauna	kumu	pele	ʻono
hele	laulau	piko	ʻuku
hewa	lōlō	poke	ʻulu
Hilo	māhū	pono	
honu	maile	pua	

(b) Primary stress realization distributed equally (initial syllable or final syllable)

hāpai lūʻau

(c) Primary stress realized on final syllable

hālau Hōlau lānai makai

(6) 3-syllable HLWs

(a) Primary stress most often realized on medial (second) syllable

Āhua	Kalihi	Līhuʻe	Waimalu
aliʻi	kālua[136]	mahalo	Waimea
aloha	Kawela	Mākaha	Waipiʻo
haupia	kiawe	mālama	ʻAiea
Hawaiʻi	kōkua[137]	ohana	ʻōkole
Hōʻaeʻae[134]	kolohe	Oʻahu	ʻŌmaʻo
imua	Kūhiō[138]	Pāhoa	ʻōpala
Kahuku	kūlolo[139]	pōhaku[140]	ʻopihi
kahuna	Kūwili	pōpolo	
Kailua	Lahaina	wahine	
Kalauao[135]	Lāwaʻi	Waikele	

(b) Primary stress realization distributed equally (initial syllable or medial syllable)

Māʻili niele

(c) Primary stress most often realized on final syllable

akamai	Kapolei[141]
Ala Wai	Koʻolau[142]
Hanalei	Niʻihau[143]

[134] One informant, Fumiko, realized this word with five syllables due to [ʔ]-epenthesis ([hoːˈʔaʔeʔaʔe]). Nonetheless, the stress occurred on the same syllable as the other informants, so we will consider this as stress on the second syllable.

[135] Malu stressed the final syllable.

[136] Malu stressed the initial syllable.

[137] "

[138] Fumiko stressed the initial syllable.

[139] Malu stressed the initial syllable.

[140] "

[141] Malu stressed the medial syllable.

[142] "

[143] Chris stressed the initial syllable and deleted the glottal stop in this word.

Kaimukī Waikīkī

(7) 4-syllable HLWs

(a) Primary stress most often realized on the penultimate syllable

Hālaulani	kuleana	Maunawili	Pūpūkea
Haleʻiwa	Kuloloia	menehune	Waikōloa
Hanapēpē	Laupāhoehoe	Mililani	Waimānalo
Honokaʻa	Likelike	Mokauea	wikiwiki
Honolulu	lomilomi	muʻumuʻu	ʻĀhuimanu
Kahului	mahimahi	Nānākuli	ʻEleʻele
Kalāheo	makahiki	Nuʻuanu	ʻIolani
Kalākaua	Makakilo	pakalolo	ʻukulele
Kalaupapa	Makalapa	paniolo	
Kāneʻohe	malihini	pipikaula	
Kīlauea[144]	manapua	Punahele	

(8) 5-syllable HLWs

(a) Primary stress realized on the penultimate syllable

Ala Moana	Kamehameha	Māhinahina
Kahanamoku	Kapiʻolani	Mokulēʻia
Kahoʻolawe	Kaʻahumanu	Puʻuhonua

(b) Primary stress realized on the medial (third) syllable

Beretania

(9) 6-syllable, 7-syllable, and 12-syllable HLWs

(a) Primary stress realized on the penultimate syllable

Honouliuli[145]	Kealakekua
Kalaniana'ole	Lili'uokalani[146]

humuhumunukunukuapuaʻa

Table 6.5. Summary of informants' stress realization patterns in HLWs

2-syllable HLWs

Primary stress most often realized on initial syllable

Gloss	**Malu**	**Kina**	**Chris**	**Fumiko**
aku	[ˈʁku]	[ˈɑːku]	[ɑˈku]	[ˈʁku]
auwē	[ˈəʊwɛː]	[ˈəʊwɛː]	[ˈɑːweː]	[ˈʁʊweː]
hale	[ˈhəlɛ]	[ˈhʁːlɛ]	[ˈhɑːle]	[ˈhʁːle]

[144] Chris stressed the second syllable.

[145] Malu stressed the initial syllable.

[146] Malu and Kina pronounced this word with seven syllables (/li.li.ʔu.o.ka.la.ni/), Chris (/li.li.o.ka.la.ni/) and Fumiko (/li.li.u.ka.la.ni/) with six.

Hāna	[ˈhɐːnʌ]	[ˈhaːnə]	[ˈhɑnə]	[ˈhanə]
hānai	[ˈhaːnɐi]	[ˈhɐːnəi]	[ˈhəːnaɪ]	[ˈhɐːnəi]
haole	[ˈhɐʊlɛ]	[ˈhɐʊlɛ]	[ˈhɑʊlɪ]	[ˈhaʊlɛ]
hauna	[ˈhəʊnɐ]	[ˈhɐʊnə]	[ˈhɑʊnə]	[ˈhɐʊnɐ]
hele	[ˈhele]	[hɛlɛ(ˈɐːku)]	[ˈhɛlɛ]	[ˈhele]
hewa[147]	[ˈhɛvə]	[ˈhɛːvə]	[ˈhɛːvɐ]	[ˈhɛːvə]
Hilo	[ˈhilo]	[ˈhilo]	[ˈhilo]	[ˈhiːlo]
honu	[ˈhonu]	[ˈhonu]	[ˈhonu]	[ˈhonu]
hula	[ˈhulɐ]	[ˈhulaː~ˈhulɐ]	[ˈhulɐ]	[ˈhulɐ]
imu	[ˈimu]	[ˈimuː]	[ˈimu]	[ˈiːmu]
kāne	[ˈkɐːnɛː]	[ˈkɐːnɛː]	[ˈkɑːne]	[ˈkɐːnɪ]
kapu	[ˈkəpu]	[ˈkəpu]	[ˈkɑːpu]	[ˈkɐːpu]
keiki	[ˈkeiki]	[ˈkeiki]	[ˈkeɪki]	[ˈkeiki]
Kīhei	[ˈkiːhɛi]	[ˈkiːheː]	[ˈkiːhe]	[ˈkiːhe]
kumu	[ˈkumu]	[ˈkuːmu]	[ˈkumuː]	[ˈkuːmu]
laulau	[ˈlɐʊlɐʊ]	[ˈlɐʊlɐʊ]	[ˈlaʊlaʊ]	[ˈlɐʊlɐʊ]
lōlō	[ˈlolo]	[ˈloːlo]	[ˈlolo]	[ˈlolo]
māhū	[ˈmɐːhuː]	[ˈmɐːhu]	[ˈmɑːhu]	[ˈmaːhu]
maile	[ˈməilɛ]	[ˈmaɪlɛ]	[ˈmaɪlɛː]	[ˈmaɪli]
mana	[ˈmənə]	[ˈmɐːnə]	[ˈmənə]	[ˈmɐːnə]
Maui	[ˈməʊˌi]	[ˈmɐʊˌi]	[ˈmɐʊˌi]	[ˈmɐʊˌi]
mauka	[ˈməʊkɐ]	[ˈmɑʊkɐ]	[ˈmaʊkə]	[ˈmɑʊkɐ]
mauna	[ˈməʊnɐ]	[ˈmɐʊnɐ]	[ˈmɑʊnə]	[ˈmɐʊna]
nēnē	[ˈnɛnɛː]	[ˈnɛnɛː]	[ˈnɛ(ɪ)nɛː]	[ˈnɛːni]
pali[148]	[ˈpəli]	[ˈpəli]	[ˈpɑːli]	[ˈpɑːli]
pele	[ˈpɛlɛ]	[ˈpɛlɛ]	[ˈpɛle]	[ˈpele]
piko	[ˈpiko]	[ˈpiko]	[ˈpiko]	[ˈpiko]
poke	[ˈpokɛ]	[ˈpokɛ]	[ˈpo(ʊ)ke]	[ˈpokɛ]
pono	[ˈpono]	[ˈpoːno]	[ˈpoːno]	[ˈpono]
pua	[ˈpuɐ]	[ˈpuːɐ]	[ˈpuə]	[ˈpuɐ]
puka	[ˈpukɐ]	[ˈpuːkə]	[ˈpuːkə]	[ˈpukə]
pupu	[puːˈpuː]	[ˈpupu]	[ˈpupu]	[ˈpupu]

[147] hewa: Kina$_2$; Chris$_3$; Fumiko$_3$.
[148] pali: Chris$_2$.

wana	[ˈvʌnə]	[ˈvɐnə]	[ˈvɑːnə]	[ˈvɐːnə]
ʻahi	[ˈɐhi]	[ˈɐhi]	[ˈɑːhi]	[ˈɐhi]
ʻāina	[ˈʔəinɐ]	[ˈəinɐ]	[ˈʔɐinə]	[ˈainɐ]
ʻEwa	[ˈɛvə]	[ˈɛvɐ]	[ˈɛvɐ]	[ˈɛvə]
ʻono	[ˈʔono]	[ˈono]	[ˈono]	[ˈono]
ʻuku	[ˈʔuku]	[ˈukuː(z)]	[ˈuku]	[ˈʔuku]
ʻulu	[ˈulu]	[ˈulu]	[ˈuːlu]	[ˈuːlu]
		2-syllable HLWs		
		Primary stress realization distributed equally		
hāpai	[ˈhɐːpəɪ]	[həˈpɐːɪ]	[ˈhɑːpaɪ]	[hɐˈpɐːɪ]
lūʻau	[ˈluːʔɐʊ]	[luːˈʔaʊ]	[luːˈɐʊ]	[ˈluːʔɐʊ]
		2-syllable HLWs		
		Primary stress realized on final syllable		
hālau	[hɐːˈləʊ]	[həˈlaːʊ]	[həˈlɑːʊ]	[hɐˈlaʊ]
Hōlau	[hoːˈləʊ]	[hoːˈlaːʊ]	[hoːˈlɑʊ]	[hoːˈlaʊ]
lānai	[lɐːˈnəi]	[ləˈnaɪ]	[ləˈnaɪ]	[laˈnaɪ]
makai	[məˈkəi]	[mɐˈkʌi]	[məˈkai]	[məˈkəi]
		3-syllable HLWs		
		Primary stress on medial (second) syllable		
Āhua	[aˈhuˌa]	[ɐˈhuːə]	[ɐːˈhuə]	[ɐˈhuːɐ]
aliʻi[149]	[əˈliʔi]	[əˈliʔi]	[əˈliʔi]	[ɐˈliʔi]
aloha	[əˈlohɐ]	[ɐˈloːhɐ]	[ɑːˈlohɑ]	[ɐˈloːhɐ]
haupia	[hoʷˈpiɐ]	[hɐʊˈpiə]	[hɐʊˈpiə]	[hɐʊˈpiə]
Hawaiʻi	[həˈwɐjʔi]	[həˈwəjʔi]	[həˈvəʔi]	[hɐˈwəʔi]
Hōʻaeʻae	[hoˈʔɐɪʔɐɪ]	[hoˈʔaɪʔaɪ]	[hoˈʔaɪʔaɪ]	[hoːˈʔaʔeʔaʔe]
imua	[iˈmuɐ]	[iˈmuɐ]	[iˈmuə]	[iˈmuɐ]
Kahuku	[kɐˈhuku]	[kəˈhuːku]	[kɐˈhuːku]	[kɐˈhuku]
kahuna[150]	[kəˈhunə]	[kaˈhuːnə]	[kɑːˈhunə]	[kəˈhuːnə]
Kailua	[kəiˈluɐ]	[kɐɪˈluːə]	[kɐɪˈluə]	[kaɪˈluːɐ]
Kalauao	[kəlɐˈwaʊ]	[kəˈlɑʊaʊ]	[kaˈlɐlaʊ]	[kɐˈlɑʊaʊ]
Kalihi	[kʌˈlihi]	[kəˈliːhiː]	[kɐːˈlihi]	[kɐˈlihi]
kālua	[ˈkaːluɐ]	[kəˈluɐ]	[kəˈluɐ]	[kəˈluːɐ]
Kawela	[kəˈvɛlə]	[kəˈvɛlə]	[kəːˈvɛlə]	[kɐˈvɛlɐ]

[149] aliʻi: Chris$_3$.
[150] kahuna: Chris$_2$; Fumiko$_2$.

kiawe	[kiˈɐvɛ]	[kiˈaːvɛ]	[kiˈɑːvɛ]	[kiˈɐːve]
kōkua	[ˈkoːkuə]	[koˈkuːɐ]	[koˈkuːə]	[koˈkuːɐ]
kolohe[151]	[koˈlohɛ]	[koˈloːhɛ]	[kɐˈloːhɛ]	[koˈloːhe]
Kūhiō	[kuˈhioː]	[kuˈhiːo]	[kuˈhio]	[ˈkuːhio]
kūlolo	[ˈkulolo]	[kuˈloːlo]	[kuˈlolo]	[kuːˈlolo]
Kūwili	[kuːˈvili]	[kuˈviːliː]	[kuˈvili]	[kuːˈviːliː]
Lahaina	[lɐˈhaɪnɐ]	[ləˈhaɪnɐ]	[ləˈhaɪnə]	[ləˈhaɪnə]
Lāwaʻi	[lɐːˈvəʔi]	[ləˈvaɪ]	[ləˈwaɪ]	[lɐːˈwaɪ]
Līhuʻe	[liːˈhuʔɛ]	[lɛːˈhuɛ]	[liˈhuːʔɛ]	[liˈhue]
mahalo	[məˈhɐlo]	[məˈhaːlo]	[mɑːˈhɑlo]	[məˈhɐːlo]
Mākaha	[maːˈkahɐ]	[məˈkaːha]	[məˈkaːha]	[məˈkɐːhɐ]
mālama[152]	[ˈmɐːləmɐ]	[ˈmɐːˈlɑːmə]	[ˈmɑːˈlɑmə]	[ˈmaːlamɐ]
ohana	[oˈhɐnə]	[oˈhɐnəː]	[oːˈhənəː]	[oˈhɐːnə]
Oʻahu	[oˈʔahu]	[oˈʔɐːhu]	[oʊˈɑːhu]	[oˈʔɐːhu]
Pāhoa	[pɐˈhoɐ]	[pɐˈhoɐ]	[pɑːˈhoə]	[pɐːˈhoɐ]
pōhaku	[ˈpoːhɐku]	[poˈhaːku]	[poˈhɑːku]	[poˈhɐːku]
pōpolo	[poˈpolo]	[pe̯ˈpolo]	[pɑˈpoːlo]	[poˈpolo]
wahine	[waˈhine]	[waˈhiːnɛ]	[wɑːˈhinɛ]	[waˈhiːne]
Waikele	[wəiˈkɛlɛ]	[wɐɪˈkɛlɛ]	[waɪˈkɛlɛ]	[wɐɪˈkɛle]
Waimalu	[wəiˈmɐlu]	[wɐɪˈmɐːlu]	[waɪˈmɑːlu]	[wɐɪˈmɐːlu]
Waimea	[wəiˈmeɐ]	[wɐɪˈmeə]	[wɐɪˈmɛə]	[wɐɪˈmeə]
Waipiʻo	[wəiˈpiʔo]	[waɪˈpiʔo]	[waɪˈpijo]	[waɪˈpio]
ʻAiea	[ˈəi.ɛ.ɐ]	[ɐɛˈɐː]	[aɪ.ˈʔɛ.ə]	[aɪ.ˈʔe.ə]
ʻōkole	[oˈkolɛ]	[oˈkoːlɛ]	[oˈkoːlɛ]	[oˈkolɛ]
ʻŌmaʻo	[ʔoːˈmɐʔo]	[oˈmaːʔo]	[oˈmɑʊ]	[oˈmɐːo]
ʻōpala	[oˈpɐlɐ]	[oˈpɐːlə]	[oːˈpɑlə]	[oːˈpɐlɐ]
ʻopihi	[oˈpʰihi]	[oˈpihi]	[oˈpiːhi]	[oˈpihi]
		3-syllable HLWs		
		Primary stress most often realized on the final syllable		
akamai	[ɐkɐˈməi]	[ɐkɐˈməi]	[ɑkəˈmaɪ]	[ɐkɐˈmaɪ]
Ala Wai	[ɐləˈwəi]	[aləˈvaɪ]	[ɑləˈvaɪ]	[ɐləˈwaɪ]
Hanalei	[hənəˈlei]	[hanəˈlei]	[hɐnəˈleɪ]	[hanəˈleː]

[151] kolohe: Chris3.
[152] mālama: Fumiko3.

Kaimukī	[kəimuˈkiː]	[kaɪmuˈkiː]	[kɐɪmuˈkiː]	[kaɪˈmukiː]
Kapolei	[kʌˈpoleɪ]	[kapoˈleɪ]	[kapoˈleɪ]	[kɐpoˈleː]
Koʻolau	[koˈʔoləʊ]	[koʔoˈlaːʊ]	[koʔoˈlɐʊ]	[koʔoˈlaʊ]
Niʻihau	[niʔiˈhʌʊ]	[niʔiˈhaʊ]	[ˈniʔihaʊ]	[niʔiˈhɐʊ]
Waikīkī	[wəiˌkiːˈkiː]	[wɐɪˌkiˈkiː]	[wɐɪˌkiˈkiː]	[wɐɪkiˈkiː]
3-syllable HLWs				
Primary stress realization distributed equally (initial syllable or medial syllable)				
Māʻili	[maːˈʔili]	[ˈmaɪli]	[ˈmaɪli]	[mɐˈʔili]
niele	[ˈniɛlɛ]	[ˈniɛlɛ]	[niˈɛlɛ~niˈɛlɛɪ]	[ˈniʔelɪ]
4-syllable HLWs				
Primary stress most often realized on the penultimate syllable[153]				
Hālaulani	[həlɐʊˈləni]	[həlɐʊˈlɐːni]	[hɑlɐʊˈlʌni]	[həlɐːʊˈlɐni]
Haleʻiwa	[hɐleˈʔiva]	[hɐlɛˈiːvə]	[hɑleˈiːvə]	[hɐlɛˈʔivə]
Hanapēpē	[ˌhənɐˈpɛːpɛː]	[hanəˈpɛpɛː]	[hanəˈpeːpe]	[hənɐˈpɛpɛ]
Honokaʻa	[honoˈkɐʔɐ]	[honoˈkɐʔɐ]	[honoˈkaʔa]	[honoˈkaʔɐ]
Honolulu	[ˈhoˌnoˈluˌlu]	[honoˈluːlu]	[honəˈluːlu]	[honoˈluːlu]
Kahului	[kɐhuˈlui]	[kahuˈluːi]	[kahuˈlui]	[kɐhuˈlui]
Kalāheo	[kəlɐːˈhɛo]	[kɐlɐːˈhɛo]	[kɑlaːˈhɛo]	[kɐlɐˈhɛo]
Kalākaua	[kəˈlaˑːˈkəʊˑə]	[kɐləˈkaʊə]	[kəlɑːˈkɐʊə]	[kɐlɐˈkɐʊə]
Kalaupapa	[kəlɐʊˈpɐpɐ]	[kalɐʊˈpəpə]	[kalaʊˈpɐpə]	[kalaʊˈpapa]
Kāneʻohe	[kɐːnɛˈʔohɛ]	[kanɛˈoːhɛ]	[kɑˌniˈoːhe]	[kɐneˈoːhe]
Kīlauea	[ˈkiːˌləˈwɛˌɐ]	[kɪlɐʊˈɛːɐ]	[kɪˈlɐːwɛɐ]	[ˈkiˌlɐˈweˌɐ]
kuleana	[kulɛˈɐnə]	[kulɛˈaːnə]	[kuliˈɐnə]	[kuliˈɐːnə]
Kuloloia	[kuloˈloiə]	[kuloːloːˈʔiə]	[kuːloːˈloːiə]	[kuloːloːˈiːə]
Laupāhoehoe	[ləʊpəhojˈhoj]	[laʊpəhoɪˈhoj]	[ləʊpəhoiˈhoi]	[laʊpəˈhojhoj]
Likelike	[ˈliˌkeˈliˌke]	[likeˈliːke]	[likɛˈliːkɛ]	[ˈliˌkɛˈliːˌkɛ]
lomilomi	[lomiˈlomi]	[lomiˈloːmi]	[lomiˈloːmi]	[lomiˈloːmi]
mahimahi[154]	[mɐhiˈmɐhi]	[mɐ̯hiˈmɐ̯ːhi]	[mɑhiˈmɑːhi]	[mɐhiˈmɐhi]
makahiki	[mɐkɐˈhiki]	[makɐˈhiːki]	[mɑːkəˈhiki]	[mɐkəˈhiːki]
Makakilo	[mɐkɐˈkilo]	[mɐkəˈkiːlo]	[mɑkəˈkilo]	[makəˈkiːlo]
Makalapa	[mɐkɐˈlɐpɐ]	[makɐˈlaːpɐ]	[mɑkəˈlɑːpə]	[mɐkɐˈlɐpɐ]
malihini[155]	[mɐliˈhini]	[mɑləˈhini]	[mɑləˈhini]	[mɑlɪˈhiːni]

[153] Stress realizations found on the initial, second, or final syllable are shaded.
[154] mahimahi: Chris$_2$.
[155] malihini: Kina$_2$; Chris$_2$; Fumiko$_2$.

manapua	[manaˈpuɐ]	[manəˈpuːa]	[mɑnəˈpuə]	[mɐnəˈpuə]
Maunawili	[məʊnɐˈvili]	[moʊnəˈviːliː]	[mɑːnəˈwɪli]	[maʊnəˈwɪli]
menehune	[meneˈhune]	[mɛnɛˈhunɛ]	[mɛneˈhune]	[mɛniˈhuni]
Mililani	[miliˈləni]	[miliˈlɐni]	[mɪliˈlɑni]	[miliˈlɐni]
Mokauea	[ˈmoˌkəʊˈɛˌɐ]	[mokəˈwɛːɐ]	[moːkɑʊˈɛɐ]	[mokɐʊˈɛɐ]
muʻumuʻu	[ˈmuˌʔuˈmuˌʔu]	[muʔuˈmuʔu]	[ˈmuˌʔuˈmuˌʔu]	[muʔuˈmuʔu]
Nānākuli	[naːnaːˈkuli]	[nanəˈkuːli]	[nɐːnəˈkuli]	[nanaˈkuːli]
Nuʻuanu	[nuʔuˈənu]	[nuʔuˈɐːnu]	[nuʔuˈɑːnu]	[nuʔuˈɐnu]
pakalolo	[pɐkɐˈlolo]	[pakəˈloːlo]	[pɑkəˈlolo]	[pakaˈloːlo]
paniolo	[pəniˈolo]	[paniˈoːlo]	[pɑniˈoːlo]	[paniˈoːlo]
pipikaula[156]	[pipiˈkaʊlɐ]	[pipiˈkɐʊlə]	[piːpiˈkaʊlɐ]	[pipiˈkɐʊlɐ]
Punahele	[ˈpuˌnɐˈhɛˌlɛ]	[punɐˈhɛlɛ]	[punɐˈhɛlɛ]	[punəˈhɛle]
Pūpūkea	[puːpuːˈkeə]	[pupuˈkeə]	[pupuˈkɛə]	[pupuˈkeə]
Waikōloa	[ˈwəiˌkoˈloˌɐ]	[waɪkoˈloːɐ]	[waɪkəˈloə]	[waɪkoˈloə]
Waimānalo	[ˈwəiˌmaːˈnaˌlo]	[wɐɪməˈnaːlo]	[waɪməˈnɑːlo]	[waɪməˈnaːlo]
wikiwiki	[ˈviˌkiˈviˌki]	[wikiˈwiːki]	[wikiˈwiːki]	[wɪkiˈwɪki]
ʻĀhuimanu	[ɐːhuiˈmənu]	[əhuiˈmɐːnu]	[ɐhjuːˈmɑnu]	[ahuiˈmɐːnu]
ʻEleʻele	[ʔɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]	[ɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]	[ɛleˈɛle]	[ɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]
ʻIolani	[ioˈləni]	[ioˈləni]	[ioˈlɐni]	[ioˈlɐni]
ʻukulele	[ˈʔukuˌlɛlɛ]	[ukuˈlɛːlɛ]	[ukuˈlɛlɛ]	[ʔukuˈlɛːli]
5-syllable HLWs				
Primary stress realized on the penultimate syllable				
Ala Moana	[ˈɐlɐmoˈɐnɐ]	[ɐləmoˈɑːnə]	[ɑləmoˈɑnə]	[ˈɐlɐmoˈɐnə]
Kahanamoku	[kɐhanɐˈmoku]	[kɐhanɐˈmoːku]	[kɑhɑnəˈmoːku]	[kɐhɐnəˈmoku]
Kahoʻolawe	[kəhoʔoˈlɐvɛ]	[kəhoʔoˈlɐːvɛ]	[kɑːhoʔoˈlɑvɛ]	[kəhoʔoˈlavɛ]
Kamehameha	[kəmɛhɐˈmɛhɐ]	[kɐːmɛhɐˈm(ɛ~ɐɪ)hɐ]	[kɑːmɛhəˈmɛ(h)ə]	[kɐmehɐˈmehɐ]
Kapiʻolani	[kəpiˌʔoˈləni]	[kəpiˌoˈləni]	[kɑpiˌoˈlɑːni]	[kɐpiʔoˈlani]
Kaʻahumanu	[kɐʔɐhuˈmənu]	[kɐʔɐhuˈmɐnu]	[kɐʔɑhuˈmɑnu]	[kɐʔɐhuˈmɐnu]
Māhinahina	[mą̈ːhinəˈhinə]	[məhinəˈhinə]	[mɑːhinəˈhinə]	[mahinaˈhina]
Mokulēʻia	[mokulɛːˈʔiˌɐ]	[mokuˈlɐɪə]	[moːkuˈlɛɪə]	[mokuˈlɛɐ]
Puʻuhonua	[puʔuhoˈnuə]	[puʔuhoˈnuːə]	[puʔuhoˈnuə]	[puʔuhoˈnuɐ]
5-syllable HLWs				
Primary stress realized on the medial (third) syllable				

[156] pipikaula: Chris$_2$; Fumiko$_2$.

Beretania	[bɛ.ɹɛ.ˈtɐ.ni.ə]	[bɛ.ɹə.ˈteɪ.niə]	[bɛ.ɹə.ˈteɪ.ni.ə]	[bɛ.ɹɪ.ˈtæː.njə]
6-syllable, 7-syllable, and 12-syllable HLWs *Primary stress realized on the penultimate syllable*				
Honouliuli	[ˈhonouliuli]	[honouliˈuli]	[hon(o)uliˈuːli]	[honouliˈuli]
humuhumunu-kunukuapuaʻa	[humuhumunukunukuɐpuˈɐʔɐ]	[humuhumunukunukuɐpuˈɐʔɐ]	[humuhumunʲukunʲukuɐpuˈɐʔɐ]	[humuhumunukunukɑpuˈɐʔɐ]
Kalaniana‘ole	[ˌkəˈləˌniˈɐˌnɐˈʔoˌlɛ]	[kəlɐniʔɐnəˈʔoːlɛ]	[kəlɑːniʔɑnəˈʔole]	[kəlaniɐnəˈʔoli]
Kealakekua	[keɐləkeˈkuə]	[kealəkeˈkuːə]	[kɛɑləkɛˈkuwə]	[kɛɐlɐkɛˈkuːɐ]
Lili‘uokalani	[liˈliʔu.o.kəˈlə.ni]	[lili:ʔuokəˈləni]	[lɪˈlioˌkəˈlɐːni]	[liliuːkəˈlani]

Regrettably, the author of this thesis was unable to find a comprehensive phonological dictionary of Hawaiian, which could have served as a base for a word-by-word comparison of Hawaiian and HC HLW prosody. Nonetheless, the previous studies regarding Hawaiian prosody are used to suggest how the syllabic stress of Hawaiian-derived words may have changed in HC. Please note that the informants were not shown diacritical markings (e.g., macrons, which mark long vowels; ‘okina, which denote [ʔ]) when asked to read HLWs aloud.

Let’s take a brief look at syllable weight in Hawaiian prosody. Parker Jones (2010, in Parker Jones 2018: 111) claims, “...[Hawaiian] stress can be predicted accurately for 96% of the native vocabulary through the use of machine learning”. Parker Jones (2018: 111) summarizes Hyman’s (1985) and Hayes’s (1989) influential works on syllable weight: “Syllables containing a long vowel or a diphthong (or both) are ‘heavy’ and all heavy syllables are stressed, whereas syllables containing a single short vowel are ‘light’ and may or may not be stressed, depending on metrical position…”. Building upon Schütz’s (1981) original templates of possible Hawaiian prosodic word shapes, Parker Jones (2010, in Davidson and Parker Jones 2023: 8–9) proposes the following templates with examples:

a. $\{(\text{ˈ}\sigma_L\ \sigma_L)\}$ – [ˈma.la] ‘ache’
b. $\{\sigma_L(\text{ˈ}\sigma_L\ \sigma_L)\}$ – [va.ˈhi.ne] ‘woman’
c. $\{(\text{ˈ}\sigma_H)\}$ – [ˈkai] ‘ocean’
d. $\{\sigma_L(\text{ˈ}\sigma_H)\}$ – [na.ˈna] ‘to snarl’
e. $\{(\text{ˈ}\sigma_H\ \sigma_L)\}$ – [ˈmaː.la] ‘garden’
f. $\{\sigma_L(\text{ˈ}\sigma_H\ \sigma_L)\}$ – [pa.ˈlao.a] ‘bread’

Figure 6.2. Parker Jones’s (2010) templates of Hawaiian prosodic word shapes (adapted from Schütz 1981; in Davidson and Parker Jones 2023: 8–9)

It appears that the informants pronounced the forty six two-syllable HLWs listed in (5a) similarly to the prosodic structures suggested in template a. or e. above[157]. It is interesting to note that the six two-syllable HLWs which some or all informants stressed the final syllable (5b, 5c) ended in diphthongs (e.g. *lānai*, *hāpai*) while only three words in (5a) ended in diphthongs (*Kīhei*, *hānai*, and *laulau*). The former words appear to mostly follow the prosodic structure of template d., and their diphthongs maintain the ‘heavy’ attribute of syllable weight. On the other hand, the informants’ pronunciations of

[157] The feature of vowel length distinction in Hawaiian is lost in HC HLWs, so syllable weight is not necessarily measurable here.

Kīhei and *hānai* appear to follow template e., possibly due to the syllable weight found in their lengthened vowels, while it appears that the stress[158] found in the final syllable of Hawaiian *laulau* has completely shifted to the first syllable in HC. In terms of vowel length, it appears that the non-Hawaiian-speakers tended to stress the syllable whose vowel they lengthened whether it corresponded to the original Hawaiian vowel length or not (e.g., see informants' responses for *hāpai*). However, not all stressed syllables necessarily demonstrated vowel lengthening, which is a given pattern in English prosody (e.g., compare words such as *honu* and *ʻono*, which experienced absolutely no vowel lengthening, to words such as *pono* and *ʻulu*, whose stressed syllables experienced vowel lengthening by Kina, Chris, and Fumiko). On the other hand, Malu appears to have demonstrated conventional Hawaiian pronunciation throughout his responses—save for just a few words, including *láulau* instead of *laulâu*.

It appears that the informants pronounced the 41 three-syllable HLWs listed in (17a) following the prosodic structure suggested in template b. Again, the informants' placement of stress did not appear to uniformly predict the vowel that received lengthening, if lengthened at all. Furthermore, the effect of diacritical marking omission on pronunciation is especially apparent in the informants' responses of *Māʻili*. When read as <MAILI> with the knowledge that it is a place name, Malu pronounced the long vowel and glottal stop, Fumiko pronounced only the glottal stop, and Kina and Chris pronounced neither. Similar to the two-syllable HLWs ending in diphthongs, the majority of three-syllable HLWs ending in diphthongs (e.g., *akamai*, *Kapolei*) tended to receive stress on their final syllables, following the stress pattern of Hawaiian (Parker Jones 2018). Interestingly, two words which did not end in diphthongs yet tended to have their final syllable stressed were place names which ended with long vowels in Hawaiian: *Kaimukī* and *Waikīkī*. The latter word is a widely-known place name whose entry in Merriam-Webster (2023) includes a prescribed pronunciation of [waɪkɪˈkiː][159], which is not too different from the informants' responses—save for vowel quality. *Kaimukī*, on the other hand, is not well-known outside of the islands and appears to follow the same prosodic structure as *Waikīkī* amongst the non-Hawaiian-speaking informants (e.g., only the final syllables were stressed and lengthened), whereas Malu demonstrated conventional Hawaiian pronunciation.

Finally, let's review the HLWs (and some JLWs) with four or more syllables. Aside from one response by Chris (*Kīlauea*) and all informants' responses for *Beretania*[160], the informants uniformly stressed the penultimate syllables in these words, which follows the regular rule of (native) Hawaiian prosody (see Parker Jones 2018: 110–111). Again, vowel lengthening patterns were not completely reliant on stress placement. In terms of trochee patterns, Parker Jones (2005, 2010, in Parker Jones 2018: 111) claim that right-to-left trochees are a feature likely lexically bound to around half of all native Hawaiian words with five or more syllables—nearly half follow the LHLHL *makuahine* ('mother') pattern, while the other half follow the HLLHL *ʻelemakule* ('old man') pattern. Interestingly, Malu,

[158] *Mahalo nui* to my friend, Koko, for confirming the syllable placement of Hawaiian *laulau* over the phone. She naturally placed stress on the first syllable of *laulau* when the author asked (in HE) about its stress placement. However, when prompted to construct a sample sentence in Hawaiian using *laulau*, we were both surprised when she instinctively stressed the second syllable.

[159] Pronunciation audio transcribed by the author.

[160] While it is unclear why Chris stressed the second syllable of *Kīlauea*, the informants' uniformity in their stress placement of *Beretánia* can be attributed to its status as itself an English-derived loanword (orig. 'Britain') to Hawaiian ('Pelekane' or 'Pelekānia'), which was re-introduced to (Hawai'i) English as 'Beretania' (Parker Jones 2018: 110–111 for the prosodical nonconformity demonstrated by loanwords in Hawaiian; Schütz 1976: 81; Pukui et al. 1974: 17).

Chris, and Fumiko demonstrated HLHL trochee patterns in a handful of four-syllable words[161] such as *Honolulu*, *Kīlauea*, *Likelike*, *Mokauea*, *Punahele*, *mu‘umu‘u*, and *Waikōloa*, where the rightmost high syllable received primary stress (see Parker Jones 2018: 111). In HLWs with five or more syllables, Malu and Fumiko pronounced *Ala Moana* using the ‘old man’ pattern, and Malu pronounced *Kapi‘olani* using the ‘mother’ pattern. It is especially interesting that Chris and Fumiko, who both have little background in the Hawaiian language besides HC HLWs, demonstrated these patterns. Remarkably, some JLWs were also pronounced with trochee patterns also found in Hawaiian. Kina and Fumiko’s pronunciations of *bakatare* (‘idiot’) resembled a HLHL pattern. In the case of *sukiyaki* (‘a type of soup’), Malu pronounced LHHL and Kina HLHL. The author suspects that the above trochee patterns exist in HC through the Hawaiian substrate. Furthermore, while their realizations are not limited to HLWs, when they appear is not as predictable as they are in Hawaiian, and possibly sociolinguistically motivated as opposed to phonologically governed. However, more research is necessary to uncover the predictability of trochee patterns in HC.

6.4. Summary

This chapter stated observations made by the author during the phonological analysis process of this investigation. This includes consonantal adaptation, stress, and idiosyncratic phenomena. Additional research is needed to investigate the stress patterns in individual loanwords, which seem to receive both superstrate and substrate influence. It is also necessary to compare these patterns and determine potential influences from loanword stress patterns onto words of different origins. For example, trochee patterns typical of Hawaiian appear to have occurred in some JLW data, though there is currently no strong evidence that can justify this claim (e.g., see Malu’s and Kina’s pronunciation of *sukiyaki*; Malu’s pronunciation of *boroboro*, *Uyehara*, and *hanabata*).

[161] Only trochee patterns in Hawaiian words with five or more syllables are mentioned in Parker Jones (2018) and Davidson and Parker Jones (2023).

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUDING REMARKS

7.1. Concluding remarks and discussions

7.1.1. Summarizing the main arguments of this thesis

The main argument of this thesis is that analysis of the native sound structure of HC should not treat imported sound variants as independent phonemes. Instead, these sounds are better understood as pronounced by speakers in a sociolinguistically motivated manner, rather than being phonologically governed or nativized. These sounds include ~~/ɾ/~~ [ɾ], ~~/ʔ/~~ [ʔ], and the initial affricate ~~/#ts/~~ [ts] (described as stand-alone sounds in Sakoda and Siegel 2008a, 2003). Recent sociolinguistic studies by Hashimoto (2019) and Havlík and Wilson (2017) led to the current critical reassessment of sounds imported into HC and propose that the HC liquid /r/ is better described as [ɪ~ɾ], where the rhotic-r is considered the native variant, while the non-rhotic-r is the non-native variant, predominantly appearing in JLWs. Similarly, the sound /#ts/ found only in JLWs can vary between [s~ts]. The former sound represents anglicized and standardized adaptation, while the latter sound represents non-standard importation from Japanese. Furthermore, /ʔ/ from Hawaiian should not be considered a native sound in HC, as it lacks the qualities of a stand-alone phoneme, as does /ɾ/ and /#ts/. Its frequent pronunciation in HLWs can be explained by the sociolinguistic situation of Hawai‘i’s Locals and their reverence towards the Hawaiian culture and language fueled by the Indigenous concept of *aloha ‘āina* and various sociopolitical events which pressure HC speakers to speak more “English-like”. Therefore, modern HC speakers tend to include Hawaiian [ʔ] in their speech to achieve a sense of “authenticity” and demonstrate their reverence for the Hawaiian language.

Additionally, the sounds /fu/ [fu~ɸu] and /W/ [w~v] have been similarly analyzed. The structure and variation patterns of /fu/ parallel those of /r/ and /#ts/ as mentioned above. However, /W/ presents a unique case. It retains the interchangeability between [w~v], which is found in Hawaiian /w/. Nevertheless, certain borrowed words from this same structure (Hawaiian /w/) have shifted from unrestricted variation to strict uniformity with /w/ [w] and /v/ [v]. These splits reflect the distinction between [w] and [v] found in the lexifier language, English.

7.1.2. Shortcomings of this thesis

Perhaps the most obvious outstanding issue of this thesis is the very small number of informants who participated in this data collection investigation. The author does not claim that the data collected in this investigation is representative of HC speakers’ speech patterns as a whole. However, the amount of data collected per informant is quite massive and hopefully provides a good foreground for future research. Naturally, gathering data from HC speakers of varying backgrounds (e.g., age, gender identity, ethnicity, nationality, language, region) provides the best results to capture the diversity of its speakers.

7.1.3. Do ‘adapted’ and ‘imported’ sound distinctions diminish speaker identity?

When embarking on the endeavor of writing a comprehensive thesis exploring the arguments presented above, initial concerns arose regarding the potential accusation of actively disregarding certain phonological aspects inherent to the native sound structure of HC, thereby dismissing them as mere pronunciation idiosyncrasies. However, it is important to acknowledge the widely accepted perspective that these sounds have become nativized phonemes through cultural and linguistic amalgamation, thereby contributing to the rich and multifaceted narrative of HC’s genesis. Consequently, this

reassessment of Japanese and Hawaiian sounds evident in HC speech provides valuable insights into the sociolinguistic landscape inhabited by speakers today. Notably, there exists a decline in the number of Hawaiian and Japanese speakers in contemporary Hawai‘i when compared to the 19th century, thereby heightening the motivation to preserve the “authenticity” of these languages’ lexical items. The continued preservation of non-native structures, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, among HC speakers is a significant observation. Equally significant is the role that HC, as a marker of local, Hawaiian, and Japanese identities, plays in maintaining the distinct cultural and linguistic heritage through loanword pronunciation. Furthermore, empirical evidence suggests that HC speakers tend to pronounce non-native structures at higher rates than native ones, a trend observed regardless of the informants' Japanese or Hawaiian heritage. These findings do not undermine the identity of HC speakers; rather, they perhaps highlight some HC speakers’ desire to preserve the “authenticity” of HLW and JLW pronunciation. Such sounds, once exclusively heard among separate language communities on plantations, are now shared among the diverse range of speakers comprising modern Hawaii.

7.1.4. Does the Odo orthography prescribe “standard” pronunciations?

Up until now, this thesis has not given dutiful acknowledgment to Odo’s (1977) *Odo orthography*, a phonemic writing system designed for HC, which is used by many HC linguists, poets, and writers (Sakoda and Siegel 2003: 23–25, 2008a: 227–228). The author chose to use standard Hawaiian orthography and Japanese romanization/anglicizations throughout this thesis; however, this does not imply irreverence for HC’s premiere writing system[162]. It was my own hesitation, stemming from inexperience in its usage, which caused me to shy away from implementing it in the present thesis. Furthermore, my arguments for reconsidering the nativeness of /ʔ/, /ɾ/, and /#ts/ to HC phonology would not necessarily be supported by the original design of Odo orthography without my making of edits, which I thought would be an act inappropriate on my end. Nevertheless, this section provides my suggestions for the future of Odo orthography in consideration of the arguments made in this thesis. Below is a summary of Odo orthography:

Table 7.1. Odo orthography (Odo 1977, in Sakoda and Siegel 2003: 23–25, 2008a: 227–228)

HC consonant	Odo orthography	HC vowel	Odo orthography[163]
/b/	b	/i/	i
/d/	d	/e/	e
/f/	f	/æ/	æ (*or* ae *or* ɑe)
/g/	g	/ɑ/	a (*or* ɑ)
/h/	h	/u/	u
/k/	k		
/l/	l		
/m/	m		
/n/	n		
/ŋ/	ng		
/p/	p		

[162] Odo’s (1977) HC orthography is so influential, in fact, that Sasaoka (2019) proposes an ingenious grapheme-based writing system for HC based on the structure of Odo orthography (with revisions) and calligraphic/cultural elements from Hawaiian, Chinese, Filipino (Baybayin), Japanese, Korean, Portuguese, Spanish, Thai, and Vietnamese. It appears, however, that /ʔ/ and /ɾ/ are still viewed as separate phonemes.

[163] These letters represent simple vowels, diphthongs, and r-colored vowels (Sakoda and Siegel 2008a: 227).

/ɾ/	r
/s/	s
/t/	t
/v/	v
/w/	w
/j/	y
/z/	z
/ʃ/	sh
/ʒ/	zh
/tʃ/	ch
/dʒ/	j
/ɾ/	D
/ʔ/	‘

It was argued in this thesis that glottal stops [ʔ] found in HLWs, and alveolar flaps [ɾ] and word-initial [ts] in JLWs, are sounds which were imported from their respective source languages. With this view, we recognize HC speakers' variation in between these non-native sounds with their native variant counterparts ([Ø], [ɹ], and [s], respectively). Now, according to Sakoda and Siegel's (2003a, 2008) overviews of the phonemic-based Odo orthography, we can presume that <‘> was specifically designed with the assumption that [ʔ] is a sound native to HC and appears in a number of HLWs, and <D> was designed with the assumption that /ɾ/ is a phoneme native to HC and is realized in all cases of JLW /r/. Indeed, both of these statements are true to a certain extent; however, the implementation of such assumptions to the above writing system generalizes the speech patterns of HC speakers and possibly prescribes these pronunciation variants as "correct" or "natural". While it is safe to say "/b/ [b], therefore <b>", we should reconsider how we approach dormant /ʔ/ [Ø~ʔ], /w/ [w], /v/ [v], and /W/ [w~v] in HLWs, and /r/ [ɹ~ɾ] and /#ts/ [s~ts] in JLWs in relation to the sociolinguistic variation found in these phonemes and affricate. The remainder of this section gives suggestions to future users of Odo orthography in challenging the "status quo" by recognizing these pronunciation variants with the intention to truly capture the diversity of how these forms are realized by real HC speakers.

When writing general descriptions of HC, linguists using Odo orthography should be mindful in representing all possible pronunciation variants in their respective forms (e.g., in cases when the non-native variant is "virtually always realized": <aDaDe, *rarely* arare>, <ali‘i, *rarely* alii>, and <tsunami, *rarely* sunami>; in cases where variant realization distribution "appears to be equal" amongst speakers: <lilikoi *or* liliko‘i> and <ramen *or* Damen>, with native variants preceding the non-native variants; in cases when the native variant appears to be realized only slightly more than the non-native variant: <Waianae, *sometimes* Wai‘anae>; and *vice versa*: <kaDaoke, *sometimes* karaoke>). These seemingly minuscule distinctions illustrate to future linguists, especially those unfamiliar with HC, the true state of loanword pronunciation variation amongst its speakers. Next, let's consider how poets and writers also have the opportunity to implement the above distinctions in their crafts. Perhaps the traits of a specific character could be conveyed in how they speak. For example, an HC-speaking character whose pronunciation patterns shifted after living away from the islands for an extended period of time may be reflected through dialogue purposely written to never use non-native variants [ɾ] <D>, [ʔ] <‘>, and [#ts] <ts> in juxtaposition with other characters who may use these variants. These suggestions allow us to further explore, discuss, and expand on the overarching conversation regarding Local identity maintenance through HC phonology, specifically loanword pronunciation variation.

7.2. Ideas for future research

7.2.1. Effects of Hawaiian orthography and Hawai‘i Creole pronunciation

In Hawaiian orthography, long vowels are marked with macrons, and glottal stop consonants are represented with an ‘okina <‘>[164]. The data in Chapter 5 suggest that HC speakers tend to adapt the suprasegmental features in HLWs to their English approximations. In the cases when asked to read Hawaiian place names, which purposely were presented without macrons or ‘okina, the “hidden” long vowels were not given the same phonological treatment as the “hidden” glottal stops. In some cases, informants also lengthened vowels in ways uncharacteristic to neither English nor Hawaiian (e.g., see Kina and Chris’s pronunciations of *Kamehameha* in footnote 166). The author suspects such examples of vowel lengthening are sociolinguistically motivated in order to boost the feeling of “Hawaiianness” to the pronunciation of an HLW drawing upon the maintenance of one’s cultural image (Hashimoto 2019). All in all, it would be interesting to consider how HC speakers approach pronouncing HLWs both with and without the presence of diacritical markings, of course, while noting their knowledge of the Hawaiian language. As for romanized Japanese, there are several examples of orthographical outliers which appear to influence how they were pronounced upon reading (e.g., *Uehara* and *Uyehara*)[165]. Future research could also analyze the effects of the common romanization of Japanese /N/ as <n> and rarely <m> (discussed in §6.2.1.2).

7.2.2. Attitudes toward loanword pronunciation

It may be interesting to explore the attitudes toward the SA speech of HC speakers and how they may be perceived when using non-native structures in JLWs and HLWs. Anecdotally, an American colleague (White, female, in her early 20s) criticized my pronunciation of ‘ka[ɾ]aoke’ while speaking SE. She told me unabashedly (and unwarrantedly) that pronouncing it that way “just sounds pretentious” (see also Daulton 2022: 533–534). However, other non-speakers of HC and those with no direct connection to Hawai‘i seem to be receptive to *Hawai*[ʔ]*i* and feel motivated to apply it to their own language to be “respectful” and “correct” (Moguls of Media 2022). The perceptions of JLW pronunciation amongst Japanese L1s and L2s, and HLW pronunciation amongst Hawaiian L1s and L2s may also reveal unrevealed attitudes, whether positive or negative, regarding “authenticity” to their source languages.

7.2.3. Vowels in loanword phonology

This thesis regrettably did not assess vowel patterns in loanwords. Future research and analyses are needed to understand how HC speakers adapt vowels in borrowed words and how vowel treatment compares to lexifier-derived words. The author would like to note that [æ] was used very sparingly by the informants. However, in the clipping of Kamehameha[166] in Kam Highway[167], all informants rose /a/ to [ɐ̟~æ]. Sakoda and Siegel (2008a: 222–225) provide tables of both basilectal and mesolectal HC vowels,

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[164] e.g., <‘āina> [ʔaːina] ‘land’; <ainā> [ainaː] ‘sore aching’; <‘a‘ina> [ʔaʔina] ‘crackling’; <‘aina> [ʔaina] ‘meal’; <aina> [aina] ‘sexual intercourse’ (Pukui and Elbert 1986).

[165] This study also presented other examples of romanized names that use <y>, such as *Inouye* and *Uyeda*. The author suspects that the historical Japanese character 𛀁 might have been romanized as <ye> during the periods of mass Japanese immigration. Based on this speculation, the author suggests that spellings like <Inouye> could indicate Japanese descendants who arrived between the 19th and early 20th centuries, while the spelling <Inoue> might suggest a more recent arrival (not limited to Hawai‘i).

[166] *Kamehameha*: Malu [kəmɛhɐˈmɛhɐ], Kina [kɐːmɛhɐˈm(ɛ~ɛɪ)hɐ], Chris [kɑːmɛhəˈmɛ(h)ə], Fumiko [kɐmehɐˈmehɐ].

[167] *Kamehameha Highway* → *Kam Highway*: Malu [ˈkɐ̟ mˈhaɪweː], Kina [ˈkɐ̟ mˈhaɪweː], Chris [ˈkæmˈhaɪweɪ], Fumiko [ˈkɐ̟ mˈhaɪweː].

and Grama (2015), Grama (in press), and Grama et al.'s (in press) work on variation and change in HC vowels are indispensable for future studies regarding HC (loanword) phonology.

7.2.4. Language change in HC

It would also be of some researchers' interest to investigate how HC has evolved outside of Hawai‘i. For example, Fumiko mentioned in her interview that in Washington, some Locals in her circle who moved to the "mainland" still use certain words such as *bocha* in their homes. This strikes the question on how HC L1 parents may (or may not) preserve linguistic Localness when raising their children outside of Hawai‘i. Other areas with large concentrations of Locals which may serve as interesting field study locations include Las Vegas and Okinawa. The author notes his personal experience meeting with his Local friends living in Okinawa who teach English there through The Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Programme. When conversing amongst each other, they appear to speak using mesolectal to basilectal HC, but they report to switch to the acrolect while at work, where they are expected to communicate with local teachers and students using SE. Finally, the author notes the differences in the usage/knowledge of certain loanwords amongst the informants of this study which seem to vary upon factors, with age being the most likely factor (refer also to Appendices C and D). The author also notes his own elicitation methods may have also affected elicitation success rates, for better or worse. The table presented on the next page lists words organized based on their recallability amongst the informants during the photo elicitation and elicitation-through-definition portions of study (this excludes readings). The table may serve useful should a large-scale study investigating the stability of individual HC lexical items be conducted.

7.2.5. '*Hawai-go tte aru no?*' I: Attitudes toward Native Hawaiians and Hawaiian in Japan

Researching Japanese attitudes toward Native Hawaiians and the Hawaiian language (or any other Indigenous group and language whose speakers are forced to deal with the effects of Western colonization) would likely provide great insight into the state of education in Japan regarding non-White White-dominated societies of the world (in the case of Hawai‘i, White dominance can be understood as systemic and socio-political rather than numerical). Although I have had an overall pleasant experience living in Japan, which as of now has culminated in living for four years in three different prefectures, I would be remiss if I did not mention what I have noticed about Japanese attitudes toward the Hawaiian language, and by virtue, Hawaiians themselves. These range from regular microaggressions to downright refusal to acknowledge my identity as an Indigenous Hawaiian.

All in all, my combined identity as a Native Hawaiian, Native Okinawan[168], and Local is constantly put to the test in Japan. Now, I hate making sweeping generalizations, but I have come to notice that the existence of an indigenous Hawaiian language, and by virtue, indigenous Native Hawaiians themselves, is not always obvious to some people here. In my experience, this has been true for, without exaggeration, perhaps 90 percent of the Japanese I have met—young or old, college-educated or not, with experience visiting Hawai‘i or without—save for exceptions such as *some* academics and aficionados. For example, when conversations shift to topics such as what my thesis is about, what languages I have studied, or what have you, my mention of "Hawaiian" is often met with blank stares and responses along the lines of, '*E? Hawai-go tte aru no? Eigo janai no?* [Huh? There's a Hawaiian language? It isn't English?]'. This type of reaction would stun Locals, considering Hawai‘i's historical

[168] I could write a separate essay about my experience as a diasporic Okinawan in Japan as well.

Table 7.2. Elicited Japanese and Hawaiian loanwords grouped by rate of recall success, alphabetized[169]

Successfully recalled by all informants	*High recall success rate*							*Low recall success rate*
JLWs: andagi, anime, arare, arigato, azuki, bachi, baka, bocha, bonsai, daikon, edamame, emoji, furikake, furo, haiku, ichiban, jankenpo, judo, kamaboko, karaoke, karate, katsu, mochi, musubi, nigiri, ninja, nori, obake, panko, ramen, saimin, sake, samurai, sashimi, sayonara, sensei, shaka, shiitake, shishi, shoyu, sudoku, sumo, sushi, tako, tamago, tempura, teriyaki, tofu, tsukemono, tsunami, udon, umami, ume, uni, wasabi; **HLWs**: akamai, aku, aloha, auwē, hālau, hale, hana hou, hānai, haole, hāpai, hauna, haupia, hele, honu, hula, humuhumunukunuku -apuaʻa, imu, imua, kālua, kāne, kapu, keiki, kiawe, kōkua, kuleana, kūlolo, kumu, lānai, laulau, lei, lilikoʻi, lōlō, lomilomi, lūʻau, mahalo, māhū, maikaʻi, maile, makahiki, makai, mana, manapua, mauka, mauna, menehune, muʻumuʻu, nēnē, niele, ohana, pakalolo, paniolo, pau, pele, pōhaku, poi, poke, pono, pōpolo, pua, puka, pupu, wahine, wana, wikiwiki, ʻahi, ʻāina, ʻōkole, ʻono, ʻōpala, ʻopihi, ʻuku, ʻukulele, ʻulu	**JLWs** bento bon gyoza **HLWs** mahimahi pali piko ʻaʻole	**JLWs** bakatare dashi gohan hichirin kendo kimono manga menpachi origami otaku sakura taiko **HLWs** aliʻi honi kahuna kamaʻāina kanaka maoli kapakahi kolohe lehua mālama pilikia pipikaula	**JLWs** banzai boroboro girigiri hashi ika miso **HLWs** hewa hoʻoponopono malihini moemoe ʻauʻau ʻōpū	**JLWs** chichi dango hibachi issei kinako koto nisei tantaran **HLWs** koa pīkake	**JLWs** anpan shoji tatami **HLWs** maka piapia paʻi	**JLWs** chawan hapi kabuki karai katonk skebe	**JLWs** benjo heka okazu	**JLWs** kabocha kusai senbei shibai zori

[169] Excludes readings. See Appendix C (JLWs) and D (HLWs) for informants' recall details. See also responses for *holoholo*, *kalo*, *manini*, *pilau*, and *tūtū* in D.

connection to Japan which dates far before World War II (see Marumoto 1976; Ikeda 2016; Okamura 1980, 2018), the massive number of Japanese tourists who visit the islands each year (Okamura 1994: 168–169; Trask 1991: 1203–1204), and in my opinion, the general Local reverence toward Japan, the Japanese language (as assessed in HC JLW pronunciation) and culture, both historical and modern. Also, it may be disturbing for some to learn that the extremely problematic idea of English as *the* aboriginal language of a Polynesian archipelago could even be fathomed[170]. After all, the existence of a Hawaiian language and its people should be deducible by anyone educated about the effects of (Euroamerican) imperialism and Native genocide when considering the fact that Hawai‘i is geographically far removed from North America (in Japan, *hokubei* ‘North America’ is often associated with English), let alone England (this is criticism toward the education system of Japan rather than the Japanese people themselves) (see also Trask 1993, 2004).

This idea is often perpetuated onto me, a Native Hawaiian living in Japan, even after I have established our existence as Natives. However, I can predict the follow-up question to be, “*Eigo to dore kurai chigau?* [How different is it from English?]’, or even a sudden change in topic, possibly due to a lack of interest in Hawaiian or due to their eagerness to know more about the so-called “world language”, English, than to critically assess the role it assumes in the destruction of Indigenous cultures *a la* (linguistic) imperialism (for language as a colonial tool, see Sayedayn 2021; for linguistic imperialism within the scope of Hawai‘i, see Warner 1999; Trask 1996; 2002, November 15). As you can imagine, such responses dismiss the very existence of Native Hawaiians, demonstrate the normative belief of American English as *the* “superior” and *the* “legitimate” world language, and perpetuate the myth that American English is *the* language spoken in, with deep irony, “America” (see Kubota 2019; Trask 1993, 2004).

Furthermore, as soon as I mention that I am from Hawai‘i, I am immediately perceived to be, to quote Trask (1993: 2), “...as American as hot dogs and CNN News”. That is to say, despite my obvious appearance as a non-White, I am often culturally racialized as a White American in Japan after mentioning Hawai‘i, meaning that stereotypes the Japanese have against Whites are parallelly projected onto me, and any action (cultural or linguistic) I perform that violates their constructed image of Whites, Whiteness, America, and American-ness appears to set off alarms in their heads as “wrong”, “strange”, “too Japanese” or “not American enough”. Petty examples include the ability to use chopsticks, which is uneventful in Local culture, the ability to eat and digest fish (cooked or uncooked), despite the fact that my ancestors and I have been surrounded by the Pacific Ocean for centuries, and the ability to introduce myself in Japanese, whereas more serious examples range from my assumed social class/privilege[171] in my home country to the dismissal of my right to perpetuate my Native/Local identities. It seems these alarms are put to rest when I satisfy their Whiteness (as opposed to non-Whiteness) radars. That is to say, I become subject to the social parameters and expectations of Whiteness in many social situations in Japan as a Native Hawaiian, whereas I would never face such constraints, whether disadvantageous or not, in Hawai‘i, and certainly not in North America, Europe, or Australia. The perpetuation of such a cultural binary which lacks any nuance based on ethnic/linguistic diversity can probably be attributed to the “one nation and one language” ideology that entrenches Japanese attitudes toward the ill-informed expectation of their own nation, and as a result, the nations of the *others* (Shoji 2019).

[170] Conversely, the existence of the Māori of Aotearoa (New Zealand) and their language appears to be a given in Japan.

[171] See Trask (2004: 10) for the disproportionately devastating statistics regarding Native Hawaiian death rate, incarceration rate, health, wellbeing, treatment, houselessness, and a slew of other systemic social disadvantages.

However, even when grouped into the same cultural category as Whites (the *other*) in Japan, I am still treated as a non-White (the *other* other) especially when racial Whites are included in the picture. For instance, Japanese students eager to learn English from "cool" White students noticeably tend to skip out on inviting me and my other POC friends to social gatherings. Also, I have been far too often used, often unashamedly, by some Japanese students to introduce them to my "cool" White friends, only to later snub me for the rest of the semester. In cases where I am eating at a restaurant with a group of other international students, it would not be a surprise to have curious Japanese patrons hover around our table and giddily spark conversations in English with my White friends while completely ignoring me and the other POCs on the table. Conversely, in situations where my home nation is not asked of me, I am treated as another brown-skinned person in Japan, which can be summarized into three words: not very well. I have been assumed to be, not in a kind way, Brazilian, Chinese, Filipino, Nepalese, Peruvian, Thai, and Vietnamese, just to name a few, by Japanese police officers, bus drivers, hospital staff, station attendants, and general passersby. That is not to say that such ethnic minority groups are bad in any way; however, it is undeniable that they, along with many unlisted minority communities, face considerable discrimination in Japan. Also, these assessments of my nationality or ethnicity based on my appearance alone is generally speaking extremely problematic and damaging to my Nativeness on a personal level. The above-mentioned anecdotes appear to support Sekiguchi's (2002: 202) equation regarding Japanese attitudes toward English and its speakers: "*gaikoku* [foreign countries] = *Amerika* [(United States of America)] = *eigo* (English) = *hakujin* (whites) = *shinteki* (progressive)" (Kubota 2019: 118).

7.2.6. '*Hawai-go tte aru no?*' II: Hawaiian language ecology in Japan

With all this said, researching Hawaiian language ecology in Japan may also be of interest to those curious about the effects of Hawaiian language revitalization through a critical lens. That is to say, without the great efforts of the Hawaiian language revitalization movement and its supporters, you would likely not see the following accounts of Hawaiian language usage in Japan. The way Hawaiian is used as a marketing tool is not too different from that of English, French, or Spanish, though Hawaiian is definitely not as common nor influential to the Japanese lexicon as any of those languages. You can expect to find embellishments of Hawaiian words in magazines and billboards displaying travel advertisements, and even on T-shirts, mugs, stickers, and trinkets at seemingly out-of-place kiosks[172] not too different from those you can see in Waikīkī. Hawaiian usage can also be seen in the names of dental clinics, restaurants, and cafés. These Hawaiian words appear in either *romaji*[173] or katakana, with the latter more common in the menus of various eateries. I have noticed variations in the katakana spelling of *poke* ('diced raw fish') in certain restaurants—initially <ポケ [poke]> seemed to be popular, but I have seen it spelled <ポキ [poke]> more often these days. More often than not, when I mention *poke* in Japanese, the listener will appear confused until I (regrettably) switch to '*poki bōru* ('poke bowl')'. I

[172] I have seen such kiosks and even some *hawai senmon-ten* ('Hawaiian specialty stores') all around urban areas in Japan, but the amount of those present in Okinawa is unmatched.

[173] Speaking of *romaji* ('Roman letters'), foreigners whose language does not include Chinese script are often made to write their names in katakana and roman letters on official documents. Curiously, *eigo* ('English'), *eimoji* ('English letters'), and *romaji* ('romanized Japanese') seem to be used interchangeably in Japanese. For example, official documents often command foreigners to write their names in special boxes whose instructions read "WRITE IN ENGLISH". This is problematic because it assumes that foreigners ought not to write their name in the official romanized script of their own language but instead conform to that of English (see Kubota 2019 for English as the "legitimate" language), even though Japan has its own romanized system, *romaji*! That is to say, it would make more sense for foreigners to write their names in Japan's romanized system rather than "IN ENGLISH".

assume the '*poki*' variety is adapted from the English pronunciation of Hawaiian *poke*[174], though Japanese '*poke*' is phonologically closer to Hawaiian '*poke*' and does not violate Japanese phonological rules as it may in (American) English. Another very interesting case to consider regards a Local-style Korean barbeque chain restaurant whose stores in Japan brand themselves as "Hawaiian barbecue" despite the menu being chocked full of iconic Korean side dishes such as *chapchae* and *kimchi*, as well as the Local dish of Korean roots *meat jun*. This business strategy was perhaps decided after consideration of the already well-established Korean cuisine market in Japan in comparison to the lack of "Hawaiian" options. However, the author raises an eyebrow at the thought of calling *kimchi*, *chapchae*, and even *meat jun* "Hawaiian" (as should Koreans and even the Japanese).

I have also heard stories of so-called *kira-kira* names, first names assigned at birth which are not typical of traditional Japanese naming practices and therefore frowned upon, which employ Hawaiian words such as '*Aroha* [Aloha]' and '*Ohana* [Family]' (both usually assigned to girls). The spread of these two Hawaiian words was likely influenced by the American media's portrayal of Hawaiians (although, I have asked some people what language they think '*aloha*' and '*ohana*' come from, and they usually respond with '*Eigo* [English]', or they are able to connect the dots). To my knowledge, there is at least one case of a Japanese play-on-word associated with Hawai'i: *ha wa ii* ('teeth are good'), which sounds close to *hawai* ('Hawai'i').

Finally, I cannot forget to mention the large *hula*-dancing communities spread across Japan. *Hula* is a traditional Hawaiian dance whose chants are usually sung in Hawaiian. While a student at UH Hilo, I met over a dozen international students who were Japan-trained *hula* dancers, all females in their early 20s, whose main purpose of studying in Hawai'i was to enroll in the university's *hula* and Hawaiian language classes. In my opinion, those students' Japanese was typical of young Tokyo Japanese speakers. However, I must share one story from 2022 regarding a group of Japanese *hula* dancers I met while waiting tables in Nagoya. There had apparently been a *hula* festival held nearby, and after its conclusion, a group of around five dancers (Japanese-speaking men and women whose ages appeared to range from 30-60) came to eat at my workplace. My boss introduced me to them as a *hawai-jin* ('Hawaiian'), and we happily conversed before I took their orders. What I noticed about their speech may be of great interest to some. As a native HC speaker myself, I noticed that their Japanese shared a similar cadence and so-called "laid back"-ness associated with HC and Locals. Although not dealt with in this thesis, HC yes/no questions are marked prosodically with a rise-fall intonation via Hawaiian substrate influence (see Kirtley 2014; Siegel 2000: 207; Carr 1972: 50–54). These customers unmistakably used this rise-fall prosodic strategy in Japanese yes/no questions before, during, and after we were acquainted. I cannot recall whether they used lexical items differently from other Japanese speakers. I also am unsure whether they were multilingual in Hawaiian or HC or English (although, I assume someone would have switched to one of these languages upon hearing that I am a *hawai-jin*). Nonetheless, researching the speech of the *hula* subculture community in Japan may be of interest to some.

[174] Merriam-Webster (2023)

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Appendix A: Personal information questionnaire[175]

1. What is your first name?
2. What is your middle name?
3. What is your last name?
4. What year were you born?
5. As of today, what is your age?
6. What is your gender?
7. What is your current ZIP code?
8. Where were you born?
9. What ethnic group or ethnic groups do you most strongly identify with?
10. What language do you most often speak at home?
11. Please tell me about any languages you have learned/studied throughout your life.
12. Please tell me about the places you have lived, including duration(s) indicated by age, from birth to present.
13. What is your highest level of education?
14. What is your current occupation? Previous occupation(s)?
15. Where was your **spouse/partner** born?
16. What language(s) do you speak with your **spouse/partner**?
17. Where was your **mother** born?
18. What language or languages does your **mother** speak?
19. Where were the birthplace(s) of your **mother's** ancestors, as far back as you know?
20. Where was your **father** born?
21. What language or languages does your **father** speak?
22. Where were the birthplace(s) of your **father's** ancestors, as far back as you know?
23. Is there any other information about yourself or your family's linguistic background that you think we should know about?

[175] The author asked this set of questions to each informant and recorded their oral answers before beginning the elicitation portion of the survey. A summary of the informants' responses can be found in §3.3.

Appendix B: Guide to reading glossaries

Method—the method used by the researcher to elicit the word from the informants.
Gloss—word entry.
English explanation—
in 'Definition' method: what the researcher read to the informant to elicit the target word;
in 'Photo' method: read by the researcher if the informant could not recall the pictured word;
in 'Reading' and 'Passage' methods: This information was not read to informants.
Informants— see the chart below for a condensed version of informants' personal information.

	Malu	**Kina**	**Chris**	**Fumiko**
YOB (age)	1998 (24)	1994 (28)	1981 (41)	1965 (76)
Gender	M	F	M	F
Birthplace	Ilocos Nortes, Philippines	Honolulu, Oʻahu	Darnestown, Maryland, USA	Keaʻau, Hawaiʻi
Mostly raised in	Wahiawa, Oʻahu from age 6mo	Hilo, Hawaiʻi after birth	Kapaʻa, Kauai from age 9	Hilo, Hawaiʻi from age 6mo
Residency	"	"	Honolulu, Oʻahu	"
Ancestry	Hawaiian-Puerto Rican-Chinese	Japanese (4th gen)-Hawaiian-Portuguese-Chinese	Caucasian	Japanese (3rd gen)
Reported language spoken at home	Pidgin	Pidgin, English	English	English
Other language(s)	fluent Hawaiian; grew up hearing Tagalog, Ilocano, and Spanish	Japanese (conversational), Hawaiian (some)	Japanese (some)	Japanese (learned some)

Informant data collection legend
1 = Informant was able to recall the target word without an additional hint.
2 = Informant was able to recall the target word with an additional hint.
3 = Informant was unable to recall the target word with additional hints, but recognized the word.
4 = Informant was unable to recall the target word nor recognize the word.
$-^{x}$ = Data for target word was not recorded/gathered by the researcher (see attached footnote).
X^{x} = Informant provided a word similar to the target word (see attached footnote).
✓ = Informant read the written form of this word.
M = Malu
K = Kina
C = Chris
F = Fumiko

Appendix C: Glossary of Japanese-derived loanwords[176]

Method	Gloss (n = 180)	English explanation	M	K	C	F
Definition	ajinomoto	monosodium glutamate (food flavoring)	-	1	2	1
Photo	andagi	fried Okinawan doughnut	1	1	1	1
"	anime	Japanese-style animation program	1	1	1	1
"	anpan	soft bun filled with azuki beans	3	2	1	3
"	arare	mochi crunch (see Appendix E)	1	1	1	1
Definition	arigato	thank you in Japanese	1	1	1	1
Photo	azuki	Japanese black beans	1	1	1	1
Definition	bachi	bad luck, omen based upon superstition	1	1	1	1
"	baka	idiot	1	1	1	1
"	bakatare	idiot (harsher)	1	2	1	2
"	banzai	"hooray!" (used during toasts)	3	2	1	1
Photo	benjo	toilet	3	3	3	2
"	bento	boxed lunch	1	1	1	2
"	bocha	to bathe	1	1	1	1
"	bon	a summer festival	2	1	1	1
"	bonsai	tree	1	1	1	1
Definition	boroboro	worn-out, busted up	1	2	3	1
Photo	chawan	orig. rice bowl; bowl-shaped haircut	3	3	3	1
"	chichi dango	sweet mochi flavored with coconut milk	2	2	3	1
"	daikon	Japanese radish	1	1	1	1
"	dashi	soup broth for noodle dishes	3	1	1	1
"	ebi	shrimp	X[177]	1	1	1
"	edamame	green soybeans	1	1	1	1
"	emoji	iPhone emoticons	1	1	1	1
"	furikake	shredded nori seasoning	1	1	1	1
"	furo	bathtub	1	1	1	1
Passage	futon	any foldable mattress used for sleeping on the ground	✓	✓	✓	✓

[176] The structure of this glossary is based on Inoue's (1991) "Glossary of Hawaiian Japanese". This list separates common nouns and proper nouns. The author has elected to use romanized Japanese spellings. See §3.2 for adapted sources.

[177] *ʻōpae* — Hawaiian word for *shrimp*.

"	geisha	a female hostess who entertains patrons	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	girigiri	a hair spiral located on the back of a person's head; cowlick	1	1	4	1
"	gohan	rice; meal (dated)	3	1	1	1
"	gyoza	Japanese dumpling	2	1	1	1
Definition	haiku	a Japanese poem with a 5-7-5 moraic (syllabic in English) pattern	1	1	1	1
Photo	hapi	a coat commonly worn during festivals	4	4	1	1
"	hashi	chopsticks	4	1	1	1
"	heka	a local noodle dish brought from Japan	3	3	4	1
"	hibachi	Japanese stone grill	3	3	1	1
"	hichirin	a charcoal grill, usually makeshift	1	1	3	1
Definition	ichiban	the best, number one	1	1	1	1
Photo	ika	squid	2	1	1	3
Definition	issei	first-generation Japanese	3	2	2	1
Photo	jankenpo	rock-paper-scissors game	1	1	1	1
"	judo	a Japanese martial art	1	1	1	1
"	kabocha	Japanese squash (pumpkin)	3	3	3	3
"	kabuki	traditional Japanese performance art	3	3	1	3
"	kamaboko	Japanese fish cake, usually with a white interior and pink exterior	1	1	1	1
Definition	karai	spicy	4	1	4	1
Photo	karaoke	singing over pre-recorded instrumental, usually in a social environment	1	1	1	1
"	karate	martial art originating in Okinawa	1	1	1	1
Definition	katonk	a person of Japanese descent born on the continental United States	3	3	3	1
Photo	katsu	Japanese-style cutlet	1	1	1	1
"	kendo	traditional Japanese martial art	3	1	1	1
Passage	Kikkoman Shoyu	a Japanese brand of soy sauce	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	kimono	traditional Japanese garment	3	1	1	1
"	kinako	soybean powder	3	2	2	1
"	koto	traditional Japanese instrument	3	3	1	1
"	kusai	smelly, stinky	3	3	3	3
"	manga	Japanese comics	1	1	1	3

"	menpachi	soldierfish	3	1	1	1
Passage	mirin	sweet liquid seasoning	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	miso	soybean paste	3	2	1	1
Passage	misoyaki	fish cooked using a miso sauce	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	mochi	Japanese rice cake	1	1	1	1
Passage	mochiko	rice flour	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	musubi	rice ball, usu. rectangularly shaped with processed meat wrapped in nori	1	1	1	1
"	nigiri	sushi without nori	1	1	1	1
"	ninja	olden-day Japanese spy and weapon master	1	1	1	1
Definition	nisei	second-generation Japanese person	3	2	2	1
Photo	nori	edible roasted seaweed	1	1	1	1
Definition	obake	ghost	1	1	1	1
Passage	ocha	green tea	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	okazu(ya)	Japanese delicatessen	4	2	4	1
Definition	omiyage	gift or souvenir	-	1	1	1
Photo	origami	Japanese paper folding art	3	1	1	1
Definition	otaku	nerd (usu. of Japanese popular culture such as anime and manga)	1	1	1	3
Photo	panko	Japanese bread crumbs	1	1	1	1
"	ramen	Japanese-style noodle soup	1	1	1	1
"	saimin	Hawai‘i-style ramen/noodle soup, also used to refer to instant ramen	1	1	1	1
"	sake	Japanese rice wine	1	1	1	1
"	sakura	cherry blossoms	1	1	1	3
"	samurai	Japanese warrior	1	1	1	1
"	sashimi	raw edible fish	1	1	1	1
Definition	sayonara	goodbye	1	1	1	1
Photo	senbei	Japanese rice cracker (usu. sugar coated)	3	3	3	3
Definition	sensei	teacher	1	1	1	1
Passage	shabu-shabu	hotpot (usu. Japanese style)	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	shaka[178]	hang loose	1	1	1	1

[178] *Shaka* is rumored to be of Japanese origin, but this has not been confirmed. Therefore, it was not included in the analysis of JLWs in this thesis.

Definition	shibai	acting up; to lie; to lie (usu. political)	3	3	3	3
Photo	shiitake	type of mushroom	1	1	1	1
Definition	shishi	pee; urine; to urinate	1	1	1	1
Photo	shoji	type of paper panel door	4	1	3	1
"	shoyu	soy sauce	1	1	1	1
Definition	skebe	pervert	3	3	3	1
Passage	soba	type of Japanese noodle	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	somen	type of Japanese "rice noodle"	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	sudoku	puzzle game common in newspapers	1	1	1	1
Passage	sukiyaki	Japanese soup with meat and vegetables	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	sumo	Japanese sport	1	1	1	1
"	sushi	rice and fish wrapped in nori	1	1	1	1
"	taiko	traditional Japanese drum	3	1	1	1
"	tako	octopus (usu. food; sometimes animal)	1	1	1	1
Definition	tamago	egg	1	1	1	1
"	tantaran	angry; pouty	2	2	2	2
Photo	tatami	traditional Japanese flooring	3	2	2	2
"	tempura	Japanese-style of frying with panko	1	1	1	1
"	teriyaki	sweetened shoyu sauce	1	1	1	1
"	tofu	fermented soybean curd	1	1	1	1
"	tsukemono	pickled vegetables	1	1	1	1
Definition	tsunami	a large oceanic wave which results in disaster upon hitting land	1	1	1	1
"	udon	fat noodle	1	1	1	1
Definition	umami	savory flavor	1	1	1	1
Photo	ume	Japanese plum	1	1	1	1
Definition	uni	sea urchin (usu. food, sometimes animal)	1	1	1	1
Photo	wasabi	spicy thing	1	1	1	1
Passage	yakuza	Japanese mafia	✓	✓	✓	✓
Photo	zori	slipper	3	3	3	3

From this point on, Japanese-derived proper nouns

Reading	Abe	last name or place name, or both	✓	✓	✓	✓

"	Aoki	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Arakawa	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Fujimoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Fukuda	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Fukumoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Harada	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hashimoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hayashi	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Higa	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hiroshima	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Ige	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Ikeda	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Inouye	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Ishikawa	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kaneshiro	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kawamoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kimura	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kinoshita	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kobashigawa	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kobayashi	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kyoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Matsuda	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Matsumoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Miyamoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Miyashiro	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Morita	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Murakami	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nagoya	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nakagawa	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nakamura	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nakano	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nakashima	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nakasone	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nishimoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓

"	Nishimura	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Oda	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Okamoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Okinawa	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Osaka	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Oshiro	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Shimabukuro	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Shimizu	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Shirokiya	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Shiroma	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Suzuki	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Takenaka	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Tamashiro	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Tamura	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Tanaka	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Tokyo	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Tsue	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Tsuha	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Uehara	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Uyeda	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Uyehara	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Watanabe	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yamada	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yamaguchi	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yamamoto	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yamashita	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yokohama	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yoshida	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yoshimura	"	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Yoshioka	"	✓	✓	✓	✓

Appendix D: Glossary of Hawaiian-derived loanwords[179]

Method	Gloss (n = 203)	English explanation	M	K	C	F
Definition	akamai	smart, clever	1	1	1	1
Photo	aku	skipjack tuna	1	1	1	1
Definition	aliʻi	Hawaiian chief	1	1	3	1
"	aloha	love, affection, mindfulness, hospitality, etc.	1	1	1	1
"	auwē	disgruntled interjection	1	1	1	1
"	hālau	school, academy (esp. hula)	1	1	1	1
"	hale	house, home	1	1	1	1
"	hana hou	"encore!"	1	1	1	1
"	hānai	informal adoption	1	1	1	1
"	haole	white person; foreigner	1	1	1	1
Passage	hapa haole	part white and part Hawaiian, as an individual or phenomenon.	✓	✓	✓	✓
Definition	hāpai	to be pregnant	1	1	1	1
"	hauna	smelly; stinky	1	1	1	1
"	haupia	coconut (esp. dessert)	1	1	1	1
"	hele	to go	1	1	1	1
"	hewa	distasteful; sinful; terrible (action)	1	2	2	2
"	holoholo	to go out and have fun	1	-	1	1
"	honi	kiss; to kiss	1	1	3	1
Photo	honu	sea turtle	1	1	1	1
Definition	hoʻoponopono	to make right	1	1	2	3
Photo	hula	traditional Hawaiian dance	1	1	1	1
"	humuhumunukunu kuapuaʻa	reef triggerfish (Rhinecanthus rectangulus)	1	1	1	1
"	imu	traditional Hawaiian underground oven	1	1	1	1
Definition	imua	to proceed forward	1	1	1	1
"	kahuna	a master of their craft (modern); traditional Hawaiian shaman (orig.)	1	1	2	2

[179] The structure of this glossary is based on Inoue's (1991) "Glossary of Hawaiian Japanese". This list separates common nouns and proper nouns. The author elected to adapt standard Hawaiian spellings and definitions from Pukui and Elbert (1986, 1974). See §3.2 for adapted sources.

Photo	kalo	taro	1	1	1	X[180]
"	kālua	to bake in the ground oven (esp. kalua pig)	1	1	1	1
Definition	kamaʻāina	"Local"; a person born on the Hawaiian Islands; *lit*. land child	1	1	3	1
"	kanaka maoli	a Native Hawaiian	1	1	1	3
"	kāne	male; man	1	1	1	1
"	kapakahi	crooked, inside-out	1	1	3	1
"	kapu	banned; taboo	1	1	1	1
"	keiki	child; children	1	1	1	1
Photo	kiawe	a type of Hawaiian tree (Prosopis pallida)	1	1	1	1
Definition	koa	brave; boldness	X[181]	1	3	4
"	kōkua	cooperation	1	1	1	1
"	kolohe	troublemaker; rascal	1	1	3	1
"	kuleana	responsibility	1	1	1	1
Photo	kūlolo	pudding made of baked or steamed grated taro and coconut cream	1	1	1	1
Definition	kumu	teacher	1	1	1	1
Photo	lānai	terrace; courtyard; veranda	1	1	1	1
"	laulau	traditional Hawaiian dish of meat, fish, and taro wrapped in ti leaves and steamed	1	1	1	1
"	lehua	the flower of the ʻōhiʻa tree (Metrosideros macropus, M. collina subsp. polymorpha); also the tree itself	1	1	3	1
"	lei	flower garland	1	1	1	1
"	liliko'i	passionfruit	1	1	1	1
Definition	lōlō	stupid	1	1	1	1
"	lomilomi	traditional Hawaiian massage	1	1	1	1
Photo	lūʻau	a traditional gathering with lots of food and entertainment	1	1	1	1
Definition	mahalo	thank you, thanks	1	1	1	1
Photo	mahimahi	dolphinfish (Coryphaena hippurus)	1	1	2	1
Definition	māhū	homosexual; transgender person; traditional third gender	1	1	1	1

[180] *taro* — English word for *kalo*.
[181] wiwoʻole — Hawaiian for *courageous*.

"	maikaʻi	good	1	1	1	1
Photo	maile	a Pacific Island vine (Alyxia oliviformis)	1	1	1	1
"	maka piapia	dried mucus in the eyes	1	1	4	3
Definition	makahiki	ancient festival beginning around the middle of October and lasting for about four months, with sports and religious festivities and taboo on war	1	1	1	1
"	makai	toward the sea	1	1	1	1
"	mālama	to take care of	1	1	1	3
"	malihini	visitor (esp. tourists to the islands)	1	2	2	2
"	mana	power	1	1	1	1
Photo	manapua	Hawaiʻi-style *cha siu bao*	1	1	1	1
Definition	manini	small	X[182]	1	1	1
"	mauka	toward the mountain	1	1	1	1
"	mauna	mountain	1	1	1	1
Photo	menehune	legendary race of small people who worked at night, building fish ponds, roads, temples	1	1	1	1
Definition	moemoe	to sleep (usu. to children)	1	1	4	1
Photo	muʻumuʻu	a loose dress worn in Hawaiʻi	1	1	1	1
"	nēnē	Hawaiian goose (Branta sandvicensis)	1	1	1	1
Definition	niele	nosy	1	1	1	1
"	ohana	family	1	1	1	1
"	pakalolo	marijuana	1	1	1	1
"	pali	cliff	1	1	2	1
"	paniolo	cowboy	1	1	1	1
"	pau	finished	1	1	1	1
"	paʻi	hit, strike	1	1	3	4
Photo	pele	volcanic glass formation	1	1	1	1
"	pīkake	flower	1	3	3	1
"	piko	bellybutton	1	1	1	2
Definition	pilau	rot, stench, rottenness; to stink; putrid, spoiled, rotten, foul, decomposed	X[183]	1	1	1
"	pilikia	problem (from English ‘problem’)	1	1	3	1

[182] *liʻiliʻi* — Hawaiian word for *small*. The target word means *small* in HC, but *stingy* (and others) in Hawaiian.
[183] *hauna* — Hawaiian word for *unpleasant odor*.

Photo	pipikaula	salted and dried beef, similar to “beef jerky”	1	1	2	2
Definition	pōhaku	rock; stone	1	1	1	1
Photo	poi	traditional starchy paste made from steamed and mashed taro	1	1	1	1
"	poke	diced raw fish	1	1	1	1
Definition	pono	righteousness	1	1	1	1
"	pōpolo	Black (person of African descent)	1	1	1	1
"	pua	flower	1	1	1	1
"	puka	hole	1	1	1	1
"	pupu	side dishes; appetizers	1	1	1	1
"	tūtū	grandmother	1	1	1	X[184]
"	wahine	female; woman	1	1	1	1
Photo	wana	sea urchin (usu. animal not food)	1	1	1	1
Definition	wikiwiki	very quickly	1	1	1	1
Photo	ʻahi	tuna fish	1	1	1	1
Definition	ʻāina	land	1	1	1	1
"	ʻauʻau	to bathe; to shower	1	1	4	1
"	ʻaʻole	no	X[185]	1	1	3
"	ʻōkole	buttocks (orig. anus)	1	1	1	1
"	ʻono	delicious	1	1	1	1
Photo	ʻōpala	rubbish; trash	1	1	1	1
"	ʻopihi	Hawaiian blackfoot (Cellana exarata)	1	1	1	1
"	ʻōpū	stomach; belly	1	1	4	1
"	ʻuku	head lice	1	1	1	1
"	ʻukulele	a small Portuguese guitar	1	1	1	1
"	ʻulu	breadfruit	1	1	1	1

From this point on, Hawaiian-derived proper nouns[186]

Reading	Āhua	place name in Oʻahu (lit., a hillock or mound)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Ala Moana	place name in Oʻahu (lit., ocean street)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Ala Wai	place name in Oʻahu (lit., freshwater way)	✓	✓	✓	✓

[184] *obaban* [obaba:ŋ] — *grandma*; *ojichan* [odʒitʃɐ:ŋ] — *grandpa*; from Japanese, perhaps dialectal.
[185] *aʻale* — Hawaiian vernacular usage of the target word.
[186] Hawaiian place name locations and literal meanings provided by Pukui et al. (1974) and HART (2017, 2019).

"	Beretania	place name in Oʻahu (lit., Britain)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hālaulani	place name in Oʻahu (lit., heavenly halau, chief's house, name of a star)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hālawa	place name in Oʻahu (lit., curve)	-	-	✓	✓
"	Haleʻiwa	place name in Oʻahu (lit., house [of] frigate bird)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hāna	place name in Maui (lit., rainy land, low-lying sky (poetic))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hanalei	place name in Kauaʻi (lit., crescent bay)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hanapēpē	place name in Kauaʻi (lit., crushed bay (due to landslides))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hawaiʻi	island name (meaning disputed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hawaiʻi Kai	*See footnote 73.*				
"	Haʻikū	place name found in Hawaiʻi, Kauaʻi, Maui, and Oʻahu (lit., speak abruptly or sharp break)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hilo	place name in Hawaiʻi Island (perhaps named for the first night of the new moon or for a Polynesian navigator)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hōlau	place name in Oʻahu (lit., many assembled (from Hoʻolau))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Honokaʻa	place name in Hawaiʻi Island (lit., rolling [as stones] bay)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Honolulu	place name in Oʻahu and formerly in Hawaiʻi Island (lit. protected bay)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Honouliuli	place name in Oʻahu (lit., dark bay)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Hōʻaeʻae	place name in Oʻahu (lit., to make soft or fine)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kahanamoku	Duke Kahanamoku (1890-1968)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kahoʻolawe	island name (lit., the carrying away (by currents))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kahuku	place name in Oʻahu (lit., the projection)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kahului	place name found in Hawaiʻi Island and Maui. (probably lit., the winning)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kailua	place name found in Hawaiʻi Island, Maui, and Oʻahu (lit., two seas (probably currents, especially on Hawaiʻi))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kaimukī	place name in Oʻahu (lit., the ti oven (the Menehune cooked ti roots in ovens here))	✓	✓	✓	✓

"	Kalāheo	place name found in Kauaʻi and Oʻahu (lit., the proud day)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kalākaua	King Kalākaua (1836-1891) (lit., the day [of] battle)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kalaniana‘ole	Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole (1871-1922) (lit., the royal chief without measure)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kalauao	place name in Oʻahu (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kalaupapa	place name in Molokaʻi (lit., the flat plain)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kālia	place name found in Oʻahu (lit., waited for)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kalihi	place name found in Hawaiʻi Island, Maui, and Oʻahu (lit., the edge)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kamehameha	King Kamehameha I (1736-1819), II (1797-1824), III (1814-1854), IV (1834-1863), and V (1830-1872) (lit., the lonely one)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kāne‘ohe	place name in Oʻahu (lit., bamboo husband)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kapiʻolani	Chiefess Kapiʻolani (1781-1841) (lit., the arch [of] heaven (rainbows signified the presence of royalty))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kapolei	place name in Oʻahu (lit., beloved Kapo (a sister of Pele))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kauaʻi	island name (meaning unknown)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kawela	place name found in Hawaiʻi, Maui, Molokaʻi, and Oʻahu (lit., the heat)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kaʻahumanu	Queen Kaʻahumanu (1768-1832) (lit., the bird [feather] cloak)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kaʻū	place name found in Hawaiʻi and Maui with cognates in Samoa (Taʻū) and Mortlock Islands (Takū) (meaning not specified)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kealakekua	place name in Hawaiʻi Island (lit., pathway [of] the god)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Keaʻau	place name found in Hawaiʻi Island and Oʻahu. (meaning not specified)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Keone‘ae	place name found in Oʻahu (lit., the fine, soft, powdery sand)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kīhei	place name in Maui and Oʻahu (lit., cape, cloak)	✓	✓	✓	✓

"	Kīlauea	place name found in Hawai‘i Island, Kauai, and O‘ahu (lit., spewing, much spreading (referring to volcanic eruptions))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Ko‘olau	place name found in O‘ahu, Kauai, Maui, and Moloka‘i (lit., winward)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kualaka‘i	place name found in O‘ahu (lit., to show the way, stand and lead)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kūhiō	Prince Jonah Kūhiō Kalaniana‘ole (1871-1922)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kūkuluae‘o	Place name in O‘ahu (lit., the Hawaiian stilt)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kuloloia	place name found in O‘ahu (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Kūwili	place name in O‘ahu (lit., swirling in place – as water)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Lahaina	place name in Maui (lit., cruel sun (said to be named for droughts))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Laupāhoehoe	place name in Hawai‘i (lit., smooth flat lava)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Lāna‘i	island name (lit., day [of] conquest (speculated))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Lāwa‘i	place name in Kaua‘i (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Lā‘ie	place name in O‘ahu (lit., ‘ie leaf)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Lelepaua	place name in O‘ahu (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Līhu‘e	place name in Kaua‘i and O‘ahu (lit., cold chill)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Likelike	Princess Miriam Likelike (1851-1887)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Lili‘uokalani	Queen Lili‘uokalani (1838-1917) (lit., smarting of the high-born one)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Māhinahina	place name in Maui and Moloka‘i (lit., silvery haze (as of moonlight))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Mākaha	place name in Maui and O‘ahu (lit., fierce)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Makakilo	place name in O‘ahu (lit., observing eyes)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Makalapa	place name in O‘ahu (lit., ridge face/front - descriptive of the outer crater walls)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Maui	island name (named for the demigod Māui)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Maunawili	place name in O‘ahu (lit., twisted mountain)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Mā‘ili	place name in O‘ahu (lit., pebbly)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Mililani	place name in O‘ahu (lit., beloved place [of] chiefs)	✓	✓	✓	✓

"	Mokauea	place name in Oʻahu (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Mokulēʻia	place name in Oʻahu (lit., isle [of] abundance)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Molokaʻi	island name (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nānākuli	place name in Oʻahu (lit., look at knee)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Niuhelewai	place name in Oʻahu (lit., coconut going/carried on water)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Niʻihau	island name (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Nuʻuanu	place name in Oʻahu (lit., cool height)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Oʻahu	island name (meaning disputed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Pāhoa	place name in Hawaiʻi Island, Maui, and Oʻahu (meaning not listed)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Pepeʻekeo	place name in Hawaiʻi Island (formerly called Pepeʻekeō) (lit., the food crushed, as by warriors in battle)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Pouhala	place name in Oahu (lit., pandanus post)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Punahele	place name in Oʻahu (lit., favorite)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Pūpūkea	place name in Oʻahu (lit., white shell)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Puʻuhonua	place name in Hawaiʻi Island and Oʻahu (lit., an ancient place of refuge (possibly))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Wahiawā	place name in Oʻahu (lit., place of noise (rough seas are said to be heard here))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waialua	place name in Molokaʻi and Oʻahu (meaning not listed)	-	-	✓	✓
"	Waikele	place name in Oʻahu (lit., muddy water)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waikīkī	place name in Oʻahu (lit., spouting water)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waikōloa	1. Place name in Hawaiʻi Island (lit., duck water; possibly the name of a wind) 2. Place name in Oʻahu (lit., water pulling far)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waimalu	place name in Oʻahu (lit., sheltered water)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waimānalo	place name in Oʻahu. (lit., potable water)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waimea	place name in Hawaiʻi and Kauaʻi (lit., reddish water (as from erosion of red soil))	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waipahu	place name in Oʻahu (lit., bursting water)	-	-	✓	✓
"	Waipiʻo	place name in Hawaiʻi Island, Maui, and Oʻahu (lit., curved water)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Waiʻanae	place name in Oʻahu (lit., mullet water)	✓	✓	✓	✓

"	ʻĀhuimanu	place name in Oʻahu (lit., bird cluster)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	ʻAiea	place name in Oʻahu (lit., Nothocestrum tree)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	ʻEleʻele	place name in Kauaʻi and Maui (lit., black)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	ʻEwa	place name in Oʻahu (lit., crooked)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	ʻIolani	place name in Oʻahu (lit., royal hawk)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	ʻŌmaʻo	place name in Kauaʻi and Oʻahu (lit., green)	✓	✓	✓	✓

Appendix E: Glossary of other elicited Hawai‘i Creole words[187]

Method	Gloss (n = 11)	English explanation	M	K	C	F
Passage	ainokea	‘I don’t care’ → HC ‘I no care’	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	Aloha Shoyu	a local brand of soy sauce (Hawaiian *aloha* + Japanese *shoyu*)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	bolo head	‘bald head(ed)’	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	buta kaukau	pig slop (Japanese *buta* ‘pig’ + perhaps Chinese pidgin *chowchow* ‘food’ → HPE *kaukau*)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	dramalani	similar to ‘drama queen’ (*drama* + Hawaiian *lani* ‘sky’ or ‘heavenly’ used as a given name suffix’)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	hanabata	facial mucus (Japanese *hana* ‘nose’ + *butter*)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	high makamaka kine people	pretentious people (*high* + reduplicated Hawaiian *maka* ‘eye’ + HC *kine* ‘kind of’ + *people*)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	hulihuli chicken	Hawaiian rotisserie chicken (Hawaiian *hulihuli* ‘to turn over’ + *chicken*)	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	kanak attack	similar to ‘food coma’ (Hawaiian *kanaka* ‘(Native) person’ + *attack)*	✓	✓	✓	✓
"	onolicious	very delicious (Hawaiian *‘ono* + ~~*de*~~*licious*)				
"	mochi crunch	see Japanese *arare* (Japanese *mochi* ‘rice cake’ + *crunch*)	✓	✓	✓	✓

[187] The structure of this glossary is based on Inoue’s (1991) “Glossary of Hawaiian Japanese”. The words in this appendix are those that cannot simply be classified as JLWs or HLWs. See §3.2 for adapted sources.

Appendix F: Data summary[188]

	Loanword	Malu	Kina	Chris	Fumiko
A	Abe	[ˈɐbɛ]	[ˈɐbɛ]	[ˈɑbɛ]	[ˈɐbi]
	Āhua	[aˈhuˌa]	[ɐˈhuːə]	[ɐːˈhuə]	[ɐˈhuːɐ]
	ainokea	[ɐɪnoˈkeɐ]	[ɐɪnoˈkeə]	[aɪnoˈkea]	[ˈaɪnokeɐ]
	ajinomoto[189]	-	[adʒiˈmoːno]	[aˈdʒinomoːto]	[ɐˈdʒiːnʌˈmoːto]
	akamai	[ɐkɐˈməi]	[ɐkɐˈməi]	[ɑkəˈmaɪ]	[ɐkɐˈmaɪ]
	aku	[ˈɐku]	[ˈɑːku]	[ɑˈku]	[ˈɐku]
	Ala Moana	[ˈɐlɐmoˈɐnɐ]	[ɐləmoˈɑːnə]	[ɑləmoˈɑnə]	[ˈɐlɐmoˈɐnə]
	Ala Wai	[ɐləˈwəi]	[aləˈvaɪ]	[ɑləˈvaɪ]	[ɐləˈwaɪ]
	ali‘i[190]	[əˈliʔi]	[əˈliʔi]	[əˈliʔi]	[ɐˈliʔi]
	aloha	[əˈlohɐ]	[ɐˈloːhɐ]	[ɑːˈlohɑ]	[ɐˈloːhɐ]
	Aloha Shoyu	[ɐˈlohɐˈʃoːjuː]	[əˈlohɐˈʃoːjuː]	[əˈlohɐˈʃoːjuː]	[əˈlohɐˈʃoːjuː]
	andagi	[əndəˈgiː]	[ɐndɐ(ː)ˈgiː]	[ɑnˈdɑːgi]	[ˈɐndəgiː]
	anime	[ˈæ̝nɪmɛ]	[aːnɪˈmɛː]	[ˈɑːnimɛ]	[ˈæ̝nimɛː]
	anpan[191]	[ˈɐnpɐn]	[ˈɐnpɐn]	[ˈɑnpɑn]	[ˈɐnpɐn]
	Aoki	[ɐˈoki]	[aɪˈʔoki]	[ɑˈʔoki]	[ɑˈʔoki]
	Arakawa	[ɐ.ɾəˈkɐʊ.ə]	[ɐ.ɹəˈkaʊ.ə]	[ɐɹəˈkawə]	[ˈɑɹəkɑwə]
	arare	[ɐɾɐˈɾɛ]	[ɐɾəˈɾeː]	[ɑɾɑˈɾɛ]	[ɐɾɐˈɾeː]
	arigato	[ɐɾiˈgɐːto]	[ɐɾiˈgɐːto]	[ɑɾiˈgɐːto]	[aɾigatˈto]
	auwē	[ˈəʊwɛː]	[ˈəʊwɛː]	[ˈɑːweː]	[ˈɐʊweː]
	azuki	[ɐˈzuki]	[ɐˈzuki]	[ˈɐzuːki]	[ɐːzuˈkiː]
B	bachi	[ˈbɐːtʃi]	[ˈbɐtʃi]	[ˈbɑtʃi]	[bɑːˈtʃi]
	baka	[ˈbɐkɐ]	[ˈbɐkə]	[ˈbɑːkə]	[ˈbɐkɐ]
	bakatare[192]	[bɐkɐˈtɐːɾɛ]	[ˈbɐˌkəˈtɑːˌɾɛ]	[bɑkəˈtɑːɾɛ]	[ˈbɐˌkəˈtɑːˌɾɛ]

[188] Footnote legend
No footnote = Informant was able to recall the target word without an additional hint.
Informant$_2$ = Informant was able to recall the target word with an additional hint.
Informant$_3$ = Informant was unable to recall the target word with additional hints, but recognized the word.
Informant$_4$ = Informant was unable to recall the target word nor recognize the word.
Informant$_0$ = Data not recorded/gathered by the researcher due to an unforeseen reason.

[189] ajinomoto: Malu$_3$; Chris$_2$.

[190] ali‘i: Chris$_3$.

[191] anpan: Malu$_3$; Kina$_2$; Fumiko$_3$.

[192] bakatare: Kina$_2$, Fumiko$_2$.

	banzai[193]	[ˈbɐnzɐɪ]	[ˈbɐnzɐɪ]	[ˈbɑnzɑɪ]	[bɐnˈzɐɪ]
	benjo[194]	[ˈbɛndʒo]	[ˈbɛndʒo]	[oˈbɛndʒo]	[bɛnˈdʒo]
	bento[195]	[ˈbɛnto:]	[ˈbɛnto]	[oˈbɛnto]	[ˈbento]
	Beretania	[bɛɹɛˈtɐniə]	[bɛɹəˈteɪniə]	[bɛɹəˈteɪniə]	[bɛɪɪˈtæ:njə]
	bocha	[ˈbotʃɐ]	[ˈbotʃa]	[ˈbo:tʃɐ]	[ˈbotʃa]
	bolo head	[boloˈhɛd]	[boloˈhɛd]	[boloˈhɛd]	[boloˈhed]
	bon[196]	[bɑ:n]	[(o)ˈbon(dạ̈ns)]	[ˈbon(dæns)]	[ˌbon(ˈdạ̈ns)]
	bonsai[197]	[ˈbonsaɪ]	-	[ˈbonsaɪ]	[ˈbonsaɪ]
	boroboro[198]	[ˈboˌɾoˈboˌɾo]	[boɾoˈbo:ɾo]	[boɹoˈboɹo]	[boɾoˈboɾo]
	buta kaukau[199]	[ˈbutɐkəʊkəʊ]	[ˈbʌɾɐkaʊˈka:ʊ]	[ˈbu:təkaʊˈka:ʊ]	[ˈbu:tɐkaʊkaʊ]
C	chawan[200]	[tʃəˈwɐn]	[tʃa:ˈwən]	[tʃəˈwɑ:n]	[tʃɐˈwa:ŋkɐt]
	chichi dango[201]	[tʃitʃiˈdaŋgo]	[tʃtʃ̃motʃi]	[tʃi:tʃiˈdɐ:ŋgo]	[tʃi:tʃiˈdɐ:ŋgo]
D	daikon	[ˈdaɪkoŋ]	[ˈdaɪkon]	[ˈdaɪkon]	[ˈdaɪkoŋ]
	dashi[202]	[ˈdəʃi]	[ˈdɑʃi]	[ˈdɑ:ʃi]	[ˈdɐ:ʃi]
	dramalani	[ˈdʒɹɑməlɑni]	[ˈdʒɹɑ:məlɑ:ni]	[ˈdʒɹɑ:məlɑ:ni]	[ˈdʒɹɐməlɐ:ni]
E	ebi[203]	[ʻōpae]	[ˈɛbi]	[ˈɛbi:]	[ˈebi]
	edamame	[ɛdəˈmɐmɛ]	[ɛdɛˈmɑ:mɛ]	[ɛdəˈmɑ:mɛ]	[ɛdɐˈmɑ:mɛ]
	emoji	[iˈmo:dʒi:z]	[ˈemo:dʒi]	[iˈmo:dʒi]	[ˈɛmodʒi]
F	Fujimoto	[fudʒiˈmo:ɾo]	[ˈfudʒimoɾo]	[ˈfudʒimoto]	[ɸudʒiˈmotto]
	Fukuda	[fuˈkuɾɐ]	[fuˈku:da]	[ˈfu:kuda]	[fuˈku:da]
	Fukumoto	[ˈfukuˌmoɾo]	[fukuˈmo:ɾo]	[ˈfukumoɾo]	[fukuˈmoto]
	furikake	[fuɾiˈkɐ:kɛ]	[fuɾɛˈka:kɛ]	[fuɾiˈkɑ:kɛ]	[fuɾiˈkɐ:ke]
	furo	[ˈfuɾo]	[fuˈɾo:]	[ˈfuɾo]	[fuˈɾo:]
	futon	[ˈfuton~ˈfutɐn]	[ɸuˈto:n]	[fuˈtəʊn]	[ˈfuton]
G	geisha	[ˈgeɪʃə]	[ˈgeɪʃə]	[ˈge:ʃa]	[ˈgeɪʃɐ]
	girigiri[204]	[ˈgiˌɾiˈgiˌɾi]	[giɾiˈgiɾi]	[gɪɾiˈgɪɾi]	[giɾiˈgiɾi]

[193] banzai: Malu$_3$; Kina$_2$.
[194] benjo: Malu$_3$; Kina$_3$; Chris$_3$; Fumiko$_2$.
[195] bento: Fumiko$_2$.
[196] bon: Malu$_2$.
[197] bonsai: Kina$_0$ (audio issue).
[198] boroboro: Kina$_2$; Chris$_4$.
[199] buta kaukau: Kina$_4$; Chris$_4$.
[200] chawan: Malu$_4$; Kina$_3$; Chris$_4$.
[201] chichi dango: Malu$_2$; Kina$_2$; Chris$_3$.
[202] dashi: Malu$_3$.
[203] ebi: Malu answered *ʻōpae*.
[204] girigiri: Chris$_4$.

	gohan[205]	[ˈgohɐŋ]	[ˈgohɑn]	[ˈgohɑn]	[ˈgohɐn]
	gyoza[206]	[ˈgjozɐ]	[ˈgjoːza]	[ˈgjoːzɐ]	[ˈgjoːzɐ]
H	haiku	[hɐɪˈkuː]	[hɐɪˈkuː]	[ˈhɐɪku]	[haɪˈkuː]
	hālau	[hɐːˈləʊ]	[həˈlaːʊ]	[həˈlɑːʊ]	[hɐˈlaʊ]
	Hālaulani	[həlɐʊˈləni]	[həlɐʊˈlɐːni]	[hɑlɐʊˈlʌni]	[həlɐːʊˈlɐni]
	Hālawa[207]	-	-	[həˈlɑːvə]	[haˈlaːvə]
	hale	[ˈhəlɛ]	[ˈhɐːlɛ]	[ˈhɑːle]	[ˈhɐːle]
	Haleʻiwa	[hɐleˈʔiva]	[hɐlɛˈiːvə]	[hɑleˈiːvə]	[hɐlɛˈʔivə]
	Hāna	[ˈhɐːnʌ]	[ˈhaːnə]	[ˈhɑnə]	[ˈhanə]
	hana hou	[hənəˈhoʊ]	[hɐnəˈhoː]	[hɑnəˈhoː]	[hanɐˈhoː]
	hanabata	[ˈhɐˌnɐˈbɐˌɾɐ]	[hɐnəˈbɐ(ː)ɾə]	[hɑnəˈbɑɾə]	[hɐnəˈbɐ(ː)tə]
	hānai	[ˈhaːnɐi]	[ˈhɐːnəi]	[ˈhəːnaɪ]	[ˈhɐːnəi]
	Hanalei	[hənəˈlei]	[hanəˈlei]	[hɐnəˈleɪ]	[hanəˈleː]
	Hanapēpē	[ˌhənɐˈpɛːpɛː]	[hanəˈpɛpɛː]	[hanəˈpeːpe]	[hənɐˈpɛpɛ]
	haole	[ˈhɐʊlɛ]	[ˈhɐʊlɛ]	[ˈhɑʊlɪ]	[ˈhaʊlɛ]
	hapa haole[208]	[ˈhɐp]	[ˈhɐːpəhɐːʷˌlɛ]	[ˈhɑːp hɑʊle]	[ˈhɐpəˈhɐʊli]
	hāpai	[ˈhɐːpəɪ]	[həˈpɐːɪ]	[ˈhɑːpaɪ]	[hɐˈpɐːɪ]
	hapi[209]	-	-	[ˈhɑːpi]	[hɐˈpiː]
	Harada	[hɐˈɾɐɾə]	[həˈɹɑːɾə]	[həˈɾɑːɾə]	[həˈɹɐːdə]
	hashi[210]	[ˈhɑʃi]	[ˈhaʃi]	[ˈhɑːʃi]	[ˈhɑːʃi]
	Hashimoto	[ˈhaʃiˌmoɾo]	[hɐʃiˈmoːɾo]	[hɐʃiˈmoɾo]	[ˈhaʃimoto]
	hauna	[ˈhəʊnɐ]	[ˈhɐʊnə]	[ˈhɑʊnə]	[ˈhɐʊnɐ]
	haupia	[hoʷˈpiɐ]	[hɐʊˈpiə]	[hɐʊˈpiə]	[hɐʊˈpiə]
	Hawaiʻi	[həˈwɐjʔi]	[həˈwəjʔi]	[həˈvəʔi]	[hɐˈwəʔi]
	Hawaiʻi Kai	[həˈwɐjʔiˈkəi]	[həˈwəʔiˈkaːɪ]	[həˈwəɪˈkaːɪ]	[həˈwɐjʔiˈkaɪ]
	Hayashi	[hɐˈjaːʃi]	[haˈjɐːʃi]	[hɑˈjɑːʃi]	[hɐˈjɑːʃi]
	Haʻikū	[hʌʔiˈkuː]	[hɐɪˈkuː]	[haˈʔiku]	[haɪˈku]
	heka[211]	[ˈhɛkɐ]	[ˈhɛkɐ]	[ˈhɛkɐ]	[ˈhɛkɐ]
	hele	[ˈhele]	[hɛlɛ(ˈɐːku)]	[ˈhɛlɛ]	[ˈhele]

[205] gohan: Malu$_3$.
[206] gyoza: Malu$_2$.
[207] Halawa: Malu$_0$, Kina$_0$ (researcher's error).
[208] hapa haole: Malu$_0$ (audio issue).
[209] hapi: Malu$_0$, Kina$_0$ (researcher's error).
[210] hashi: Malu$_4$.
[211] heka: Malu$_3$; Kina$_3$; Chris$_4$.

	hewa[212]	[ˈhɛvə]	[ˈhɛːvə]	[ˈhɛːvɐ]	[ˈhɛːvə]
	high maka maka kine people[213]	[ˈhaimɐkɐmɐkɐkəinˈpipo]	[ˈhaɪmɑkəˈmɑːkə]	[ˈhaɪˈmɑkəˈmɑkə]	[ˈhaɪmɑkəˈmɑːkə]
	hibachi[214]	[hiˈbɐtʃi]	[hiˈbaːtʃi]	[həˈbɑːtʃi]	[hiˈbɐːtʃi]
	hichirin[215]	[hitʃiˈɾin]	[ˈhitʃiɾin]	[ˈhitʃiɾɪn]	[hɪtʃiˈɾin]
	Higa	[ˈhigə]	[ˈhigə]	[ˈhigə]	[ˈhiːgə]
	Hilo	[ˈhilo]	[ˈhilo]	[ˈhilo]	[ˈhiːlo]
	Hiroshima	[hiˈɾoʃmɐ]	[hiˈɾoʃmɐ]	[hiɾoˈʃiːmə]	[hiɹoˈʃiːmɐ]
	hoʻoponopono[216]	[ˈhoʔoponoˈpono]	[ˈhoʔoponoˈpoːno]	[hoʔoponoˈpoːno]	[ˈhoʔoponoˈpono]
	Hōlau	[hoːˈləʊ]	[hoːˈlaːʊ]	[hoːˈlɑʊ]	[hoːˈlaʊ]
	holoholo[217]	[holoˈholo]	-	[holoˈholo]	[holoˈholo]
	honi[218]	[ˈhoni]	[(honi)ˈhoni]	[ˈhoni]	[ˈhonɛ]
	Honokaʻa	[honoˈkɐʔɐ]	[honoˈkɐʔɐ]	[honoˈkaʔa]	[honoˈkaʔɐ]
	Honolulu	[ˈhoˌnoˈluˌlu]	[honoˈluːlu]	[honəˈluːlu]	[honoˈluːlu]
	Honouliuli	[ˈhonouliuli]	[honouliˈuli]	[hon(o)uliˈuːli]	[honouliˈuli]
	honu	[ˈhonu]	[ˈhonu]	[ˈhonu]	[ˈhonu]
	Hōʻaeʻae	[hoˈʔɐɪʔɐɪ]	[hoˈʔaɪʔaɪ]	[hoˈʔaɪʔaɪ]	[hoːˈʔaʔeʔaʔe]
	hula	[ˈhulɐ]	[ˈhulaː~ˈhulɐ]	[ˈhulɐ]	[ˈhulɐ]
	huli huli chicken	[hulihuliˈtʃikɪn]	[ˈhulihuliˈtʃikɪn]	[huliˈhuliˈtʃiːkɪn]	[hulihuliˈtʃikɪn]
	humuhumunukunukuapuaʻa	[humuhumunukunukuɐpuˈɐʔɐ]	[humuhumunukunukuɐpuˈɐʔɐ]	[humuhumun(ʲ)ukun(ʲ)ukuɐpuˈɐʔɐ]	[humuhumunukunukuɑpuˈɐʔɐ]
I	ichiban	[ˈitʃibɐn]	[ˈitʃibɐn]	[itʃiˈbɑŋ]	[itʃiˈbaːn~]
	Ige	[ˈiːgɛ]	[ˈigɛ]	[ˈigɛː]	[ˈiːge~ˈiːgɪ]
	ika[219]	[ˈikɐ]	[ˈiːkə]	[ˈikɐ]	[ˈiːkə]
	Ikeda	[iˈkɛɾə]	[iˈkɛɾə]	[iˈkɛɾə]	[ˈikɛdɐ]
	imu	[ˈimu]	[ˈimuː]	[ˈimu]	[ˈiːmu]
	imua	[iˈmuɐ]	[iˈmuɐ]	[iˈmuə]	[iˈmuɐ]
	Inouye	[iˈnoːjɛ]	[iˈnoːeː]	[iˈnoːeː]	[iˈnoːe]
	Ishikawa	[ˈiʃikɐwə]	[iʃiˈkɐːʊə]	[iʃiˈkɑːʊə]	[ˈiʃikɐːwɐ]
	issei[220]	[ˈiːsɛː]	[ˈiːsɛː]	[ˈiːseː]	[ˈiːsɛː]

[212] hewa: Kina$_2$; Chris$_3$; Fumiko$_3$.
[213] high makamaka kine people: Chris$_4$.
[214] hibachi: Malu$_3$; Kina$_3$.
[215] hichirin: Chris$_3$.
[216] hoʻoponopono: Chris$_2$, Fumiko$_3$.
[217] holoholo: Kina$_0$ (reseacher's error).
[218] honi: Chris$_3$.
[219] ika: Malu$_2$; Fumiko$_3$.
[220] issei: Malu$_3$; Kina$_2$; Chris$_2$.

J	jankenpo	[dʒɑːnkɛnəˈpoː]	[dʒɛːnkɛnəmɛːnɛnəsakasakaˈpo]	[dʒʌnkɐ̟nˈpoː]	[dʒɑːŋ.kɛnˈpo]
	judo	[ˈdʒudo]	[ˈdʒuːdoː]	[ˈdʒuːdo]	[ˈdʒuːdo]
K	kabocha[221]	[kɐˈbotʃɐ]	[kəˈboːtʃɐ]	[kɐˈboːtʃɐ]	[kɐˈbotʃɐ]
	kabuki[222]	[kəˈbuki]	[kiˈbuːki]	[kɑˈbuki]	-
	Kahanamoku	[kɐhanɐˈmoku]	[kɐhanɐˈmoːku]	[kɑhɑnəˈmoːku]	[kɐhɐnəˈmoku]
	Kahoʻolawe	[kəhoʔoˈlɐvɛ]	[kəhoʔoˈlɐːvɛ]	[kɑːhoʔoˈlɑvɛ]	[kəhoʔoˈlavɛ]
	Kahuku	[kɐˈhuku]	[kəˈhuːku]	[kɐˈhuːku]	[kɐˈhuku]
	Kahului	[kɐhuˈlui]	[kahuˈluːi]	[kahuˈlui]	[kɐhuˈlui]
	kahuna[223]	[kəˈhunə]	[kaˈhuːnə]	[kɑːˈhunə]	[kəˈhuːnə]
	Kailua	[kəiˈluɐ]	[kɐɪˈluːə]	[kɐɪˈluə]	[kaɪˈluːɐ]
	Kaimukī	[kəimuˈkiː]	[kaɪmuˈkiː]	[kɐɪmuˈkiː]	[kaɪˈmukiː]
	Kalāheo	[kəlɐːˈhɛo]	[kɐlɐːˈhɛo]	[kɑlaːˈhɛo]	[kɐlɐˈhɛo]
	Kalākaua	[kə.la̲ː..ˈkəʊ.ə]	[kɐləˈkaʊə]	[kəlɑːˈkɐʊə]	[kɐlɐˈkɐʊə]
	Kalaniana'ole	[ˌkəˈləˌniˈɐˌnɐˈʔoˌlɛ]	[kəlɐniʔɐnəˈʔoːlɛ]	[kəlɑːniʔɑnəˈʔole]	[kəlaniɐnəˈʔoli]
	Kalauao	[kəlɐˈwaʊ]	[kəˈlaʊaʊ]	[kaˈlɐlaʊ]	[kɐˈlaʊaʊ]
	Kalaupapa	[kəlɐʊˈpɐpɐ]	[kalɐʊˈpəpə]	[kalaʊˈpɐpə]	[kalaʊˈpapa]
	Kālia	[kəi.lɐ]	[kɐɪ.lə]	[kaɪ.lə]	[kɐːˈilɐ]
	Kalihi	[kʌˈlihi]	[kəˈliːhiː]	[kɐːˈlihi]	[kɐˈlihi]
	kalo[224]	[ˈkɐlo]	[ˈkaːlo]	[ˈkɑːlo]	[ˈtɐ̟ːɹo]
	kālua	[ˈkaːluɐ]	[kəˈluɐ]	[kəˈluɐ]	[kəˈluːɐ]
	kamaboko	[kɑmɑˈboko]	[kɑməˈboːko]	[kɑːməˈboːko]	[kɐːmɐːboːˈko]
	Kam Highway	[ˈkɐ̟mˈhaɪweː]	[ˈkɐ̟mˈhaɪweː]	[ˈkæmˈhaɪweɪ]	[ˈkɐ̟mˈhaɪweː]
	kamaʻāina[225]	[kəməˈʔɐinə]	[kəməˈʔainə]	[kəməˈʔɐinə]	[kɐməˈʔainə]
	Kamehameha	[kəmɛhɐˈmɛhɐ]	[kɐːmɛhəˈm(ɛ~ɐɪ)hɐ]	[kɑːmɛhəˈmɛ(h)ə]	[kɐmehɐˈmehɐ]
	kanak attack	[kəˈnɐ̟kəˈtɐ̟k]	[kəˈnɐ̟kəˈtɐ̟k]	[kəˈnakəˈtæk]	[kəˈnɐ̟kəˈtɐ̟k]
	kanaka maoli[226]	[kəˈnəkəˈmɐʊli]	[kəˈnakəˈmɐʊli]	[kəˈnɑkəmɑˈʔoli]	[kəˈnɐːkəːməˈʔoli]
	kāne	[ˈkɐːnɛː]	[ˈkɐːnɛː]	[ˈkɑːne]	[ˈkɐːnɪ]
	Kaneshiro	[kɐniˈʃiːɹo]	[kɐnɛʃˈiːɹo]	[kɑnəˈʃiɹo]	[kɐnɛˈʃiːɹo]
	Kāneʻohe	[kɐːnɛˈʔohɛ]	[kanɛˈoːhɛ]	[kɑˌniˈoːhe]	[kɐneˈoːhe]

[221] kabocha: Malu3; Kina3; Chris3; Fumiko3.
[222] kabuki: Malu3; Kina3; Fumiko0 (researcher's error).
[223] kahuna: Chris2; Fumiko2.
[224] kalo: Fumiko answered *taro*.
[225] kamaʻāina: Chris3.
[226] kanaka maoli: Fumiko3.

kapakahi[227]	[kəpəˈkɐhi]	[kəpɐˈkaːhi]	[kɑpəˈkɑːhi]	[kəpəˈkɐːhi]
Kapiʻolani	[kəpiˌʔoˈləni]	[kəpiˌoˈləni]	[kɑpiˌoˈlɑːni]	[kɐpiʔoˈlani]
Kapolei	[kʌˈpoleɪ]	[kapoˈleɪ]	[kapoˈleɪ]	[kɐpoˈleː]
kapu	[ˈkəpu]	[ˈkəpu]	[ˈkɑːpu]	[ˈkɐːpu]
karai[228]	-	[kɐˈɾaɪ]	[kəˈɾaɪ]	[kʌˈɾaɪ]
karaoke	[kaɾaˈoːkɛ]	[kɐ̟ɹiˈoʊki]	[kɐɾəˈoːkɛ]	[kɐɾəˈoke]
karate	[ˈkaɾaˌtɛː]	[kaɾaˈtɛː]	[kɐɾɐˈtɛː]	[kaɾɐˈtɛː]
katonk[229]	[kəˈtɐnk]	-	[kəˈtɑnk]	[kəˈtonk]
katsu	[ˈkɐtsu]	[ˈkaːtsu]	[ˈkɑːtsu]	[ˈkɐːtsu]
Kauaʻi	[kɐˈwəʔi]	[kəˈwəʔi]	[kəˈwəʔi]	[ˈkʌːwaɪ]
Kawamoto	[kɐwəˈmoːɾo]	[kaʊˈmoɾo]	[kɑwəˈmoːɾo]	[kɐwəˈmotto]
Kawela	[kəˈvɛlə]	[kəˈvɛlə]	[kəːˈvɛlə]	[kɐˈvɛlɐ]
Kaʻahumanu	[kɐʔɐhuˈmənu]	[kɐʔɐhuˈmɐnu]	[kɐʔɑhuˈmɑnu]	[kɐʔɐhuˈmɐnu]
Kaʻū	[kʌˈʔuː]	[kaˈʔuː]	[ˈkaʊ]	[kɐːˈʔuː]
Kealakekua	[kɐɐləkeˈkuə]	[kealəkeˈkuːə]	[kɛɑləkɛˈkuwə]	[kɛɐlɐkɛˈkuːɐ]
Keaʻau	[kɛ.ɐ.ˈʔɐʊ]	[kɛɐˈʔaʊ]	[kɛˈaʊ]	[ˈkeːʔaʊ]
keiki	[ˈkeiki]	[ˈkeiki]	[ˈkeɪki]	[ˈkeiki]
kendo[230]	[ˈkɛndo]	[ˈkɛndo]	[kɛnˈdoː]	[ˈkɛndo]
Keoneʻae	[ˌkeˈoˌnɛˈɐiˌ]	[keʔonɛˈaiˌ]	[keəˈnaɪ]	[keʔoneˈʔaʔɛ]
kiawe	[kiˈɐvɛ]	[kiˈaːvɛ]	[kiˈɑːvɛ]	[kiˈɐːve]
Kīhei	[ˈkiːhɛi]	[ˈkiːheː]	[ˈkiːhe]	[ˈkiːhe]
Kikkoman Shoyu	[ˈkikomɐn ˈʃoːjuː]	[ˈkikomɑːn ˈʃoːjuː]	[ˈkikomɑːn ˈʃoːjuː]	[kikoˈman ˈʃoːjuː]
Kīlauea	[ˈkiːˌləˈwɛˌɐ]	[kɪlɐʊˈɛːɐ]	[kɪˈlɐːwɛɐ]	[ˈkiˌlɐˈweˌɐ]
kimono[231]	[kiˈmono]	[kiˈmoːno]	[kiˈmono]	[kiˈmoːno]
Kimura	[kiˈmuːɹə]	[kiˈməɪˈə]	[ˈkimuɹə]	[ˈkiːmuɹə]
kinako[232]	[kiˈnɐːko]	[kiˈnaːko]	[kiˈnɑːko]	[kiˈnɐːko]
Kinoshita	[kinoˈʃiːtɐ]	[kinoˈʃiːtʌ]	[kinoˈʃitə]	[kinoˈʃiːtɐ]
Koʻolau	[koˈʔoləʊ]	[koʔoˈlaːʊ]	[koʔoˈlɐʊ]	[koʔoˈlaʊ]
koa[233]	[vivoˈʔolɛ]	[ˈkoɐ]	[ˈkoə]	[ˈkoɐ]

[227] kapakahi: Chris3.
[228] karai: Malu0 (researcher's error); Chris4.
[229] kantonk: Malu3; Kina0 (researcher's error); Fumiko3.
[230] kendo: Malu3.
[231] kimono: Malu3.
[232] kinako: Malu3; Kina2; Chris2.
[233] koa: Malu answered *wiwiʻole*; Chris3; Fumiko4.

	Kobashigawa	[koˈbɐʃiˈgɐːwə]	[koˈbɐːʃˈi.gɐːwə]	[kobɑʃiˈgɑːwə]	[koˈbɐʃi.gɑːwə]
	Kobayashi	[ˈkobajaːʃi]	[kobɐˈjɐːʃi]	[kobɐˈjɐːʃi]	[kobəˈjɑːʃi]
	kōkua	[ˈkoːkuə]	[koˈkuːɐ]	[koˈkuːə]	[koˈkuːɐ]
	kolohe[234]	[koˈlohɛ]	[koˈloːhɛ]	[kɐˈloːhɛ]	[koˈloːhe]
	koto[235]	[ˈkotoː]	[ˈkoto]	[ˈkoːto]	[ˈkoto]
	Kualakaʻi	[kuɐləˈkəi]	[kuʔaləˈkaɪ]	[kuːləˈkɐɪ]	[kualaˈkaɪ]
	Kūhiō	[kuˈhioː]	[kuˈhiːo]	[kuˈhio]	[ˈkuːhio]
	Kūkuluaeʻo	[kuːkuluˈaiʔo]	[kukuluːˈao]	[kuːkuːluˈaɪo]	[kuːkuːluːˈaːɛːo]
	kuleana	[kulɛˈɐnə]	[kulɛˈaːnə]	[kuliˈɐnə]	[kuliˈɐːnə]
	kūlolo	[ˈkulolo]	[kuˈloːlo]	[kuˈlolo]	[kuːˈlolo]
	Kuloloia	[kuloˈloiə]	[kuloːloːˈʔiə]	[kuːloːˈloːiə]	[kuloːloːˈiːə]
	kumu	[ˈkumu]	[ˈkuːmu]	[ˈkumuː]	[ˈkuːmu]
	kusai[236]	[kuˈsa̱ɪˌ]	[kuˈsaɪ]	[kuˈsaɪ]	[kuˈsaɪ]
	Kūwili	[kuːˈvili]	[kuˈviːliː]	[kuˈvili]	[kuːˈviːliː]
	Kyoto	[ˈkjoto]	[ˈkjoːto]	[ˈkjoːto]	[ˈkjotto]
L	Lahaina	[lɐˈhaɪnɐ]	[ləˈhaɪnɐ]	[ləˈhaɪnə]	[ləˈhaɪnə]
	laulau	[ˈlɐʊlɐʊ]	[ˈlɐʊlɐʊ]	[ˈlaʊlaʊ]	[ˈlɐʊlɐʊ]
	Laupāhoehoe	[ləʊpəhojˈhoj]	[laʊpəhoɪˈhoj]	[ləʊpəhoiˈhoi]	[laʊpəˈhojhoj]
	lānai	[lɐːˈnəi]	[ləˈnaɪ]	[ləˈnaɪ]	[laˈnaɪ]
	Lānaʻi	[laːˈnʌʔi]	[lɐːˈnəʔi]	[ləːˈnəʔi]	[lɐːˈnaɪ]
	Lāwaʻi	[lɐːˈvəʔi]	[ləˈvaɪ]	[ləˈwaɪ]	[lɐːˈwaɪ]
	Lāʻie	[lɐːˈʔie]	[ˈlaːɛː]	[lɐːˈie]	[laːˈʔie]
	lehua[237]	[lɛˈhuə]	[leˈhuːə]	[leˈhuːə]	[leːˈhuɐ]
	lei	[ˈlei]	[ˈlei]	[ˈleɪ]	[ˈleː]
	Lelepaua	[lɛlɛˈpəʊɐ]	[lɛlɛˈpɐʊə]	[lɛlɛˈpɐːwə]	[lɛlɛpɐːˈuə]
	Līhuʻe	[liːˈhuʔɛ]	[lɛːˈhuɛ]	[liˈhuːʔɛ]	[liˈhue]
	Likelike	[ˈliˌkeˈliˌke]	[likeˈliːke]	[likɛˈliːkɛ]	[ˈliˌkɛˈliːˌkɛ]
	liliko‘i	[liliˈkoʔi]	[lɪliˈkoʔi]	[ˈlɪlikoj]	[liliˈkoj]
	Liliʻuokalani	[liːˈliːʔu.o.kəːˈlə.ni]	[liliːʔuokəˈləni]	[lɪˈlioˌkəˈlɐːni]	[liliuːkəˈlani]
	lōlō	[ˈlolo]	[ˈloːlo]	[ˈlolo]	[ˈlolo]
	lomilomi	[lomiˈlomi]	[lomiˈloːmi]	[lomiˈloːmi]	[lomiˈloːmi]

[234] kolohe: Chris3.
[235] koto: Malu3; Kina3.
[236] kusai: Malu3; Kina3; Chris3; Fumiko3.
[237] lehua: Chris3.

	lūʻau	[ˈluːʔɐʊ]	[luːˈʔaʊ]	[luːˈɐʊ]	[ˈluːʔɐʊ]
M	mahalo	[məˈhɐlo]	[məˈhaːlo]	[mɑːˈhɑlo]	[məˈhɐːlo]
	mahimahi[238]	[mɐhiˈmɐhi]	[mɐ̟hiˈmɐ̟ːhi]	[mɑhiˈmɑːhi]	[mɐhiˈmɐhi]
	Māhinahina	[mą̄ːhinəˈhinə]	[məhinəˈhinə]	[mɑːhinəˈhinə]	[mahinaˈhina]
	māhū	[ˈmɐːhuː]	[ˈmɐːhu]	[ˈmɑːhu]	[ˈmaːhu]
	maikaʻi[239]	[məiˈkʌʔi]	[məɪˈkʌʔi]	[məɪˈkʌʔi]	[maɪˈkai]
	maile	[ˈməilɛ]	[ˈmaɪlɛ]	[ˈmaɪlɛː]	[ˈmaɪli]
	Mākaha	[maːˈkahɐ]	[məˈkaːha]	[məˈkaːha]	[məˈkɐːhɐ]
	maka piapia[240]	[mɐkəpiəˈpiə]	[mɐkəpiəˈpiə]	[mɑːkəpiəˈpiə]	[mɐkəpiəˈpiə]
	makahiki	[mɐkɐˈhiki]	[makɐˈhiːki]	[mɑːkəˈhiki]	[mɐkəˈhiːki]
	makai	[məˈkəi]	[mɐˈkʌi]	[məˈkai]	[məˈkəi]
	Makakilo	[mɐkɐˈkilo]	[mɐkəˈkiːlo]	[mɑkəˈkilo]	[makəˈkiːlo]
	Makalapa	[mɐkɐˈlɐpɐ]	[makɐˈlaːpɐ]	[mɑkəˈlɑːpə]	[mɐkɐˈlɐpɐ]
	mālama[241]	[ˈmɐːləmɐ]	[ˈmɐːˈlɑːmə]	[ˈmɑːˈlɑmə]	[ˈmaːlamɐ]
	malihini[242]	[mɐliˈhini]	[mɑləˈhini]	[mɑləˈhini]	[mɑlɪˈhiːni]
	mana	[ˈmənə]	[ˈmɐːnə]	[ˈmənə]	[ˈmɐːnə]
	manapua	[manaˈpuɐ]	[manəˈpuːa]	[mɑnəˈpuə]	[mɐnəˈpuə]
	manga[243]	[ˈmɑːŋgą̟]	[ˈmɑːŋgɐ]	[ˈmɑːŋgɐ]	[ˈmɑːŋgɐ]
	manini[244]	[liʔiˈliʔi]	[mɐˈniːni]	[məˈniːni]	[məˈniːni]
	Matsuda	[mɐˈtsuːɾɐ]	[mɐːˈtsuɾɐː]	[ˈmɑːtsuɾɑ]	[mɑːˈtsudɐ]
	Matsumoto	[mɐtsuˈmoɾo]	[mɐtsuˈmoɾo]	[ˈmɑtsumo(ː)ɾo]	[mɐtsuˈmoːtto]
	Maui	[ˈməʊ̯i]	[ˈmɐʊ̯i]	[ˈmɐʊ̯i]	[ˈmɐʊ̯i]
	mauka	[ˈməʊkɐ]	[ˈmɑʊkɐ]	[ˈmɑʊkə]	[ˈmɑʊkɐ]
	mauna	[ˈməʊnɐ]	[ˈmɐʊnɐ]	[ˈmɑʊnə]	[ˈmɐʊna]
	Maunawili	[məʊnɐˈvili]	[moʊnəˈviːliː]	[mɑːnəˈwɪli]	[mɑʊnəˈwɪli]
	Māʻili	[maːˈʔili]	[ˈmaɪli]	[ˈmaɪli]	[mɐˈʔili]
	menehune	[meneˈhune]	[mɛnɛˈhunɛ]	[mɛneˈhune]	[mɛniˈhuni]
	menpachi[245]	[mɛnˈpatʃi]	[mɛnˈpaːtʃi]	[mɛnˈpaːtʃi]	[mɛnˈpaːtʃi]

[238] mahimahi: Chris$_2$.
[239] maikaʻi: Chris$_3$.
[240] maka piapia: Chris$_4$; Fumiko$_3$.
[241] mālama: Fumiko$_3$.
[242] malihini: Kina$_2$; Chris$_2$; Fumiko$_2$.
[243] manga: Fumiko$_3$.
[244] manini: Malu answered *liʻiliʻi*.
[245] menpachi: Malu$_3$.

	Mililani	[miliˈləni]	[miliˈlɐni]	[mɪliˈlɑni]	[miliˈlɐni]
	mirin	[miˈɾin]	[ˈmiɾɪn]	[ˈmɪːɾɪn]	[miˈɾin]
	miso[246]	[ˈmiːsǫː]	[ˈmiso]	[ˈmiːso]	[ˈmiːsoː(ˈʃiːɾu)]
	misoyaki	[ˌmiˈsoˈjɐːˌki]	[ˈmiˌsoˈjɐːˌki]	[misoˈjɑːki]	[misoˈjɑːki]
	Miyamoto	[mijaˈmoɾo]	[mijəˈmoːɾo]	[ˈmijəmoɾo]	[mijaˈmoto]
	Miyashiro	[mijɐˈʃiːɹo]	[mijɐˈʃiːɹo]	[mijəˈʃiːɹo]	[ˈmijaʃiːɹ.ɾo]
	mochi	[ˈmotʃi]	[ˈmotʃi]	[ˈmotʃi]	[moːˈtʃiː]
	mochi crunch	[ˈmotʃiˈkɹɐntʃ]	[ˈmotʃiˈkɹʌntʃ]	[ˈmoːtʃiˈkɹʌntʃ]	[ˈmoːtʃiˈkɹɐntʃ]
	mochiko	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɛn]	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɪn]	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɪn]	[moˈtʃikoˈtʃikɪn]
	moemoe[247]	[ˈmoɛmoɛ]	[(hiɐ)ˈmoːɪ]	[ˈmoɪmoːɪ]	[ˈmojmoj]
	Mokauea	[ˈmoˌkəʊˈɛˌɐ]	[mokəˈwɛːɐ]	[moːkɑʊˈɛɐ]	[mokɐʊˈɛɐ]
	Mokulēʻia	[mokuleːˈʔiˌɐ]	[mokuˈlɛɪə]	[moːkuˈlɛɪə]	[mokuˈlɛɐ]
	Molokaʻi	[moloˈkʌʔi]	[moloˈkɐʔi]	[moloˈkəi]	[moloˈkaɪ]
	Morita	[moˈɹitɐ]	[mʌˈɹitɐ]	[ˈmoːɾitə]	[moˈɹiːtɐ]
	muʻumuʻu	[ˈmuˌʔuˈmuˌʔu]	[muʔuˈmuʔu]	[ˈmuˌʔuˈmuˌʔu]	[muʔuˈmuʔu]
	Murakami	[muɹɐˈkami]	[muɾəˈkɑːmi]	[muɾəˈkɑːmi]	[muɹaˈkaːmi]
	musubi	[ˈmuːsubiː]	[musuˈbiː]	[musuˈbiː]	[musuˈbiː]
N	Nagoya	[ˈnɐːgojɐː]	[naˈgoːjɐ]	[nɑːˈgojɐ]	[naːˈgojɐ]
	Nakagawa	[nɐkəˈgɐːwə]	[nɐ.kə.ˈgɐːʊ.ɐ]	[nɐkəˈgɐːwə]	[nakəˈgɐːwə]
	Nakamura	[nɐkəˈmuːɹə]	[nɐ.kə.ˈməːɹ.ə]	[nɑkəˈmuːɹə]	[nakəˈmuːɹə]
	Nakano	[nəˈkɐːno]	[nɐˈkɐːno]	[ˈnɑːkəno]	[nɐˈkɐːno]
	Nakashima	[nɐkɐˈʃiːmə]	[nɐkɐˈʃiːmə]	[nɑkəˈʃiːmə]	[nɐkəˈʃiːmɐ]
	Nakasone	[nɐkaˈsoːnɛ]	[nɐkʌˈsoːnɛ]	[nɑkəˈsoːnɛ]	[nɑkʌˈsoːne]
	Nānākuli	[naːnaːˈkuli]	[nanəˈkuːli]	[nɐːnəˈkuli]	[nanaˈkuːli]
	nēnē	[ˈnɛnɛː]	[ˈnɛnɛː]	[ˈnɛ(ɪ)nɛː]	[ˈnɛːni]
	niele	[ˈniɛlɛ]	[ˈniɛlɛ]	[niˈɛlɛ~niˈɛlɛɪ]	[ˈniʔelɪ]
	nigiri	[ˈnigiɾi]	[nɪgiˈɾiː]	[ˈniːgiɾi]	[ˈniːgɪɾi]
	ninja	[ˈnɪndʒə]	[ˈnɪn.dʒɐː]	[ˈnɪndʒə]	[ˈnindʒːa]
	nisei[248]	[niˈsɛː]	[ˈniːsɛː]	[ˈniːseː]	[ˈniːsɛː]
	Nishimoto	[niʃiˈmoːɾo]	[niʃiˈmoɾo]	[ˈniʃimoːɾo]	[niʃiˈmotto]
	Nishimura	[niʃiˈmuːɹə]	[niʃˈməɹə]	[niʃiˈmuɹə]	[nɪʃiˈmuːɹə]

[246] miso: Malu$_3$, Kina$_2$.
[247] moemoe: Chris$_4$.
[248] nisei: Malu$_3$; Kina$_2$; Chris$_2$.

	Niuhelewai	[nju:hɛlɛˈvəi]	[nju:hɛlɛˈvɐɪ]	[nju:hɛlɛˈvaɪ]	[niju:helɛˈvaɪ]
	Niʻihau	[niʔiˈhʌʊ]	[niʔiˈhaʊ]	[ˈniʔihaʊ]	[niʔiˈhɐʊ]
	nori	[ˈnoɾi]	[ˈnoɾi]	[ˈno:ɾi]	[ˈno:ɾi]
	Nuʻuanu	[nuʔuˈənu]	[nuʔuˈɐ:nu]	[nuʔuˈɑ:nu]	[nuʔuˈɐnu]
O	obake	[oˈbɐkɛ]	[oˈba:kɛ]	[oˈbɑ:ke]	[oˈba:ke]
	ocha	[ˈotʃɐ]	[ˈotʃɐ]	[ˈotʃɐ]	[ˈottʃɐ]
	Oda	[ˈoɾə]	[ˈoɾɐ:]	[ˈodə]	[ˈo:dɐ]
	ohana	[oˈhɐnə]	[oˈhɐnə:]	[o:ˈhənə:]	[oˈhɐ:nə]
	Okamoto	[okɐˈmoɾo]	[okəˈmo:ɾo]	[okəˈmo:ɾo]	[o:kəˈmotto]
	okazu(ya)[249]	[oˈkɐ:zu(jɐ)]	[oˈka:zu~okəˈzu:ya:]	[oˈkɑ:zu]	[okɐˈzujɐ]
	Okinawa	[okiˈnɐwə]	[okiˈnɐʊə]	[okiˈnɑwɑ]	[okiˈna:wɐ]
	omiyage[250]	-	[omiˈjɐ:gɛ]	[omiˈjɑ:gɛ]	[omiˈjɐgɛ:]
	onolicious	[onoˈlɪʃɪs]	[onoˈlɪ:ʃɪs]	[onoˈlɪ:ʃɪs]	[onoˈlɪʃɪs]
	origami[251]	[oɾiˈgɐ:mi]	[oɾiˈgɐ:mi]	[oɹiˈgɑ:mi]	[oɹiˈgɐ:mi]
	Osaka[252]	[oˈsɐkɐ]	[oˈsɐkɐ]	[ˈo:sa]	[ˈo:sakə]
	Oshiro	[oˈʃi:ɹo]	[oʃˈɪ:ɹo]	[ˈo:ʃɪɹo]	[ˈo:ʃɪɹo]
	Oʻahu	[oˈʔahu]	[oˈʔɐ:hu]	[oʊˈɑ:hu]	[oˈʔɐ:hu]
	otaku	[oˈtɐku]	[oˈtaku]	[oˈtɑ:ku]	[oˈtaku]
P	Pāhoa	[pɐˈhoɐ]	[pɐˈhoɐ]	[pɑ:ˈhoə]	[pɐ:ˈhoɐ]
	pakalōlō	[pɐkɐˈlolo]	[pakəˈlo:lo]	[pɑkəˈlolo]	[pakaˈlo:lo]
	pali[253]	[ˈpəli]	[ˈpəli]	[ˈpɑ:li]	[ˈpɑ:li]
	paniolo	[pəniˈolo]	[paniˈo:lo]	[pɑniˈo:lo]	[paniˈo:lo]
	panko	[ˈpɐŋko]	[ˈpaŋko]	[ˈpɑ:ŋko]	[ˈpɐŋko]
	pau	[ˈpəʊ]	[ˈpaʊ]	[ˈpɑʊ]	[ˈpɐʊ]
	paʻi[254]	[ˈpəʔi]	[ˈpəʔi]	[ˈpəʔi]	[ˈpəʔi]
	pele	[ˈpɛlɛ]	[ˈpɛlɛ]	[ˈpɛle]	[ˈpele]
	Pepeʻekeo	[pɛ:pɛʔɛˈkɛo]	[pɛpɛˈkɛ:o]	[pe:peːˈkeo]	[pɛpɛˈkɛo]
	pīkake[255]	[piˈkɐkɛ]	[piˈka:kɛ]	[piːˈkɑ:ke]	[piˈkɐ:ke]

[249] okazu(ya): Malu4; Kina2; Chris4.
[250] omiyage: Malu0 (researcher's error).
[251] origami: Malu3.
[252] Osaka: Chris0 (audio issue)
[253] pali: Chris2.
[254] paʻi: Chris3; Fumiko4.
[255] pīkake: Kina3; Chris3.

	piko[256]	[ˈpiko]	[ˈpiko]	[ˈpiko]	[ˈpiko]
	pilau[257]	[ˈhəʊnɐ]	[piːˈlaʊ]	[piˈlaʊ]	[piːˈlaʊ]
	pilikia[258]	[piliˈkiɐ]	[piliˈkiɐ]	[piliˈkiɐ]	[pɪliˈkiʌ]
	pipikaula[259]	[pipiˈkaʊlɐ]	[pipiˈkɐʊlə]	[piːpiˈkaʊlɐ]	[pipiˈkɐʊlɐ]
	pōhaku	[ˈpoːhɐku]	[poˈhaːku]	[poˈhɑːku]	[poˈhɐːku]
	poi	[ˈpoi]	[ˈpɔi]	[ˈpɔɪ]	[ˈpɔi]
	poke	[ˈpokɛ]	[ˈpokɛ]	[ˈpo(ʊ)ke]	[ˈpokɛ]
	pono	[ˈpono]	[ˈpoːno]	[ˈpoːno]	[ˈpono]
	pōpolo	[poˈpolo]	[po̤ˈpolo]	[pɑˈpoːlo]	[poˈpolo]
	Pouhala	[poʊˈhɐlɐ]	[poːˈhɑːlə]	[poʊˈhɑːlə]	[poːuːˈhɐːlə]
	pua	[ˈpuɐ]	[ˈpuːɐ]	[ˈpuə]	[ˈpuɐ]
	puka	[ˈpukɐ]	[ˈpuːkə]	[ˈpuːkə]	[ˈpukə]
	Punahele	[ˈpuˌnɐˈhɛˌlɛ]	[punɐˈhɛlɛ]	[punɐˈhɛlɛ]	[punəˈhɛle]
	pupu	[puːˈpuː]	[ˈpupu]	[ˈpupu]	[ˈpupu]
	Pūpūkea	[puːpuːˈkeə]	[pupuˈkeə]	[pupuˈkɛə]	[pupuˈkeə]
	Puʻuhonua	[puʔuhoˈnuə]	[puʔuhoˈnuːə]	[puʔuhoˈnuə]	[puʔuhoˈnuɐ]
R	ramen	[ˈɹɑːmɛn]	[ˈɾaːmɪn]	[ˈɹɑːmɛn]	[ɹɑːˈmɪn]
S	saimin	[sɐɪˈmɛn]	[saɪˈmɪn]	[ˈsaɪmən~saɪˈmɪn]	[saɪˈmɪn]
	sake	[ˈsɑkɛ]	[ˈsɐːkɛ]	[ˈsɑːkɛ]	[ˈsɐːkkɛ]
	sakura[260]	[ˈsɐkuɾə]	[saːkuˈɾaː]	[sɐːˈkuɾə]	[ˈsakuɾa]
	samurai	[ˈsɐmuɾa̲ɪ]	[sɐmuˈɾaɪ]	[ˈsɑːmuɾaɪ]	[sɐmuˈɾaɪ]
	sashimi	[ˈsɐːʃimi]	[sɐʃiˈmiː]	[sɐˈʃiːmi]	[sɐʃiˈmiː]
	sayonara	[saˈjoːnɐɾɐ]	[sajoˈnɐɾə]	[sɐˈjoːnɐɾɐ]	[sɐjoˈnɐɾɐ]
	senbei[261]	[ˈsenbɛː]	[ˈsenbe]	[ˈsenbeɪ]	[sɛnˈbeː]
	sensei	[ˈsɛnsɛː]	[ˈsɛnsɛː]	[ˈsɛnsɛɪ]	[sɛnˈsɛː]
	shabu-shabu	[ˈʃɐˌbuˈʃɐˌbu]	[ʃɐbuˈʃɐːbu]	[ʃɑbuˈʃɑːbu]	[ʃɐbuˈʃɐːbu]
	shaka	[ˈʃɑkə]	[ˈʃɑkə]	[ˈʃɑːkə]	[ˈʃɑkə]
	shibai[262]	[ʃiˈbɐɪ]	[ʃi̤ˈbɐɪ]	[ʃiˈbaɪ]	[ʃiˈbaɪ]
	shiitake	[ʃ(i)ˈtɐkɛ]	[ʃ(i)ˈtɐkɛ]	[ˈʃiːtaːkɛ]	[ʃiːˈtakke]

[256] piko: Fumiko[2].
[257] pilau: Malu answered *pilau*.
[258] pilikia: Chris[3].
[259] pipikaula: Chris[2]; Fumiko[2].
[260] sakura: Fumiko[3].
[261] senbei: Malu[3]; Kina[3]; Chris[3]; Fumiko[3].
[262] shibai: Malu[3]; Kina[3]; Chris[3]; Fumiko[3].

	Shimabukuro	[ʃimәbuˈkuːɾo]	[ʃi.mə.bə.ˈkəɪ.o]	[ʃimәˈbukuɾo]	[ˈʃimaˈbukuɾo]
	Shimizu	[ʃiˈmiːzu]	[ʃiˈmiːzu]	[ʃiˈmiːzu]	[ʃiˈmiːzu]
	Shirokiya	[ʃiˈɾokjaː]	[ʃiɪoˈkijə]	[ʃiɾoˈkiːja]	[ʃiɾoˈkijɐ]
	Shiroma	[ʃiˈɪoːmə]	[ʃiˈɪoːmɐ]	[ʃiˈɾoːmɐ]	[ʃiˈɪoːmə]
	shishi	[ˈʃiʃiː]	[ˈʃiʃi]	[ˈʃiʃi]	[ˈʃiʃiː]
	shoji[263]	[ˈʃodʒiː]	[ˈʃoʊdʒiː]	[ˈʃoːdʒi]	[ˈʃodʒi (door)]
	shoyu	[ʃoːˈjuː]	[ˈʃoːju]	[ˈʃoju]	[ˈʃoːju]
	skebe[264]	[ˈskɛbɛ]	[ˈskɛːbɛ]	[ˈskɛːbɛ]	[skɛˈbeː]
	soba	[ˈsoːbɐ]	[ˈsobɐː]	[soˈbəː]	[ˈsoːba]
	somen	[ˈsoːmɛn]	[ˈsomɪn]	[ˈsomɛn~soˈmɛn]	[ˈsoːmɪn]
	sudoku	[suˈdoku]	[suˈdoːku]	[suˈdoːku]	[suˈdoːku]
	sukiyaki	[ˌsuˈkiˈjɐːˌki]	[ˈsuˌkiˈjɐːˌki]	[sukiˈjɑːki]	[sukiˈjɑːki]
	sumo	[ˈsumo]	[ˈsuːmoː]	-	[ˈsumo(ˈtoɾi)]
	sushi	[ˈsuʃi]	[ˈsu(ː)ʃi]	[ˈsuːʃi]	[ˈsuʃi]
	Suzuki	[suˈzuːki]	[səˈzuki]	[suˈzuːki]	[suˈzuːki]
T	taiko[265]	[ˈtaɪko]	[taɪˈkoː~ˈtaɪko]	[ˈtaɪko]	[ˈtaɪko]
	Takenaka	[tɐkɛˈnɐːkə]	[tɐkeˈnɐːkɐ]	[ˈtɑkenɑːkə]	[tɐkeˈnɐːkɐ]
	tako	[ˈtɐko]	[ˈtaːko]	[ˈtɑːko]	[ˈtakko]
	tamago	-	[tɐmɑːgo]	[ˈtɑːmɐgo]	[tɐmɑːgo]
	Tamashiro	[tɐmɐˈʃiːɪo]	[tɐməˈʃiɪo]	[rɑməˈʃiɪo]	[tamәˈʃiɪo]
	Tamura	[təˈmụːɪɐ]	[tʌˈmɔːɪə]	[ˈtʌːmuɾɐ]	[ˈtamuːɪɐ]
	Tanaka	[təˈnɐːkə]	[təˈnakə]	[təˈnɑːkə]	[təˈnɐːkə]
	tantaran[266]	-	[tɐntəˈɾɑːn]	[ˈtəntərən]	[tɑːntəˈɾɑːn]
	tatami[267]	[taˈtami]	[təˈtɐːmi]	[təˈtɑːmi]	[tɐˈtɐːmi]
	tempura	[tɛmpuˈɾaː]	[tɛmpuˈɾaː]	[tɛnˈpuɾə]	[ˈtempuɾaː~temˈpuɾaː]
	teriyaki	[tɛɹiˈjɐki]	[tɛɹiˈjaːki]	[tɛɾiˈjɑːki]	[tɛɹiˈjɐki]
	tofu	[ˈtoːfu]	[ˈtofuː]	[ˈto(ː~ʊ)fu]	[ˈtoːfu]
	Tokyo	[ˈtọkjọ]	[ˈtokjoː]	[ˈtoːkjo]	[ˈtokkjo]
	Tsue	[ˈsːuɛ]	[ˈtsuɛ]	[ˈtsuɛ]	[ˈsːue]
	Tsuha	[ˈsuhɐ]	[ˈsːuhɐ]	[ˈtsuhɑ]	[ˈtsuhɐ]

[263] shoji: Malu$_4$; Chris$_3$.
[264] skebe: Malu$_3$; Kina$_3$; Chris$_3$.
[265] taiko: Malu$_3$.
[266] tantaran: Malu$_0$ (researcher's error); Kina$_2$; Chris$_2$; Fumiko$_2$.
[267] tatami: Malu$_3$; Kina$_2$; Chris$_2$; Fumiko$_2$.

	tsukemono	[tsuˈkɛmono]	[tsukɛˈmono]	[tskɛˈmoːno]	[tsukeˈmono]
	tsunami	[tsuˈnɑːmi]	[tsuˈnɐːmi]	[tsuˈnɑːmi]	[tsuˈnaːmi]
	tūtū[268]	[ˈtuːtuːwɐˈhinɛ]	[ˈtutuwɐˈhiːnɛ]	[ˈtuːtuː]	[obabaːŋ] [odʒitʃɐːŋ]
U	udon	[ˈudɐn]	[uˈdɔːn]	[uˈdɔn]	[uːˈdɔŋ]
	Uehara	[ueˈhɑɹə]	[u.ɛ.ˈhɐɹ.ə]	[uɛˈhɑːɹə]	[uɛˈhɐɹ.ə]
	umami	-	-	[umɑːmi]	[umɐːmi]
	ume	[ˈʔumɛ]	[ˈumɛ]	[ˈumɛ]	[ˈuːme]
	uni	[ˈuni]	[ˈuːni]	[ˈuni]	[ˈuni]
	Uyeda	[uˈjɛɾə]	[uˈɛːɾɐ]	[uˈɛrɐ]	[uˈɛːdə]
	Uyehara	[ˈuˌjɛˈhɐˌɹə]	[ueˈhɑːɹə]	[ujeˈhɑːɹə]	[ˈuehɑːɹə]
W	Wahiawā	[wɐˈhiɐwɐː]	[waˈhiɐwaː]	[wɑːˈhiwɑ]	[ˈwɐhiwə]
	wahine	[waˈhine]	[waˈhiːnɛ]	[wɑːˈhinɛ]	[waˈhiːne]
	Waialua[269]	-	-	[waɪəˈluə]	[waɪˈluːɐ]
	Waikele	[wəiˈkɛlɛ]	[wɐɪˈkɛlɛ]	[waɪˈkɛlɛ]	[wɐɪˈkɛle]
	Waikīkī	[wəiˌkiːˈkiː]	[wɐɪˌkiˈkiː]	[wɐɪˌkiˈkiː]	[wɐɪkiˈkiː]
	Waikōloa	[ˈwəiˌkoˈloˌɐ]	[waɪkoˈloːɐ]	[waɪkəˈloə]	[waɪkoˈloə]
	Waimalu	[wəiˈmɐlu]	[wɐɪˈmɐːlu]	[waɪˈmɑːlu]	[wɐɪˈmɐːlu]
	Waimānalo	[ˈwəiˌmaːˈnaˌlo]	[wɐɪməˈnaːlo]	[waɪməˈnɑːlo]	[waɪməˈnaːlo]
	Waimea	[wəiˈmeɐ]	[wɐɪˈmeə]	[wɐɪˈmɛə]	[wɐɪˈmeə]
	Waipahu[270]	-	-	[wɐɪˈpɑːhuː]	[wɐɪˈpɐːhu]
	Waipiʻo	[wəiˈpiʔo]	[waɪˈpiʔo]	[waɪˈpijo]	[waɪˈpio]
	Waiʻanae	[wəiʔəˈnəɪ]	[waɪəˈnaɪ]	[ˈwaɪnaɪ]	[ˈwaɪənaɪ]
	wana	[ˈvʌnə]	[ˈvɐnə]	[ˈvɑːnə]	[ˈvɐːnə]
	wasabi	[wəˈsaːbi]	[wəˈsaːbi]	[ˈwəsɐːbi]	[ˈwəsɐːbi]
	Watanabe	[wataˈnaːbɛ]	[wɐtəˈnɐːbɛ]	[wɑtəˈnɐːbɛ]	[wɐtɐˈnɐːbɪ]
	wikiwiki	[ˈviˌkiˈviˌki]	[wikiˈwiːki]	[wikiˈwiːki]	[wɪkiˈwɪki]
Y	yakuza	[ˈjakuzə]	[ˈjɐkuzə]	[ˈjɑkuzə~ˈjakuˈzɐː]	[ˈjakuˈzɐː]
	Yamada	[jəˈmaːɾə]	[jʌˈmaːɾə]	[ˈjɑːmɑɾə]	[ˈjəmɑːɾə]
	Yamaguchi[271]	[jɐmɐˈguːtʃi]	[jaməguˈtʃiː]	[jɑməˈguːtʃi]	-
	Yamamoto	[jamaˈmoɾo]	[jɐməˈmoːɾo]	[jɐməˈmoːɾo]	[jɐməˈmotto]

[268] tūtū: Fumiko answered *obaban* and *ojichan*.
[269] Waialua: Malu₀, Kina₀ (researcher's error).
[270] Waipahu: Malu₀, Kina₀ (researcher's error).
[271] Yamaguchi: Fumiko₀ (audio issue).

	Yamashita	[jɐmɐˈʃtɐ]	[jɐˈmɐːʃtɐ]	[jɑməːˈʃitə]	[jɐməˈʃttə]
	Yokohama	[jokoˈhɐmə]	[jokoˈhɐmə]	[jokoˈhɑmə]	[jokoˈhamɐ]
	Yoshida	[joˈʃiːɾɐ]	[joˈʃiɾaː]	[ˈjoːʃida]	[ˈjoːʃidɐ]
	Yoshimura	[joʃiˈmuɾɐ]	[joʃiˈməːɾə]	[joːʃiˈmuɾə]	[joʃiˈmuːɾɐ]
	Yoshioka	[joʃiˈoːkɐ]	[joʃ.iˈoː.kɐ]	[joʃiˈoː.kə]	[joʃiˈoːkɐ]
Z	zori[272]	[ˈzoɾi]	[ˈzoːɾi]	[ˈzoːɾi]	[ˈzoːɾi]
ʻ	ʻahi	[ˈɐhi]	[ˈɐhi]	[ˈɑːhi]	[ˈɐhi]
	ʻĀhuimanu	[ɐːhuiˈmənu]	[əhuiˈmɐːnu]	[ɐhjuːˈmɑnu]	[ahuiˈmɐːnu]
	ʻAiea	[ˈəi.ɛ.ɐ]	[ɐɛˈɐː]	[aɪ.ˈʔɛ.ə]	[aɪ.ˈʔe.ə]
	ʻāina	[ˈʔəinɐ]	[ˈəinɐ]	[ˈʔɐinə]	[ˈainɐ]
	ʻauʻau[273]	[ˈəʊəʊ]	[ɐʊˈɐːʊ]	[ɑʊˈɑːʊ]	[ˈəʊəʊ]
	ʻaʻole[274]	[ʔɐˈʔɐlɛ]	[aˈʔoːlɛ]	[ɑːˈʔolɛ]	[ɐˈʔoli]
	ʻEleʻele	[ʔɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]	[ɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]	[ɛleˈɛle]	[ɛlɛˈʔɛlɛ]
	ʻEwa	[ˈɛvə]	[ˈɛvɐ]	[ˈɛvɐ]	[ˈɛvə]
	ʻIolani	[ioˈləni]	[ioˈləni]	[ioˈlɐni]	[ioˈlɐni]
	ʻōkole	[oˈkolɛ]	[oˈkoːlɛ]	[oˈkoːlɛ]	[oˈkolɛ]
	ʻŌmaʻo	[ʔoːˈmɐʔo]	[oˈmaːʔo]	[oˈmaʊ]	[oˈmɐːo]
	ʻono	[ˈʔono]	[ˈono]	[ˈono]	[ˈono]
	ʻōpala	[oˈpɐlɐ]	[oˈpɐːlə]	[oːˈpɑlə]	[oːˈpɐlɐ]
	ʻopihi	[oˈpʰihi]	[oˈpihi]	[oˈpiːhi]	[oˈpihi]
	ʻōpū[275]	[ˈʔoːpuː]	[ˈoːpu]	[ˈopuː]	[ˈoːpuː]
	ʻuku	[ˈʔuku]	[ˈukuː(z)]	[ˈuku]	[ˈʔuku]
	ʻukulele	[ˈʔukuˌlɛlɛ]	[ukuˈlɛːlɛ]	[ukuˈlɛlɛ]	[ʔukuˈlɛːli]
	ʻulu	[ˈulu]	[ˈulu]	[ˈuːlu]	[ˈuːlu]

[272] zori: Malu3; Kina3; Chris3; Fumiko3.
[273] ʻauʻau: Chris4.
[274] ʻaʻole: Fumiko3.
[275] ʻōpū: Chris4.