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QUEER PIDGIN:
UNSETTLING U.S. SETTLER COLONALISM IN HAWAI'I'S LANGUAGE POLITICS

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Kara Hisatake

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The Dissertation of Kara Hisatake
is approved:

_____
Professor Rob Wilson, chair

_____
Professor Christine Hong, chair

_____
Professor Stacy Kamehiro

_____
Professor Neel Ahuja

_____
Lori Kletzer
Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

Kara Hisatake

Queer Pidgin: Unsettling U.S. Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i’s Language Politics

My dissertation, “Queer Pidgin: Unsettling U.S. Settler Colonialism in Hawai‘i’s Language Politics,” assembles writings and performances in Pidgin, Hawai‘i’s creole language, and theorizes how this multiethnic body of cultural texts critically *unsettles* the representational and political norms of the United States as a settler colonial state. A language that developed from the multiethnic context of plantation labor, Pidgin emerged as the common language when the Native Hawaiian language was banned in 1896. Pidgin, I argue, not only bears the deterritorializing potential to challenge entrenched binaries between the settler and the native, but also admits a third term, the migrant laborer. Pidgin poses a counter to how identity and community have been formulated and sanctioned by the U.S. settler state. Indeed, in contrast to mainland multicultural ideology and uncritical celebrations of diversity, Pidgin, although associated with multiethnic speakers, has a “queer” relationship to “straight English” that calls for careful theorization. This is where my project intervenes. Albeit stigmatized as nonwhite and uncivilized, Pidgin’s imagined community, I argue, models a process of *inclusion from below* rather than *assimilation enforced from above.* Not a dialect, in this regard, but a creole, Pidgin is less a regionalized deviation from standard, mainland English than a synthesis of multiple languages whose “local” identity gestures toward the world and Native

sovereignty in potentially critical ways. Even as Pidgin arose out of the plantation economy of Hawai‘i, it speaks, I contend, to international flows of labor, to the intermingling of tongues, and most critically to the political imagination of common ground between Native Hawaiians and Asian migrant laborers that cannot be reduced to assimilation through U.S. citizenship but rather suggests an alternative model of community.

That Native Hawaiians "are not Americans," as scholar-activist Haunani-Kay Trask maintains, is an implicitly comparative claim in Hawai‘i where local Japanese Americans have prominently figured as leaders within a national Democratic Party establishment.[1] Some Asian American scholars like Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura note that Asians in Hawai‘i have taken part in and benefited from a settler colonial structure. Additionally, literature written by Asian Americans in Hawai‘i has been criticized as participating in colonial hierarchies at the expense of Native Hawaiian literature and culture. Yet, even as these important insights into U.S. settler colonialism reveal minoritized complicity in systems of power, they adhere to a binaristic model of "settler" and "native" that falters when it comes to analysis of Pidgin.

Written by Native Hawaiians and Asian Americans alike, Pidgin cultural production complicates the binarism of U.S. settler colonial paradigms. While usually conceived as a non-literary and oral language, Pidgin features regularly in literary and

[1] Trask's words are taken from her speech at the Centennial of the Overthrow in 1993 at ‘Iolani Palace. A transcript can be found in *Huihui: Navigating Art and Literature in the Pacific* (2015), edited by Jeffrey Carroll, Brandy Nālani McDougall, and Georganne Nordstrom.

cultural production both as a reflection of everyday life and, as I argue, as a critical intervention against the norms of U.S. imperialism. Pidgin literary works are not reducible to minority literature, which assumes assimilation and discounts U.S. settler colonialism and Hawaiian sovereignty. Unlike ethnic literatures, which fall under the national rubric of "American," Pidgin exposes the imperialism of the United States. In its conception, Pidgin literature *unsettles* the American literary canon by refusing incorporation into it. Instead, Pidgin literature develops an imagined alternative community that re-works Hawai'i's settler colonial status along queer lines. As my research demonstrates, Pidgin literature refuses easy incorporation into the American literary canon. Whereas Pidgin literatures of Hawai'i have often been disaggregated, in their critical reception, into multiple, largely non-intersecting tracks—namely, as an extension of U.S. literature, a regional subset of Asian American literature, a strand of Native Hawaiian literature, and a Hawai'i-specific contribution to Pacific literature—my project harks back to Pidgin's political function as a shared tongue. Inasmuch as Pidgin is a creole language, crossing ethnic and class boundaries in its polyglot origins, rather than a variety of English, Pidgin literary works also do not fall under the rubric of dialect and regional literature.

I assemble Pidgin cultural texts by Native Hawaiians writers like John Dominis Holt and Brandy Nālani McDougall; Asian Americans like R. Zamora Linmark; and mixed-race comedians like Rap Reiplinger. As my project demonstrates, these Pidgin cultural texts not only expose the interlocking nature of U.S. imperialism and settler colonialism, but also furnish a critical vision of

multiethnic community that, with its decolonizing ethos, counters mainland state-driven ideologies around multiculturalism.

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Introduction

Queer Pidgin, Straight English

Hawai‘i Creole English, also known colloquially as Pidgin, was officially recognized by the U.S. Census Bureau as a major language of the islands in 2015.[2] Although this news was celebrated and a surprising turn of events considering Pidgin's fraught history as a denigrated language, the Kanaka Maoli poet Joe Balaz responded to the act of making Pidgin official through a poem.[3] Tellingly in Pidgin, or what he calls "da local lingo"—Balaz describes the recognition of Pidgin as one of the major languages of Hawai‘i as

> so blatantly obvious
> it's just like Captain Cook
> stumbling upon da islands.
> Dat buggah nevah discover nutting
> cause da first Hawaiians wuz already dere. ("Officially Official" 13-14)

Balaz makes two key rhetorical moves in this poem. To Balaz, the recognition of Pidgin as an "official language" is similar to telling the sun that it is official so "it can go brighten up da day" (14). He points to the superfluous nature of the official

[2] I use "Pidgin" as a proper noun, referring to Hawai‘i Creole English, throughout this dissertation in order to differentiate it from "pidgin," or a trade lingo. "Pidgin" is its own language, a creole, although it is colloquially referred to as "Pidgin" in the islands, while "pidgin" is not a separate language but instead a shared vocabulary within the speaker's native grammatical structure. Many people may not differentiate between "pidgin" and "Pidgin," but I do so deliberately to mark Pidgin as both a language and a potential literary and cultural archive.

[3] I use the terms "Kanaka Maoli" and "Native Hawaiian" in this chapter to refer to any person descended from the Indigenous people inhabiting Hawai‘i before 1778, especially since the state of Hawai‘i distinguishes between "native Hawaiian" and "Native Hawaiian," which is based on a legal blood quantum. For more, see the work of J. Kēhaulani Kauanui and Maile Arivn. It has become common practice for scholars to use "Kānaka Maoli" for "Native Hawaiians" in recent years, as it translates into "true people" or "real people." "Kānaka Maoli" is the plural form of "Kanaka Maoli." "Kanaka ‘Ōiwi" has also been used, as it translates as "real bones," but is not in as much common usage and therefore I have chosen not to use the term.

recognition from a continental power. After all, as every local person knows, Pidgin "wuz put into practice / and wuz around for a long time already" (Balaz 13). Since the early twentieth century, Pidgin has functioned as a common language of the islands, shaped by the ban on the Hawaiian language in schools put into place a few years after the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani in 1893. Akin to the presumptuousness of European discovery doctrine to unveil the obvious from an Indigenous point of view, in Balaz's poem, the U.S. government recognition of Pidgin reinscribes the authority of the settler colonial state. Yet at the same time, Balaz points to the presence of "da first Hawaiians" who were "already dere," prior to Captain James Cook's "discovery" of them, not in Hawaiian, but in Pidgin. In eviscerating Cook's authority, *in Pidgin*, he affirms Native Hawaiian sovereignty and place in the islands. As he puts it, "We know wat is wat/and we know wat we know," and this knowledge inheres in "da language at home" (Balaz 14). That he delivers this affirmation in Pidgin suggests not only Native Hawaiian resistance to settler claims, but also, Pidgin's significance as a language of decolonization.

Hawai‘i's language politics illuminate the everyday practices of resistance to U.S. settler colonialism in Hawai‘i, highlighting an understudied terrain of struggle. After the overthrow of Queen Lili‘uokalani in 1893 by a group of American missionary sons turned businessmen who were backed by the U.S. Navy, in 1896 a ban was placed on ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i, the Hawaiian language, which could not be taught

in schools. Children caught speaking the language were often punished and shamed.[4] The growth of sugar as king as Hawai‘i became a U.S. Territory (1898-1959) meant that waves of immigrant labor were recruited for the plantations throughout the first half of the twentieth century, with a majority of migrants originating from China, Japan, Portugal, and the Philippines. It was on the plantations that a pidgin first arose; the children of these immigrants turned this trade tongue into the full-fledged language known as Hawai‘i Creole English, colloquially called “Pidgin.” Pidgin’s role as a nonwhite language was shaped both by conditions of labor and the method of segregation—English Standard Schools (1924-1948)—that kept the nonwhite, Pidgin-speaking plantation labor population separated from the children of the white middle class. Pidgin remained a strong language of for the everyday working class, in part, because during the Americanization of the Territory years pre-World War II, officials fought against the creation of Japanese language schools.[5] Pidgin, and its association with the large nonwhite demographics of the islands, were barriers to Hawai‘i’s inclusion in the United States. Even after statehood in 1959, Pidgin remained a “problem” language for the state of Hawai‘i. As part of a continuum of the “controversy” surrounding Pidgin as an appropriate language, for instance, in the 1980s, Pidgin became a “hot topic” issue, as the Department of Education debated banning its use in the classroom. Yet in literary and cultural production, especially

[4] It was not until 1978 that the Hawaiian language was reinstated as an official language of the islands. It is now being taught regularly, from the influence of the Hawaiian Renaissance of the 1970s, with immersion schools and language classes at the high school and college level.
[5] Japanese language schools were seen as dividing Japanese American loyalty and teaching un-American values. For more, see Noriko Asato’s *Teaching Mikadoism* (2006).

since the 1970s' rise of the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, Pidgin remains an everyday language, not English, despite numerous efforts to "Americanize" Hawai'i. Thus, attention to Pidgin offers decolonizing potential.

My dissertation investigates the importance of Pidgin in debates on Kānaka Maoli self-determination, resistance to the myriad forms of settler colonialism including tourism, and the bridging of Asian American and Pacific Islander solidarity. This project connects Pidgin cultural texts to a multiethnic politics in Hawai'i that has rejected the imposition of English and remains grounded in Kānaka Maoli expression. The dissertation traces the emergence of Pidgin cultural production from Hawaiian, Filipino, and mixed-race writers and performers following statehood and the 1970s' revival of Hawaiian culture. Most importantly, it argues that Pidgin becomes a discourse of resistance to settler colonialism strategically deployed by and for Kānaka Maoli and local Asian Americans—and in this regard can be understood as a queer counter-language. Even as Asian Americans are entrenched in local governance structures—and in this regard merit critical analysis for their complicity with settler colonial structures—Pidgin, as I argue, bears the deterritorializing potential to challenge entrenched binaries between the settler and the native, while provisionally admitting a third group: the migrant laborer. In other words, Pidgin does the work of unsettling the assumed normative relationships to land, people, and institutions within settler colonialism. It thus poses a solidaristic counter to how identity and community have been formulated and sanctioned by the U.S. settler state. Returning to Pidgin's critical political function as a shared tongue, I analyze Pidgin cultural texts that are

rarely studied in tandem, which expose the interlocking nature of U.S. imperialism and settler colonialism and furnish a critical vision of multiethnic community that, with its decolonizing ethos, counters mainland state-driven ideologies around multiculturalism.

Overview and Theoretical Engagement

Hawai‘i is a geopolitical site of overlapping and intertwined forms of imperialism: militaristic and settler colonial. Much like other militarized sites such as Okinawa, the Philippines, and Guåhan, Hawai‘i serves as another link in a chain of U.S. bases, part of the ongoing securitization of the nation against threats from Asia. As Dean Saranillio argues, the United States has utilized "multiple tactics" (*Unsustainable* 9) to occupy Hawai‘i, including militarism in the Asia Pacific and tourism in the so-called "tropics" that reinforce each other, creating an economy dependent on the wealth from tourists and the military.[6] At the same time that Hawai‘i is the headquarters for U.S. Pacific Command, the world's largest naval command, it is also a target—in 2017 the state government prepared for a potential missile launch from North Korea with air-raid sirens, the same sirens that were used for Cold War nuclear attack warnings over 30 years ago. Sections of land have been claimed for military use, including valleys and the entire island of Kaho‘olawe, which points to Edward Said's land-based contention in *Culture and Imperialism*, that "[t]o think about distant places, to colonize them, and to populate or depopulate them: all

[6] See Teresia Teaiwa's "Reading Paul Gauguin's *Noa Noa* with Epeli Hau‘ofa's *Kisses in the Nederends*: Militourism, Feminism, and the 'Polynesian' Body" (1999) and Vernadette Gonzalez's *Securing Paradise* (2013).

of this occurs on, about, or because of land. The actual geographical possession of land is what empire in the final analysis is all about" (78).[7]

This territoriality is, of course, also at the heart of settler colonialism. Scholars in Native studies and settler colonial studies have laid the groundwork for understanding settler colonialism in Hawai'i. As Native Hawaiian scholar-activist Haunani-Kay Trask states, Hawai'i is a "settler society . . . in which the indigenous culture and people have been murdered, suppressed, or marginalized for the benefit of settlers who now dominate" (*From a Native Daughter* 25). Much recent scholarship has been done to illustrate settler colonialism in Hawai'i and North America, drawing on Patrick Wolfe's theory that settler colonialism is premised on the elimination of Indigenous Peoples; as is often quoted from Wolfe, settler colonialism is a structure, not an event, one that "destroys to replace" in order to properly claim territory (Wolfe 387), which includes the elimination of the Native *as Native*, so that settlers can claim to be, for example, "Hawaiian at heart."[8] Settler colonialism undermines Indigenous claims to land, not only through dispossession, poverty, and death, but also through containment and assimilation.[9] Settler colonialism in Hawai'i, as one of the enduring forms of imperialism in the archipelago, seeks to "rid the land of collective Native presence and permanence in order to make way for and legitimize settler societies"

[7] Due to grassroots protests, the U.S. military has stopped using Kaho'olawe as target practice, but despite promises for and efforts by the military to carry out a cleanup, it still has unexploded ordinances and remains an unsafe site.
[8] See Lisa Kahaleole Hall's "'Hawaiian at Heart' and Other Fictions" (2005).
[9] See Patrick Wolfe's "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" (2006). See Patrick Wolfe's *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (1998), Lorenzo Veracini's *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (2010), and Iyko Day's *Alien Capital* (2016) for a theoretical overview of settler colonialism.

(Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 23), and requires "constant effort . . . to secure control of land" (23), including a prolonged military occupation that enables ongoing settlement. For example, threatened by the nationalism of the Hawaiian people, the plantation oligarchy forced King Kalākaua to sign the 1887 Constitution at gunpoint, hence why it is known as the "Bayonet Constitution." As the oligarchy favored U.S. interests, the new Constitution meant securing rights for white American plantation elites and disenfranchising Hawaiians and Asian migrant laborers. Following policies extended territorial rights to the U.S. military. The military remains central to settler colonialism as the second largest industry in the islands, behind tourism. As Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua says in metaphorically rephrasing Patrick Wolfe, "[i]nvasion is a structure that like the sugar ditches continues to siphon wealth from Indigenous people and lands to enrich and enable settler society. The lāhui Hawaiʻi (the Hawaiian people/nation) has been forcefully parched by such structures" (23). In this context, immigrant as well as visiting Asians have been figured as settlers because of the large number of Asian tourists, Asian economic interests, and Asian American political dominance in Hawaiʻi.[10]

While the binary between settler/Native can be useful, especially in activist spaces like the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, there is a more complex picture of Asians in Hawaiʻi needed than simply a history of migration and settlement.[11] In this

[10] See Haunani-Kay Trask's *From a Native Daughter* (1999), *Asian Settler Colonialism* (2008), edited by Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura and especially Trask's essay in this collection, "Settlers of Color," and Dean Saranillio's *Unsustainable Empire: Alternative Hsitories of Hawai'i Statehood* (2018) for more on Asians as settlers in Hawaiʻi.

[11] Another example would be *Rice v. Cayetano*, in which it was ruled that non-Hawaiians could vote for positions in the Office of Hawaiian Affairs because to do so would be racially discriminatory.

dissertation, I argue that the language politics of Pidgin, Hawai‘i’s creole language, in Hawai‘i literary and cultural production by Native Hawaiian and local Asians gives a fuller picture of the effects of settler colonialism and the everyday resistance to such logics of elimination and exclusion. Pidgin arose from the colonial conditions of the sugar plantation; in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, after the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy, laborers mostly originating from China, Japan, Okinawa, Portugal, Korea, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico worked for white missionary-descendant plantation elite.[12] By the mid-twentieth century, Pidgin became the common language of the islands precisely because Hawaiian language was outlawed and because in the years leading up to World War II, Japanese language schools were suppressed in favor of the Americanizing of the islands’ large Japanese population.[13] In addition, English Standard Schools left a lasting legacy that tied together race, class, and language, as it functioned as a de facto method of segregation, separating the nonwhite children from the mostly white Honolulu elite, and reinforced the plantation social structure.[14] White parents expressed concern that

[12] Sociolinguists note that before the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, the Hawaiian language was in fact the main language of communication and that contrary to popular belief, there was a Hawaiian pidgin in use on the plantation before English came into common usage and a main lexifier for the creole. See Kent Sakoda and Jeff Siegel’s *Pidgin Grammar* (2003), Derek Bickerton’s “Language and Language Contact” (1998), and Julian Roberts’ “Pidgin Hawaiian: A Sociohistorical Study” (1995).

[13] See Eileen Tamura’s *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity: The Nisei Generation in Hawaii* (1994) and Gary Okihiro’s *Cane Fires: The Anti-Japanese Movement in Hawaii, 1865-1945* (1991) for more on Americanization policies and efforts to stamp out Japanese language schools. A little over half of Hawai‘i’s population is believed to speak Pidgin (Sakoda and Siegel 1). Many people can speak both Pidgin and Hawai‘i English, or a local variety of English, and often code-switch. In this dissertation, I identify most of my texts as linguistically Pidgin, although there are texts in which Pidgin and Hawai‘i English are mixed, or characters speak across a continuum between the two. See Katie Drager’s “Pidgin and Hawai‘i English: An Overview” (2012).

[14] See Morris Young’s “Standard English and Student Bodies: Institutionalizing Race and Literacy in Hawai‘i” (2002).

their children would be placed "among swarms of Orientals" where "Hawaii Creole English was the spoken language" (qtd. in Asato 23). As a common tongue that emerged from both the rise of plantations and the banning of the Hawaiian language, Pidgin developed as a result of multiethnic waves of labor migration and linguistic borrowing that made it similar to but distinct from the Hawaiian language. Often regarded as "broken English," Pidgin constantly clashed with Standard English. Decades after the early twentieth-century, racially segregated English Standard Schools were abolished and Hawai'i statehood was attained, in the 1980s, the Department of Education again debated banning the use of Pidgin in Hawai'i's classrooms.[15] Former governor Ben Cayetano even called speaking Pidgin a "disservice" (qtd. in G. Furukawa 42) and listed removing Pidgin from schools as a goal of his administration during the 1990s. In keeping with many American assimilationist policies, the English Standard Schools had left a long legacy that marked Pidgin as racialized, improper, and unfit for success in education and professional life—indeed established it as a sign of linguistic, mental, and social incompetency.

Yet even though Pidgin was created from the conditions of settler and militaristic control, it operated in ways that could not be controlled from above. Pidgin has functioned as a voice from below. In contrast to mainland multicultural ideology and uncritical celebrations of racial diversity, Pidgin, although associated

[15] The 1980s, too, was when speaking Pidgin literally could cost someone their job, as seen in a Supreme Court case in 1987. Two local weathermen were denied promotions because of a perceived Pidgin accent.

with multiethnic speakers, has a "queer" relationship to "straight English" that, in the context of Hawai'i as a site of converging forms of colonial and imperial rule, calls for careful theorization. I take "queer Pidgin" from a participant in a sociolinguistic study, who states, "in a business setting I have to speak straight English. I was taught very early on to speak straight English" because for them, "[p]eople look down at people who speak Pidgin" (Giles and Marlow 60). If English is "straight," then implicitly, Pidgin is queer. While commonplace uses of "queer" refer to nonnormative sexualities, in this dissertation, I use the term to point to a decolonizing language politics, one responsive to the shared marginal relationship to dominant power when considering the overlapping legacies of Asian immigration policies and Native Hawaiian blood quantum restrictions. Queer, as Cathy Cohen has cogently argued, is more than mapping a "simple dichotomy between those deemed queer and those deemed heterosexual" (440); such a mapping fails to recognize that "'nonnormative' procreation patterns and family structures of people who are labeled heterosexual have also been used to regulate and exclude *them*" (447). Cohen points to how "straight" people of color have also been characterized as sexually aberrant, which increases state surveillance, management, and access to resources.[16] Adding to Cohen's analysis, Mark Rifkin points out that communities of color are held up

[16] As Cohen demonstrates, "the roots of heteronormativity are in white supremacist ideologies" and especially "the institution of heterosexual marriage" (453), and even the presumably heterosexual are, because of their marginal place in society, "have found themselves defined as outside the norms and values of dominant society . . . result[ing] in the suppression or negation of their legal, social, and physical relationships and rights" (454).Cohen, as an example, refers specifically to state-sanctioned white heterosexual domination of chattel slavery that "forced these presumably black *heterosexual* men and women to endure a history of rape, lynching, and forms of physical and mental terrorism" (454).

against a forced comparison to white conjugal homemaking, which signals their failure to meet the "standard of bourgeois normality" (34) and produces racial difference.[17] Homemaking, family formation, and reproduction becomes a much wider lens by which to understand the designation of "nonnormative" as a racial and sexual hierarchy, than simply understanding queer politics as a matter of heterosexual or queer desire.[18] Rifkin foregrounds "the ways interwoven ideologies of household and family formation, privacy and private property, marital eroticism and intimacy produce a racializing 'taxonomy of perversions'" (34) in his study on Indigenous North American kinship. Rifkin argues that the concept of race "reinforces the 'artificial unity' produced through discourses of sexuality while enabling social formations at odds with the state-sanctioned political economy of privatization to be characterized as (perverse) tendencies in the blood rather than as alternative modes of collectivity, decision making, and resource distribution to those of liberalism" (36). In short, Indigenous forms of kinship and political organization are seen as racially "other" or "queer," against the normativity of settler family- and nation-making.

David Eng and Lisa Lowe also make this point from Asian American studies. Building on Lowe's critique of racial and gendered citizenship, in which she discusses how Chinese male immigrant laborers were barred from normative masculinity because they were not white and could not access citizenship, Eng emphasizes that discourses on racial, gendered, and sexual constructs "describe and

[17] For more on the intersection of whiteness as straight and normal, see Julian Carter's *The Heart of Whiteness* (2007).
[18] See also Alexander Doty's *Making Things Perfectly Queer* (1993) for an analysis of the queerness of and in so-called straight cultures that he argues are actually queer all along.

encompass a far larger Asian American constituency whose historically disavowed status as full members of the U.S. nation-state renders them queer as such" (18).[19] In other words, "queer" has everything to do with the formation of who is deemed "native" (or a white settler) to the nation, including categories of race, gender, sexuality, and citizenship. Iyko Day's understanding of settler colonialism confirms the "alien" status of Asians in relation to Indigenous populations, African Americans, and the white settler, as she argues that Asian racialization, in the form of immigration exclusion, is "an expression of settler power" (33). Native feminist scholars Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill further this point in their discussion of settler colonialism and patriarchy, arguing that "[e]xtracting value from the land also often requires systems of slavery and other forms of labor exploitation" (12). While the logic of elimination increases white property through the decimation of Indigenous populations, the logic of exclusion in settler colonialism requires a disposable and vulnerable labor force that is denied access to the privileges of citizenship and the nation (Day 33).[20]

Queer, as I use it here, "offers the potential for radical social critique" (Hunt and Holmes 156) because it is a deconstructive practice that unsettles taken-for-granted assumptions about power relations. As Michael Warner claims, queer is about unmasking the normalization of "the organization of social and public life" (*Publics* 221), and the "atomizing conditions of market-mediated life" (221). In addition, he

[19] For more details, see Lisa Lowe's *Immigrant Acts* (1996).
[20] See Day's first chapter, "Sex, Time, and the Transcontinental Railroad" in *Alien Capital* (2016) for an example of how Asian racialization manifests as queer vitality.

adds, "[f]or both academics and activists, 'queer' gets a critical edge by defining itself against the normal rather than the heterosexual, and normal includes normal business in the academy" (*Fear* 44). Pidgin is therefore "queer," in that it challenges the presumed naturalness of "straight English" in Hawai'i, including business as usual: labor systems that depend on disenfranchised Hawaiians and migrants, land as a commodity, and Hawai'i's statehood status.[21] Queer Pidgin offers ways of showing how "heteronormativity, including its racializing procedures, is a key part of the grammar of the settler state" (Rifkin 37). Although, as Stephanie Nohelani Teves notes, "queer" is not a commonplace term in Hawai'i, I borrow from her discussion of queer Hawaiian performance to use "queer" in marking how Pidgin "engages in antinormativity" (87), and to question expectations and ways of being perceived as "natural." Significantly, Pidgin is culturally and linguistically tied to 'ōlelo Hawai'i, the Hawaiian language, since Pidgin has many words loanwords from Hawaiian.[22] Pidgin, in certain situations, can perform "the queer temporality of Native modernity, wherein tradition is precisely not primordial but an articulation of memory and survival with life in a settler colonial situation" (Morgensen 26). In contrast to the easy crossover between Pidgin and the Hawaiian language, in which many words retain the same or similar meanings, although the many words in Pidgin are derived

[21] See Andrea Smith's "Queer Theory and Native Studies: The Heterosexuality of Settler Colonialism" (2010) for more on how queer theory can challenge the presumed heteronormativity of national belonging.

[22] Some examples include ehu (reddish-brown hair), pau hana (done work), hele (go, come), manini (small), and uku (many; louse). Aside from Hawaiian and English, Pidgin includes many words from Portuguese, Cantonese, Tagalog, and Japanese. See Sakoda and Siegel's *Pidgin Grammar* (2003) on vocabulary and load words (9-14).

from English, a large number of words have changed in meaning or have additional meanings to the usual English one, such as "cockroach," meaning to steal, or "broke da mouth," which conveys the bombastic deliciousness of a dish.

In this way, Pidgin is often performed in novels, poetry, and comedy as a queer, counter-colonial tactic that is mobile—operating on the fly, so to speak—and intervenes to unsettle the business-as-usual normativity of U.S. settler colonialism.[23] Pidgin, as an everyday language practice of the family and home, does not always operate in an explicitly oppositional or intentionally legible manner, but embedded in its practice are latent, counter-colonial critiques that may give rise to anticolonial consciousness.[24] Pidgin carries these possibilities precisely because, as Susan Najita powerfully states, Pidgin has come to be "simultaneously the language of the plantation, the site for preserving the Hawaiian language, and the site of critical anticolonial consciousness" ("Pleasure" 133). With Pidgin as its focal point, this dissertation creates a Pidgin archive that operates as an alternative to the body of literature that is known as Hawai'i's "local literature."

Definitions of "Local"

In Hawai'i cultural politics, "local" can simultaneously occlude indigeneity, imply multicultural unity, and assert a rejection of "mainland" hegemony. Extending an analysis of settler colonialism to nonwhites in Hawai'i, Trask asserts that

[23] See Michel De Certeau's *The Practices of Everyday Life* (1984) for more on tactics as an art of the weak, and Adria Imada's *Aloha America* (2012), as she draws on Certeau to theorize counter-colonial tactics of Hawaiian women on the hula circuit.
[24] For more on counter-colonial rather than anticolonial, see Vicente Diaz's *Repositioning the Missionary* (2010).

"immigrant" is a "celebrated American gloss for 'settler'" ("Settlers" 46), and that Asians who call themselves "local" in Hawai'i participate in settler colonialism, complicit in and benefitting from Hawaiian dispossession. As Trask describes, the colonization of Hawai'i is "a twice-told tale," the first being "discovery" and settlement by EuroAmerican businessmen and missionaries, and the second being "the plantation Japanese, Chinese, and eventually Filipino rise to dominance in the islands" (47) with the mostly Japanese American Democratic take-over in the 1950s, usually referred to as the "Democratic Revolution." Saranillio points out that this was a "passive revolution" (*Unsustainable* 114), more about the accommodation of Japanese and Chinese Americans into the existing economic oligarchy, and was possible because of the sacrifices of Nisei soldiers during World War II, their education into a professional class via the GI Bill, and the economic vacuum as many white businessmen left Hawai'i when it was put under martial law after the attack on Pearl Harbor. Yet this Japanese American Democratic Revolution meant that Hawaiians "remain a politically subordinated group suffering all the legacies of conquest: landlessness, disastrous health, diaspora, institutionalization in the military and prisons, poor educational attainment, confinement to the service sector of employment" (Trask 47). Candice Fujikane terms Asian and Asian American participation in settler structures of power "Asian settler colonialism." All Asians, Fujikane claims, are settlers, even those without political power, echoing Trask's argument that "[o]nly Hawaiians are Native to Hawai'i. Everyone else is a settler" ("Settlers" 50).

Trask and Fujikane critique "local" as a way to mask settler complicity behind a multiethnic identity that tends to deny culpability for undermining Native Hawaiian land and cultural rights. Yet the historical basis for "local" has helped to produce strategic alliances between Native Hawaiian and Asian Americans in Hawai'i, usually against white, continental cultural norms, including grassroots resistance to development and militarism, community organization against the criminalization of the nonwhite peoples in Hawai'i, and the formation of interracial labor unions.[25] Local, as Stephanie Nohelani Teves and Maile Arvin emphasize, "overlaps with Kanaka Maoli culture in precarious ways. This was and continues to be a way for 'local' Asian settlers and Kānaka Maoli to separate themselves from whiteness" (116). In part due to the large influx of military servicemen, tourists, and other outsiders to Hawai'i, "local" has become a way to define the behavior, attitudes, and culture of the nonwhite majority in the islands that speaks to the legacy of land dispossession and ownership in the plantation and tourist economy.[26] Jonathan Okamura and John Rosa demonstrate that in the 1920s and 1930s, local culture—made up of Native Hawaiians and the many immigrant groups who worked on the plantations—emerged in opposition to the white planter elite.[27] "Local," as a term that

[25] On this last point, see Moon-Kie Jung's *Reworking Race* (2005). One example of the relationship between labor, labor unions, and Pidgin from Jung is an International Longshoreman's and Warehouseman's Union leaflet from the postwar labor organizing of the late 1940s, which highlighted the strikers' interracial, non-haole identity in their fight for racial equality, asking "How cum no more haole kine kanes [men] stevedore job work? [. . .] Wassamatta, maybe haoles think us kine color hanahana [working] man not so good like haoles?" (qtd. in Jung 178).
[26] New Immigrant groups are often not considered part of the "local" community. See Jonathan Okamura's "Aloha Kanaka Me Ke Aloha 'Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawaii" (1980).
[27] See Jonathan Okamura's "Aloha Kanaka Me Ke Aloha 'Aina: Local Culture and Society in Hawaii" (1980) and John Rosa's *Local Story: The Massie-Kahahawai Case and the Culture of History* (2014).

had accrued the meaning of a community politics, was deployed in the 1931 Massie trial, in which a white woman, the wife of a naval lieutenant stationed at Pearl Harbor, accused five Hawai‘i-born working-class youths of rape. While details about Thalia Massie's assault remain unclear, the accusation mapped onto racial stereotypes of the time, in which men of color were regularly cast as perpetrators of rape, and white vigilantism counted as "justice" and the protection of white womanhood. "Local" became the way to describe this group of Hawaiian, Japanese, and Chinese young men—Joseph Kahahawai, Benedict Ahakuelo, Horace Ida, David Takai, and Henry Chang—and unite them and their communities against threats of vigilante violence, as the Massie case became news across the U.S. continent.[28] Tellingly, this definition of "local" was formed during a period of military build-up in the islands, a historical moment in which Hawaiians and Asians were racialized as threats to continental, white military wives. "Local" has continued to exercise a community-oriented politics, especially from the 1970s and on, when local communities engaged in grassroots advocacy over land and housing issues.

"Local literature," later became a way for writers to "describe themselves" (Lum 3), as distinct from "Asian American literature" or "Hawaiian literature." Asian American literature is "a mainland term" (3), says Darrell Lum, one of the foremost supporters of local literature, author, and a founder of Bamboo Ridge Press.

[28] Ida was beaten, threatened, and managed to escape his attackers, but Kahahawai was killed by Thalia Massie's husband, mother, and two other navy men. Massie and the others were convicted but through pressures by U.S. Congress and Navy, the Territorial governor commuted their sentences and they ended up only serving one hour before they were freed. For a detailed history, see David Stannard's *Honor Killing: How the Infamous "Massie Affair" Transformed Hawaii* (2005).

Moreover, Asian American literature and Asian American studies can, at times, be inadequate in addressing the specific history of Hawai‘i as a sovereign nation and the dominance of Asians in Hawai‘i, especially in contrast to the experience of Asian Americans on the continent.[29] "Hawaiian literature" is specific to Native Hawaiian literature and does not encompass the texts of non-Hawaiians. Local literature therefore became a way to unite these two significant bodies of literary production in the islands, "seek[ing] to assert its distinctive language and place-bound commitments against the sway of technologies of representation and the ideology of the unified nation-state" (Wilson 115), alongside the ethnic studies and Hawaiian revitalization movements in the 1970s. As Pam Kido claims, local writers "produce home" through the "sugar plantation experience and hard-scrabble existence many of their laboring ancestors once endured; interethnic cooperation and give-and-take across the colorlines; a 'no worry, bumbye' (later-on is okay) demeanor; informality in one's social interactions; and an insatiable appetite for the culinary delights found only in the islands" (145-46). In addition, local writers "write back" to white literary giants such as James Michener, Jack London, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Mark Twain, who have all famously depicted Hawai‘i in their work. Local literature, however, much like the term "local" itself, has been criticized for its absenting of Native Hawaiians in favor of Asian American writing that celebrates a nostalgia for plantation life.[30]

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[29] See, for example, Kandice Chuh's *Imagine Otherwise* (2003).

[30] See ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui's "'This Land Is Your Land, This Land Was My Land'" (2008). Many of the critiques of local literature are about Bamboo Ridge Press, founded by Eric Chock and Darrell Lum. For more, see Rob Wilson's *Reimagining the American Pacific* (2000), Rodney

Between Trask's homogenizing claim and the historicizing of the term, there are two strands of the "local": one is an immigrant story of settler inclusion into liberal multiculturalism, and the other is a narrative of anticolonial resistance. Local literature and literary critique are often caught between these two understandings. As Rodney Morales notes, local literature is

> caught between two contending narratives—one that still celebrate[s] local culture and put on the face of Aloha, claiming to embody its spirit as it promote[s] the *Hawai'i as multicultural paradise* framework, and the other, which recast the non-Hawaiian 'local' community as 'settlers,' a strategy to pull the land from under these usurpers, and re-label the notion of a local culture as illusory and/or short-lived. (137)

Thus, "local" has been important in its strategic alliances and the work it does in uniting Hawai'i's imagined community against larger forces from the outside; such a term cannot be swept away by turning "local" into "settler," although Trask's point is well-taken. Pidgin, as a shared language of the working class, is often listed as a distinctive feature of local literature—Stephen Sumida calls it a "hallmark of authenticity" (312) in Hawai'i literature. While the slide from "local" to "settler" cannot be ignored, I argue that constructing an archive of Pidgin literature offers a method of activating "local" as strategic alliance over "settler." Paying attention to Pidgin, as an intersection of Native Hawaiian and local Asian language politics, also means remaining vigilant about the overlaps and separations in Asian American

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Morales's "Literature" (1998), and Dennis Kawaharada's *Local Geography* (2004). These critiques are similar to and relevant to the critique of how Asian American studies and the rubric of "Asian American/Pacific Islander" can subsume Pacific Islanders. See J. Kēhaulani Kauanui's "Asian American Studies and the 'Pacific Question'" (2005), Vicente Diaz's "To 'P' or Not to 'P'?" (2004), and Teresia Teaiwa's "For or *Before* an Asia Pacific Studies Agenda" (2010).

studies and Pacific studies. The Pidgin cultural archive I examine in this dissertation not only performs a refusal to adhere to the linguistic tenets of standard English, but also gives expression to intimacies and forms of expression censured by settler norms. Pidgin captures the counter-colonial, resistant potential of local politics, I argue, in ways that often undercut the multicultural American success story of migration and settlement, especially for Asians. "The interconnectedness of language and resistance cannot be overstated," Jeff Chang notes, for Pidgin "became a sign of class, of skin color, of oppression and, ultimately, of a hybrid solidarity" (13). Pidgin, therefore, is less a marker of local settler supremacy, but more of a language that, in the texts studied in this dissertation, enacts the Native Hawaiian and local Asian working class solidarities of earlier moments in Hawai'i's history. As a language of an imagined community, therefore, Pidgin operates in both Hawaiian literature and literature written by Hawai'i-born Asians to negotiate what solidarity might mean.

The unsettling of settler colonialism also points to the work that Pidgin does to "queer," or to disconcert, perturb, or put out of order.[31] Pidgin has the potential to unsettle the naturalization of settler colonialism. I argue that Pidgin is a queer counter-language to settler claims on Hawai'i, which plays out in discussions surrounding intimacy with the land, expansive forms of kinship, and histories of labor that hark back to the plantation. Although stigmatized as nonwhite and uncivilized, Pidgin's imagined community models a process of inclusion from below rather than assimilation enforced from above. Not a dialect, in this regard, but a still widely used

[31] See the Oxford English Dictionary under the transitive verb "queer" for full definitions.

creole, Pidgin is less a regionalized deviation from standard, continental English than a synthesis of multiple languages whose "local" identity gestures toward Native sovereignty in potentially critical ways. Even as Pidgin arose out of the plantation economy of Hawai'i, it speaks to international flows of labor, to the intermingling of tongues, and most critically to the political imagination of common ground between Native Hawaiians and Asian migrant laborers. More broadly, Pidgin literature as colonial resistance speaks to both language as a site of political struggle as well as the use of creoles as asserting Indigenous identity and resisting canonical literatures.[32]

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 1
"Being Hawaiian" in Pidgin: Aloha 'Āina in the Mo'olelo of John Dominis Holt and Brandy Nālani McDougall

This chapter grounds the dissertation in Native Hawaiian writing by turning to "hapa" authors that make recourse to Pidgin as a way of challenging land claims that reinforce U.S. settler hegemony in Hawai'i. The chapter imaginatively reclaims the philosophy of aloha 'āina, an ethics based on Indigenous love of the land and a practice of Native Hawaiian survival which challenges capitalist notions of land and patriarchal understandings of "family." It discusses how the novel *Waimea Summer* (1976) by John Dominis Holt, a prominent Hawaiian leader, and *The Salt-Wind: Ka Makani Pa'akai* (2008), poetry by contemporary writer and scholar Brandy Nālani McDougall, position Pidgin as a way of depicting Hawaiian colonial displacement

[32] I refer to "the language issue" debated in postcolonial studies and epitomized by Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o and Kamau Braithwaite, where there are two main responses to imperial language: rejection or subversion. For more see the section on language in *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* (1995).

and resistance to settler violence. These writings, I posit, are mo‘olelo, or histories *and* stories of Hawaiian survivance.

Chapter 2
Hawaiian Hospitality and Hostility: Camp in Rap Reiplinger’s Pidgin Comedy

This chapter turns to the Pidgin comedy of Rap Reiplinger, a little-analyzed but central figure in local comedy in the 1970s and 1980s, to retrieve his critique of Hawai‘i’s neocolonial dependence. Pitched in Pidgin to local audiences and playing to their linguistic sensibilities, Reiplinger’s comedy, by mocking mainland haoles and their stereotypical images of Hawai‘i, subverts settler colonial expectations of island hospitality. This chapter demonstrates how the popular genre of comedic performance serves as a weighty arena of decolonizing critique. The latent hostility in Reiplinger’s comedy suggests a darker underside to the selling of Hawaiian culture. Here, I argue that, by overturning tourist expectations of service and hospitality, Reiplinger’s comedy exposes the neocolonial commodification of Hawai‘i’s culture.

Chapter 3
Pidgin Pedagogy: Disciplining Colonialism in R. Zamora Linmark’s *Rolling the R’s*

The third chapter examines a work that is often read as a queer classic of the Asian American literary canon, R. Zamora Linmark’s novel *Rolling the R’s* (1995), which is told from the adolescent perspectives of multiethnic first and second-generation immigrants to Hawai‘i. In contrast to most interpretations of *Rolling the R’s*, I locate the novel’s queerness in its inventive deployment of Pidgin. Just as Linmark’s adolescents cannot be contained by institutional norms of what they should be learning, wearing, or speaking, so too is his novel’s form unrestrained by genre,

with his chapters taking the forms of Pidginized book reports, screenplays, and prayer. The queerness of Linmark's novel, I argue, inheres in its Pidgin-ized narrative form. Taken together, these chapters both build a Pidgin literary archive from novels, poetry, and comedy, and propose "queer Pidgin" as a counter-colonial tactic to unsettle U.S. settler colonialism.

A note on language use: Hawaiian and Pidgin are not foreign languages in Hawai‘i and these languages are part of everyday life in the islands. Therefore, I do not italicize these words.

Chapter 1

"Being Hawaiian" in Pidgin: Aloha ʻĀina in the Moʻolelo of John Dominis Holt and Brandy Nālani McDougall

Measuring Hawaiian Blood

In her Pidgin poetry collection, *4-evaz, Anna* (1997), Kathy Dee Kaleokealoha Kaloloahilani Banggo hints at the dangers of categorizations when she compares laws regarding "pure-blooded" Kānaka Maoli, or Native Hawaiians, to Hitler's white supremacist ideology. Banggo, who is Hawaiian and Filipino, writes, "sick ah, dey meazuring your blood? how much you get? how much you no mo? how pu-wah? [. . .] wuz Hitla, ah, wen meazah [measure]?" (1). She does not allow her readers easy comfort in the comparison between the Hawaiian Homes Commission Act (HHCA) of 1921 and the way Hitler, too, constructs purity through the quantification of blood. In HHCA, "proof" of 50 percent Hawaiian heritage means potential access to land and resources set aside by the state of Hawaiʻi to preserve Hawaiian people and culture; an attempt, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui describes, to "rehabilitate" (2) Hawaiians suffering from high mortality rates in the early twentieth century. Intended as revitalization of a particular segment of the population, HHCA also created a group of people who no longer qualified for land and a designation of who is considered "native Hawaiian" under state law.[33] As a settler colonial process of disappearing Native people from the land, blood quantum, Scott Morgensen claims, "enact

[33] See Stephanie Nohelani Teves's *Defiant Indigeneity: The Politics of Hawaiian Performance* (2018) for more on blood quantum and alternative performances that reaffirm Hawaiian identity through Hawaiian homestead land (63-4).

narratives of 'dilution'" (16), which then anticipates an assimilation to whiteness.[34] In her poetry, Banggo criticizes state policies of measuring blood, pointing to the eerie similarities in the racial politics of the state to the Third Reich. Banggo's challenge to this blood quantum rule criticizes the idea of blood purity in both content and form, as she compares blood quantum to Hitler in the voice of mixture: Hawai'i's creole language, Pidgin.

The two major texts of this chapter, John Dominis Holt's novel *Waimea Summer* (1976) and Brandy Nālani McDougall's poetry collection *The Salt-Wind: Ka Makani Pa'akai* (2008), like Banggo's poetry, use Pidgin in their work as a form of resistance to U.S. settler colonial categorizations of Kānaka Maoli ties to land.[35] The banning of Hawaiian language or 'ōlelo Hawai'i for English-only instruction in 1896 was a way of not only stifling culture, but sovereignty, as the Kingdom of Hawai'i was overthrown in 1893 by a group of mostly American businessmen, sons of missionaries, and the backing of the U.S. Navy. As Hawaiian language scholar No'eau Warner notes about this time period, "children educated after 1900 were basically the last generation to speak Hawaiian as a native language" (71), although this does not count the mostly-Hawaiian island of Ni'ihau and Hawaiian immersion in the contemporary moment. Hawaiian language continued to be legally constrained until the revitalization of the language in the 1970s and its recognition as an official

[34] Morgensen draws on Patrick Wolfe's foundational iteration of settler colonialism. See Patrick Wolfe's "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" (2006).
[35] I use the terms "Kānaka Maoli" and "Native Hawaiian" in this chapter to refer to anyone of Hawaiian ancestry, as Maile Arvin explains in "Still in the Blood" (2015). It has become common practice for scholars to use "Kānaka Maoli" for "Native Hawaiians."

language of the state of Hawai‘i in 1986. At the same time that speaking ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i became a criminal offense, during the early part of the twentieth century, waves of imported labor to Hawai‘i to work on sugar plantations meant a huge shift in terms of racial demographics and linguistic diversity. Chinese, Japanese, Okinawan, Portuguese, Korean, Filipino, and Puerto Rican laborers worked for mostly white planter elite. A new creole language was created from the colonial conditions of the plantations when the children of these laborers began to speak this creole as their native tongue, with its own grammatical structure and syntax. Despite efforts to "Americanize" the population of Hawai‘i with the English language and American patriotism, especially the large number of Japanese in the years leading up to World War II, Pidgin, or what linguists call Hawai‘i Creole English, became the lingua franca of the islands.[36] That many Kānaka Maoli and Hawai‘i-born Asian writers continue to produce novels, poetry, short stories, and drama in Pidgin attest to its continued connection to the nonwhite working class, particularly against encroaching outsiders, such as military servicemen and tourists, who annually bombard the islands in the millions.

What often goes unacknowledged is that the formation of Pidgin has its origins in the Hawaiian language, and that this connection to ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i continues into the present. Although many people believe Pidgin to be a form of "broken English," and English indeed serves as a lexifier language for Pidgin, many features

[36] Sakoda and Siegel estimate that over 600,000 people speak Pidgin or Hawai‘i Creole English in the early twenty-first century (see Sakoda and Siegel 1).

of Pidgin syntax come from the other languages spoken during the creole's formation, and linguistic studies document the strong links of Hawaiian, Portuguese, Japanese, and Cantonese languages on Pidgin.[37] Native Hawaiian scholar Kanalu Young echoes these claims when he says that the grammatical structures between Pidgin and Hawaiian as "almost dead-on identical" and in his own experience growing up, "Hawaiian identity [. . .] c[a]me through Pidgin because the Native Hawaiian language was not used" (*Pidgin: The Voice of Hawai'i*). As McDougall has remarked, Hawaiian and Pidgin are cousins and kin—Pidgin has helped to keep Hawaiian language and culture alive.[38] Pidgin's mixed nature and close ties to the Hawaiian language, through writing by authors like Banggo, Holt, and McDougall, continue to resist settler policies while enacting Native Hawaiian understandings of mixture and survival.

In this chapter, I argue that Pidgin and the language politics of these writers' texts, or their mo'olelo, expose the compulsory heterosexuality embedded in the blood quantum policies of the HHCA, and perform versions of aloha 'āina that function outside of settler homemaking. This blood quantum rule traps Kānaka Maoli in a system of family and reproduction controlled by the settler state, a

[37] See Jeff Siegel's "Substrate Influence in Hawai'i Creole English" (2000), Sarah Roberts (1998), John Reinecke (1969), and Elizabeth Carr's *Da Kine Talk: From Pidgin to Standard English in Hawaii* (1972).

[38] McDougall mentioned that Hawaiian and Pidgin were cousins when I talked to her in August 2016 about her work in Honolulu. For the confrontational nature of Hawaiian and English, one only need to think of the ban on Hawaiian language and the replacement of Hawaiian with English in education, and the consistent debates on whether or not Pidgin should be taught in schools. The English Standard School system from the 1930s in Hawai'i should not be forgotten either, where one had to test out of Pidgin and into English to receive a so-called better education. See No'eau Warner (1999) and Katie Drager's (2012) work for more context.

heteropatriarchy that Morgensen points out, "relegates Native people and all non--Native people of color to queered statuses as racialized populations amid colonial efforts to eliminate Native nationality and settle Native lands" (1).[39] These particular configurations of *home* and *family* became naturalized and implemented through HHCA, disregarding the role that kinship and genealogy play in Hawaiian political organization. Thus, in addition to the binary of dilution and purity inherent in blood quantum, such policies also divorce Native people from the land and political autonomy. The "colonial imposition" (Kauanui 38) of blood quantum, however, is undermined by the genealogical practices in John Dominis Holt's *Waimea Summer* and Brandy Nālani McDougall's *The Salt-Wind: Ka Makani Pa'akai*. In contrast to settler structured kinships, Pidgin in their texts, I argue, enacts aloha 'āina, acknowledging and embodying ties to land that remain invisible to notions of quantifying blood and property ownership. Aloha 'āina, often translated as "love of the land," is both a familial relationship to the land and a form of "nationhood and nationalism as resistance to colonization" (Silva 11). As Lilikalā Kame'eleihiwa has described, kalo (taro) and the first ali'i nui (high chief) and ancestor of all Hawaiian people were born as siblings, and that it is the duty for elder siblings to feed and protect the younger ones, while the younger siblings will love, serve, and honor their elders. The land is part of Hawaiian genealogy, an elder sibling, and this reciprocal relationship between land and people is aloha 'āina.

[39] For more on heteropatriarchy that affects Native populations, see Qwo-Li Driskill (2011), Chris Finley (2011), Mark Rifkin (2010), Andrea Smith (2010, 2014), Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill (2013).

Holt and McDougall's work practices aloha ʻāina through Pidgin moʻolelo. Moʻolelo, as Cristina Bacchilega discusses, means both story and history, as its "social and artistic protocols signal the workings of Hawaiian epistemology and connect it with history" (7).[40] As a practice particular to Hawaiian epistemology, Holt and McDougall's literature, or moʻolelo, is demonstrative of "being Hawaiian." This phrase, which I refer to in the title of the chapter, also references Holt's well-known essay, *On Being Hawaiian* (1964).[41] In it, he asks what and who is a Hawaiian, in the process affirming the validity of part-Hawaiians such as himself to be fully Hawaiian. Countering a reminder by a "charming, mathematically astute lady, who descends from two prominent early missionary couples, that I am actually three-eighths Hawaiian by blood" (7), Holt describes his genealogy from maternal and paternal grandparents who "were equally respectful of both the Polynesian and Western aspects of their heritage" (7). He writes about the anguish of Native Hawaiians: they are "captive to the spirit of the past" (21) because they are "a people who must live with the reality of the total ruin of their centuries-old culture, and the loss by death of eighty-percent of their numbers in one hundred years following the arrival of the first foreigners" (21). While Holt does not use the word "colonialism," he directly addresses the effects of settler colonialism. Statistics, Holt claims, do not "tell the whole story" (25) but the answer, he suggests, lies in answering the question, "[t]hey

[40] Pukui and Elbert in *Hawaiian Dictionary* translate moʻolelo as both tradition and literature, and the relationship in the word itself connects genealogy, land, and (his)story embedded in Hawaiian epistemology.
[41] *On Being Hawaiian* was originally published in 1964, with a second printing in 1974 and a third printing in 1976. I use citations from the first edition, unless otherwise indicated.

tell us we are all kinds of things, but what do we think of ourselves?" (24). Holt's essay, alongside his novel, *Waimea Summer*, and his publishing endeavors on Hawaiian culture, set the foundation to answer this question.

The illustrations in *On Being Hawaiian* provide a supplemental visual answer that shows how Holt "see[s] evidence among Hawaiians of a renewed interest in themselves, and the future, and their community" (26) all around him. The 1964 publication includes 53 illustrations, most of them photos, of historical and contemporary images in non-chronological order, including artifacts (sculptures and fishhooks), land, Hawaiian monarchy, and Holt's own ancestors.[42] Holt's Hawaiian, British, and American mixtures converge in these photographs as a picture of the British Lord George Paulet (34), Holt's great-great-grandfather, is followed by his daughter High Chiefess Hanakaulani-O-Kamamalu (35), Holt's great-grandmother. Most strikingly, in the 1974 edition, Queen Lili'uokalani (30) is juxtaposed with a photograph of President Kennedy greeting Hawai'i children (31). The overthrown queen and U.S. president nearly gaze at each other. The U.S. president must be welcomed onto the page as he is in the photograph, while Queen Lili'uokalani sits regally. Holt also adds images of art forms such as carvings, lei, and Hawaiian connection with the land—'Īao Needle, a site on on Maui, and lo'i (taro patches) on Kauai are infused with historical and genealogical meaning, much like the photos acknowledging lines of descent. 'Īao Needle is not only a historic battleground and

[42] The 1974 publication has less illustrations—42. Many of them are the same, but it is unclear why Holt made some of these changes.

sacred burial site, but also the phallic stone of Kanaloa, god of the ocean. An undated but presumed to be contemporary photograph of loʻi in Hanalei, which Holt captions with "centuries of taro patches" (93), is a reminder of Hawaiian genealogy to kalo as an ancestor and the continued longevity of the growth of kalo.

Holt's inclusion of photographs of the landscape is not touristic or explanatory, but rather one of many examples he gives of aloha ʻāina. He writes,

> everyone who lives in Hawaii is, in one degree or another, affected by the impact of the abstract force of past events. The land quivers, from the southern tip of Hawaii Island to Kauai's far western shores, with living elements of the ancient past. The names of mountains, beaches, districts, streets, and hotels, connect us to the Hawaiian past. (18)

In giving land, even streets and hotels, this living power and affective response, Holt recognizes the deep ties between ʻāina and people. As his images illustrate, they cannot be separated. Holt's aloha ʻāina is resistant, including in the 1974 edition two images of Koʻolau, a historical figure who successfully avoided orders for those with Hansen's disease to Molokaʻi. The first image is a photograph of Koʻolau with his family, and is captioned, "Koolau, the leper of Kauai, when ordered to go to the bleak leper colony of Kalaupapa in Molokai refused to be separated from his family and escaped, with his wife and son, to the then (1890's) remote valley of Kalalau" (32). In the following photograph, Koʻolau has his back turned to the photographer, and two figures are in a pool that has water rushing into it. It is captioned, "Koolau, the leper of Kauai, hiding out from the Provisional Government officers in the Kalalau Valley in the 1890's, watches his wife and son bathing in one of the beautiful pools of that famous valley" (33).

These are not criminalizing images of Koʻolau, but one that orients him in the land and with his family, the very opposite of Hansen's disease, which was also known as maʻi hookawale, or "the separating sickness" (Ahuja 33) due to quarantine. Such images are oriented towards an aloha ʻāina that sees land and kinship as part of political resistance and genealogical responsibility. Chadwick Allen notes that with such images, although they participate in "the ethnographic mode of that earlier 'salvage' photography, they are oriented to the present and future" (25) and instead specifically imagine Indigenous futures. Such imagining is gestured towards at the end of the first edition, in which Holt ends with two photographs of youth: the first is of children smiling into the shot while playing in the sand, and the second is a group of young men posed next to a canoe, holding paddles. Such imaging conveys a "'new' Hawaiian future still linked to the Hawaiian past" (Allen 25). I spend time with Holt's essay here precisely because Holt's novel and much subsequent writing, including McDougall's, respond to *On Being Hawaiian*. In addition to the 25 pages of writing, the sheer volume of pages on the visual in Holt's essay attests to a "being Hawaiian" that grounds Kānaka Maoli to land and cultural practices that are historical and contemporary, but certainly not relegated to the past.

Separated by several decades, the works of Holt and McDougall are at two chronological ends of a post-1960s Native Hawaiian writing spectrum that show how the mixtures of "being Hawaiian" continue to be transmitted. As Vicente M. Diaz notes in his commentary on the relationship between indigeneity and creolization, "indigeneity relies historically on cultural mixing to survive" (576), but creolization

and creolization theory must not "silenc[e] the specifically aboriginal indigenous forms of mixing" (577). The politics of language in these texts demonstrate an active sense of Hawaiian presence and continuity to the land that helps dislodge settler colonial discourses of Hawaiians as "past" and settlers as "native." For both Holt and McDougall, neither Hawaiian nor English is sufficient to articulate contemporary Native Hawaiian identity; rather, it is a mixture of Hawaiian, English, and especially Pidgin that marks the most robust expression of a Native Hawaiian future. Their work, therefore, challenges and displaces the settler legalization of Hawaiian-ness in the 50 percent blood quantum rule. These texts provide a counter-formation of "Native Hawaiian" designated by settler colonial ideologies of race, blood, family, and kinship. These writers confronted the history of a kingdom overthrown, a culture in turmoil, and the installation of a colonial government, military, and education system. Indigenous response has boomed since the late 1960s and 1970s as a part of the Hawaiian Renaissance—the resurgence and revitalization of Native Hawaiian culture, language, arts, and political sovereignty influenced by civil rights, feminist, antiwar, national liberation, and ethnic studies movements of the 1960s-1970s—and such response continues to express Hawaiian life and livelihood against settler colonialism.

U.S. settler colonialism, separate from other colonial processes, has been described, on one hand, as a structure to possess territory by suppressing and displacing the Indigenous, and on the other hand, as a building of empire through the

racialization of bodies.[43] Candace Fujikane in *Asian Settler Colonialism* contends that ideally, "an analysis of settler colonialism positions indigenous peoples at the center, foregrounding not settler groups' relationships with each other or with the U.S. settler state, but with the indigenous peoples whose ancestral lands settlers occupy" (9). Kauanui would agree, for as she argues later, "any meaningful engagement with theories of settler colonialism—whether [Patrick] Wolfe's or others'—necessarily needs to tend to the question of indigeneity" because "the study of indigenous peoples is foundational to American history, culture, society, and politics ("A Structure").[44] In analyzing Native Hawaiian literature, this chapter necessarily attends to Indigenous futures and Indigenous agency in language and culture as part of an engagement with settler colonialism in Hawai'i.

The Contradictions of Being Hapa-Haole in John Dominis Holt's *Waimea Summer*

In an interview from the 1980s, John Dominis Holt (1919-1993) opinioned, "I don't think it's necessary to preserve" ("Interview" 64) the Hawaiian language,

[43] David Lloyd and Laura Pulido (2010) remind us that settler colonialism may be defined as "the practice of conquering lands and then populating it with the victorious people, the settlers [. . .] result[ing] in the dispossession and often the extermination of large parts of 'native' populations and the subsequent cultural, economic, and political subordination of the remainder" (797). Many settler colonial situations have had genocidal practices, but despite settler colonial's impetus to replace the "native" with (usually) white settlers as native to the land, the Indigenous have never been eliminated or erased. I use this definition for its succinct summation of settler colonialism. See Patrick Wolfe's *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology* (1998) and Lorenzo Veracini's *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (2010) as key texts in settler colonial studies.

[44] Kauanui also rightly points out that "although Wolfe insisted on making it clear time and again that he did not create the field of settler colonial studies—that Native scholars did—within the field of American Studies (as just one example), he tends to be most frequently cited as if he had" ("A Structure"). Settler colonial studies, from its origins, remains grounded in Native voices and analyses and must therefore, at its heart, engage with articulations of indigeneity.

despite devoting "his energy and talents—as writer, scholar, publisher—to encouraging a 'Hawaiian Renaissance'" (Hershinow 61). With a similar attitude, Holt also says that Pidgin "hasn't retarded my education. [. . .] Pidgin is a quaint, charming Island phenomenon and I love speaking it, but if I had to depend on it for the rest of my life I'd be very frustrated" ("Interview" 64). He might be vilified for such comments in the present moment, with the revival of the Hawaiian language in full swing, but even in Holt's patrician perspective on languages, he is far from hostile to their use. His novel, *Waimea Summer* (1976), includes English, Hawaiian, and Pidgin. Holt is utilitarian. It is the knowledge, culture, and language alive today, as well as what can be learned from the past that concerns him. As one of "the first major writers in English to publish in the 1960s in Hawai'i" (McDougall, "American Imperialism" 40), his essay *On Being Hawaiian* asks what it means to be Hawaiian in modern-day America, as part of the U.S. nation but affected by the violent changes of Western imperialism.[45] His written work reveals that Pidgin is more than merely "quaint." Hawaiian culture and language remain important, as neither Holt nor his characters in *Waimea Summer* are assimilated into U.S. white culture. While Pidgin as a language may not be the most useful medium for Holt, *Waimea Summer* demonstrates that "being Hawaiian" means being able to move between multiple languages (Hawaiian, English, Pidgin), and multiple knowledge systems, despite the

[45] However, Holt is not always seen in the most favorable light: "Holt is not viewed with favor by the more radical proponents of a Hawaiian renaissance. He is considered too haolified, politically reactionary, even arrogant in his proud attachment to his once elevated lineage and his cosmopolitan education. [. . .] Holt *is* haolified, and *is* proud of his lineage" (Hershinow 70-71). Stephen Sumida describes Holt and Holt's narrative voice as "patrician" (110) and the interviewer from *Honolulu* magazine calls him an "aristocratic Hawaiian novelist and historian" (Holt, "Interview" 55).

contradictions that may emerge. His work suggests that "being Hawaiian" means learning how to be hapa-haole and living productively in the present with both Hawaiian and Western heritages.

Reflecting further on the question he asks in *On Being Hawaiian*, Holt's novel *Waimea Summer* functions as a partial answer to and fictional grappling with "being Hawaiian" in the United States. *Waimea Summer* takes place during 1930s Hawai'i (at the time a U.S. Territory), centering on a hapa-haole adolescent boy from Honolulu, Mark Hull, who visits his cousins in Waimea (Big Island) for the summer. The novel sets up what appears to be many binaries—rival masculinities, spirits of the past and the living, conflicting language practices, and a Hawaiian boy who looks white—only to disrupt these binaries in the lived experiences of the characters. As Paul Lyons notes, the binaries in the novel "are repeatedly shown to be inadequate to the [Kānaka] Maoli context, or to be products of colonial conceptual partitioning of the senses" (101). Attention to the politics of language in *Waimea Summer* highlights Holt's resistance to blood quantum, laden with its proof of authenticity, and his suggestion that a Pidgin mixture—of knowledge and heritage, if not language—is crucial to Mark's future as a Hawaiian.

Mark is pulled between his Uncle Fred Andrews and his cousin-by-marriage, Julian Lono, who embody different visions of "being Hawaiian." Fred and Julian offer Mark "rival models of masculinity" (Isaac 154), further racialized and classed based on their language—Fred, like Mark, descends from ali'i (chiefly) bloodlines and is educated to speak good English *and* good Hawaiian, "tuned to the Englishified

speech used by the older generations to keep class distinctions intact" (Holt, *Waimea Summer* 42). The younger and more handsome Julian, however, is from Waipio Valley where "people . . . are pretty primitive" (4) and he is is marked by his lack of good English. For instance, he addresses Mark in Pidgin as "haole boy from Honolulu: If you forgive me please, I cannot remember what is you name" (61). Julian first works for Fred, caring for his horses, and then when he is excommunicated form the household, as a stevedore. Fred calls Julian "black" (5) and "mahu" (68)—in this case, meaning same-sex desire—because "he did not conform to the Waimea ideal of malehood" (62).[46] While Fred might seem an attractive role model to Mark, Fred owns a "once-handsome house" (2) over which "hung the dank quietude of disuse: a splendid sanctuary for ghosts and dust" (10), and Mark views Fred as a "historic relic" (2) and an "aging, declassed handyman" (5), not the grand cowboy he had imagined. Fred has remarried three times, "all Hawaiian women" (46), and he views another woman, Lepeka, as another conquest, telling Mark that "a man has got to seduce women to be a man" (69). In contrast to the Hulls, who have no land (118), Fred "has land all over [Hawai'i] island" (78). Fred is the embodiment of compulsory heterosexuality under HHCA, desiring to keep his position but unable to keep his family and house from deteriorating.

Fred's "vilification of Julian stems from a desire to whiten the family" (Najita, *Decolonizing* 49), since he associates Julian with criminality, promiscuity, and sexual

[46] Māhū, a Hawaiian word, generally means transgender, gay, and drag queen in the contemporary context. For more information on māhū in Hawai'i, see *Ke Kūlana He Māhū: Remembering a Sense of Place* (2001), a documentary featuring māhū history pre-contact and colonialism's impact on envisioning gender.

deviance, an association linked to property ownership and class. Yet, as Susan Najita argues, Julian is associated with Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III) and pi‘o practices, or sacred unions between brother and sister of high rank that produced the highest-ranking offspring. In the novel, Kaukeaouli is invoked when Julian grieves over Puna, a child that is hinted to be not Fred and his wife's, but Julian and his sister's child (Holt, *Waimea Summer* 187).[47] Najita connects the Māhele of 1848, the land division act, to Kauikeaouli's sexual politics, because for the Calvinist missionaries, "private ownership of land [w]as a liberal 'cure' for the so-called moral degeneracy manifested in Hawaiian traditions" (*Decolonizing* 46) in which Kauikeaouli lost 82 percent of his lands. Julian is the last survivor of his family, who were all "wiped out in the flu of 1920" (Holt, *Waimea Summer* 46). Like Kauikeaouli's dashed hopes to return to the old ways with the death of his pi‘o child and the loss of land, that which feeds the people, Julian is relegated to the margins of society in doing stevedore work. As Holt presents it, neither Fred nor Julian proves to be able to move forward beyond the cycles of faded wealth and traditions within which they are trapped, respectively.

Fred and Julian act as potential futures for Mark, but he does not accept either of them—their personalities fascinate and turn him away by degrees. Holt suggests that Abraham Hanohano, introduced at the very end of the novel, perhaps offers a more promising future for Mark. When Mark meets Abraham, he notices that his

[47] Najita also connects Puna's death to the loss of the Lono chiefly lineage and the fertility of the ali‘i that was also representative of the fertility of the land (45).

English "accent was disarmingly cultivated" (168) and had a "musical lilt" (169). Sitting with Mark, Abraham "launched into island history, ancient customs, and the change that came in the nineteenth century" (176-77). In these moments with Abraham, Mark experiences a sense of embodied knowledge and connection to the land that privileges a Hawaiian perspective of history, spirituality, and the land. Abraham is attuned to the life in rocks and trees—"[t]hey are not objects of flesh and blood, but they are alive in their own way" (176), he tells Mark. The Hanohano family feed themselves from the land too, as they come from a line of fishermen. Abraham is also depicted as scholarly in both Western and Hawaiian knowledges. He has two shelves of books:

> among them the enduring works of writers, poets—Alfred Lord Tennyson, Sir Walter Scott, Dickens, James Fenimore Cooper—interspersed with books on theology, botany, chemistry, physics, and physiology. I saw David Malo's *Moolelo o Hawaii*, Alexander's *Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, King Kalakaua's and Oscar Daggett's *Myths and Legends of Hawaii*, and Queen Liliuokalani's book with its familiar orange-red cover and gilt title: *Hawaii's Story by Hawaii's Queen*. (174)

Discussing his books, Abraham explains to Mark that Hawaiian beliefs are about living and expressing mana—"Mana is spirit" (176). It is the "life force" and "the essence of the universe" (176). He tells Mark, "[g]ood mana can be won by people who learn to do things skillfully—to do them well! A great expert has mana—like the kahunas of old who were correctly taught in their fields" (176). Abraham suggests that good mana includes learning from both Western and Hawaiian systems of knowledge. He wishes to pass this knowledge on to Mark since "[n]ot enough has been written about our people . . . that pictures things from the point of view of the

Hawaiians" (177). Suggested to Mark, then, is that becoming trained, skilled, or educated, and speaking and cultivating the multiple knowledges is being Hawaiian, perhaps even learning a mixture of languages—Hawaiian, Pidgin, and English. Abraham puts forth a Pidginized knowledge system that a skilled and mana-filled practitioner can use to resist the privileging of settler perspectives.

Mark embodies a particularly "hapa-haole" Hawaiianness through multiple knowledge systems. Hapa-haole, part-Hawaiian and part-white (in Hawaiian, hapa means "part" or "fraction" and haole most often refers to white), offers an identity beyond the settler/native binary (or settler/native/alien divide). Holt does not shy away from his mixed heritages but pays respect to the different branches of his ancestry, such as acknowledging all lines of his maternal and paternal grandparents in *On Being Hawaiian*. By acknowledging many heritages, he goes against a U.S. settler understanding of "being Hawaiian" as defined by drops of blood. This hapa-haole or simply "hapa" heritage is a reminder of the intimacies of settler colonialism, and that the dispossession, extermination, and subordination of the Indigenous cannot be complete. Hapa also complicates any conversation between settler colonialism and Indigenous authenticity. Kauanui and Maile Arvin give rich histories of the problems with Hawaiian blood quantum, as settler notions of Hawaiian authenticity are made through the HHCA legal definition of "*n*ative Hawaiian" as anyone with 50 percent "proof" while, "*N*ative Hawaiian" refers to anyone of Hawaiian ancestry regardless of the blood quantum rule—a more expansive understanding of genealogy and

relationships that includes practices such as adoption.[48] Despite the privilege of some hapa-haole who could selectively assimilate into whiteness, as Kauanui and other scholars argue, Hawaiian genealogy is a "world entanglement that makes nonsense of the fractions and percentage signs that are grounded in colonial (and now neo-colonial) moves marked by exclusionary racial criteria. Blood quantum can never account for the political nature and strategic positioning of genealogical invocation" (Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood* 13).[49] This ever-expansive understanding of Native Hawaiian identity means that hapa in Hawai‘i assumes claims of Hawaiian cultural identity at the center; the translation of hapa-haole assumes the individual to be Hawaiian, since "haole" is marked and Hawaiian goes unmarked.

Abraham's connection between multiple knowledges and mana, moreover, is directly related to a practice of aloha ‘āina. As Noelani Goodyear-Ka‘ōpua explains,

> [a]loha ‘āina centers the cultivation and protection of the relationship of Kānaka to all elements of our natural world. If healthy relationships entail communication, then the practice of aloha ‘āina must include facility in multiple languages, human and nonhuman. Pedagogies grounded in aloha ‘āina recognize that humans do not have a monopoly on language. They also encourage people to recognize and

[48] For more context on blood quantum and the differences between "native Hawaiian" and "Native Hawaiian," see Kauanui's *Hawaiian Blood* (2008) and Arvin's "Still in the Blood" (2015). The blood quantum rule also lets Hawaiians designate a successor who must be at least 25 percent Hawaiian. Recently, there has been support for an overturning of the blood quantum successorship to 1/32 descent, which is more reflective of heritage today.

[49] By 1849, hapa-haole was commonly used to describe Hawaiians with European ancestry, as "[*h*]*apa* can describe length, fractions, and amount, while *haole* means foreigner, signifying Europeans and Euro-Americans and simply white" (Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood* 56). But as Kauanui concludes in her book, "Three kinds of natives were discursively produced in the [HHCA] debates: 'part-Hawaiians' whom whiteness could selectively assimilate; 'full-blooded' Hawaiians who were racialized as incompetent and therefore in need of protection; and Asian 'Part-Hawaiians' whom whiteness would not assimilate. White-mixed 'part-Hawaiians' who no longer counted as indigenous were afforded the privilege of whiteness. But this privilege was granted within the overall structure of white domination over property—control that ultimately furthered the dispossession of all Hawaiians" (Kauanui, *Hawaiian Blood* 169-170).

> discover patterns, transmissions of information, attempts to commune, and acknowledgements of kinship from our nonhuman relatives. They require and reaffirm multiple ways of knowing. (35)

Aloha āina, Goodyear-Kaʻōpua suggests, draws on multiple knowledges and seems to align with the multitude of knowledges on Abraham's bookshelves. Abraham is even more specific about how to connect with the āina, detailing how to practice communication with āina when he says that "[r]ocks are powerful! They are strong in their silence. They endure" (Holt, *Waimea Summer* 176), and tells Mark to "[b]e silent in your heart" when looking at rocks, because only then they "will speak to you" (176). As Abraham takes Mark to pray to Lono, Mark attempts to read the weather—"[v]iolent waves rolled in from the reef and crashed on the black sand. Dark clouds raced across the Waimanu cliffs toward Hiilawe" (178), he describes, but he "could not read the signs of the coming weather as they appeared in massive cloud formations above the sea" (178). Even if Mark is unsure, Abraham is confident in reading the daylight, as he says that "dawn is a rebirth. The dawn is the beginning" (178). By the end of the novel, then, Mark is reborn from his coming-of-age in Waimea, which connects him to what he does not know about his hapa heritage: āina, mana, and genealogy.

Being able to trace one's genealogy is both central to settler colonial blood quantum logic that alienates Hawaiians to the ʻāina, but it is also essential to anticolonial politics. Blood quantum requires "proof." Mark, however, performs "informal versions of the Hawaiian genealogy chant" (Sumida 145) throughout the novel. Because of his light skin, which many characters comment upon, he must

constantly prove his connection to the Hawaiian language and identity. He is able to prove worthy by knowing his genealogy and history—"Analu e hoahanau o papa iau," Mark says to describe his genealogical relationship to one cousin, "weary of people's surprise at my little Hawaiian" (186), but Mark knows his genealogy and the full names of all his Hawaiian grandmothers, "each fifteen to twenty-five letters long" (192). Mark's knowledge of history and genealogy is significant, since, as early as 1896, the Hawaiian nationalist newspaper *Ka Makaainana* reflected the public's concern that one of the negative impacts of English-only policies in the schools and government was a loss of genealogical knowledge, asking "Will the new generation of Hawaii become backwards and ignorant people? For this not to occur, we should quickly seek to understand the true history and genealogy of Hawai'i" (qtd. in McDougall, "Mo'okū'auhau" 752). People were concerned about losing the practice of reckoning genealogy "as a historical methodology" (McDougall, "Mo'okū'auhau" 752). For Mark, this valuable genealogical history becomes the knowledge that is carried on, even as he tells his family history in English. In doing so, Mark "rejects any implication that intermarriage and cultural mixing threaten rather than embellish [Kānaka] Maoli genealogy" (Lyons 105). Throughout the novel, Mark tells stories of his own or others' genealogies. This kind of storytelling is in effect, mana that performs aloha 'āina, a recounting of one's genealogy that signals a continued connection to place and Hawaiian systems of knowledge.

Waimea Summer demonstrates a "Hawaiian appropriation and transformation of western culture" (Najita, *Decolonizing* 39). Might genealogical history be chanted

in English and Hawaiian, or might the passing of knowledge also happen through Dickens? When asked if he comes from the haole side of his cousin's family, Mark replies "[t]here is no haole side" (170)—i.e., when it comes to being Native Hawaiian in the expansive understanding of genealogy, all sides of Mark's family are Hawaiian. Mark's reply shows how the damaging effects of settler colonial blood quantum policies as percentages of people can be overturned through expansive Native Hawaiian genealogical invocation. Mark is both comfortable and uneasy in the multiplicities of the text—spirits and people may walk the same ʻāina, Hawaiian and English and Pidgin may be spoken in one family or one person—and as Najita suggests, in *Waimea Summer* "U.S. legal constructions of Hawaiian authenticity interfere with more Hawaiian forms of identity" (30). Mark's story suggests that Native Hawaiian is not only one kind of identity. Rather, Hawaiians have multiple perspectives and positions and against settler constructions, and he must be open to how mana, knowledge, and cultural perseverance move. In this sense, Holt's use of Pidgin expands far beyond literal usage of the language in his work. *Waimea Summer* uses a Pidginized knowledge, influenced by works ranging from Alfred Lord Tennyson to Queen Liliʻuokalani, and ultimately funneled through skillful genealogical storytelling that resists settler categorizations and assimilation. Such Pidgin becomes a repository for Hawaiian knowledge, a way of cultivating mana and putting a genealogical connection to land into practice.

In the last scene of the novel, Holt gives readers a warning about the past, because it can over-determine the Hawaiian future. Before heading back to Honolulu,

Mark encounters the past in spirits of ali‘i and kahuna (chiefs and priests) at the ruins of the Puu Kohala heiau (place of worship), culminating in the most unsettled scene of the text. Ghostly figures command him to “stay” and be given “the history of Puu Kohala” and the “wonderful things about this place, about all the great ones of the past” (194). But Mark runs away from the heiau and ghosts; the novel ends ambiguously with Mark running “pell-mell down the hillside” (195). Sheldon Hershinow interprets this scene as Mark making “a choice for contemporary Hawaii, but the narrowness of his escape suggests how strong—and dangerous—is the pull of the past. In choosing the present, he has had to forsake part of his heritage” (68).[50] In part, many other characters have pushed Mark along the path of running away from such a past. “These matters should not be talked about” (76), Fred scolds, while matriarch Mrs. Warrington tells him to “[g]et a good education and free yourself!” (132). Most characters want Mark to ignore Hawaiian spirits and superstition, and focus on getting a good American education by going to college, with good English as a large part of this education. Such an ending, however, which reads as a rejection of the Hawaiian past, is belied by Mark’s embrace of an alternative way of being Hawaiian, even if other aspects of his Hawaiian past frightens him.

[50] Criticism of this ending scenes are numerous, but are mostly similar, as a warning or a turning away of a Hawaiian past. Sumida identifies this ending scene as “standing for a past reality and final warning not to romanticize history, not to forget that Hawaiian history also means bloodshed, and that, while one may study history, the reliving of history would be a fearsome and terrible thing” (143). Rob Wilson also suggests that the story of the shark god presents alternative imaginings of place and history, albeit a bloody one (209-210). McDougall reads it as Mark, “fearful of being given ancestral knowledge ultimately turn[ing] away” (“American Imperialism” 41). Susan Najita argues that the abrupt ending signals the recurring trauma of colonialism (62).

Earlier, and in contrast to the other characters' rejection of the spirits of the past, Abraham tells Mark that "[p]eople don't *believe* in spirits here" but instead "*live* with them. They're a part of life!" (172). At the novel's end, Mark is confronted and overwhelmed by spirits, and although Mark literally encounters the past at the heiau, he runs because these ghosts threaten to engulf and trap him in the past rather than lead him forward. The future-oriented path is that of Abraham's living *with* spirits—not ignoring them, but not consumed by them either. Najita suggests that the shift from past to present tense at the novel's end "indicates a genealogical connection between Mark's future and his ancestral past" (61), recalling a Hawaiian epistemology that links past, present, and future. As Kame'eleihiwa describes Hawaiian notions of past and future, she writes, "[i]t is as if the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future, and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeing historical answers for present-day dilemmas. Such an orientation is to the Hawaiian an eminently practical one, for the future is unknown, whereas the past is rich in glory and knowledge" (22-23).[51] Mark knows his history and genealogy, and is going to build his skills and knowledge, but he is not going to do so by becoming stuck in the past. Instead, Mark must "relocate himself," "honing his perceptions and reading skills in order to connect with his family and Hawaii's history" (Isaac 153), which he will do by learning from *all* spirits of the past, the British, American, and Hawaiian pasts epitomized in Abraham's bookshelf: Charles Dickens, James

[51] In a Hawaiian epistemological understanding of time, the past, ka wā mamua means "the time in front or before" and the future, ka wā mahope, means "the time which comes after or behind."

Fenimore Cooper, David Malo, King Kalākaua, and Queen Lili‘uokalani (Holt, *Waimea Summer* 174).

Mark runs from spirits and visions that show him both a romantic yet bloody past to instead run towards a living history, where the past is always already embedded in everything up ahead—it is in Mark in his storytelling and genealogy and will continue to be within him in Honolulu and as he learns Americanized knowledge, the Indigenous and American mixing together. Lyons calls this past “always already inescapable” (105), as Mark deals with the living who embody the effects of present settler colonialism, such as Julian and Fred. Holt acknowledges Hawai‘i’s complex multiculturalism that lives and writes against the legislative blood quantum understanding of genealogy. Holt, who was Hawaiian, Tahitian, Corsican, Spanish, American, and British of multiple royal bloodlines recognizes and sees the future of “being Hawaiian” in this mixture of race, cultures, and language. Mark, like many of Holt’s other characters and Holt himself, further establish that being mixed race and Indigenous does not mean the dilution and dying out of Native blood, traditions, or cultures, as in the “native Hawaiian” blood quantum designation.[52] Holt’s concern is to go forward while learning to live with spirits.

Holt’s use of Pidgin and English herald the continuity of Native Hawaiian against the erasures of settler colonialism, with Mark as the symbol of its future possibilities. Holt himself notes that land is the foundation for the past, present, and

[52] See Maile Arvin’s “The Polynesian Problem and its Genomic Solutions” (2015) for more on how settler colonialism makes whiteness “indigenous.”

future of being Hawaiian, since "[i]n fusing the aesthetic image of the past with the present, I am led, first, to consider the land itself" (*On Being Hawaiian* 11). In Mark's growing connection to the mana of things around him, his connection to the land grows stronger; Indigenous presence in language, epistemology, and land are not so easily erased by the structures of settler colonial language policy, education, and territorialization. Although he does not yet know all the signs for the land, Mark is sensitive to the mana in everything, and especially the mana in becoming skillful. This way of practicing aloha ʻāina leads him to be better able to read the past and the ʻāina itself over private land ownership and ways of being Hawaiian tied to compulsory heterosexuality.

Pidgin's "Bite Back" to Settler Colonialism in McDougall's "Hypothetical"

Aloha ʻāina continues to be a central theme in much Kānaka Maoli writing, but McDougall's poetry builds on the discussion of mana, genealogy, and ʻāina of Holt's novel. In particular, her use of Pidgin practices aloha ʻāina, and acts as a repository of Hawaiian knowledge for the present. As Georganne Nordstrom claims about the work of Pidgin in Native Hawaiian culture, "understanding Pidgin as a language Hawaiians adopted and adapted when they were prohibited from using their Native language illustrates Hawaiian innovation and resourcefulness in finding ways to resist and maintain linguistic and cultural autonomy through language use" (325). McDougall's collection of poetry *The Salt-Wind: Ka Makani Paʻakai* is one such innovation of Pidgin and English, taking up the question of "being Hawaiian" that,

like Mark Hull, rely on language and knowledge that resist settler notions of property ownership.[53]

McDougall claims regenerative languages and practices through her term "biting back." She speaks of her grandparents, the first generation who did not speak the Hawaiian language, and says that "mo'olelo [stories] became a way to keep that connection [between the past, ancestors, and the 'āina] strong" ("Ola (i) Na Moolelo"). McDougall argues that "telling our mo'olelo is one way to bite back, so to speak. Colonialism will not be the final mo'olelo of our people" ("Ola (i) Na Moolelo").[54] Biting back signifies a threat to settler colonialism but also an active regeneration of being Hawaiian—it uses the mouth to rip and tear, but also to hold on and eat, to sit and fill stomachs and tell stories. From Kanaka Maoli, Chinese, and Scottish descent—"hapa" and Native Hawaiian in a different way from Holt—McDougall's acknowledgement of her lines of descent goes against a settler understanding of being Hawaiian through legalized blood quantum. For McDougall, mo'olelo is part of being Hawaiian that continues to live on: "our mo'olelo must continue to chronicle the anguish of our loss, but also the mana of our inextinguishable hope as a people, and we must continue to tell these stories, over and over again" ("Ola (i) Na Moolelo"), or to "bite back."

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[53] For more on McDougall's poetry, see Craig Santos Perez's review in *Studies in American Indian Literatures* (2010) in which he pays particular attention to her use of Hawaiian language and Michelle Peek's "Kinship Flows in Brandy Nālani McDougall's *The Salt-Wind/Ka Makani Pa'akai*" (2013), which argues that McDougall joins contemporary deimperializing, sovereignty movements in the Pacific with her poetry through the cosmology of the taro plant.

[54] At a different point in her TedxMānoa talk (2012), she says "a Kānaka Maoli-controlled literature and media is absolutely vital to our decolonization and self-determination" ("Ola (i) Na Moolelo").

While Michelle Peek ably demonstrates how McDougall returns to water to "begin again in the aftermath of American imperialism" (81), locating McDougall's poetry in an aloha ʻāina that draws on the relationship of kalo to feeding and life in poems like "Hāloanaka," I am interested in following the poems that address language and mana in developing aloha ʻāina. The poems "Kalena, 1945" and "Ka ʻŌlelo" demonstrate how McDougall navigates "being Hawaiian" through learning or losing languages and the cultural mores that surround each language. In the poem "Kalena, 1945," the narrator says she was a "good daughter" who obeyed and was "rewarded" (*The Salt-Wind* 53) with material wealth, such as a "house of 5 rooms, an / electric washing machine, and a hapa-haole husband with high / entrepreneurial ambitions, for whom I am a good wife" (53). All of this obedience, in line with compulsory heterosexuality and capital interests, it turns out, is a necessary sacrifice because, she writes, "my daughter will be rewarded with better beginnings, / speaking perfect ʻŌlelo Pelekane [English], and learning the haole [white] ways, / which are becoming the only ways, so she may pass" (53). McDougall also writes that through learning the haole ways this daughter "will have / enough mana so all this goodness can end" (53). Like Holt's character Mark, this narrator's daughter will cultivate mana by learning not only "good" settler English and education, but also Hawaiian epistemologies that can bring an end to this "goodness." The narrator waits to stop the ruse of being a "good" daughter and a "good" wife. McDougall seems willing to accept changes and haole ways only long enough to be able to overturn all of it—"if you keep your naʻau [gut, heart] / *Hawaiian*, it is easier to accept our bitter

inheritance—we / must *become* them to *overcome* them" (43), she writes in a different poem. Being Hawaiian may not exist only in language or a legalized blood quantum rule. The poem suggests that through cultivating mana and learning how to "pass," overcoming settler colonialism is possible.

In "Ka ʻŌlelo," McDougall mourns the loss of the Hawaiian language and the dominance of English, but also rejoices in learning Hawaiian in the present moment as a method of aloha ʻāina. "English could never replace / the land's unfolding song, nor the ocean's / ancient oli [chant]" (66), she writes elegiacally. English words do not have the hidden depths of meaning and play of words that the Hawaiian language does, but even so, English has been "reshap[ed] to suit our mouths" (69). The English language is forced to work from Hawaiian, fitting mouths not suited for it. Such reshaping recalls that the Hawaiian language has also had an influence on the way Pidgin is spoken, such as intonation, which means that Pidgin has a Hawaiian-inflected intonation, not an English one.[55] McDougall sees speaking Hawaiian as birthing an island:

> I must admit I love the brittle crust
> my untrained tongue's foreignness forms; it crowns
> the dark, churning pith of prenatal earth
> rising in the volcano's throat, unspoken
> for now, founding my wide island of words[.] (69)

McDougall deforms English, unmooring its connection to the colonial and reforming it in her mouth. Hawaiian also reforms her body into an island, reconnecting her body

[55] See Sakoda and Siegel's *Pidgin Grammar* (2003) and Kelly Murphy's "The Hawaiian Prosodic Imprint on Hawaii Creole English" (2012).

to place and land. The speaking of Hawaiian language, in fact, performs aloha ʻāina. McDougall transforms English and settler knowledge through the mixture of land and ocean in the volcanic eruption of learning Hawaiian. Such a birthing of language, in addition, enacts a form of politics and kinship that operates outside of blood quantum and land as property.

This relationship between language and land is embodied in McDougall's collection of poetry and most obviously in the collection's only Pidgin poem. In contrast to the rest of the collection, which is voiced in Hawaiian and English, this poem is entirely in Pidgin. "Hypothetical" transforms both language and epistemology and articulating moʻolelo with a radically shifted worldview. I quote the entire short poem in full:

> E Tita, you tink if we eva came home
> hāpai, and we told our mākua
> was cuz we wen accidentally
> hiamoe in da fores' some place
> and neva knew we was on da phallic rock—
> You tink dey would believe? (42)

Through dialogue, one female speaker asks another whether or not the idea that a woman becoming pregnant from accidentally sleeping on or with a phallic rock in the forest would be believable to their parents. Phallic rocks, places of ritual and fertility were also places of mana. As Mary Kawena Pukui explains, "*mana* could be emitted from a rock . . . [that] owed its primary origin to the gods" (Pukui, Haertig, and Lee 150). The poem presents the idea that women could claim to be pregnant through a connection to the land, which rejects patriarchal policing of women's bodies, a turning away from compulsory heterosexuality, and is an implicit invocation that aids

in the revival of Native Hawaiian cultural practices.[56] Even if the speaker aims to mock parental beliefs in living with spirits and phallic rock pregnancies, these cultural practices remain an option open to sexually active young women who may not want to claim a father in the event of a pregnancy. Moreover, because the poem is in Pidgin, it indicates the reality of language today—Hawaiian, as ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui claims, is “the common language of our ancestors” while Pidgin, with its mix of Hawaiian, Asian, and European, is the “common language of our contemporaries” (Kapihenui 94).[57] ho‘omanawanui does not mean to relegate Hawaiian language to the past, but to consider lived experience, since Pidgin might be the language most used for this conversation today, which revitalizes Hawaiian knowledge.[58] Pidgin is no replacement for Hawaiian. But as ho‘omanawanui articulates about the use of Pidgin, McDougall too, does not go back to pre-contact time but lives and speaks in the present, suggesting Pidgin as a linguistic and cultural

[56] One can see phallic rock formations with the ‘Īao Needle, the phallic rock of the god Kanaloa, in ‘Īao Valley on Maui and the Nanahoa phallic rock on Moloka‘i. These are two well-known sites, among others.

[57] In the mo‘olelo “Hi‘iakaikapoliopele Destroys the Mo‘o Pana‘ewa” (2003) ku‘ualoha ho‘omanawanui translates this Hawaiian tale into both English and Pidgin, the first person to translate Hawaiian into Pidgin, explaining that “Today, some Hawaiian language scholars refuse to translate Hawaiian, arguing that translation from Hawaiian to English diminishes the prestige of Hawaiian. While some linguists, and a handful of other scholars, value HCE as a legitimate form of expression for speakers of this language, most of Hawai‘i’s population today, within and outside of educational institutions, still frown upon its use, incorrectly viewing it as ‘inferior English.’ While some Hawaiian writers freely mix Hawaiian and pidgin in their creative or academic work, to my knowledge, no attempt has been made to translate Hawaiian, the common language of our ancestors, into HCE, the common language of our contemporaries.” (94).

[58] As discussed earlier, Holt takes a patrician view of Pidgin as he calls it “quaint” in an interview, and does not necessarily believe that Hawaiian language must be preserved. Although Holt remarks condescendingly on Hawaiian and Pidgin languages, his actual written work reveals that Pidgin is more than merely “quaint,” and neither Holt nor his characters are assimilated into white culture—published in the 1970s, *Waimea Summer* expresses being Hawaiian even after several decades of incorporation into the United States. For Holt, Pidgin and the mixture of languages we use in our lived experience that opens the space for a usable past.

repository that transmits Hawaiian knowledge. “Hypothetical,” moreover, indicates the real practice of aloha ʻāina, in which the land itself generates the reproduction of family and knowledge. Pidgin continues Native Hawaiian moʻolelo and culture; that it is a “hypothetical” question generates possibilities that the future might take.

Still the lingua franca of everyday life in Hawaiʻi, Pidgin in “Hypothetical” strikes at the heart of “being Hawaiian” today. Pidgin articulates worldview. Moreover, much of the Hawaiian language, including grammar and vocabulary, is alive within Pidgin (Sakoda and Siegel 11). Pidgin preserves these aspects of Hawaiian language that was lost as a common language in the wake of settler colonial language policies. Nordstrom refers to ethnolinguist Larry Kimura’s work on Hawaiian language and Pidgin to illustrate how Pidgin became the linguistic vehicle for Hawaiian expression:

> in both structure and inflection Pidgin more closely resembles Hawaiian. Kimura also argues that, specifically for Hawaiian children, Pidgin filled the language void left when the English Only law functioned to effectively ban Hawaiian as the language of instruction in schools; he notes that it became the “perfect tool for local children to resist the campaign to force them to speak English,” especially when they faced corporal punishment if caught speaking Hawaiian. Thus, because of its resemblance to English, speaking Pidgin enabled the children to “comply with the campaign to make English the language of the territory and still not truly cooperate with what Hawaiians saw as a persecution of their own language, nor identify linguistically with the haole group.” From this perspective, speaking Pidgin for a Hawaiian embodies a noteworthy linguistic resourcefulness in efforts of both survival and resistance in the face of the violence, including an agenda of linguicide, that resulted in loss of nationhood. (Nordstrom 321)

Pidgin reflects not assimilation, but adaptation and resistance. Pidgin becomes how Indigenous communities narrate themselves while being erased from the land—in the

intimacies of settler colonialism, the mixtures and adaptation of language cannot be avoided. As I suggest in reading "Hypothetical," Pidgin activates Hawaiian epistemology in ways that the English language cannot. The Pidgin in "Hypothetical" strips away any fancy poetics and just asks—"You tink dey would believe?"—and in doing so formulates an alternate worldview. Such questions lead to the blurring boundaries between phallic rock and woman's body, as well as the blurring of Hawaiian and Pidgin languages, pointing to the inherent fluidity of life and language. That this Pidgin moʻolelo is the only one in McDougall's collection, and that is connected so deeply to the land, indicates the mana of the moʻolelo to perform its own cultural sovereignty, even as McDougall deforms English in her other poems.

Pidgin and Hawaiian Cultural Perseverance

Pidgin has often been linked to "local literature" in Hawaiʻi, referring to literature written by those from Hawaiʻi rather than outside it.[59] Local literature has been shaped by its opposition to the U.S. continent. One of its most prominent proponents, Eric Chock maintains that part of what Pidgin and Hawaiʻi's literary tradition does is resist the idea that "we in Hawaii . . . are subordinate to the [U.S.] mainland" (8). While significant, of crucial and long-standing importance in the analysis of U.S. settler colonialism in Hawaiʻi is the politics of Pidgin in relation to Native Hawaiian language, culture, and life. Nordstrom argues for a similar

[59] Rodney Morales has one of the most salient and accurate definitions of local literature when he describes it in "The Emergence of Local Literature" (2011) as "caught between two contending narratives—one that still celebrated local culture and put on the face of Aloha, claiming to embody its spirit as it promoted the *Hawai'i as multicultural paradise* framework, and the other, which recast the non-Hawaiian 'local' community as 'settlers,' a strategy to pull the land from under these usurpers, and re-label the notion of a local culture as illusory and/or short-lived" (137).

consideration in her discussion of Pidgin as rhetorical sovereignty—Pidgin is "an assertion of Indigenous identity" that predates "Western contact and continu[es] through the present. It creates space to understand how Hawaiians have developed and adapted rhetorical strategies so as to both survive and resist colonization" (322). In this chapter's discussion, Pidgin mo'olelo becomes the medium of affirming Kānaka Maoli culture and thus central to how Kānaka Maoli may resist the settler colonial encroachment on land and life—primarily, through making nonsense of measuring Hawaiian blood, as if Hawaiian authenticity and culture could also be quantified.

"[R]ather than a sign of colonial assimilation and apathy" Holt and McDougall's work utilizes Pidgin and "the wide use of Indigenous Englishes in contemporary Indigenous Pacific Literatures [that] should be seen as a sign of cultural revitalization and continuity, as well as reflective of strong decolonization and cultural sovereignty movements" (McDougall, "American Imperialism" 39). Holt and McDougall's mo'olelo shows how mixture is lived reality and how Pidgin is the colloquial language for many Native Hawaiians today. Being Hawaiian in Pidgin, including recalling expansive genealogy, knowledges, cultural practices, and linguistic kinship, challenges legalistic blood quantum percentage understandings of being Hawaiian. These mixed-language texts and genealogies to 'āina that resists HHCA designations of blood quantum do not convey a "dilution" of being Hawaiian, but the very opposite: the "sentiment" (*On Being Hawaiian* 8) of being Hawaiian, as Holt describes it.

Chapter 2

Hawaiian Hospitality and Hostility: Camp in Rap Reiplinger's Pidgin Comedy

Tourist Hawai‘i on TV

The 1970s and 1980s ushered in an era of mass tourism for Hawai‘i that spawned island-based media productions masquerading as tourist advertisements, pitched to a continental U.S. audience. One such production, *Hawaii Five-O*, which began showing in 1968 and at twelve seasons is one of the longest-running mainstream TV shows set in Hawai‘i, inculcated a new audience with stereotypes about the islands-as-paradise to lasting effect, and even recapitulated these representations in the 2010 ongoing TV series. In both its original and current form, *Hawaii Five-O* does little to go beyond representations of Hawai‘i as an exotic locale. The original production treated its only Native Hawaiian character, Kono Kalakaua, as "a trained animal act" and "dumb Hawaiian" (Whitney 27), in the words of the actor who plays him.[60] This depiction furthers the selling of a hospitable Hawai‘i, as in the 1970s state officials credited *Hawaii Five-O* with attracting "thousands of tourists" to the islands (MacMinn 1).

U.S. settler colonialism clearly manifests in this *Hawaii Five-O*–tourist feedback loop: imagined as a possession, Hawai‘i is economically and ideologically exploited, which is supported by a settler governing structure that welcomes outsiders

[60] I once again use "Native Hawaiian" and "Kānaka Maoli" in this chapter as referring to anyone of Hawaiian ancestry, regardless of blood quantum. For more, see Maile Arvin's "Still in the Blood" (2015).

at the expense of native dispossession. In the original series, Detective Steve McGarrett plays the post-statehood hero of an elite police force that protects the islands and U.S. national security interests in the 50th state (hence, "Hawaii Five-O"). Locating their headquarters in ʻIolani Palace, the seat of the Hawaiian monarchy until the U.S. Navy and American businessmen overthrew Queen Liliʻuokalani in 1893, McGarrett and his crew continued this work to overwrite the sovereignty of Hawaiʻi for white settlers. Exemplified in the form of McGarrett, continental audiences were bombarded with the image of Hawaiʻi as a place white men can reap the rewards of enduring settler colonialism, a form of colonialization with land dispossession as its basis.[61] The state's liberal multiculturalism, which stresses Hawaiʻi as a melting pot mixture, turns Native Hawaiians into ethnic minorities rather than recognizes indigeneity.

Naturalizing Hawaiʻi's position as America's "backyard" for white Americans, or haoles, to visit, tourism made the continental audience feel "at home" in an unfamiliar place. Noel Kent dubs the tourism industry "new plantations" (180) for its division of labor based on race and ethnicity, in which "imported Caucasian hotel managers, Hawaiian entertainers and tour bus drivers, and Filipina maids" (180) illustrate a hierarchy nearly unchanged from the plantation. Usually depicted as "love" or "welcome," aloha as a "brand" proliferates in Hawaiʻi's tourism and

[61] For more on settler colonialism in Hawaiʻi, see *Asian Settler Colonialism: From Local Governance to the Habits of Everyday Life in Hawaiʻi* (2008), edited by Candice Fujikane and Jonathan Okamura, Dean Saranillio's "Why Asian Settler Colonalism Matters: A Thought Piece on Critiques, Debates, and Indigenous Difference" (2013), and Haunani-Kay Trask (1999). See Patrick Wolfe (1999) and Lorenzo Veracini (2010) for more on the formation of settler colonialism.

Hawai‘i state law has even sanctioned aloha in the workplace, a manifestation of cultural appropriation and commodification that, as Stephanie Nohelani Teves notes, “quiet[s] dissent and encourage[s] the maintenance of the settler-colonial state” (5).[62] Aloha directed by the state encourages a sense of hospitality from Hawai‘i’s people and a set of expectations from outsiders—that Hawai‘i is “*theirs*: to use, to take” (Trask, *From a Native Daughter* 136). Scholar-activist Haunani-Kay Trask labels this a “hostage economy” (“Politics” 11) because Native Hawaiians employed by the tourism industry participate in this commodification of Hawaiian culture, reaffirming damaging stereotypes.

James Kawika Pi‘imauna “Rap” Reiplinger (1950-1984), known in Hawai‘i as “Rap,” entered TV screens during this rapid growth of tourism to enact a different kind of hospitality. Part of a new wave of comedy in the 1970s, Rap remains one of the most famous voices of comedy in the islands and as the newspaper *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* puts it, is “seen and heard in the material of almost every local comedian that followed” (Berger).[63] Despite his popularity and influence, Rap’s work has been an understudied archive specific to the rise of tourism and the anti-development movements of the time. Scholars have analyzed the humor of later Hawai‘i comedians such as Andy Bumatai, Frank De Lima, or Augie T, but as an earlier voice whose “genius” was cut short by his untimely death, Rap’s comedy offers politically

[62] See Hawai‘i State Law, which defines aloha spirit as a gift of hospitality extended to the outside and in alignment with the state’s tourism economy. Teves discusses this law in more detail in *Defiant Indigeneity* (2018).

[63] Rap’s afterlife continues in the present from local comedians who trace their comedic genealogy to Rap, as well as posthumously produced materials, including DVDs, CDs, and YouTube videos. For more see *Rap: Hawaii’s Comic Genius* (2011).

charged humor laden with anti-tourist hostility even while Rap's characters offer a much more confrontational "Hawaiian" hospitality.[64]

The rise of tourism led to humor that reaffirmed the values of Hawaiian and local culture in the face of outsiders numbering in the millions. Analyzing the hostility buried under the surface of hospitality within Rap's comedy and the way he performs Pidgin, or Hawai'i Creole English, I argue that he restages Hawai'i's encounter with the tourist, exaggerating white desires and behavior—camping it up—in order to convey Native Hawaiian and Hawai'i's local cultures as resistant to the settler colonial possession of the islands. In Rap's comedy, the dominant culture of hospitable aloha and white settler colonialism is redefined, with the tourist audience mocked rather than celebrated as they are in productions like *Hawaii Five-O*. I suggest that this is a way of understanding Pidgin camp, in which Pidgin unseats the dominance of settler culture through theatrical exaggeration, failed seriousness, and the oppositional politics and humor of camp. Pidgin camp illustrates Pidgin's emergence from the Hawaiian language, 'ōlelo Hawai'i, as part and parcel of Native Hawaiian expression resistant to tourism and settler colonialism, which gives hospitality an edge.

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[64] One recent article by Gavin Furukawa (2018) studies the linguistic features of Rap's comedy. For scholarship on Andy Bumatai, see Toshiaki Furukawa's "'No Flips in the Pool': Discursive Practice in Hawai'i Creole" (2007). See Roderick Labrador's "'We Can Laugh at Ourselves': Hawai'i Ethnic Humor, Local Identity, and the Myth of Multiculturalism" (2004) for analysis on Frank De Lima. Aya Inoue's "Covert Ideologies in Pidgin-English Translation Humor" (2007) addresses both comedians. Mie Hiramoto's "Is Dat Dog You're Eating?: Mock Filipino, Hawai'i Creole, and Local Elitism" (2011) delves into an analysis of Augie T, while Furukawa's "Localizing Humor Through Parodying White Voice in Hawai'i's Stand-Up Comedy" (2015) examines all three comedians. James Grant Benton one of Rap's comedy colleagues, calls him a genius in the documentary *Hawaii's Rap*, which can be accessed at 'Ulu'ulu: The Henry Ku'ualoha Giugni Moving Image Archive of Hawai'i.

Although much of the discourse on camp has been associated with queer scholarship, this framework of Pidgin camp draws from feminist and media studies scholars who understand camp as an oppositional mode of performance, a form of productive recycling for contemporary tastes, and negotiated access, often from the minoritarian subject, to dominant modes of discourse.[65] I do not claim that Rap himself purposefully deployed a camp strategy in his comedy, but that camp provides an approach for understanding the complexities and contradictions of this comedy, including its critique of tourism, political valences, and relationship to Pacific humor, which often goes unrecognized in popular culture and scholarship. Rap's comedy invokes the power of stereotypic and iconic Hawai'i imagery and yet mocks the power this imagery has over life in Hawai'i. More than comedic satire, which critiques tourism by affirming its representations, Rap's comedy evokes the outrageousness and flamboyance of camp for its critique. As Pamela Robertson argues about feminist camp, and which I draw upon to discuss Rap's comedy, camp allows audiences to recognize stereotypes, the artifice of roles, and the power they hold while historicizing and recoding these stereotypes for present needs (142). Ultimately, this camp comedy is "a sensibility rooted in the status quo, yet it is a critical sensibility that somewhat modifies our understanding of and attitude toward the status quo," making sure that "we never see these stereotypes the same way

[65] For more on feminist and media studies scholarship on camp, see Sarina Pearson's "Pacific Camp: Satire, Silliness (and Seriousness) on New Zealand Television" (2005), Pamela Robertson's *Guilty Pleasures: Feminist Camp from Mae West to Madonna* (1996), Jose Muñoz's *Disidentifications:Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (1999), and *Camp Queer Aesthetics and the Performing Subject: A Reader* (1999), edited by Fabio Cleto.

again" (Robertson 143). Rap's comedy mocks tourism by making audiences aware of tourism's overdone performance of race, gender, and class for the continental visitor.

My aims in this chapter are thus to show that Rap's comedy employs camp in which the performance of Pidgin turns the tourist gaze back onto dominant settler culture, unveiling and recouping the hospitality of Hawai'i into potentially hostility in the process. I contextualize Rap's comedy as linked to a longer history of Hawaiian and Pacific humor responding to colonialism and show its connections to both Native Hawaiian and local cultures. Rap's comedy unites Hawaiians and locals in its humor, which stages the failure of tourist desires. I begin by contextualizing Rap's career and Pidgin comedy, and then I will discuss in detail two sketches from *Rap's Hawaii* (1982), which received an Emmy Award for Outstanding TV Special of the Year.

Pidgin Comedy of the Hawaiian Renaissance

Pidgin became the popular vehicle for the expression of local life in 1970s Hawai'i, especially in comedy. Pidgin, known as Hawai'i Creole English by linguists, developed from the outlawing of the Hawaiian language and the mixture of languages on sugar plantations in the early twentieth century. Imported laborers, mostly from China, Japan, Okinawa, Portugal, Korea, and the Philippines, worked with Native Hawaiians for American plantation owners. When the children of these laborers began to speak this mixture as their native tongue, with its own grammatical structure and syntax, a new creole language was created from the movements of cultures within U.S. colonialism. Larry Kimura and William Wilson note that because Pidgin emerged from the Hawaiian language, it "use[d] many of the same basic sentence

structures, grammar, intonation, stresses and vocabulary" and during the English-only territorial years Pidgin made it possible for Hawaiians to "comply . . . and still not truly cooperate with what Hawaiians saw as persecution of their own language, nor identify linguistically with the haole group" (199), haole being a word of Hawaiian origin meaning foreigner and usually understood to mean white. By the mid-twentieth century, Pidgin functioned as a common language for all in the islands, both Hawaiians and the descendants of plantation laborers. Pidgin was marginalized as "broken English" but contained some social prestige as it became a marker of "local" identity.[66]

Pidgin is closely tied to both local and Native Hawaiian cultures, a distinction Georganne Nordstrom makes between the "minority language" of local settler culture and an "Indigenous linguistic resource" (318). Native Hawaiian refers to the Indigenous inhabitants of the Hawaiian islands while "Local" is a panethnic identity referring to the many nonwhite groups who trace their arrival in Hawai‘i to the plantation era, which offers a "common history of oppression" (Rosa, "Local Story" 94) and distinguished these folks from newcomers—the military, tourists, and post-1965 immigrants. Criticized for celebrating melting pot ideology and embracing "the face of Aloha, claiming to embody its spirit as it promoted the *Hawai‘i as multicultural paradise* framework" (Morales 137), local has also been reframed as another word for Asian settler.[67] Local identity sometimes collapses the important

[66] See Kent Sakoda and Jeff Siegel, *Pidgin Grammar* (2003); they estimate that over 600,000 people speak Pidgin or Hawai‘i Creole English in the early twenty-first century.
[67] For more on locals as settlers, see Haunani-Kay Trask's "Settlers of Color and 'Immigrant' Hegemony" in *Asian Settler Colonialism* (2008).

difference between Native Hawaiian and the descendants of immigrant laborers, although it provides a useful short-hand for those who may identify with these mixtures.

Pidgin, however, is tied to both Native Hawaiian and local culture as discussed in Chapter One. Pidgin and Hawai‘i’s comedy of the 1970s is usually indexed as a marker of local culture, especially since local humor, which supposedly makes fun of all ethnicities, is traced to the days of the plantation where jokes mediated differences among the groups. Moreover, as Roderick Labrador points out, “Hawai‘i’s celebration of its multiculturalism, often exemplified in ethnic joking and [l]ocal humor, is a vital ideological support for the current form of settler colonialism” (“I No Eat” 64), since it becomes easy to discriminate against racialized others using “jokes” without consequence.[68] Since multiculturalism is about recognizing all ethnic groups, it becomes easy to fall into a settler mindset in which Hawaiians are just another minority group and settlers can become “native” to a place. Pidgin in Rap’s comedy, however, cannot merely be categorized as the multicultural celebration of local settler culture. His performances reveal the shared stakes for Native Hawaiians and locals in Hawai‘i’s tourism industry while acknowledging that it is Hawaiian land and culture which are stolen. I suggest that Rap’s comedy articulates an anti-tourist politics of Hawaiian and local collectivity, pointing towards the emergence of a decolonized Hawai‘i. The strategic use of Pidgin

[68] For more on local humor as upholding racist stereotypes, see Karyn Okada’s “An Analysis of Hawai‘i’s Tradition of Local Ethnic Humor” (2007).

gestures towards inclusive local and Native Hawaiian identities that take Hawai‘i and caring for its land and people as the center of Rap’s concern.

Rap’s comedy emerged in the context of what is often characterized as the “Hawaiian Renaissance” in the 1970s, a resurgence of interest and participation in Native Hawaiian culture that was influenced by ethnic studies, civil rights, feminist, and decolonization movements. The revival of music, voyaging, land and political rights, and language was “rooted in a return to a cultural heritage” and stood as “testimonials to the future” (Burlingame and Kasher 6). Comedians—or as Rap preferred, “humorist[s]” (Choo 35)—remain mostly invisible in the story of the Renaissance, possibly because of comedy’s associations with low-brow entertainment. Yet Pidgin comedy developed because local identity was becoming a source of pride, due in part to the rising movement for ethnic studies. Even though ‘ōlelo Hawai‘i too was on the rise, Pidgin was at this point the common language of Hawai‘i’s people, a marker of a working-class background, and a language with which both Hawaiians and locals could identify. Pidgin comedy can be traced to the 1950s and 1960s to such performers as Sterling Mossman, Lucky Luck, and Kent Bowman, but did not reach popularity until the 1970s Hawaiian Renaissance movement and the solidification of local culture against mass tourism and outsider interests.

Rap was first a part of a comedic trio called “Booga Booga” throughout the 1970s, who popularized Pidgin sketches with what Booga Booga member Ed Ka‘ahea called “identifiable island characters” (*Hawaii’s Rap*). Although Karyn Okada

describes these characters as "racial stereotypes" (219), Lee Tonouchi contends that Booga Booga's comedy raised concerns about Hawaiian conservationism, capitalism, land rentals and Hawaiian Home Lands to get "messages on Hawaiian issues across" in a "covert" manner ("No Laugh" 29). In addition, Booga Booga performed at the Territorial Tavern—a name indicative of contentious land possession—alongside musicians like Country Comfort, who became famous for the song "Waimanalo Blues"—"a political protest about the development taking place all around them" (Bolante and Keany), reflecting the rise of development due to tourism's effect on real estate. Territorial Tavern was a nucleus for local pride and Hawaiian revival, since the owners refused to cater to tourists in order to prioritize locals and encouraged anti-development, pro-sovereignty music such as "Hawaii 78."[69] Sentiments like these aligned with the politics of the Hawaiian Renaissance, such as the grassroots campaign to stop development in Kalama Valley or Waiāhole-Waikāne, struggles in which locals and Hawaiians politically banded together to preserve land rights. Rarely considered part of the Renaissance, Booga Booga's Pidgin comedy holds roots in a cultural renewal that prioritized a politicized identity against U.S. settler colonialism.

Although Rap separated from Booga Booga to pursue solo work, he continued to perpetuate Booga Booga's anticolonial politics with *Rap's Hawaii* TV Special containing his most memorable hits. German, Hawaiian, English, Irish, and Spanish

[69] In an interview with Leesa Clark Stone, she told me about the Territorial Tavern and the sentiments of its owners.

and seeming to consider himself both local and Hawaiian (Smith 21), Rap was born in San Francisco and adopted by a Native Hawaiian family and, as Ka‘ahea describes, Rap “aligned with the [N]ative Hawaiian movement of the 70[s], which included a re-visioning of the ‘Hawaii’ visitors experience” (Ka‘ahea). Refusing to identify with stand-up comedy, in which comedians speak directly to their audience, Rap emphasizes that he performed local characters, “checking ‘em out, going in depth, seeing . . . where they’re at. Catching the soul and recreating it on stage” (*Hawaii’s Rap*). In most cases, Rap wields his comedy to bring together rather than to divide, although he makes some jokes about other ethnic groups. Such ethnic-specific jokes have provoked criticism about comedians like Frank De Lima, who use stereotype-laden ethnic jokes to wound or to discriminate against other groups with impunity. The difference with Rap is his focus on island *characters*, not stereotypes. Usually maintaining a mixed-race local or Hawaiian identity for his characters, such as James Kilpatrick Mohaney Montague Del Rio Okada Jr. III or Aunty Marialani (and poking fun of elaborate names that show each strand of this mixture), Rap crosses the perceived divisions between local and Native Hawaiian and creates a stronger collective cast to oust the tourist vision of Hawai‘i.[70]

The first thing to notice about *Rap’s Hawaii* is its naming practice, which claims a particular vision of Hawai‘i, and Hawai‘i itself.[71] *Rap’s Hawaii* is set in a frame narrative that helps guide the audience through various comedic sketches, each

[70] Native Hawaiians are usually considered local. Divisions can pop up between non-Hawaiian locals and Hawaiians on politically sensitive topics such as sovereignty.
[71] Noticeably, Hawai‘i claims Rap back in the KGMB documentary *Rap’s Hawaii* (1995). There is mutual recognition and claiming.

character portrayed by Rap. The frame narrator is a grey-haired local man with aloha shirt, straw hat, and framed by the lush greenery and chickens in his backyard, who invites us into the story and introduces Hawai‘i, not as a melting pot of assimilation but as an ethnic "salad bowl." He is representative of a Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese, Puerto Rican, haole, Spanish, and Filipino mix, calling himself "living proof" of the salad bowl (Reiplinger).[72] Jeff Chang calls this opening a "standard island comedy routine [that draws] ridiculous caricatures of island ethnic groups," the old man and his backyard providing a "romanticized, nostalgic rural ambience in this staging of the Local" (2). Rap calls Hawai‘i not a melting pot but a salad bowl because while everyone is different, "they all in the pot togedda" (Reiplinger). Although the idea of the salad bowl appeals to a type of multicultural pluralism, which scholars of settler colonialism like Patrick Wolfe critique as "an assimilationist discourse that seeks to lose Indigenous specificity in amongst the ethnic heterogeneity of immigrant populations" ("Settler Colonialism" 168), Rap represents himself as the salad bowl embodied in one person, asking "just by looking, what you tink?" (Reiplinger). He jokingly asks viewers to try to identify his ethnicities through visual categorization; the impossibility of categorization frames the TV Special.[73] Encapsulated in his repeated phrase "all mix um up ova hea" (Reiplinger), Rap's ability to escape clear racialized percentages also speaks to a notion of identity that

[72] All transcriptions from *Rap's Hawaii* are mine, written to convey the sounds of Pidgin for an English-speaking audience.
[73] Rap proves impossible to categorize as a person and comedian—see the cover of his album *Poi Dog* (1978), which features him, half his body in female gendered clothing and accessories and half his body gendered male.

operates outside of the Native Hawaiian blood quantum, as who is considered legalized "native Hawaiian" or "Native Hawaiian" in terms of expansive kinship networks is rendered moot—Rap's old man is simply "all mix um up."[74] These settler ideas of indigeneity cannot contain his identity, which is much like the Pidgin language itself.

The Antidevelopment Politics of Republicrat Maunawili

Rap's old man narrator introduces a section of the TV Special dealing with advertisements, noticing that there are lots of local people on TV lately, but "whatever we do, da ting come out different" and the commercials "no make sense" (Reiplinger). A prime example of this non-sense is his sketch "Candidate Willy Maunawili," a parody of TV advertisements for political candidates. This advertisement is for the self-described "Willy Maunawili, Independent Republicrat candidate for Representative" with the slogan "No be silly, vote Willy!" (Reiplinger, see fig. 1). Maunawili advertises the inefficiency of Hawai'i's political system and politicians' inability to connect to the people. This advertisement for Republicrat Maunawili, which supposedly promotes the candidate, actually demonstrates why candidates like him should not be voted into office. Willy Maunawili is an example of a politician's true colors; playing the authority figure means showing the contradictory, inflated, and problematic nature of U.S. state politics (or, perhaps, any politics) and the failure of these politics to "work" on Hawaiian land.

[74] See Maile Arvin's "All in the Blood" (2015) and Kēhaulani Kauanui's *Hawaiian Blood* (2008).

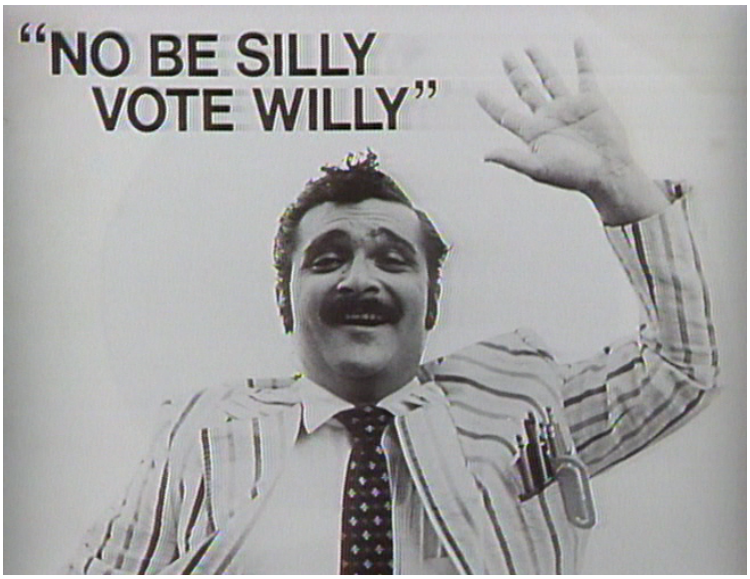

Fig. 1. Willy Maunawili's slogan. All screenshots taken from *Rap's Hawaii* by the author.

The promo for Willy Maunawili goes awry as the contrast between voiceover and visual and slapstick comedy shows the exact ineptitude of the political candidate. "Now, more than ever, Hawai'i's housing needs are a serious problem. And Willy takes the time to be part of that problem" (Reiplinger), the voiceover narrates, as Maunawili in his suit and tie walks through a construction site, obstructs the workmen, and because he gets in the way of the construction workers, trips and tumbles down the hillside. Already, Rap sets up a bumbling political figure who creates more problems than solutions. In attempting to fix the housing problem by wandering through the construction site with blueprints, he only hinders the entire process. Maunawili fails at every aspect of his mimicry: advertising tactics of politicians, connecting to the people, and espousing political rhetoric. This aspect becomes clearer with Maunawili's message for the people:

> I got problems! Huh, just like anybody else. Taxes, inflation, deflation, exflation, unemployment, AND dere's a lotta people outta work. Huh. AND dey raising the price of everyting! Dey raising da price of food. Dey raising da price of gas. Dey raising da price of dis. Dey raising da price of dat. Don't dey know, when you raise da prices da cost goes up? All dese problems add up to a lot of uncertainties dat we, as da people of Hawai'i, are uncertain of. I'm certain of dat. (Reiplinger)

At the end, Maunawili calls for everybody to work together with him to solve these problems, illustrating this partnership with malasadas (Portuguese doughnuts) on his fingers that represented a gathering of people. Vote for Willy, because he "needs all the help he can get" the narrator adds.

This sketch captures the all-too-familiar frustration regarding politicians as circular, repetitive, and too incompetent to solve any real social problems. As a "Republicrat," he makes queering nonsense of the dominant U.S. political parties of Republican or Democrat—it does not matter which party is in power, they all end up spouting what on the surface may seem well-intentioned but underneath says nothing of substance and hides their real interests. Maunawili's empty and ridiculous gestures point to political discontent in the 1970s and 1980s. Political science professor Noel Kent describes 1970s politics as a marriage of business and politics when "those with ties to tourism-land development interests were joined by a whole new passel of recently elected businessmen-politicians" (149) especially of Japanese Americans in the Democratic Party.[75] A number of communities were affected, with local protests erupted in 1970s struggles over land development and evictions in places like Kalama

[75] See George Cooper and Gavan Daws' powerful analysis of politics in *Land and Power in Hawaii* (1990), particularly where they describe how Democrats became involved in land and development post-World War II (46).

Valley, Halawa, Ota Camp, Waimānalo, Wakāne-Waiāhole, Sand Island, and the reclamation of the island of Kahoʻolawe from naval testing. In 1973 an evicted Waimānalo resident reported that "our own government is kicking us out of our homes" and that the "community is fed up" with "the state's disregard of our lifestyle and community" (qtd. in Kent 158). The party, the politician, and even race does not really matter—the character of Maunawili points out that Democratic and Republican interests align in the dispossession of Native Hawaiian lands and ultimately ends with only politicians benefitting from this system, even if that politician is Hawaiian. Rap's Maunawili points to the emptiness and failures of "democracy" in Hawaiʻi, where the land is occupied and controlled by settler business.

This comedic critique of colonial political power is not new. It has a long tradition in Pacific Island cultures, and can be seen in the work of Vilsoni Hereniko and Caroline Sinavaiana.[76] Hereniko in particular demonstrates how comedians in hierarchical Polynesian societies served as "a critique of chiefly authority" (2) and that these "[c]lowning traditions of Polynesia have survived to the present, albeit in a much diluted and reconstituted form, in Tonga, Samoa, Rotuma, Fiji, Tokelau, and Hawaiʻi" (4). Hawaiʻi's modern leadership, including the educated elite, foreigners,

[76] See Hereniko for specific historical cases of clowning in Hawaiʻi, which includes hula kiʻi and improvisational oli. See Katharine Luomala's *Hula Kiʻi* (1984) for historical examples of satire and venting that allow the public to make the public's animosity playfully but bitingly known. See Caroline Sinavaiana's "Where the Spirits Laugh Last: Comic Theater in Samoa" (1993) and Christopher Balme's *Pacific Performances* (2007) for more on fale aitu practices of critiquing authority. Balme discusses the comedy group The Naked Samoans as one contemporary example of fale aitu. Also see John A. Kneubuhl's interview (1993) for context on flae aitu as a form of critique from the common, lower class satirizing upper-class people, which keeps authority figures in check and is allowed, as long as it is funny.

and local politicians, are the new "chiefly authority" that this kind of comedy attempts to educate and correct. Hereniko argues that comedy "provides avenues for the expression of dissent as well as alternative ways of being" and helps to mediate "conflict and the maintenance (or creation) of a humane leadership, particularly in modern Polynesia, where many chiefs are losing their sense of humor as they seek (by hook or by crook) to hang on to power and the perks that come with status" (20). To have a sense of humor, those in authority are humbled by the critique of bad leadership as it shows them the popular perspective, and comedy allows for a self-reflective space to reassess community values.

Within this context of humor in the Pacific, Rap's Maunawaili represents the failures of colonial political leaders brought to light and frustrations aired by the people. Maunawili makes obvious the gap between spouting politics and doing politics, just as the politicians in Hawai‘i failed to account for their constituents in the 1970s. Maunawili's campaign is full of false nothings, as he gives no real reason to vote for him except "No be silly." Rap's parody suggests that you *will* be silly if you vote for Willy, because the slapstick shows that Maunawili is disconnected from the land and its people. He addresses the problems of the beaches and ocean by falling into the ocean, he tackles the problems of housing by becoming part of the problem, and his solution to traffic problems ends up with the city bus splashes him with water instead. Rap forecasts the failure of such overlap between politics and business real estate to truly address the needs of Hawai‘i's people in times of uncertainty. Rap's Maunawili points to the emptiness and failures of "democracy" in post-statehood

Hawai‘i, in that the multicultural election of a Hawaiian politician does not solve problems of structural inequality. Moreover, Maunawili is marked as Native Hawaiian in his name—perhaps a sign that Indigenous leadership does not always mean good leadership, especially in relation to Hereniko's description of Pacific clowning, where a leader must answer to the people.

Rap instead suggests that such inequality might be addressed through a community-oriented and land-based politics. Rap provides us with clues of this aloha ‘āina politics through the visual elements of his comedy. In the scene in which Maunawili walks through a construction site, one of the workers is wearing a bright red "Hawaii 78" shirt (see fig. 2). "Hawaii ‘78" refers to a song made famous by The Mākaha Sons, a hugely popular and talented group of artists.[77] In it, they sing that Hawaiian royalty would "cry for the gods / cry for the people / cry for the lands that was taken away" because of "highways on their sacred grounds," "condominiums," and "modern city life" (The Mākaha Sons). These kings and queens believe people are in "great danger" (The Mākaha Sons). Throughout, The Mākaha Sons repeatedly sings the Hawai‘i state motto, "Ua Mau ke Ea o ka ‘āina i ka Pono O Hawai‘i," which is usually translated as, "the life of the land is perpetuated in righteousness." Originally a quote from King Kamehameha III when the sovereignty of the islands were returned by the British in 1843, it indicates that land and sovereignty are tied

[77] The Mākaha Sons of Ni‘ihau, also known as just The Mākaha Sons, performed "Hawaii ‘78" song on their album, *Hank's Place Presents The Makaha Sons of Ni‘ihau "Live"* (1978), and when Israel Kamakawiwo‘ole went solo, he also had a recording of the song on his album, *Facing Future* (1993).

together. Although this phrase was appropriated into the settler state as the state motto, it is also used widely by Hawaiian activists.


Fig. 2. A construction worker with a “Hawaii 78” shirt greets Willy Maunawili.

Such a reference in this sketch, even as Maunawili prevents the smooth operation of construction on Hawaiian land, practices an inherently political aloha ʻāina. As Noelani Goodyear-Kaʻōpua argues, “[a]loha ʻāina expresses an unswerving dedication to the health of the natural world and a staunch commitment to political autonomy, as both are integral to a healthy existence” (32). Above all, it “is an active verb, not just a sentiment” (Goodyear-Kaʻōpua 32). “Hawaii 78” and the sketch’s use of Pidgin highlight multiethnic coalitions created precisely because of the exacerbated conditions of living in Hawaiʻi. In Maunawili’s speech, which may on the surface seem nonsensical—with him riffing in Pidgin and making up words—he remarks that the one thing people of Hawaiʻi are certain of is uncertainty, due to taxes, inflation, and unemployment. What remains unsaid is that the underlying cause of this

condition are settler colonial practices of Indigenous dispossession, which affects not only Native Hawaiians, but the descendants of Asian plantation laborers and other engaged in antieviction, antidevelopment struggles in Hawai‘i.

Returning to the end of Rap's sketch, Maunawili calls for everybody to work together with him to solve these problems, illustrating this partnership with malasadas (Portuguese doughnuts) on his fingers that represent a gathering of people. Although it may be read as an empty and foolish gesture, especially as he uses malasadas to illustrate his point, Maunawili nevertheless posits the solution that "One man, alone, by himself, cannot get da job done. But wit help, from his fellow men, working togeddah, we can make tings happen" (Reiplinger). Idealistic though this suggestion is from a bumbling politician like Maunawili, it reiterates a solidaritistic impulse for social change that comes from the people, rather than imposed from above. This notion of social change from the people is emphasized throughout the sketch, as Maunawili is ridiculed at every step by symbols of community: the ocean, "Hawaii 78," and the city bus. For Rap, the character of Maunawili refashions political power into political failure, or a political practice that cannot function within the realm of U.S. national politics. The character empowers many constituents by providing them with an avenue for social commentary. There are different ways to belong to and claim land more aligned with that of the Hawaiian Renaissance, in which local practices and ways of living are foregrounded—perhaps what Maunawili suggests with his malasada men working together for a common cause.

Turning the Hula Girl into One Tita

The tourist gaze is a frame through which to see, an "all-seeing eye" (Urry 178) that picks out the sought for authentic experience from the fake.[78] As in many other representations of colonized places, Hawai'i has been depicted for the tourist gaze as feminine and available for conquest via land, people, and resources. Trask describes the depiction of Hawai'i since the late nineteenth century as cultural prostitution—"the word, the vision, the sound in the mind . . . Hawai'i is 'she,' the Western image of the Native 'female' in her magical allure. And if luck prevails, some of 'her' will rub off on you, the visitor" (*From a Native Daughter* 136-37). The "hula girl" has become the metaphor for Hawai'i: naked, light-skinned Polynesian women with beckoning brown eyes indicating open, warm, inviting hospitality that eroticizes and exoticizes these bodies for white male heterosexuality.[79] In-demand dancers of the era "had to be 'pencil slim,' around 115 pounds, and roughly five feet, six inches tall to fit in the hula line" (Desmond 134). Moreover, the "hapa haole" or part-Hawaiian, mixed race look was desired—exotic, but not too threatening. Since "Hawai'i was packaged and presented as wholly Native Hawaiian, not Asian" (Imada 186), the ethnic mixture of many hula dancers as part-Asian meant that Hawai'i's large Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino communities became invisible within the U.S. For the white tourist, the pleasure of these brown, faraway bodies were maintained through silencing histories of migration and evoking the romanticized precontact "purity" of Hawaiianness. Emblematic of all that Hawai'i offers—heterosexual

[78] For more on the tourist gaze, see Ellen Strain (2003).
[79] For more on the hula girl and dusky maiden as representative of Pacific women, see Patty O'Brien, *The Pacific Muse: Exotic Femininity and the Colonial Pacific* (2006) and Lisa Taouma, "Gauguin is Dead . . . There is No Paradise" (2004).

desire, exotic beauty of land and people, and the possession of such experiences—the hula girl is the sexualized and gendered claim of U.S. settler colonialism.

Rap challenges these assumptions in his "Chanting" sketch from *Rap's Hawaii*, where we are transported to an almost idyllic scene: in all the usual trappings of a "hula girl," Rap chants and dances (see fig. 3). Rap's performance embodies a history of embedded resistance in hula. Adria Imada explains that hula in tourist venues "camouflage[d] the inherently political content of the dance: a hidden transcript or kaona (veiled meaning) of the public script" (73); sacred hula that honored chiefs, kings, or deity might be performed for oblivious tourists who gazed upon what they considered the entertainment of old Hawai'i customs. In Hereniko's discussion of clowning traditions in Hawai'i, he points out that chants were used as a strategy for Native Hawaiians in the nineteenth century to satirize foreign behavior (15). Rap's Pidgin hula also hides political content in the outwardly comedic, for the mele (Hawaiian for song or chant) of the hula might seem nonsensical to visitors but conveys a recitation of everyday foods, objects, and actions. Such poetic text has the ability to mock and critique, which in the context of hula, "suggest[s] a sly counter-colonial transcript within the tourist performance" (Imada 76).


Fig. 3. Rap as the Tita in “Chanting.”

In his performance, Rap parodically exaggerates, visually and aurally, the iconic touristic desire for the hula girl, only to point out the artificiality of these expectations. Camping the hula girl for the tourist gaze, his overdone motions call attention to audience expectations of sensual grace. Rap chants, “Steam mullet bagoong lauhala mat and B.O.” (Reiplinger), listing steamed mullet (a Chinese-style fish dish), bagoong (Filipino fermented shrimp paste), lauhala (Pandanus leaf) mat, and body odor as the character sniffs her armpit. In other sections of the hula, the character lists common foods and smells such as hulihuli chicken, spear fishing, driving on Kalakaua Avenue in a 1957 Chevy, and smashing cockroaches. None of these descriptions are beautified behaviors of living in paradise. Rap not only pokes fun at the tourist’s gaze that expects the reproduction of the commodified hula, but also gently prods at hula restrictions over reproduction and transmission, since certain

mele belonged to specific aliʻi (chiefs) and performances could not be careless (Imada 77). Since it is in Pidgin and intentionally comedic, Rap's dance manages to avoid the restrictions involved in practicing hula, with which he would have been familiar as his mother and aunts were hula dancers. Like other hula, however, this Pidgin hula provides commentary on place: Honolulu and more broadly, Hawaiʻi, with the common sights and smells from the perspective of the local community. Rap prioritizes these scenes from everyday life, in Pidgin, over Hawaiian language mele to ground his comedy in relatable, working-class behaviors, since hula was seen as serious and high-brow, often honoring chiefly genealogies. Moreover, at this moment Hawaiian language revitalization and immersion was in its early stages, and Pidgin reached local, Hawaiian, and tourist audiences with a clear in-group who fully understood Rap's comedy and its implications. Rap's Pidgin hula, therefore, invoked the image of the hula girl to dupe and mock the tourist gaze.

Rap's characterization of his hula dancer points to his refusal to play a part in the normalization of Hawaiian women's sexuality for this tourist gaze. The chant starts with a man who calls out to Rap's character: "Charge um, Tita!" (Reiplinger). Tita can be defined as a tough, sassy local girl.[80] Although Rap first evokes the hula girl through the staging of his performance, through the tita character, Rap evades the gaze's voyeuristic pleasure of the hula girl image. The hula girl sells pristine Hawaiʻi, imaged as sexually available, desirable, and unthreatening. But the tita embodies none

[80] Tita can mean tough local girl or sister, but in this context, Rap's character acts more as a tough local girl than a sister.

of the above. The hula's lyrics literalizes Hawai'i's multiethnic community, recovering histories of Asian migration and intermarriage that the hula girl as Hawaiian object often obscures. The tita chants, threateningly, to the audience that she will "karang yo allas" or "hit your testicles" while hitting her sides, and lists the least conventionally attractive matters: B.O., smashing cockroaches with a slipper, and "puka puka pants" or pants with holes, with the appropriate gestures. Tough and aggressive, this tita overturns the fantasy of demure hula girl femininity. Deploying camp, as "a way of making cultural, social and sexual critique under the guise of harmless humor" (Pearson 570), Rap performs the juxtaposition of the hula girl and the tita under the omnipresent tourist gaze, creating humor that enables locals and Hawaiians to share in the mockery of that same gaze. Unsatisfied, the tourist gaze is rendered impotent and pointless.

The tita plays with the tourist's misunderstanding of Hawaiian culture to circumvent settler possession. Rap in drag also achieves its comedy through its "fale aitu"-like camp effects, as Samoan fale aitu is "a form of social control" (Kneubuhl 1) because it is ordinary people who satirize the elite, with men performing female roles that "ridicule[ed] traditional male authority" (Pearson 561). Like fale aitu, "Chanting" undermines the heterosexual and masculine nature of the tourist gaze, and audiences might find that the tita is more masculine than they as she illustrates the everyday activities of catching fish, driving a car coded as "manly," smashing cockroaches, and busting balls in this performance.

While the tita may represent a stereotype of her own, Rap forces tourists to

reckon with a representation of Hawai‘i that is much more complex and hostile to outsiders.[81] The Pidgin lyrics presents and acknowledges a history of contact and immigration, while mocking the tourist for expectations of an untouched Hawai‘i. Rap’s Pidgin comedy obstructs a gaze of possession. Instead, this sketch suggests that Hawai‘i is claimed by activities, histories, and language that is the legacy of both locals and Hawaiians. The tita’s Pidgin chant disrupts the representation of the ahistorical hula girl and invites a gaze that relates to Hawai‘i peoples’ own lives. Rap’s comedy not only recalls practices of Pacific humor, but also deploys a camp strategy to mock images of Hawaiians and hula to make cultural critique.

Subversive Obedience in “Room Service” and “Puka Shell Tour Guide”

In this last section on *Rap’s Hawaii*, I focus on two sketches in which Rap, in performing the labor of the local in Hawai‘i’s tourist economy, enacts service that, in the end, does not truly serve the tourist. “Puka Shell Tour Guide” features Kimo, a hapless tour guide in Honolulu, who the camera follows as he does his job, all with the voiceover of a song he sings to the melody of “Rhinestone Cowboy,” made popular by Glen Campbell. Unlike “Rhinestone Cowboy,” which is about an entertainer down on his luck but perseveres to become a star, this song is about the tour guide as entertainer and stuck there. Kimo hates his job. He sings that he is “busting my buns while they’re [tourists] having all the fun [. . .] Busing camera-toting tourists to the latest Polynesian show / And places I don’t want to go”

[81] Tita and her male counterpart, “moke,” are often stereotypes associated with the working class and Hawai‘i’s countryside—both are tough and Pidgin-speaking.

(Reiplinger). Taking tourists to places he does not want to go is a constant refrain repeated throughout the song, and the song ends on this line of unwillingness. In other words, unlike the rhinestone cowboy, nothing changes in the song for the tour guide. This job is how he survives. He sings, "wouldn't be here unless I had ta" (Reiplinger). Disidentifying with the rhinestone cowboy idea of "making it," Rap reinscribes this tourist and worker interaction with a perspective from below.

Kimo sees the tourists as whiny and irritating because they keep, in his words, "bugging me" and they all are "yelling at me cause they all got sunburned" as well as belittle him—he says he's their "information center, your all-star native clown / And your only way to get around" (Reiplinger). The idea of the "native clown" points to Kimo himself as entertainment—he entertains not through his "rhinestones," but through his puka shells, the small shells with holes that line his orange shirt. It also points to tourists' dependency on native informants for their experience of exoticism and paradise, and it is not clear whether or not Rap really gives them any sense of exotic authenticity. Rap's use of "native clown" recalls Hereniko's words on the role of the clown as "potentially a creative and progressive force that could upset the foundations on which society is built" (10). If comedy has a "leveling effect" (Hereniko 10), Rap uses this opportunity to critique tourists, as "they all look the same to me / Wearing plastic leis, aloha shirts, bermudas, and bony knees" (Reiplinger), and he visually portrays tourists as a clueless herd looking for the next thing to see and experience (see fig. 4). Playing with the idea that all Hawaiians (or people of color in general, particularly Asians) "look alike," Kimo turns this around

to suggest that it is white people who look the same, especially in their fake aloha wear. Moreover, the sketch suggests that while the tourists depend on Kimo for information, they also disregard that information—they walk in the opposite direction from Kimo's guidance and rather than thanking him for a ride on a canoe, they complain of sunburn. This native clown plays with the idea of making fun of tourists at the same time that they commodify Hawaiian culture and Kimo's labor, a reversal of one-way "hospitality."


Fig. 4. Kimo showing tourists around.

The entire sketch can be summed up through the lines near the end of the song where Kimo sings "But I'm the man that keeps things going / Yes, I'm the man that keeps on showing / That the spirit of Aloha is alive and well, real swell" (Replinger). This "spirit of Aloha" is a riff on the typical clichéd hospitality of the tourism industry. According to Teves, aloha is "actively reiterated and policed" (34) when, as Hawai‘i's primary resource and export "is exploited by the tourist industry to

capitalize on ideas about Hawai‘i that its residents internalize in a way that makes tourism appear to be the only way that Hawai‘i can sustain its economy" (33).[82] Aloha "branding" proliferates in Hawai‘i's tourism and Hawai‘i state law has even sanctioned aloha in the workplace.[83] Drawing from cultural expert Mary Kawena Pukui, Teves further defines aloha as reciprocal and about "kindness and sharing, especially in the family or ‘ohana setting where people are welcomed and all is shared, with the understanding that people gather to provide mutual helpfulness for collective benefit" (25). In Rap's sketch, tour guide Kimo refers to the "spirit of Aloha" to point out its commodification and how he must perform this false sense of welcoming hospitality, even after being trampled and belittled, and persevere. George Kanahele argues that, particularly in the tourism of the 1970s when it became popularized, "the merchandizing of the lei greeting [. . .] is insulting to Hawaiians because it turns a traditionally warm and personal gesture of respect into a mechanical, impersonal, and false business transaction" (488). As Kimo shows in the sketch, his version of the "spirit of Aloha" means surviving the damaging commodification of himself and a sense of the familial, sharing aloha spirit, even though the tourists do not show him any sort of aloha. Counter to the idea of the tour guide that shows Hawai‘i to outsiders, the sketch of Kimo the tour guide does not give its audience a tour of Hawai‘i, but gives a tour of the commodification of his body and labor, and his misery in perpetuating this cycle of tourism and service.

[82] Also see Lisa Hall's "'Hawaiian at Heart' and Other Fictions" (2005).
[83] For more, see Stephanie Nohelani Teves' discussion of aloha branding in *Defiant Indigeneity* (2018).

"Puka Shell Tour Guide" is not specifically sung in Pidgin, as it takes on the vocal style of Glen Campbell, but nevertheless reshapes stereotypes of Hawai'i, as the other sketches have done in what I am calling the tactics of "Pidgin camp" of Rap's comedy. Like the voiceover in the Willy Maunawili sketch, Kimo's song displays a slapstick, campy contrast to the visual action, giving even more reason to not just believe what one hears. What might be called the Pidginized visual always underscores the falseness in the English, whether it is on Maunawili's expertise as a politician, or Kimo's tours of Honolulu. The final sketch I discuss, "Room Service," takes a more direct Pidgin approach. In it, Rap performs as both a male haole tourist and as a female hotel phone operator (see fig. 5).[84] The tourist calls room service, wanting a cheeseburger, fries, and a chocolate malt. The phone operator distractedly attempts to take the tourist's order, while she flirts with Russell, the cook. After frustration on both ends, the tourist gives up on ordering and hangs up, leaving the phone operator to shake her head and scoff "tourists." Restaging a common encounter, Rap's sketch exaggerates "service" to recode dominant culture, reversing who is humiliated and denied access to power within the tourism industry.

[84] See Toshiaki Furukawa (2018) for a full transcript of the "Room Service" sketch.


Fig. 5. Tourist and operator “meet.”

In this sketch, Rap mocks the haole tourist by exaggerated parody of white Americans contrasted against Pidgin speakers and the working class. A typical tourist, the haole man is depicted as having wavy blonde hair, pale skin, and a dress shirt and he lies on his hotel bed to call room service, a call received by Rap’s operator, who is marked as local with her brown hair and skin. Their positions in the camera frame shows the hotel hierarchy: the tourist is “upstairs” in the upper corner of the frame while the operator is “downstairs” in the bottom of the frame. The phone operator, however, quickly gains the upper-hand through her Pidgin and local behavior, contrasted against the tourist’s stiff Standard English and inability to accept difference.

Camp works here to recode this encounter, essentially performing a parody of tourism and service that allows locals and Hawaiians to take alternative pleasure in what this encounter with the dominant usually means. The sketch begins with the

tourist's call: "This is Mr. Fogherty in Room 1225, I'd like to order some dinner" (Reiplinger). Despite saying his name and room number from the very beginning of the exchange, the operator asks the tourist to repeat his room number six times, and to his growing frustration, she mispronounces his name. The conversation continues:

> Operator: "And ah what was your room numbah?"
> Tourist: "1225."
> Operator: "One moa time please."
> Tourist: "1225."
> Operator: "1225, that's a Mista Frogtree."
> Tourist: "Fogherty. Fogherty."
> Operator: "Can I help you, Mista Frogtree? [to the cook] Gunnfunit Russell, cool it cool it I chrai foa tink! [to the tourist] Now wea were we?"
> Tourist: "I'd like to order some dinner and have it sent up to my room please."
> Operator: "And what room was dat?"
> Tourist: "Room 1225. This is Mr. Fogherty. I'd like to have my dinner sent up to my room 1225." (Reiplinger)

As the operator files her nails and is distracted by Russell's flirty antics, she ignores, mishears, or forgets what the tourist has just said. Refusing his pronunciation for her own "Mr. Frogtree," to which he eventually answers, the operator flips the script to make the tourist answer her rather than being at the tourist's beck-and-call, a notion that Robin D. G. Kelley calls "acts of resistance and recreation" (3).[85]

The operator's Pidgin and her behavior, such as speaking to Russell while taking an order, points to ideas of Hawai'i's people as unprofessional, low class, lazy, and uncouth. This representation, as literary scholar Stephen Sumida describes, buys into Hawai'i's local people "stereotyped as being silent or quiet, not merely reticent

[85] In the introduction to *Race Rebels* (1994), Robin D.G. Kelley discusses how the working class turned work into performance and pleasure, thereby finding new ways to rebel.

but deficient in verbal skills" (227), with even loud locals as "deficient" due to Pidgin's stigma in popular culture as a language that prevents success. This deficiency stereotype can be observed in legislation, since in 1987, a few years after *Rap's Hawaii*, the Department of Education tried to ban Pidgin in classrooms and in the same year two meteorologists from Hawai'i sued the National Weather Service for "linguistic profiling" in reviewing job applications (Drager 70). Racial stereotypes are very much attached to Pidgin as an undesirable language, and Rap's comedy understands these stereotypes, using it to baffle and mock assumptions from the dominant about Pidgin and Hawai'i's majority service workforce—i.e., assumptions of deficiency make for deficient service.

Taking alternative pleasure in Pidgin from the perspective of the marginalized, Rap recodes Pidgin as a barrier to tourism itself, a hostile linguistic act that, as Robertson argues about feminist camp, "redefine[s] the dominant even as they appropriate from it" (152). Like the previous sketch, Rap's comedy plays with the tourist's misunderstanding of local culture and Pidgin, redefining tourism as harmful and not a boon to the economy, which it is always cast as in news reports. The tourist attempts to order his cheeseburger, fries, and a chocolate malt, which the operator continually gets wrong and when he snaps, she retorts, "Cool yoa jets, what you tink dis is, otomation!" (Reiplinger). The operator highlights the machinery of her labor; she refuses to be the automated worker, an "otomation" to be ordered around. Disrupting tourism's normal transaction, Rap shows that the operator's Pidgin helps her to defy the service hierarchy and tourism's authority, resisting "being totally

subordinated to the needs of capital" (Kelley 20). Hospitality is not the aim.

Rap's drag in this sketch as the hotel operator also comments on the gendered relationship between locals and tourists. The tourist is rendered impotent while the female worker is sexual (flirting with Russell) but not sexual*ized*. Ultimately, the tourist is unable to make this version of feminized Hawai'i work for his desires and all he can do is repeat his order, unwilling to break the script that the normalized colonial relationship has set out for him. In addition, while Rap as the operator indicates locals' awareness of how outsiders might view them, Rap's drag as the tourist brings to life the image of the haole tourist from the local perspective—the overexaggerated crispness of his Standard English and "proper" behavior read as middle-class. The "white voice" Rap portrays is "parodied, negatively evaluated, and mocked" and continued in later local comedy (Furukawa, T. 856). To a local audience, the sketch casts the tourist as the foreigner to be laughed at, instead of Hawai'i's exoticism seen as that which is foreign to the continental visitor.

In the latter half of the sketch, the operator offers the tourist a window of opportunity to get out of this exploitative relationship of tourist and server through the sampling of local food. By suggesting the special of the day, pickled pig's feet with Spanish rice, she opens the conversation to the complexities of local culture—Hawai'i's mixture of Asian and Pacific cultures that influence such dishes—and a conversation beyond taking orders. She recommends the dish to him—is he absolutely "sure" that he wants his cheeseburger and fries? In a sing-songy voice, she asks, "you shuah you no like the pickled pigs feet, hah? [. . .] Ono you know"

(Reiplinger). In other words, wouldn't he rather try something new? However, the tourist only repeats his order of cheeseburger, fries, and a chocolate malt in short, flat responses. Then, when the operator gets distracted again, the tourist hangs up in tears (see fig. 6). Realizing he has ended the call, the operator scoffs "tourists," and gives the viewer a sardonic lift of the eyebrow as if to say "typical tourist behavior."


Fig. 6. The tourist sobs in frustration.

"Room Service" de-centers the debilitating effects of racialized labor in the tourist economy. Rap reduces a confident white man to tears, representing the tourist as unable to do anything else but sob and give up when he fails to respond to the operator's olive branch—pig's feet. From a linguistic perspective, Gavin Furukawa notes that the operator's speech "shows high affect" towards the tourist, while the tourist's responses are read as "emotionally distant" (45) in comparison. The operator is sincere as opposed to the professional insincerity of the tourist (Furukawa, G. 46).

Significantly, the tourist refuses to even attempt the simple cross-cultural interaction of sharing food, rejecting the chance to be open to local tastes and symbolically open to other values and cultures. The tourist remains closed to difference. In this interaction, Rap's comedy was, in Ka'ahea's words, "rounded, funny and generous" and "it enlightened" for its purpose was to "educate" (Ka'ahea). Rap never degrades the tourist without mercy. Instead, his comedy makes overtures to change the way the typical tourist-Hawaiian or tourist-local relationship creates hierarchies, which the tourist cannot seem to recognize. It calls into question the sense of paternalism and neocolonialism of Hawai'i's tourism industry that typically makes the operator's obedience and service to the tourist a natural occurrence, a service that meaningfully fails to occur in the sketch. His comedy centers Hawai'i's local and Hawaiian bodies at a time when the reigning tourist industry makes these bodies lesser—less visible, less valuable, less central—compared to tourists.

Rap's exchange between operator and tourist creates a humorous tension that exorcises many of the frustrations that happen daily in Hawai'i for both locals and Hawaiians and thus crosses the division between the two in his comedy. The sketch does not present "Hawai'i as home only to Native Hawaiians happy to play host to visiting whites" (Desmond 33). Hawaiian studies scholar Jonathan Osorio notes that what is appealing about Rap is that "he's portraying somebody who is really kind of rejecting what has by the 1980s become sort of the standard characterization, not just of Hawaiians but of this place" (Stone). Osorio, who is also a musician, opened for Booga Booga with his singing partner Randy Borden at the Territorial Tavern and

also opened Rap's solo show at the Ala Moana Hotel. The way the operator acts in "Room Service" as clueless and inefficient is, in Osorio's words, "Rap's way of saying . . . this isn't who we are. Hawaiians just aren't the people who are going to be trained for these jobs" that seem natural and will not be someone who says "'Aloha' and welcome[es] the tourists" (Stone). Osorio argues, "if you put us in this kind of position, we're still who we are. We're people who are constantly playing, having a sense of humor" and in his interpretation, "[w]e're always going to be the people you can't corral . . . the people who are not going to conform to your agenda" (Stone). Osorio speaks from a Native Hawaiian perspective but as he notes in reference to the place of Hawai'i, locals may be included in this interpretation of Rap's comedy. The sketch might be about bad customer service, but it is also more pointedly about the critique Hawaiians and locals hold for an encroaching tourist industry, expressing a hostile welcome. Rap's comedy defers the total dependence of Native Hawaiians and locals on the tourist industry, at least to rhetorically resist. As Nordstrom claims in her work on Pidgin as rhetorical sovereignty, seeing "Pidgin as a language Hawaiians adopted *and adapted*" when 'ōlelo Hawai'i was banned "illustrates Hawaiian innovation and resourcefulness in finding ways to resist and maintain linguistic and cultural autonomy" (325). Rap's Pidgin comedy is one of the avenues in which such rhetorical sovereignty is practiced, and even locals agree with the anti-tourism sentiment.

"Room Service" still holds up even three decades after *Rap's Hawaii*, as the Pidgin-speaking operator is still relatable in Hawai'i's continued tourist economy of

the twenty-first century. Lee Tonouchi's 2009 collection of local poems demonstrates Rap's legacy in Jolynn Asato's poem "'rap' as resistance" where she writes

> I was responding
> to the resistance
> that the woman
> was able to convey
> even though it looked
> like she was obeying. (17-18)

In Tonouchi's *Significant Moments in Da Life of Oriental Faddah and Son* (2011), he has a poem in which people complain about never having "Asian American" role models. The speaker disagrees, claiming that there is much more representation in Hawai'i, and thinks about a number of shows, including *Rap's Hawaii*. A classmate does not consider these shows positive role models because "those FOB's [Fresh Off the Boat, i.e., immigrants] can't even speak / good English . . . like [the speaker]," but the speaker thinks about how watching *Rap's Hawaii* became "one event" in which family would gather and "laugh at ourselves on top da TV" (57-58). Since they only showed those local shows once a year, the speaker remembers these representations fondly and with pride precisely because they were such a contrast to the continental TV shows. As performance studies scholar Margaret Werry writes about Aotearoa New Zealand, performance "has the power to materialize that which it imagines" (xxxi). Both poems demonstrate a continued engagement with Rap's comedy from locals that speak to Rap's ability to represent Hawai'i characters alongside his ability to convey resistance to values that locals and Hawaiians share. Especially for people like Asato, Rap plays into these stereotypes of Pidgin and obedience—Hawai'i's representation on the global stage—to resist class, race, and gender hierarchies of

settler colonialism.

The Politics of Comedy

Comic traditions in Polynesia have made space for comedians to jest or critique chiefs or colonizers in positions of authority with little repercussion, and Hereniko explains that this comedy was "licensed disrespect" (5) that has the potential to simultaneously reinforce the norm and express dissent. Most importantly, it has a leveling effect on those in authority to understand "the wishes of the oppressed" (Hereniko 21). In this way, Polynesian comedy is similar to Mikhail Bakhtin's carnival, which Bakhtin describes as a "temporary liberation" from normal hierarchies and release valve leading to a renewal (109). Hierarchies are temporarily upside down and rules broken, only for conventional order to be reestablished. Pidgin camp certainly engages with the dominant, for camp itself appropriates dominant images and recontextualizes them. This recontextualization means that the potential for transformation exists. Rap's Pidgin humor acts to recontextualize what the audience understands as funny and in doing so, aligns with a history of Hawaiian social movements that extend into today.

Rap's work demonstrates critique and resistance in comedy, an often-understudied area. *Rap's Hawaii* received a regional Emmy in 1982, underscoring the ability for Rap's comedy to move across both continental and local or Hawaiian audiences. Wresting the power of Hawai'i imagery away from tourist and settler imagination, Rap's comedy moves away from the commodification of Hawai'i's culture. Both the tita and the operator claim their bodies and labor in ways that the

tourist cannot readily access, and which challenge the ownership of Hawai‘i’s lands and people. Pidgin comedy helps to symbolically escape the tourism industry that Trask names a “hostage economy.” The latent hostility embodied in the so-called hospitality of Rap’s Pidgin comedy leaves a space for transformation and resistance. It suggests a Hawaiian resistance to tourism that always lurks beneath every hula performance and encounter with hotel staff, and produces a politicized local identity. In other words, Rap’s comedy proposes a politics in which Hawaiians and locals come together to create change—in leadership, the tourism industry, and representations of Hawai‘i.[86] In focusing on these collective stakes, such comedy decolonizes Hawai‘i from the tourist gaze, and is repeated in every performance and reenactment.

[86] While unable to discuss all of Rap’s sketches in depth here, I would point to a sketch called “Comedy Robot,” in which he portrays a robot doing stand-up comedy to other robots in a Hawaiianized showroom. It shows both the commodification of people, culture, and comedy in Hawai‘i as a commentary on a pessimistic possible future of comedy in Hawai‘i.

Chapter 3

Pidgin Pedagogy:
Disciplining Colonialism in R. Zamora Linmark's *Rolling the R's*

The Counter-Pedagogy of the "R"

In R. Zamora Linmark's novel of 1970s Hawai'i, *Rolling the R's*, the teachers warn the parents of Vicente, Mai-Lan, and Florante that their children should stay away from their Pidgin-speaking classmates. Pidgin, it is implied in particular, threatens the right kind of development for English learners. As the immigrant Filipino and Vietnamese students in the fifth-grade class, Vicente, Mai-Lan, and Florante are taken to a separate classroom where they are taught how to speak a "correct" English that erases marks of difference from their speech. Painfully ironic, since the Filipino students have already been taught English in the colonial education system in the Philippines, the lessons in Hawai'i further teach them how to contain their Filipinized English accents.[87] In a multiethnic state like Hawai'i, *sounding* "American" is the closest approximation to belonging the nonwhite students can reach, a way of reaching linguistic whiteness.[88] Their association with Pidgin is marked as dangerous. For instance, the other students' "use of pidgin endangers Florante's appreciation and skillful usage of the English language" (Linmark 67). Absurdly, Florante, whose deft use of English can be seen in his poetry, is penalized

[87] Writing about discrimination against Filipinos on the West Coast in the 1920s, Mae Ngai suggests in *Impossible Subjects* (2004) that "In a sense, the reaction of white Americans to the acculturation of Filipinos was similar to the unsettled response of nineteenth-century Americans to acculturated Native Americans, or that of the English to their anglicized colonial subjects of India, whose partial resemblance threatened to mock, even as it mimicked" (110).

[88] For more of this history, see Morris Young's "Standard English and Student Bodies: Institutionalizing Race and Literacy in Hawai'i" (2002).

for his accent and for associating with these wrong types of Pidgin-speaking friends. "*Do not roll the r's*" (67) is the corrective treatment for these immigrant adolescents.

While immigrant Filipino and Vietnamese students are taken to a different classroom to be indoctrinated into the U.S. nation by Ms. Takara, whose "American upbringing has blinded her to reading between the lines of history textbooks where silenced people choke from invisibility and humiliation" (62-63), Mrs. Takemoto teaches the other students the foundational settler history of the United States. After "threaten[ing] her students to *settle down*" (italics in original, 62) from recess, Mrs. Takemoto "bur[ies] her students' heads in Plymouth Rock or George Washington's cherry tree or the big migration to the West" (64). Mrs. Takemoto teaches a sanitized U.S. civic history, empty of settler colonial violence, Indigenous genocide, or the effects of imperial conquest embedded in Manifest Destiny. Narrated as long ago, far away, and nostalgically simple and charming for students who live at the periphery of U.S. empire in 1970s Hawai'i, this history most likely bores the students in the novel, since this Social Studies lesson is "actually History and not the extension of lunch recess that Florante and Vicente thought it would be" (62). This classroom instruction of immigrant and local students highlights the routine teaching of history and language that structures and naturalizes settler colonial dispossession. In this classroom scene, Florante calls attention to "the irony of Ms. Takara wanting to remove [them] from class to teach them a thing or two about integration" (63) while at the same time Mrs. Takemoto teaches settler history. Such pedagogy sanitizes their tongues and accents just as it sanitizes history. *Do not roll the r's* thus becomes the

instructional motto for both classrooms, the teachers espousing the no-bumps, straight-forward version of history, as flattened as their r's.

Linmark's *Rolling the R's*, as a title, therefore responds to Mrs. Takemoto's and Ms. Takara's instruction to *not* roll the r's, an oppositional tactic in which the entire novel is invested. Literally, the immigrant students continue to trill their r's and the other characters speak in Pidgin despite their teacher's warnings and punishment. Figuratively, the fifth-graders of the novel roll their bumpy r's, or formulate responses to a contested place and history, which cannot be subdued, flattened, or straightened. As the book's back cover states, the characters simply "are." Rolling one's r's performs a counter-pedagogy to the "ongoing process of transforming a place into America and a people into Americans" (Reyes 119-20) by Hawai'i's educational system. Following the adventures of immigrant and local fifth-graders from Kalihi, a neighborhood frequently stigmatized because of a dense immigrant population, a reputation for a higher crime rate, and what the novel's author calls "working-class Filipinos, Japanese, Portuguese, Samoans, Hawaiians, and one-fourth of the island's substance abusers" (Linmark 172), the multiple perspectives in *Rolling the R's* engage with the settler history of the United States and Hawai'i alongside the colonial relationship of the Philippines and the United States. Dean Saranillio suggests that Filipinos "settled in the colony of Hawai'i, many imagining it as an escape from imperial violence in the Philippines" ("Colonial Amnesia" 260), including a path to U.S. citizenship with material benefits that might be read as complicit with settler colonialism; but the novel, in fact, illustrates that Filipino

migration to Hawai‘i, although facilitated by U.S. imperialism in the Philippines, rests on a continuum of U.S. imperialism and settler colonial violence in the Pacific. As in the classroom scene above, Linmark draws parallels and connections between the Philippines and Hawai‘i that link them as places of U.S. empire at the same time that he situates Hawai‘i as a destination for tourists and Asian immigrant labor that dispossesses Native Hawaiians.

The classroom is a central site of regulated subject formation and reproduction, where settler colonial history and the English language are drilled into students' heads so that they become proper subjects of the United States. In this way, settler colonialism, U.S. empire, and English monolingualism bolster each other. In *Motherless Tongues*, Vicente Rafael claims that monolingual citizenship is related to settler colonialism, in that both are "about the conquest of origins as much as original inhabitants" (111). Monolingual citizenship represses a first language for a second one while settler colonialism dispossesses Native people for new settlers; monolingual settlers are "emancipat[ed]" from "the foreignness of language" and the "foreignness of origins" (Rafael 111). Polylingualism, therefore, "appears to English-only speakers as an unsettling return of what should have been repressed" that "infringe[s] on their freedom" (111).[89] This view of a singular language lends itself to

[89] In *Monolingualism of the Other*, Jacques Derrida writes from his perspective as an Algerian Jew who speaks and writes in French, suggesting that monolingualism reduces language to the "One" or singular if language is imposed through colonialism, but also that monolingualism means another thing: being open to the other and that language itself is fundamentally plural and multiple, from the other, as language cannot be owned. He further suggests from his own perspective and struggle with language that "I am lost, fallen, and condemned outside the French language, I have the feeling of honoring serving all idioms, in a word, of writing the 'most' and the 'best' when I sharpen the resistance of *my* French, the secret 'purity' of my French . . . hence its resistance, its *relentless*

the view of a sanitized and suffocating history as well as the washing away of accent in the classroom. The power and prestige of a monolingual English speaker, therefore, is unsettled not only by any so-called foreign language, but especially from "what should have been repressed"—the languages of the Indigenous and immigrant. It is unsurprising, then, that education in Hawai'i from the early twentieth century meant that "schools needed to suppress indigenous culture and Americanize waves of immigrants," requiring students to forget their origins to adopt "ideals of democracy and the economic and social behaviors associated with middle-class white America" (Morgan 167).[90] In *Rolling the R's*, however, education fails to fully suppress the accented and linguistically inflected-English of immigrants and the ever-present Pidgin throughout Hawai'i. The should-have-been-repressed forces unsettle the boundaries of settler colonial authority and the reach of U.S. empire through the everyday interactions of fifth graders and the culture of the Kalihi community. The novel's focus on the function of education to assimilate demonstrates the pedagogical reach of settler colonial racialization, tourist commodification, and disposability of place and people, but also the emergence of a counter-pedagogical practice.

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resistance to translation; translation into *all* languages, including another such French" (56). Rey Chow's reading of Derrida troubles his statement that "All cultures is originarily colonial" (39), however, because while Derrida provides a theoretical reflection on his experience with language, he does not quite address the inequity of languages. Chow points out that Édouard Glissant, whom Derrida cites on relationality within reaching for the other in monolingualism, is himself critical of monolingualism.

[90] This settler educational practice can be related to Indian boarding schools. In *Conquest* (2005), Andrea Smith notes that the boarding school system for American Indians were created to "kill the Indian and save the man" as a way to assimilate children into white society, resulting in the removal of children from their families "because they did not fit into the dominant society's nuclear family norm" (41).

Alternative histories and languages in the classroom go hand in hand with disturbing normative gender, sexuality, and educational pedagogy that uphold linguistic and historic "straightness." Linmark's text depicts the policing of bodies in the classroom, foregrounding that settler colonialism is "an ongoing imperial project that uses discourses of sexualities to maintain heteropatriarchy, genocide, and the U.S. nation as a natural outcome" (Finley 12). Mark Rifkin, who shows in his work how Native peoples are conscripted into straightness, claims that "forms of sociality that do not carve out a 'unique' status for the reproductively directed marital unit can be treated not simply as inferior within the scope of human history but as threatening to retard, or reverse, the progress of those who do" (5). In other words, those who do not fit in heteronormative reproduction and the "sanctity" of marriage are relegated to the realm of the uncivilized, whose "savagery" is catching. As Rifkin argues, these "alternative configurations of home, family, and political collectivity are represented as endangering the state" (Rifkin 5). U.S. imperialism, he further contends, is an "effort to make [Natives] 'straight'—to insert indigenous peoples into Anglo-American conceptions of family, home, desire, and personal identity" (Rifkin 6).[91] It makes those in its territories, colonies, and islands straight too. Although *Rolling the R's* focuses more on the Filipino experience than the Native Hawaiian, the novel comments on the attempt to insert immigrants and Hawai'i locals into U.S. settler notions of American identity, including proper colonial subordination, femininity,

[91] Rifkin also points out how straightness was built into educational practices such as Indian boarding schools (see Chapter 3).

masculinity, and heterosexuality. In the novel, non-English language politics underwrites the failure to apply these settler conceptions. The precocious—sexually and otherwise—fifth-graders' Pidgin and accented English are what makes this critique of U.S. empire and settler colonialism possible within the context of the narrative. The process of disciplining, punishing, and stifling the materiality of their speech allows them to develop a critical perspective about their positions as racialized subjects in Hawai'i.

This critical perspective most often emerges from classroom instruction. In the above example of standardization—the imposition of normativity writ large—complete with history lessons and language accents, two pedagogical practices emerge: that of the institution, and that of Pidgin. In the first pedagogical practice, institutional education is associated with whiteness and monolingualism, especially as the teachers' "American upbringing has blinded" (Linmark 62) them even though they are of Japanese heritage.[92] Mrs. Takemoto and Ms. Takara force a rote memorize-and-regurgitate form of learning that is strict, closed to questions, and talks down to the students. In the second alternative pedagogical practice, Mrs. Takemoto and Ms. Takara's lessons are revised by the students'—in this case, mostly Florante's—commentary, and while the students cannot completely escape the

[92] Mrs. Takemoto and Ms. Takara as Japanese American teachers who are "blind" to the everyday realities of the students also points to Candice Fujikane's work in *Asian Settler Colonialism* (2008), as she shows that Japanese Americans hold high positions in both education and politics that points to "the complex interconnections between the materiality of state politics and the ideological production of knowledge" (25). She asserts that "Japanese settler politicians are supported by Japanese settler teachers and administrators" who are educations shaping "Asian settlers' understanding of their roles in Hawai'i" (25).

linguistic or sexual norms of U.S. empire, they can perform their own pedagogy for the reader, articulating what I call a Pidgin pedagogy. This Pidgin pedagogical practice is diverse, multilingual, and based on discussion and dialogue with the other students. The novel plays with genre in order to enact this Pidgin pedagogy, which disrupts the notion of a singular narrative or singular generic mode for telling the story of Kalihi in the Pidgin and Filipinized English of its community. As the reader is interpellated into these multitude of perspectives from the Kalihi community, the reader learns alongside the youth as they teach themselves how to thrive in the settler state, often by using different genres to respond, "schooling" figures of authority, so to speak.

Indeed, Linmark declares that Kalihi and Pidgin are what he says he "consider[s] my main characters in *Rolling the R's*" (*Living Writers*), pointing to his prioritization of place and language that gives agency and narrative force to the Pidgin-speaking community of Kalihi over any individual character. There are no real main protagonists or plot, which makes it hard for *Rolling the R's* to be categorized into a specific literary genre. It has been touted as a "bildungsroman" narrative that centers on the vignettes of its young, queer Filipino American characters, or an experimental novel. Bildungsroman, as a genre, offers a narrative of protagonists' development into maturity, where a conflict between self and society is resolved with the protagonists' inclusion into the social world of the novel.[93] Lisa Lowe in

[93] Yoon writes that the bildungsroman genre aligned with the major beliefs in eighteenth-century Europe of "bourgeois humanism, liberalism, and possessive individualism" (21). Also see Stella Bolaki's *Unsettling the Bildungsroman: Reading Contemporary Ethnic Women's Fiction* (2011), in

Immigrant Acts writes that the "novel of formation . . . is a narrative of the individual's relinquishing of particularity and difference through identification with an idealized 'national' form of subjectivity" (98). A "wonderfully deranged and transformative bildungsroman" (Eng 228), *Rolling the R's* definitively queers the bildungsroman form, as both a coming out and coming-of-age story in which the protagonists reject "development" and "inclusion" into the U.S. settler state. Not a bildungsroman of linear development of troubled youth assimilating into adulthood but featuring "youth endowed with all the seemingly 'adult' powers of self-awareness, insight into social and institutional power, and ability to critique and rearticulate those forces" (Reyes 120), it presents the Kalihi inhabitants who have not and never will fit into an inclusive or homogenizing vision of the nation. In form, *Rolling the R's* presents fragmented vignettes, without clear linear trajectory.[94] Its classification into the novel form itself has been called into question—Harrod J. Suarez claims that it "bears none of the conventional features: it has no main character, no main plot accompanied by subplots, and no explicit causal development leading to resolution" (210). Queering the form of the novel, *Rolling the R's* both unsettles genre *and* its connections to normative subject formation within the settler state.

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which she argues for an opening of the genre, beyond formal boundaries that make it conservative and closed to women's narratives, and to read texts as flexible novels of development.

[94] Among literary critics, the novel has been called an "episodic novel" (Miller 473) with "non-linear and fragmented episodes" (Reyes 120), an "unconventional" novel because its narrative is a "series of vignettes (chapters) in poetry and/or prose" (Nubla 208) and "jump-cut pieces in [P]idgin without discernable linear chronology" (Bascara 120), or simply a queer novel or hybrid novella. For more, see Joshua Miller (2005), Eric Reyes (2007), Gladys Nubla (2004), Victor Bascara (2006), Crystal Parikh (2002), and David Eng (2001).

Rolling the R's, therefore, is a text that escapes clear categorization. This undefinable and queer narrative frustrates more than literary form, but also the genres of normative sexuality, gender, and educational pedagogy as Pidgin's polylingual ability to assert the repressed breaks through generic conventions. *Rolling the R's*, above all else, is a Pidgin text that embodies the flexibility of Pidgin to move, change, and adapt to new circumstances. As this chapter shows, Pidgin enables a specifically located pedagogy from the colonial colon, the body, and Kalihi itself. This Pidgin pedagogy, therefore, produces knowledge through these site-specific ways of learning. I read Pidgin as queer, then, for its ability to inhabit the multilingual and multigeneric forces and tactics that unsettle the unquestioned place of settler colonialism in Hawai‘i.

The "Colonial Colon" of the Pacific: Hawai‘i and the Philippines

Rolling the R's interprets the "colonial colon," which is the phrase the children use to describe the "colon"-izing lens through which Hawai‘i, the Philippines, and other islands of the U.S. empire in the Pacific are viewed. The "colonial colon" characterizes an attitude or perspective that shapes U.S. empire. The colonial colon also identifies the main attitude of institutional authority in the narrative—teachers, principals, tourists, and haoles—from which the children are at every turn trying to escape or render obsolete. But the colonial colon might also be thought of in terms of grammar, as it signals a relationship between the previous word and what comes after the colon (:). The colonial colon, therefore, suggests the

subordinated relationship that empire produces—the "grammar of empire."[95] To invest in the colonial colon is to continue this subordination, and to *not* roll the r's. The Kalihi youth around which the narrative centers end up teaching themselves about Hawai'i's history and the exploitation of its peoples. Through conversations amongst themselves and with other Kalihi residents, they recognize that the racialization of Hawai'i's people are part and parcel of settler colonialism and empire by identifying the colonial colon.

The phrase "colonial colon" comes from a discussion Katrina, Florante, Vicente, and Edgar have while discussing a number of people who are homeless or struggling with mental illness at Kamehameha Shopping Center. The inclusion of Kamehameha Shopping Center points to the settler practice of the strategic reappropriation of indigeneity in the absence and erasure of the Indigenous, especially of the lineage of the Kamehamehas, which in this case, is also employed in the service of capitalism—a shopping center.[96] That this vignette on mental illness is set at the Kamehameha Shopping Center is indicative, Linmark suggests, of the roots of settler violence. Because they are such regular fixtures at Kam Shopping Center, the students decide to name these people, including Jesus, Happy Face Man, Tutu Man, the Exorcist Lady, Irma the TNT Victim, and the Purple Man. They dub one man "Da Guy Ferdinand" after "Ferdinand Magellan, but in a Kalihi scale" (Linmark 115).

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[95] I borrow this phrase from Janet Sorensen's *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-century British Writing* (2000). Of particular interest is her connection between grammar as a shorthand for grammar school and grammar books, the standardization of which gave rise to a feeling of belonging in a national community (13).

[96] For more on settler practices of naming, see Patrick Wolfe's "Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native" (2006).

Magellan, the Portuguese explorer, and his crew were the first Europeans to reach the Philippines in 1521, which signaled the beginning of "civilization" and religious conversion in the Philippines. Da Guy Ferdinand is thus dubbed because of the way he acts like God's gift to Filipinos in Kalihi—the children clearly see the similarities between the Philippines and Kalihi, their own backyard.[97] Ferdinand acts as the ultimate patrician benefactor to the mostly Filipino group of children. He calls Edgar "my little mestizo son" (116), and that what he does is "for [their] benefit" (116); they should thank him because he is the reason Tagalog movies are shown at the shopping center. Ferdinand claims that he convinced the President of Summer Theaters that "if he wants to be rich he must show Tagalog movies because Filipinos, though they speak English, don't understand English" (116), drawing on colonial perspectives of Filipinos as "savages" who will always be outside the U.S. nation, but whom Ferdinand will gladly exploit.

The "colonial colon" comes from Edgar and Florante's response to the benevolence that overlays Da Guy Ferdinand's condescending attitude towards Filipinos as inferior. Ferdinand acts as the white savior who delivers his little brown brothers into "civilization," or in this case, neocolonial exploitation, performing dominance. Ferdinand tells the group that,

> "You, too, can be rich like the President of Summer Theatres. All you have to do is save some money, go to the Philippines, and open up your own film studios. But make sure you tell your people that you are helping them, not using them, that you are laughing with them, not at them. Now, aren't you going to thank me because I'm such a wonderful genius?"

[97] Magellan also recalls Captain James Cook, both explorers of the Pacific who were killed in the Philippines and Hawai'i, respectively.

> "Please, Minerva," Edgar says. "If you so smart, how come you talkin' through your ass?"
> "Talking through my what?" Ferdinand asks.
> "Talking through your colonial colon," Florante answers.
> "My genius what?" Ferdinand asks.
> "Your colonial colon that should've been removed centuries ago," Florante says. (Linmark 116)

In this scene, the aptly named Ferdinand wants gratitude for telling the fifth-graders the secret to racial, linguistic, and colonial exploitation. A self-proclaimed "genius," he is deaf to the children's responses, repeating "what?" again and again. His deafness signals his incomprehension of the children's language of Pidgin and Filipinized English as critique. In addition, his inability to understand the children recalls his own words—"though they speak English, they don't understand English"—and how even though the children's responses are clearly delivered using English lexicon, it is *Ferdinand* who does not understand English that has been modified by the nonwhite body. In this way, it is Ferdinand's monolingualism that prevents him from hearing Edgar and Florante, the return of a colonial history Ferdinand would rather see as celebratory than as violent. Pidgin and Filpinized English infringes on Ferdinand's freedom to continue in his exploitative thinking unchecked, unsettling his own feelings of superiority. Florante, building on Edgar's taunt to Ferdinand, says that Ferdinand is talking through his "colonial colon," another way of saying that Ferdinand speaks and sees through a colonial perspective, a particular lens that has roots in "discovery" and conquest, and the residue of colonial attitudes that extends to the present day. Da Guy Ferdinand has not changed much from the Magellan version. That it is a perspective located in the colon points to

the excretion of waste—what has been consumed, digested, and unneeded by the body.

The haole "colonial colon" fixes the normative gender, sexuality, and speech of those in Hawai'i. Speaking through the "colonial colon" reiterates the grammar of empire—how the colonized in Hawai'i and the Philippines are stereotyped and overdetermined by their speech, as Linmark highlights, alongside their racialization by settler colonial hierarchies in the islands. Ferdinand would be part of what Vernadette Gonzalez calls the "romance of security" in which security is "a narrative that casts the United States as the masculine bestower of the gift of modernity (through apparatuses of technology and mobility such as bulldozers, roads, and ports)," a romance in which the "Philippines and Hawai'i have come to be understood as receptive, feminized tropics waiting to be acted upon and transformed" (26-27). Ferdinand certainly believes he is bestowing his genius and the modern technologies of film and the extraction of labor and money from Filipinos, the children acting as his feminized blank canvas to be transformed. Yet the "colonial colon" is also a satirical phrase created by Florante. Understanding that they are pigeon-holed by a haole gaze and speech, the Kalihi fifth-graders simultaneously identify and critique this viewpoint by calling out the grammar of subordination, describing it as backwards, outdated, and basically, excrement. Through the phrase "colonial colon," they mark Ferdinand's "unmarked white gaze, one that passes its own perspective off as the omniscient, one that presumes upon and enacts its own perspective as if it were no perspective at all" (Butler, "Gender is Burning" 391). Calling Ferdinand out, they

recognize their own racialization while articulating the possibilities for racialized critique. They come to this conclusion through their own observations and conversations, teaching themselves about the kinds of people in Kalihi, many of whom are the outcasts of society, the outcome of living in a culture of dispossessed Native Hawaiian lands and immigrant labor. The children attempt to diagnose these people, especially Katrina, who bought *The Race For A Cure: Schizophrenia and Other Mental Disorders*. Happy Face Man, who eats food from the trash, has "[t]oo many voices in [his] head" (Linmark 112), and Tutu Man (tutu usually refers to grandmother) "[i]s what you get if you no come out of the closet" (112), while Irma the TNT Lady hides from a life of sexual abuse, "throwing herself in front of moving cars" or "begging shoppers on hands and knees" (115).[98] While at first they try to reproduce stigmatizing diagnoses like "paranoid schizophrenia," they begin to disagree with the pathologizing of mental illness and instead discuss why these people are driven to particular behaviors, creating their own diagnoses for ailments rooted in the colonial, heteronormative, and patriarchal conditions of life. The narrative ends with the above exchange and does not return to Ferdinand, so it is unclear if Ferdinand changes after this conversation, but the staging of this dialogue allows these fifth-graders to teach each other rather than rely on sanitized settler colonial pedagogy. Through these conversations, the children understand how they are being pathologized, in similar ways to the pathologization of Happy Face Man

[98] The Hawaiian and Pidgin word, tutu or tūtū, is used for grandmother or grandfather, but is most often associated with grandmother, as Linmark uses it here.

and Irma by the structural circumstances of mental illness and sexual abuse. Teaching each other gives rise to a critical lens from which they can see and respond to how the world only understands them and recognizes them as immigrant, working class, and inferior.

In the course of Linmark's vignettes, the classroom emerges as a primary space of social modernization where the "colonial colon" is reproduced. The classroom is where colonialism is consumed and digested, resulting in the formation of proper U.S. citizens or the threat of their exclusion. However, it is also a site where Pidgin might oppose the colonial colon through appropriation, fluidity, comedy, and subversive meaning-making. Returning to the scene at the beginning of this chapter on Mrs. Takemoto's history lessons and Ms. Takara's language lessons, Linmark shows how the classroom produces two kinds of students: the proper colonial subjects who speak American English without an accent and believe in Manifest Destiny, or the student who fails to fit in and courts expulsion from the recognized body of the nation. For the immigrant students—Vicente, Mai-Lan, and Florante—the speech classroom is a test of their ability to assimilate. As the classroom "used for arts and crafts by kindergarteners and special ed students" (63) located past the D-building bathroom, the office, the janitor's rom, and the health room, their speech class physically isolates the immigrant students. The ever-astute Florante recognizes the colonial nature of their education, calling their classroom the "asphyxiating room" because it "reminds him of the colonial history of the Philippines—from Magellan's three-hundred-year-old crucifix to President McKinley's hallucinations to

Yamashita's camps to MacArthur's shades" (63). Florante draws these wildly diverse histories together in the speech classroom because they all have one thing in common: the oppression of the Philippines for someone else's geopolitical visions. Different kinds of conquest are brought together, and Florante adds the repression of a Filipinized accent to the list. Like Da Guy Ferdinand who cannot understand the accented English or Pidgin of the children, the speech class implies that the teachers remain deaf to Filipinized English. They are deaf not only to the accent as "foreignness," but to the accent as the return of U.S. imperialism in the Philippines as one educational study remarks, "American English, after all, is not exactly 'foreign' to Filipinos" (Chattergy and Ongteco 143). The erasing of the accent also erases the evidence of this history, while the presence of the accent serves to remind.

Progress reports from Principal Okimura and the teachers "indicate the proper course of subject formation, as well as the explicit and implied terms of surveillance and regulation" (Bascara 128), as the teachers praise students for being happy, friendly, having neat appearances, and beautiful penmanship—each of these qualities are repeated for Vicente, Mai-Lan, and Florante (Linmark 65-67). Drawing on Victor Bascara's analysis of Linmark's novel as an instance of failed assimilation in the manifestation of U.S. imperialism, I suggest that these pedagogical reports must also be read as indicating the settler colonial impulse to contain language and the threat of the other. The report, as Bascara claims, "is not only their individual incorporation into official national culture, but the systemic erasure of locality" (128). They must all sound and act like "Americans" in class and on paper. These progress reports

monitor the effects of the speech class and the containment of the foreign into settler culture. Florante and Vicente's Filipinized English, as Rafael argues for Filipino students learning English, "dress[ed] English in the clothes of Malay sound patterns" and in doing so signals "the insistent presence of what was supposed to be excluded and overcome" (55)—the rolling of r's. In the eyes of educational authority, the Filipinized English accent transformed English into "veritable sonic monstrosities" (56) assaulting the American ear. Colonial education in the Philippines produced "not the hegemony of English but its transformation into a language foreign to the Americans themselves" (56). In *Rolling the R's*, the further training on removing the Malay sound patterns from English indicates the inability to understand or take seriously the contributions of these students unless they first become legible through proper speech.

Yet the progress reports also, as Bascara notes, "function as an against-the-grain archive of queer 'occasions' at school" that deem Pidgin dangerous "for the communities it produces" (128). While immigrant students appear to be "rehabilitated" into becoming proper subjects, the Pidgin-speaking students are written out entirely. The teachers warn Vicente, Mai-Lan, Florante, and their parents to stay away from Edgar and Katrina, the Hawai'i-born and Pidgin-speaking students. Vicente's association with Edgar and Katrina "are the primary cause of Vicente's inattentiveness" (Linmark 65), while Mai-Lan's "lack of English" is because she "talks to Katherine [Katrina] Cruz while instructions are being given . . . worsening [her] study habits" (66). Finally, as noted earlier, Edgar and Katrina's Pidgin

threatens Florante's use of English (67). Much of the immigrant students' poor progress is attributed to the bad influence of Pidgin. Edgar and Katrina draw the other students into their orbit, where for the teachers, their Pidgin is aligned with misbehavior, poor performance in school, and bad English. This Pidgin, however, helps Edgar and Katrina to create a community that the teachers fear, since if the entire class is infected with such Pidgin speech and behavior, the instructors have failed to properly incorporate students into the settler state. Pidgin and Filipinized English overlap in ways that make it easier for these languages to exist together instead of dissolving into the confusion of meaning the teachers fear. In one treatment episode, Florante says to himself: "*Think three not tree. [. . .] Think think, not tink*" (67). While these may be habits from Filipinized English that Florante attempts to correct into Standard English, these are habits of speech attributed to Pidgin as well, for "tree" and "tink" share the same meanings in both Filipinized English and Pidgin.[99] At the same time that Linmark describes the erasure of the accent, he also draws attention to the links between Filipinized English and Pidgin, and Pidgin's potential to speak across, permeating what the imposition of English marks as boundaries between languages and cultures. As "a material trace of a history of inequality and exploitation that national culture might rather forget for the contradictions it ontologically exacerbates" (Bascara 129), Filiplinzed English and Pidgin offer an alternative pedagogy to the settlement of the West that Mrs. Takemoto teaches.

[99] Tree for three and tink for think are also common signs of a Pidgin speaker.

Rather than erasing the local, Edgar and Katrina's Pidgin community centers locality in Hawai'i. Reading against the grain of the progress reports, Edgar and Katrina's ability to cross linguistic borders with their classmates mean that the students fail to conform to the links between nation, language, and subject. They exist between the nation, in the slippages of language and citizenship applied over colonialized territories.

"Reading" Normative Heterosexuality

From the perspective of the colonial colon, the teachers interpret Pidgin as threatening and such accents as illegible. The pedagogy *of* the novel itself, however, contrasted to the pedagogy *in* the novel, forwards an oppositional reading to the colonial colon, including the way the colonial colon views gender and sexuality. The novel draws out the similarities in the way non-normative gender and sexuality in the school mirrors the so-called dangers of Pidgin and Filipinzed English. Because the tandem structures of settler colonialism and empire rely on representation of sexual primitivism—of native and colonized other—in order to make straight settler sexualities the more logical, modern, and productive in terms of land ownership, queer sexualities threaten the heterosexual order.[100] *Rolling the R's* invites us to read bodies as texts, reflecting the genre of lived experience. These bodies, which may be read as queer, suggests its own Pidgin pedagogy counter to educational standards.

[100] See Chris Finley (2012) for a discussion on settler sexuality that is premised on the disappearance of the native and other types of sexualities (12).

Orlando Domingo, a student at the intermediate school in Kalihi, challenges the genre of the official record by undermining normative masculinity, which is perceived as a threat to gender and heterosexuality. Unlike the school reports from Mrs. Takemoto and Ms. Takara above, which are used as surveillance and discipline, Orlando's records protect him from these tools of oppression. Orlando, whose name recalls Virginia Woolf's *Orlando*, wants to be Farrah; he embodies her in every way, donning "a fire-engine-red polyester long-sleeved shirt tied around his 24" waist, yellow bell-bottoms, and Famolare platforms" (37) or "black leather Cobra skates" with "see-through Dove shorts, red Danskins, and red-and-white knee and elbow pads" (38), which includes painting his face and styling his hair into appropriate Farrah-like fashion.[101] Like Edgar and Katrina's Pidgin, teachers are concerned about Orlando's ability to infect the others students. The football coaches believe their players will "catch this madness and start huddling in skirts and pom-poms" and prevent them from "bring[ing] home the OIA title" (38). They read Orlando's gender presentation as Farrah as infectious, turning the most masculine—football players—into ultra-feminine cheerleaders. Orlando's presence even poses the threat of these players to lose their own masculinities, since in their eyes, they lose the ability to play well enough for championship games. In their reaction to Orlando's Farrah, they fear that Orlando has the power to change his classmates' gender, destabilizing the relationship between a prestigious masculinity and American sports in the process.

[101] He desires to be Farrah, but otherwise we, as readers, are unsure how he identifies himself. This section is written from a third person perspective and not in Orlando's point of view. Critics such as Victor Bascara (2006) and Eric Estuar Reyes (2007) have read Orlando as transgender, but his gender presentation could signal a number of different desires.

Principal Shim wants to expel or suspend Orlando "on the grounds that he is endangering the mental health of other students" (38), but realizes his hands are tied after looking at Orlando's file. Fluent in four languages, valedictorian, and planning to attend Brown University and become a lawyer (38), Orlando's model minority-like success and the potential he has to turn the tables and charge the principal with "discrimination against a Filipino faggot" (39) stymies Shim.

In comparison to Edgar, Katrina, and the other fifth-graders whose records demonstrate misbehavior—and punishment by teachers for their association with Pidgin—Orlando's near-perfect school record reveals how institutional authority is hampered by records, the very means of surveillance and regulation. Orlando simultaneously fits yet does not fit into the genre of regulated national subject. Only part of Orlando is designated deviant, and Shim cannot excise the part without entirely expelling Orlando and his valedictorian records. Orlando, therefore, is able to act out his becoming-Farrah dreams without institutional repercussion. These sections that depict student records alongside transgressive behavior—Pidgin, accents, and Farrah—point to students' inability to stay in their "genre" of normative gender, sexuality, and language, and their failure to fit into the proper receiving subject of national settler pedagogy. Gender, in Orlando's case, cannot be prescribed: he makes "gender trouble" by "subverting and displacing those naturalized and reified notions of gender that support masculine hegemony and heterosexist power" (Butler, *Gender Trouble* 46). Orlando's body is a genre that everyone reads a certain way and which the teachers and principal read as threatening. Orlando's story, alongside the other

vignettes, trouble genre as well. Usually genre preserves straightness, such as school records that maps a straight path to lawyerdom for Orlando. Straying from such straightness is punished. But in this case, these straight official genres protect Orlando's queer self-expression from being disciplined.

Rolling the R's and its queering of genre—literary generic form and gendered categories of normativity—is continually mirrored in the characters' responses to normative heterosexuality. From the very beginning of the novel, readers are taught that being queer and speaking Pidgin co-constitute each other, at least for Edgar Ramirez. "Like me teach you how for French kiss, make hickeys, and M&M too?" (Linmark 13), the unapologetically out-of-the-closet boy asks, addressing his "closet case" friend Vicente and the reader. Edgar "[l]earned 'em" from sex with the custodian Mr. Campos and "late-night TV" (13). He tells readers his advice to closet cases and his dream in which "you knew who you was, and was lovin' it too" (14). Interpellated into the place of the listener, readers are the "closet cases" to whom he speaks, being encouraged to let loose, implicating the audience into questioning their own straightness. At the same time, Edgar unapologetically speaks Pidgin, always. His most important moments of queer sexual identity are narrated through his Pidgin first-person perspective, such as his moment of queer discovery—when he sees his father's penis—and his letter that describes his desires for a boy who never sees him, signing off with "Invisible Edgar" (140). For him, Pidgin narrates being queer. Edgar's narratives contrast with Vicente's ones, because "closet case" Vicente always narrates in English, even if it is most likely a Filipinized English, as he describes his

queer sexual desires, which are often overlain with anxiety.[102] The vignette "Blame it on Chachi" is another one from Edgar's Pidgin perspective that centers on his experience as coming out at a young age and constantly policed for his sexuality. Edgar "swallows" a list of derogative names "like the vitamins I gotta take before I go school" (17). Everyone calls him names: "Fag," "Mahu," "Panty," "Bakla," "Homo," or "Sissy" (17).[103] Mrs. Takemoto tells him to cut his hair, fifth-grade bullies tackle and trip him, the popular girls want him as a best friend, and his father attempts to erase any signs of his sexuality through burning his John Travolta and Scott Baio posters. Edgar is punished for not fitting into typical heterosexual desires and masculine gender performance, or assigned into gay stereotypes such as being a girl's best friend. Knowing he is a "faggot" and asked what he will "do" about it, Edgar replies "nothing" (16). He does not want to be or act straight. But he will not tolerate bullying. He swallows these names like the pills his "mother stuffs in bananas cuz they supposed to make [him] grow big and strong" (17), and then he says, "I roll up my sleeves and turn into the Queen of Mouth & Sizes" (17). Despite the taunts and policing, he continues to wear his PE clothes like a bikini and takes down his bullies by suggesting that they are queer themselves, using the same markers of "failed"

[102] These vignettes are titled "The Eyes of Edgar Ramirez" and "Face," respectively. Other vignettes that feature Edgar do not use his first-person point of view as these do. Vicente's narratives include "Blindfold" and "Mama's Boy." In the first he describes one of his dreams and in the second, he address Edgar about boundaries Edgar has transgressed in their friendship.

[103] Māhū, a Hawaiian word, generally means transgender, gay, and drag queen in the contemporary context. For more information on māhū in Hawai'i, see *Ke Kūlana He Māhū: Remembering a Sense of Place* (2001), a documentary featuring māhū history pre-contact and colonialism's impact on envisioning gender. Bakla is a Tagalog word symbolizing Filipino queerness. For more, see Martin Manalansan's discussion of bakla in *Global Divas* (2003).

masculinity and heterosexuality with which they shame him—"What, gotta have one microscope for look at your botos? C'mon then, prove how big and strong you really are" (17), he taunts.[104]

The shame heaped upon him through these names by others does not politically paralyze him, but as in Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's theorization of shame, is part of his identity that is "available for the work of metamorphosis, reframing, refiguration, transfiguration, affective and symbolic loading and deformation" (13).[105] Shame, Sedgwick argues, is where one's sense of self is most acutely derived. Instead of being shamed *into* his assigned place, Edgar uses these moments to more fully embody his identity—the narrative goes from third person perspective, "Edgar Ramirez is a faggot" (15), to Edgar's first person point of view, in which his narrative voice takes charge. He describes how he is a Queen in multiple ways: teaching his bullies a lesson, disco, men, sex, "play[ing] boss" (Linmark 146), being "the center of attention" (147), and generally embracing his desires. Edgar, Gladys Nubla indicates, fights his literal hailing into "proper (hetero)sexuality" by becoming a Queen, "someone who 'reads' as a form of fighting back but also as a performance of queer identity" (208). Such reading, as discussed by Judith Butler, "means taking someone down, exposing what fails to work at the level of appearance, insulting or deriding someone" (Butler, "Gender is Burning" 387). Contrary to being the "wrong" everyone else says he is, Edgar's reading performs a breakdown of why he is right

[104] "Boto" is a Tagalog word for penis.
[105] Sedgwick uses the performative "shame on you" to argue that the identity and agency of the "I' is undetermined and the identity of the "you" is deferred (4). Shame is disruptive and transformative, and must be part of queer identity formation rather than rejected or excised.

and everyone else is wrong. At the end of this section, Edgar reflects, "I might be mean, but that's cuz I need for be strong when they tryin' for put me down and make like I the one ugly cuz I not like them" (Linmark 22). Indeed, Edgar's double-edged meanness is a critique of "dominant, compulsory orders of sex/gender/desire" (Nubla 214). Edgar himself, like the genre of *Rolling the R's*, cannot be contained or pinned down by names, and "reads" himself into existence. This reading, moreover, happens through Pidgin and not the Standard English of "Edgar Ramirez is a faggot" that describes his bullies before he grabs control of the narrative. Edgar understands himself and others' bodies as texts to read, using his material bodily experience to undermine the logic of heterosexual settler colonialism.

Pidgin Pedagogy

In addition to thinking of the body as a genre, the novel thinks through the genre of classroom assignments. *Rolling the R's* has a number of vignettes that focus on homework assignments that the fifth graders have submitted: "F for Book Report," "The Sentencing of Lives, or Why Edgar Almost Failed Mrs. Takemoto's Class," and "The Battle Poem of the Republic." Assignments have double meanings in the text. They are literal homework assignments and the assignment of proper subjecthood, the right genres to be inhabited. Assignments serve as a genre that naturalizes the pedagogy of the settler state and the perspective of the colonial colon. They are insightful commentary on language, sexuality, and empire, and homework is monitored for Pidgin and subversive content—the two vignette titles that indicate failure are those by Edgar and Katrina, the two Pidgin students. When they are given

marks of failure, their use of Pidgin queers the genre of the assignment to assert a counter-pedagogy to that of the naturalized settler state. In fact, many of the characters use their bodies and lived experiences to write their homework assignments, queering colonial genres from the dictionary to the book report.

Like Edgar, Katrina Cruz also expresses her sexuality through Pidgin when others try to corral it. She is often disciplined for excessive feminine sexuality, which is seen as a threat by Mrs. Takemoto and older women in the novel who call Katrina and her mother "puta," "vulgar," and "dressed up like prostitutes" (89), especially as her mother had Katrina out of wedlock. Nubla notes that Katrina and her mother's "open performance of heterosexuality is fodder for gossip within the Filipina/o community" (208-09), in which the Filipina women use the "rhetoric of disgrace, discipline, and *delikadesa*" and in their gossip, fall "into nationalist Filipino ideals of women as self-sacrificing, matrimonial-minded, chaste, and demure, who will police themselves and one another through the cultural value of *delikadesa*" (209). Delikadesa "translates as a sense of shame as well as refinement, an understanding of how to act like a proper, demure Filipina" (Nubla 209). Shame again makes an appearance, but this time for excessive heterosexuality, and like Edgar, delikadesa allows Katrina to more fully embrace her own desires and identity, mostly through Pidgin.

The last vignette in *Rolling the R's*, "F for Book Report," is Katrina's book report assignment for Mrs. Takemoto. The assignment calls for "a brief, yet concise summation of the book" but declares "DO NOT RE-TELL THE STORY" and "NO

PIDGIN-ENGLISH ALLOWED" (Linmark 161). Katrina reports "I recommend this book especially for you, Mrs. Takemoto, cuz you might learn a thing or two about love and the painful truth that nothing last forever, not even love" (165). Everyone knows that Katrina's mother has a relationship with Mrs. Takemoto's husband, which is why, as Katrina acknowledges, "you hate my guts" (165). But in this book report, Katrina finally has the chance to have a real conversation with Mrs. Takemoto about relationships and being hurt, as women. Even though she knows that her openness on the topic might make Mrs. Takemoto believes she is "making this up only to piss you off," she states, "I not" (165). In an attempt to be honest with the teacher who is jealous of her mother, Katrina writes

> What I trying for say is the same thing that my mother tell me everytime about me and Erwin. She tell me that if Erwin no love me no more, I should tell him to fuck off, that I should move on with my life, cuz I only going be miserable the whole time I stay hanging on to him. I say the same thing to you, Mrs. Takemoto. Why hang around somebody when he like you out of his sight? You only wasting your time. (165)

This advice to Mrs. Takemoto, a lesson learned from her mother and the book she read for her book report, is feminist in its understanding of women's agency in determining the end of a relationship that, if gone on long enough, could turn abusive. Katrina implicitly asks: why would Mrs. Takemoto stay with a husband who cheats on her with Katrina's mother? Mrs. Takemoto only hurts herself by "hanging on" to a man who no longer loves her. This advice is another instance in which the children teach the adults in the novel—the book report reveals more about Katrina's experiences on sex and relationships than a summation of the book. Katrina ends the

report with her philosophy on love: “I just gotta make the most of Erwin, cuz for now, Erwin is my forever” (166). Katrina sees her relationship as a transient one, even while it currently feels as all-consuming as “forever.” Of course, Mrs. Takemoto does not react well to this extending of the olive branch or the Pidgin, since, as the title indicates, Katrina receives an F for the book report. But this vignette shows that in failing this assignment, Katrina also fails to embody proper femininity, including her sense of sexual propriety and use of language—Pidgin and what some might call its crudity. Katrina’s reaching out through Pidgin allows her to touch topics she never could in a Standard English retelling of the book.

In “The Sentencing of Lives, or Why Edgar Almost Failed Mrs. Takemoto’s Class,” which is Edgar’s work for a class assignment, Edgar’s queer Pidgin both refuses the genre of the assignment and “straight” definitions. The students are given forty-five minutes to form a sentence for each of the twenty vocabulary words in Standard English, with “NO PIDGIN-ENGLISH ALLOWED” (137). Ostensibly, the assignment is part of an English vocabulary lesson to test students’ knowledge. Edgar nearly fails this test because he fails to demonstrate an understanding of these words, at least from the perspective of Mrs. Takemoto’s Standard English, which only seems to value the literal definitions of the words; the “straight” and staid definitions. However, purposeful or not, Edgar shows a different mastery of the vocabulary, which allows him to expand, pun, and transform the words to fit the story he wants to tell. While Edgar does not use Pidgin the same way he speaks, his written sentences use Pidgin tactics to transform “English” into a language that Mrs. Takemoto marks

as failed. It can be argued that many of his sentences even use these words correctly, such as

> epiphany, n. Rudy Rodrigues reaches epiphany at least five times a day and he has the needle-tracks record on his arms to prove it. [. . .]
>
> transition, n. Exotica is in a state of transition at this moment because he wants to undergo a sex change operation so he can enter the Miss Fusion-Pacifica pageant, but if he does, Daniel, his Air Force loverboy, will leave him. (138)

Grammatically, these sentences work. Edgar, however, transforms the dictionary meanings of the words. The way that Edgar uses "epiphany" is not the manifestation of Christ or a sudden revelation but is material—epiphany is the feeling Rudy gets when he uses drugs. In this usage, "epiphany" is desacralized. For Rudy, it might be the closest thing to God because with this epiphany, he can access a different world, where he dreams of "plenty of cash; a beachfront mansion for his mom; jewelries for his sister Luisa" (80). He can escape his world, in which his father ran out on his mother, "leaving her with Rudy, Luisa, and two jobs" that makes him so angry he kicks over his desk in class and says that his father "goin' be dead" (80). To escape this reality, Rudy reaches epiphany five times a day, and it marks him with needle-tracks. Drugs for him are a positive experience and much preferable to what he can expect outside of his drug-induced high. Rather than using an abstract English word, then, Edgar uses the word in a context he knows, materializing epiphany in Rudy's arms. "Transition," too, is a material state of being. Exotica, "is a man from the waist down" and "a woman trapped in a foreigner's body" (24). Asking about how Exotica knew she wanted to be a woman, Edgar and Vicente learn that she "had to choose

between being miserable for the rest of my life, or beautiful" (25), and cannot wait "for D-Day to come when the doctors cut it off so I can finally straighten out my act" (24). A real concern for Exotica, this "transition" is the choice between "pretending to be something" (25) or finally having the body she wants. These sentences, like many of the others, lay out Rudy's drug addiction and Exotica's concerns about sex change and queer life—the "sentencing of lives"—that Mrs. Takemoto regulates as failed or unworthy of writing about for a school assignment.

Edgar's sentences both demonstrate his creativity and a sense of his everyday life, as he matches the vocabulary to his own circumstances. This is language, applied, rather than assumed as theoretical definitions Edgar cannot see or feel. For other sentences, however, Edgar uses puns or completely alters the words:

> vituperative, adj. Our teacher will never be nice because she has a lot of vituperative living in her stomach. [. . .]
>
> sanity, n. I vote my mother as Ms. Hygienic because she always uses her sanity pads when she gets her rags. (137)

Changing "vituperative" from an adjective to a noun, Edgar indicates that Mrs. Takemoto has built up bitterness inside of her body, a common opinion among Edgar and his friends. They describe Mrs. Takemoto as "the four-eyed Broom Hilda: middle-aged, obake-looking [ghost or monster-like], with a husband who prefers to sleep with Katrina's mother" (62). Edgar's sentence is a sassy response to the teacher's instructions, addressed *to* the teacher, that courts insubordinate behavior in the classroom. Again, this sentence relies on the physicality of the word, located in the body. Then, punning on "sanity" and "sanitary," Edgar suggests that sanitary pads

help his mother remain sane during her menstruation. Edgar's phrase—a sanity pad—keeps displacing menstruation itself, commenting on the hormonal nature of this occurrence that has a very visible materiality. Edgar's sentences undertakes a Pidgin revision of the vocabulary in which the English words stay the same but the meaning changes, a common feature of the Pidgin language.[106] Creating puns, too, happens often in Pidgin. Edgar does this earlier in the novel, for example, with the word "in-fel-lay-tion" (19), pointing to both inflation and fellatio. Many of the sentences, as Joshua Miller maintains, "defy the power of authority figures in the older generations, particularly priests, teachers, and parents, by showing them to be as sex-crazy, arbitrary, and confused as the children" (474). Such sentencing centers his own life and relationships, rejecting normative restrictions on queer sexualities, language usage, and appropriate subject matter for pre-teens. Moreover, Edgar's sentencing "turns even the most 'standard' words, those given by Mrs. Takemoto for the students to learn" into Pidgin (Miller 474), undermining "normative imperatives" (Miller 475), linguistic and otherwise, through speech. Edgar creates sentences with common words that address taboo subjects: drugs in school, trans bodies, teacher's attitudes and biases, and menstruation. He forces these words to work for his every day, to tell the unspeakable, and to transgress boundaries for what is acceptable for a fifth-grader to write and discuss in a classroom assignment. By including an assignment for which Edgar presumably receives an "F" in the novel, Linmark both provides the voice of

[106] One quick example of this is the word "cockroach." In English this means the skittering bug, but in Pidgin this can also mean "to steal," such as "Dey wen cockroach da car."

Edgar's Pidgin critique and allows Edgar to teach readers and Mrs. Takemoto, pulling us into his world and how he relates to these English words. While Pidgin is marked by failure in the classroom, it has the potential to become a way of addressing the social and gender problems that the classroom deems taboo.

Other assignments in *Rolling the R's* also fail to conform to their genres, such as Florante's poem. "The Battle Poem of the Republic" is the title of Florante's poem that "Mrs. Takemoto made us / write" in Standard English "for the Annual State Poetry Contest, Division III" (Linmark 68). As the top poets will receive $100, everyone excitedly participates, an act that Suarez notes is a way in which "students are challenged to reproduce an abstracted written form as an imperative of (and to be rewarded by) the neocolonial nation-state" (214), or, as I suggest, the students are asked to write poems in the service of settler colonialism. Recognizing this absorption, Florante submits a meta-poem about the inception, process, and submission of his class' poems. One section details the topics of his classmates' poems: they "wrote 'bout his first time at a cockfight in Waipahu" (Linmark 69), "her third time with her babe" (69), "being an altar boy and the fun he had with Father Pacheco who played with him" (69), "giving Christopher a black eye after school" (70), "being grateful that she's Japanese and not Okinawan like Jared" (70), or "this road in the deep end of Kalihi Valley diverging and he could not figure out which one to take, so he took the path that was less familiar, and he ended up in Laie" (70).[107] In writing about his classmates' poems, Florante shows that their poems, which are

[107] This last poem by Loata refers to Robert Frost's poem.

distinct to their lives "cannot be consolidated and interpreted for abstract and pedagogic capitalist-heteronationalism" (Suarez 215-16). To put another way, the students' poems are so specific to their lives and place in Hawai'i, including violence, sexuality, and hierarchies of race, that their poems cannot be abstracted to work for the universal, like a Robert Frost or Emily Dickenson poem. The students' poems "disturb the normativizing effects of school" and end up "providing space to tell stories that belie the dominant narratives undergirding education and national citizenship" (Suarez 216). Florante's poem, recalling the patriotic U.S. "battle hymn," further revises what "truth" will march on, indicating that it will be the surplus of narratives from Kalihi rather than any single one story, much like vignettes of the novel itself. Florante's battle poem is a multiplicity instead of the singular march of empire.

Together, these assignments show how formal pedagogical instruction ultimately fails for the characters in *Rolling the R's*. It is questionable about how much learning the youth truly take away from teachers such as Principal Shim and Mrs. Takemoto. The assignment of sexuality or a pedagogical task, which are all part of forming the proper national (and settler colonial) subject, are instead queered through student responses that end up contradicting the assignment. Returning to the queer form of *Rolling the R's* itself as an undefinable novel, David Eng claims that it is "distinctly queer" form that acts as "critical terrain on which overlapping histories of sexuality, experiences of racialization and gendered, narratives of immigrant trauma and displacement, and strategies of class oppression and resistance are

mobilized" (Eng 225). If the classroom acts as a "primary site through which narratives of national group identity are established and reproduced" (Lowe 56) and that students' conformity is demanded and regulated, then the strategies from the students are ways in which conformity can get unsettled or shaken. These strategies of excessive sexuality, Pidgin, and surplus of stories mark the ways that the students disengage from Washington's cherry trees and the telos of Manifest Destiny for the anticolonial histories the singular narrative of national origin occludes.

Land-based Pedagogy in Kalihi

Kalihi itself, as one of the novel's main protagonists, offers a way to read and traverse the land that connects histories against the settler colonial alienation from the land. Kalihi is a product of settler colonialism: it is a Honolulu neighborhood of crime, one of O'ahu's prisons, poverty, drugs, and hosts a large immigrant population. The vignette "Kalihi is in the Heart," which recalls Carlos Bulson's *America is in the Heart*, is concerned with the contrast between the bus the locals take and the tourist bus. The bus the locals take is described as the "#7 green bus that rattles in and out of Kalihi Valley [and] looks as if it's been salvaged from a junkyard" (119), which the kids prepare themselves to ride in with water bottles and towels because it is so hot, as the windows are fused shut. For 25 cents to ride, locals use it to get to work or school and its old, busted up, and neglected state causes Katrina to claim that "[r]idin' that bus make me feel like I re-livin' the freakin' plantation days" (119). The tourists, meanwhile, ride a fancy yellow bus—"the yellow, air-conditioned one that is striped with orange-and-black and has leather-

upholstered seats. The yellow bus is for tourists wearing Noxema on their Rudolphs, Polaroid shades, and plastic covered visors" (121). The yellow bus is described as

> a spaceship on wheels [that] flies from Waikiki and Ala Moana to: 1) the USS Arizona that looks like MacArthur's dentures floating in Pearl Harbor; 2) the long stretches of pineapple fields in Whitmore Village, Wahiawa; 3) the sugar plantation in Waialua; or 4) to Sea Life Park where Flipper's understudies live. (121)

The green bus offers a tour too, but to the local public schools, the manapua (steamed bun) shop, Dillingham Prison, the local market, and the public housing "projects named after Hawaiian kings and princes" (120). The contrast between the green and yellow bus is obvious—the green bus is the transportation mode of necessity, working life, and heat and sweat, while the yellow bus is the bus of comfort, coolness, and like a spaceship, is a lifestyle totally alien to those that live and work in Hawai‘i. The green bus tours what tourists consider the unsafe and unwanted part of Hawai‘i—prison and public housing. There is a clear segregated boundary. People never take both buses.

But there is one Orange County tourist couple who goes on the green bus by mistake. A "deaf-and-dumb couple . . . on their way to pay tribute to the drowned souls of the USS Arizona" end up transferring to the green bus by accident, "clutching their bags" (120). The green bus is too much for the couple—"jammed with passengers, mostly students and hotel workers in their hotel uniforms," three stops later "the woman signed to her husband to tell him she was having an asthma attack: Worse: Than: Pago: Pago. She signed off before the paramedics arrived. Her husband fainted then DOA'd at Queen's Hospital" (120). Tongue-in-cheek, the "deaf-

and-dumb couple" are literally deaf and mute as well as figuratively deaf and dumb to what is going on in front of their eyes. The couple would rather pay their respects to the USS Arizona than respect the living bodies of the tourist industry. Located in Pearl Harbor, the largest naval base in the Pacific Ocean and the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Command, the tourist attraction of the USS *Arizona* Memorial "recruits the pleasures of tourism to retract American histories of imperialism, illegal overthrow, and ongoing occupation to enlist civilians into U.S. circuits and logics of security" and "inhibits the understanding of Hawai'i as a contested and occupied site" (Gonzalez 116). The pineapple and sugar plantation tourist destinations listed for the yellow bus indicate nostalgic sites of racialized labor, while Sea Life Park's animal tourism lumped in with the rest of the destinations is uncomfortably close to "the displays of humans and animals from 'far-off lands' [that] symbolized the power of the displayer" (Desmond 144) in nineteenth-century expositions and world fairs. Human, animals, and the material products display an uncomfortable intimacy of colonial logics. Referencing Pago Pago in American Samoa, the tourists themselves signal their part in a larger chain of islands from Guam to Samoa spanning the U.S. empire that also serve as tourist destinations.

Tourism's effects, however, kills this couple. The tourists are confronted with the backstage of the hotel industry—crowded, stuffy, and sweaty to the point that it recalls the plantation—and do not survive the encounter. The green bus is a "palimpsest for Hawaiian labor history" (Reyes 132) and through Katrina's comment about reliving plantation days, Linmark deliberately invokes Noel Kent's formulation

of tourism as the "new plantation," with a racial and social hierarchy that follows from the plantation days, in which nonwhites like Filipinos are relegated to "unskilled labor" and Hawaiians to entertainment.[108] Yet, as Gonzalez argues, tourism's paradise, "sustained by such economic apparatuses as plantation and tourism industries and the hierarchized societies they engender" are also "secured through the threat and reality of violence or the promise of rescue" (8). Attacked by asthma and the presence of tourism's backstage, these tourists embody "the innocent subject of leisure whose right to move freely and safely exemplified the ideologies of neoliberal governance" and act as "the universal liberal subject whose mobility, modernity, and gift of economic hope needed to be secured against the encroachments of barbarism" (Gonzalez 218).[109] The tourist couple "die of their own desire to see, experience, and know the exoticized land of Hawai'i" (Reyes 133), off the beaten and secured path. While they could not protect themselves, the Orange County couple's death has repercussions, as their son, "a very powerful and conservative Republican who served in the Nixon Administration" sends a threatening telegram to Councilman Matayoshi of the Kalihi district, who then dies of chest pains at the age of thirty-nine (Linmark 120). After hearing this story, the kids begin to diagnose the Orange County couple. Katrina claims that the Orange County wife had "Asthmatic Otraphobia" or "[t]his newly diagnosed mental disorder that give foreigners asthma when they come across

[108] Kent also shows that "the low wages in the tourism industry have been a prime incentive for the movement of investment from plantation agriculture to tourism" (178).
[109] Gonzalez specifically refers to tourism in the post-9/11 moment, but tourists have continually acted as universal subjects whose privilege to travel must be protected from natives and others on beaches or hotels, or introduced through "safe" means.

locals. [. . .] She had one asthma attack cuz she no could handle being surrounded by all the locals on the green bus" (123). It is a fear of the Other in too close range that precipitates the asthma attack, because even the locals merely existing confronts the couple with violence and dispossession they are not equipped to handle, unlike the patriotism of death and violence at the USS *Arizona* Memorial. This diagnosis reverses the imperialist urge to pathologize the colonized Other through "decolonizing maneuvers" in which "the colonizers are contained, rather than the colonized" (Reyes 134).

Katrina and Edgar extend this diagnosis to tourism in Kalihi. Talking with Loata, they contrast the different geographies of Kalihi: their "local geography" (Reyes 132) and the tourist geography of the yellow bus. They notice that "[e]xcept for the Bishop Museum and the Planetarium, Kalihi is not listed in *Places to Visit In Oahu*" (Linmark 121). Katrina grows frustrated by tourists who only congregate at Bishop Museum and ignore the rest of Kalihi around them:

> "Everytime I pass by all those tourists waitin' for go inside Bishop Museum," Katrina says, "I like break their line and tell 'em, 'Eh, you guys blind or what? When come to old and dead stuffs, your eyes bulge out, but when come to me, you guys pretend for be blind."
> "Cuz to them, you invisible," Edgar says. "But to you, they not." (121)

Extending the deaf-and-dumb metaphor, Katrina points out that tourists refuse to see her body in the living landscape of Kalihi—they are "blind." Even though they have come to Bishop Museum precisely to learn about Hawai'i's history, the tourists only have eyes for the "old and dead stuffs," which gives prestige to an imperialist nostalgia and the dispossession and "demise" of Native Hawaiians instead of coming

to grips with the settler colonial present.[110] Tellingly, tourists only desire artifacts of the dead; such objects only become valuable when Native Hawaiians and their culture have disappeared from the landscape. Recognizing the tourists' blindness, Katrina asks Loata: "you think the tourists goin' like go wandering around Kalihi?" (13). Scoffing, Katrina explains that tourist will "[f]reak out when they run into Tutu Man or the Purple Man" (123), the mentally ill regulars at Kam Shopping Center. The kids' local geography threaten the safe security of paradise, showing the seams of settler colonialism in the people it discards. After all, "tourism, just as surely as military occupation, reinforces a centuries-old process of theft" (Gonzalez 39) in its cultural appropriation, and the artifacts it collects for display. [111] Such theft also transforms the land itself into property to be taken and possessed (Nichols 14). The tourists remain blind to how they themselves contribute to this economy. Katrina and Edgar, who are the tough, Pidgin-speaking kids, are wise to tourism's exploitation and how their own lives might be rendered invisible. "The geography of cultural loss and economic impoverishment" in Kalihi, Crystal Parikh notes, is both "the setting against and through which the children in the novel come to know themselves" and a "ghostly existence . . . that mainland tourists cannot countenance" (211). This ghostly existence also functions as a possible threat to tourists, because for them, things are considered safe because they are dead. Edgar and Katrina are "not blind" (Linmark 122) and their aggressive liveliness runs counter to the "old and dead stuffs" of the

[110] For more on imperialist nostalgia, see Renato Rosaldo (1989).
[111] See Haunani-Kay Trask's *From a Native Daughter* (1999) on how tourism feeds on Hawaiian culture, what she calls cultural prostitution.

museum. Identifying the problems of Kalihi's geography that caters to tourists, Katrina brainstorms a solution: to move the freeway "so the tourists no can make one quick getaway to Waikiki" (122-23) and must reckon with the locals who surround them. Despite Kalihi being a product of the colonial colon, Edgar and Katrina do not seek to "rescue" Kalihi but allow Kalihi to be recognized in all of its forms.[112] Kalihi clearly has its own lessons to teach both the kids and tourists about who matters.

Reorienting Failure

Often seen as failures by institutional authorities within the text, Edgar, Katrina, and the other Kalihi youth use these "failures" as opportunities of renewed critique and analysis. Figures of authority like Mrs. Takemoto constantly tell Edgar, Katrina, and the rest of the class to "settle down" (Linmark 62, 83). Refusing to settle into colonial logics, they continually gesture towards the absented history of Native Hawaiians and their own racialization in settler colonialism. The potential of the class to become unsettled, especially in the knowledge they develop about their world through Pidgin, is a site of possibility for an alternative pedagogy that grounds itself in abolishing the colonial colon.[113]

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[112] They clearly would not want Kalihi to be gentrified, which would push out many of its long-time and low-income residents and what the state threatens to do with its redevelopment project. See http://www.civilbeat.org/2017/09/state-vision-plan-could-affect-manufacturing-presence-in-kalihi/.

[113] Joe Balaz's poem "Pidlit 101" from *Electric Laulau* (1998) also takes a pedagogical approach to reading Pidgin literature and interacting with everyday people in Hawai'i, making students "bi-vernacular." The poem aggressively insists on the validity of Pidgin, convincing the university to create the class through the threat of a baseball bat to the dean, and having an enrollment so large that it ousts the course "Anglican History, Then and Now." In the class Pidlit 101, there is no set structure, segueing from literature to everyday Pidgin, including "day-to-day survival skills" for haole students.

This potentiality is also articulated in Pidgin's closeness to queerness. David Eng suggests that in Linmark's text "queerness gains its very meaning and discursive consistency as a critical terrain on which overlapping histories of sexuality, experiences of racialization and gendered, narratives of immigrant trauma and displacement, and strategies of class oppression and resistance are mobilized" (Eng 225). Chandan Reddy, meanwhile, notes that these "'queer' narratives explore the uneven determinations of multiple histories 'piled up,' 'over-ripe,' and 'decaying' within their narrative space'" (qtd. in Eng 226). These queer narratives, however, also must be considered in relationship to Pidgin, which structures the very voices and form of the novel and the response of the fifth graders to institutional authority. If queerness offers "a form of social and political organization . . . under which progressive politics can be strategized and rallied" through "the engagement of racial, gender, class, and national differentials" (Eng 226), the queer Pidgin of *Rolling the R's* proposes a form of pedagogy that is grounded in the language, bodies, and land of lived experience and which asserts a politicized queer Pidgin that neither the settler classroom nor the colonial colon can contain.

Conclusion

Pidgin Now

Cultural production and advocacy efforts by educators and linguists such as Charlene Sato, Kent Sakoda, and Christina Higgins at the University of Hawai‘i since the 1980s has, to some extent, de-stigmatized Pidgin in today's classroom. The Charlene Sato Center, home to a group known as "Da Pidgin Coup," advocate for the legitimacy of Pidgin. They have also created the website *Talking Story about Pidgin*, that includes materials for teaching in Pidgin in the classroom.[114] These folks have headed recent Pidgin summits and conferences, including "Eh, Get Pidgin? Summit on Pidgin in Education" in October 2017 and a Hawaiian-Pidgin Summit in October 2018. Lee Tonouchi, known as the "Pidgin Jedi," makes a living writing stories, plays, letters of recommendation, and newspaper articles in an entirely uncompromising Pidgin. As Joe Balaz writes in the poem "Officially Official" mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Pidgin has only been recognized by U.S. outsiders in 2015, when it is and has been a well-known fact of life in Hawai‘i. However, the fear of Pidgin becoming a dying language is ever-present. The inclusion of "hamajang" or "messed up" in the Oxford English Dictionary in 2019 means incorporation into the "official" language. Such recognition makes people question whether or not Pidgin will survive the twenty-first century, as a May 2019 public "talk story" event in Honolulu is titled.

[114] See http://sls.hawaii.edu/Pidgin/materialsForEducators.php for Pidgin "Materials for Educations," including activities and lesson plans for the classroom.

These fears may be warranted, as Pidgin becomes more and more marketable to both locals and outsiders. In 2017, brothers from the North Shore launched a "Pidginmoji" application for iPhone use, with over 800 Pidgin expressions and emojis. Over the past few years local grocery market Foodland has commodified being local in Pidgin with reusable grocery bags that read: "you know you local . . ." and includes recipes for spam musubi and other local dishes, and common Pidgin sayings like "garranz" (guaranteed) and "broke da mouth" (basically, delicious). Pidgin has become much more accepted in public usage, with Pidgin phrases being printed on T-shirts, bags, bumper stickers, and signs. In literature, theater, and comedy, Pidgin has remained constant.

Yet, Pidgin's ubiquity may not only be a sign of tourist or even local commodification. Rather, Pidgin seems to have become entrenched as a language that marks belonging, over and against the continuous stream of outsider and outsider interests. Balaz's poem, "Pidlit 101," details the first day of instruction, in which instructor Pomaikaʻi ʻUmikomakolu explains—all in Pidgin—that studying Pidgin literature by local writers will make students "bi-vernacular" and convince them that such literature is viable. An experimental course, people of the "continental haole persuasion" in administration were against this course being taught, but the course is so full that they must switch classrooms with the course "Anglican History, Then and Now" due to this Western course's low enrollment. The Pidlit class, as ʻUmikomakolu explains, moves back and forth between passages in Pidgin literature

and everyday conversation, which will teach the haole boys "survival skills."

'Umikomakolu provides an example situation:

> You by yourself, you just wen eat a hamburger, and you stay walking back to your car wen you make eye contact with a local guy sitting in his car wit his friends. Upon seeing you, he presents da question, "Eh, what you looking at?" Keep in mind that you are outnumbered and you no look like you stay on your home turf. Your response could be
>
> a) Pardon me.
> b) Hey man, this is a free country.
> c) What, boddah you?; or
> d) None of da above.
>
> If you chose a or b, you would get pounded immediately. Also, if you chose d, none of the above, it would show that you stay indecisive and you would still get pounded. However, if you chose c, and was forceful with your response, like dis, "What? Boddah you?" you would completely trow da braddahs off. Dey would be tinking, "woah, dis guy get blond hair and blue eyes, but maybe he get little bit Hawaiian blood." With dis slight window of opportunity, you would flash one shaka sign, and be allowed to tell one white lie on your behalf for break da tension. "Gee, I dunno why you guys make li'dat. I was born and raised in Ka'a'awa." After a few "oh, sorry brah, we neva know," you can shake hands, give um some beer from your cooler, and drive away unharmed. (Balaz, "Pidlit 101")[115]

Pidgin, Balaz suggests, is a marker of being Hawaiian, and knowing the masculine insider lingo can be protective for outsiders who otherwise clearly do not belong—i.e., blond hair and blue eyes. Pidgin and the cultural mores to share beer are preferable to any kind of outsider. Such outsiders are vulnerable to violence from locals, which Balaz turns around from the usual situation, such as the Massie Case, in which outsiders attack locals. While there is much more to unpack from this poem, it is clear that Balaz presents Pidgin literature as teaching outsiders and legitimizing local history and culture. Outsiders learn life and survival skills, but local students

[115] As this is from Balaz's performance poetry, *Electric Laulau*, all written transcriptions are mine.

finally have a class that replaces the outside interests such as "Anglican History." Because of the inclusion of local writers and the reflection of local life, class will "definitely not be boring" (Balaz, "Pidlit 101").

Pidgin and "local" are ever entwined, because as millions of tourists and military continue to inundate the islands, Pidgin is embraced as one form of barrier that separates locals from outsiders. Any "official" recognition therefore breeds fear because it opens Pidgin to appropriation from those same outsiders. However, Pidgin has yet to have a formal dictionary, and remains a language either learned as a child or from other Pidgin speakers. Pidgin literature and cultural production remains strong, with older plays such as Lisa Matsumoto's Pidgin fairy tales and James Grant Benton's Pidgin Shakespeare are being revived decades after the deaths of both playwrights. As a language, Pidgin continues to live on, at least for now. Pidgin stays, and does what it has been doing for the last century—fronting a "local first" culture over that of the U.S. continent, and making sure that outsiders learn a lesson or two in the process.[116] And as Balaz hints at in his poem, Pidgin literature will continue to replace or at least exist alongside "Anglican History."

[116] As I and others have noticed from experience, it is perhaps true that Honolulu Pidgin is changing, or maybe even disappearing while Pidgin on the neighbor islands is much stronger. Honolulu children are less likely to use Pidgin in everyday conversation than kids from Maui, for instance.

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