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**Transcript of DARE Interview (1967): Honolulu, Hawaii; Primary Informant HI001
(Tape 0339-S1)**

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INTRODUCTION: The following was recorded from Dictionary of American Regional English, tape zero three three nine, side one.

FIELDWORKER: This is a recording of Miss Miriam [beep] made at Honolulu, Hawaii on November twenty-eighth, nineteen sixty seven by [beep].

5 INFORMANT: The story of Arthur the Rat. Once upon a time there was a young rat who
couldn't make up his mind. Whenever the other rats asked him if he would like to come out
hunting with them, he would answer in a hoarse voice, "I don't know." And when they said,
"Would you rather stay inside?" He wouldn't say yes or no either. He'd always shirk making a
choice. One fine day, his Aunt Josephine said to him, "Now look here. No one will ever care for
10 you if you carry on like this. You have no more mind of your own than a greasy old blade of
grass." [crash] The young rat coughed and looked wise, as usual, but said nothing. "Don't you
think so?" said his aunt, stamping with her foot, for she couldn't bear to see the young rat so
cold-blooded. "I don't know," was all he ever answered, and then he'd walk off to think for an
hour or more whether he should stay in his hole in the ground or go out into the loft. One night
15 the rats heard a loud noise in the loft. It was a very dreary old place. The roof let the rain come
washing in, the beams and rafters had all rotted through, so that the whole thing was quite
unsafe. At last, one of the joists gave way, and the beams fell with one edge on the floor. The
walls shook, the cupola fell off. And all the rats' hair stood on end with fear and horror. "This
won't do," said their leader. "We can't stay cooped up here any longer." So they sent out scouts
20 to search for a new home. A little later on that evening—whoops— a little later on that
evening, the scouts came back and said they had found an old-fashioned horse barn where
there would be room and board for all of them, room and board. The leader gave the order at
once, "Company, fall in!" and the rats crawled out of their holes right away and stood on the
floor in a long line. Just then the old rat caught sight of young Arthur— that was the name of
25 the shirker. He wasn't in the line, and he wasn't exactly outside it— he stood just by it. "Come
on, get in line," growled the old rat coarsely. "Of course, you're coming too." "I don't know,"
said Arthur calmly. "Why, the idea of it! You don't think it's safe here anymore, do you?" "I'm
not certain," said Arthur, undaunted. "The roof may not fall down yet." "Well," said the old rat,

"we can't wait for you to join us." Then he turned to the others and shouted, "Right about face! March!" and the long line marched out of the barn while the young rat watched them. "I think I'll go tomorrow," he said to himself, "but then again, perhaps I won't. It's so nice and snug here. I guess I'll go back to my hole under the log for a while just to make up my mind." But during the night, there was a big crash. Down came beams, rafters, joists, the whole business. Next morning—it was a foggy day—some men came to look over the damage. It seemed odd to them that the old building was not haunted by rats.

FIELDWORKER: Uh, [beep], can you tell me something about your childhood. It was in Honolulu, wasn't it?

INFORMANT: Yes, I lived here, oh, all my life until I went to college except for a couple of trips to the mainland.

FIELDWORKER: Were you living in what might be called the, the city, or were you suburban or what?

INFORMANT: The city.

FIELDWORKER: In the city.

INFORMANT: Uh, closer to town until I was about fifteen, and then we moved up into this house.

FIELDWORKER: I see, which is still, uh, pretty much city.

INFORMANT: We moved in here in nineteen seventeen.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: So, by mathematics, it comes out [laugh].

FIELDWORKER: And, uh, at that time, this was, I suppose fairly well out.

INFORMANT: This was out, there were very few houses, there were about four, this was about the fourth one.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: Mali didn't have any of that stuff in it that's over there now.

FIELDWORKER: All that's new building.

INFORMANT: It's all new building.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm. You went to—Punahou is...

INFORMANT: Punahou.

60 FIELDWORKER: Punahou School. Uh, that itself, looks to me now as if it had been once quite
separate and, uh, sort of out by itself, and now it's surrounded by... It was. It started what-,not
in that spot at all, but I believe there was a Punahou downtown somewhere to which my
mother went, and then the family came over to this area which she wasn't in school that early,
though, because this school was founded in eighteen forty one. There was some portion of it
was not on that campus, and, uh, then it grew from that first building, there's a building there,
65 big stone, uh, small stone building with thick, thick walls, you probably don't notice it from the
street at all, that was the original, one of the original buildings. Uh, when I went there it was
much smaller than it is now, the growth in it came with Doctor Fox, who is the present
president of it. He came, uh, during the war, at the end of the war, I think it was. This is the
Second World War, um hum. Well your mother went to that school then too.

70 INFORMANT: Yes.

FIELDWORKER: You say that she was of Portuguese background, both her parents Portuguese?

INFORMANT: Yes, mm-hmm.

FIELDWORKER: Uh, now they were here, uh, for years, however, for many years, they settled
here actually.

75 INFORMANT: They settled here.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: I don't know the exact year when they came.

FIELDWORKER: But this means that your mother grew up, then, in an English-speaking
environment.

80 INFORMANT: Uh, it would be largely English, but, of course, back in the eighteen seventies
there was a lot of Hawaiian spoken at the same time.

FIELDWORKER: There was.

INFORMANT: And, uh, her background being Portuguese, I really, I know they heard
Portuguese in the family as well as English, but she sort of shed it off. Uh, Portuguese are part
85 of the, one of the underdog groups here as they had been in other places, and she was sort of
ashamed of it, so, for years, she wouldn't even speak any Portuguese, she had a sister, on the
other hand, who took the other track, reared up on her hind legs, learned Portuguese, spoke it
at every turn, and, uh, I think they, they grew up with it in the family.

FIELDWORKER: That is to say, as opposed...

90 INFORMANT: As well as English.

FIELDWORKER: As well as English.

INFORMANT: They were learning, the kids were learning English in school, so that would be their first language.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm. And then, your mother, of course, married a speaker of English.

95 INFORMANT: Yes.

FIELDWORKER: So, uh, that meant that in her own home, I suppose she spoke nothing but English.

INFORMANT: It was nothing but English.

FIELDWORKER: You haven't learned any Portuguese at all.

100 INFORMANT: I took one summer session course once from, uh, an instructor at the university.

FIELDWORKER: At the university here, that is, mm-hmm. Um, but then, you grew up really under the influence of speaking of English, but your father, uh, your father had learned the English of Hawaii.

105 INFORMANT: That's right, he didn't have, uh, he could put on a Scotch accent, but I don't know how genuine it was. He didn't, I don't think he had a Scottish accent.

FIELDWORKER: Well, if he had it, he may have, uh, got it from, from medical school in Scotland rather than from family.

INFORMANT: That's right, I think so.

110 FIELDWORKER: I see. Mm-hmm. Well, uh, now the, the, I haven't worked out yet just all the strands, and I don't suppose I ever will, that go into the English of Hawaii, but it's certainly is neither closely northern nor closely southern with respect to the mainland, I can certainly see that the, the things are intermingled and there are some rather interesting British, or things that could be British, uh, influences here that I've noticed.

115 INFORMANT: Well, that could well be, because the British had a great deal to do with the islands back in about eighteen, eighteen forties, somewhere around in there.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: I don't know the exact year.

FIELDWORKER: Wasn't there a short period during which, uh, the islands were actually under British rule?

120 INFORMANT: Uh, I think they handed themselves over to the British to escape from a French gunboat or something like that.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: And, they were, uh, technically British, but then it seems to me that, my
knowledge of history's terrible, but I think that, uh, it was the British that they were handed
125 themselves over to, and not vice versa, and then the Brit, the man that took them over was
upbraided or something by a superior officer for having taken them, I'm not sure, but I think so.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm. And, in other words, they, then the British, British, uh, connection
was withdrawn. They still have a Union Jack in the back in Kauai.

INFORMANT: Definitely.

130 FIELDWORKER: Which I noticed with some surprise and rather interest. Uh, now, what about
the, your relations to Hawaiians themselves, uh, as a child, for example, what kinds of contact
did you have with Hawaiians.

INFORMANT: Not too, not very many.

FIELDWORKER: Why was that?

135 INFORMANT: I don't know, I think perhaps it was in the area where I lived, that there weren't
there weren't Hawaiian children. Actually, there was, we lived on Canal Street opposite a little
Japanese encampment, there were lots of little Japanese shrimps running around, and, um, I
think I played with them at one time more than with the, with the haole kids 'cause there was a
scarcity in my neighborhood.

140 FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm, mm-hmm. Uh, you called them "Japanese shrimps," you mean these
little children.

INFORMANT: Little children. [laugh]

FIELDWORKER: You mean, would you call any kind of children "shrimps," or do you reserve this
word for that Japanese?

145 INFORMANT: No, any, no, any kind of child is a shrimp.

FIELDWORKER: It just means 'a small child.'

INFORMANT: Any little small child.

FIELDWORKER: Just a small child, yes. I wondered whether this association with the Japanese
was—

150 INFORMANT: No, indeed, oh—

FIELDWORKER: Specially, what, uh, what part do they play in the general life of Honolulu?

INFORMANT: Well, I don't quite know what you mean, they were, the Japanese certainly play a
strong part in the economic part of li-, in the, the they have risen so, from the imported

155 Japanese that were first brought in, that they are socially the equal of any so-called haole resident.

FIELDWORKER: Yes, so that, uh, you, you didn't, uh...

INFORMANT: I love the Japanese neighbors over here right next door to us.

FIELDWORKER: I suppose that right now the Japanese are distributed throughout the social spectrum, right from the top on down.

160 INFORMANT: To the bottom, just the way whites are, I would say.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm. Just the way whites are, do, would you find any Japanese still at the peasant stage, or have they been displaced by others?

165 INFORMANT: Uh, I think you would—well not the peasant stage, no, but, I think you'll still be able to find some Japanese doing farming, in fact, on the other islands, there are a great many of them. But there are, um, some of the whites are farming, and some of the Chinese are farming.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm. In short, there isn't any, any sharp line of a national or racial sort...

INFORMANT: There isn't.

FIELDWORKER: There at all.

170 INFORMANT: I don't, I don't feel one, I don't think there is. They say that in business concerns, the high positions are not given to the Japanese, but very recently, at least, that the firms may be running, turning over backwards, in order to, to, uh, counter this. But, there are Japanese in those high positions.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

175 INFORMANT: High executive positions.

FIELDWORKER: In executive positions.

INFORMANT: There're not that many, I'm sure, but...

180 FIELDWORKER: Well, I don't suppose there would be many because any change of that kind takes time, and I suppose also any such change may have been slowed up by the Second World War.

INFORMANT: That could well be, mm-hmm, except that might also have been accelerated by the part that, uh, Japanese that we have here played in it.

FIELDWORKER: What do you mean by that?

185 INFORMANT: Because our Japanese, our Japanese rose to, uh, to the call of United States as their country better, even, than the local white boys did, and there was a, they volunteered, and was a unit, for-, forty second or something, I forget its name, that was quite well known, and they went into danger as our, many of our local boys, I think some of us were somewhat ashamed of the way the the white boys waited to be drafted, whereas the Japanese volunteered.

190 FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm, mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: And it wasn't sabotage as their motive either, I mean...

FIELDWORKER: No, no, no, of course not, it was loyalty.

INFORMANT: (xx) it was loyalty.

195 FIELDWORKER: Well now, um, I asked earlier and didn't really let you answer about the position of the Hawaiians. What has become of the Hawaiians, uh, did, and what kind of, of part did they play in your own early life?

200 INFORMANT: Well, again, I started, I saw very little of Hawaiians. The main Hawaiians that I saw were, uh, the ones that might have been cowboys and so on. My mother's father had a ranch, uh, way out Wailupe area, and, uh, they used to, parents used to take me out there and for a weekend now and then, and I, and the cowboys were Hawaiians mainly, and that's where I have (xx).

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

205 INFORMANT: And, uh, on other islands, I've seen, well, as a child, the Hawaiians had not yet established, gotten out of the position of seeming primitive to the white man that had come here. And so, uh, you, you didn't see that they were rising in the social scale, but now, again, like the Japanese, you find Hawaiians all the way from the top down to people that are struggling to make a living.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: I guess that's it.

210 FIELDWORKER: They had, they had some difficulty at first, uh, learning to live the Western way, I suppose.

INFORMANT: Imagine this was it, and...

FIELDWORKER: Is there any resentment on the part of the Hawaiians, that you know of, any resentment of the way in which haoles came in and took things over?

215 INFORMANT: You know, the one, such Hawaiians as I have ever known, I have never seen this resentment. But listening to the radio talk programs, uh, hearing people call in, I don't know

220 how big a proportion of Hawaiians this would be, but there are some of these voices that you hear, that come in, I can't identify them other than the voice belongs to somebody, are highly resentful, and, uh, uh, practically say, "Haole go home," and I have never seen this anywhere in my experience.

FIELDWORKER: Well then, you think, then, in effect that this is something new.

INFORMANT: I think these may be screwballs.

FIELDWORKER: They may be screwballs, or something.

225 INFORMANT: I don't know if it's something new or, or whether they're screwballs. I just have not been conscious of it.

FIELDWORKER: It's a little late for them to say, "Haole, go home," isn't it?

INFORMANT: Yeah, it certainly is.

FIELDWORKER: Is this p-possibly a reaction to tourism?

230 INFORMANT: Partly, but, not lar-, they, the ones that I hear on the, on the, uh, phone are almost sound as though they're, there's a racial hatred building up, and I, I hate to see this, I just don't understand what's happening.

FIELDWORKER: Yes, I would say, hate to see it because you hear on the contrary, publicly, it is said, that the, the, the inter-relation of the races here is a model.

235 INFORMANT: Well, I think it is, I haven't seen this part. At one time, I felt that the Japanese were resentful of the white people, but, uh, I don't see that anymore either.

FIELDWORKER: I have met some young Japanese who seem to be completely and totally American, that is..

INFORMANT: Yeah, that's it, they, they out-American the rest of us in many ways, they seem to anyway.

240 FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm. Well, I did run across one old Hawaiian, who I, I better not say his name because, uh, he has some high connections, but, at any rate, he made no bones about saying that, uh, the past was all dead for the Hawaiians and that the future held nothing for them. Now, he is, I think, had attached himself to the past and was living in the way that is gone, so he, he's, uh, made the wrong connections, on the other hand his children are both
245 Westernized, Americanized, and they're joining into things perfectly well, in fact, outstandingly, uh, so that, um, what's happened is that he has, he's looking backward, and therefore is pessimistic. The children are looking forward and are optimistic, and he says that they tell him that he should not be, he should not be pessimistic, he shouldn't look backward and he shouldn't say that there's nothing for the Hawaiians in the future. He has to, to understand the
250 place that the Hawaiians can take with everybody else.

INFORMANT: Makes good sense.

FIELDWORKER: It certainly makes good sense because you can't live for the past. Not, uh, not to any great extent. You can, of course, I suppose scholars can do it in an isolated sort of way, um...

255 INFORMANT: Well, the little ivory tower?

FIELDWORKER: That kind of thing, yes, but even there present society seems to resent ivory towers and try to keep us from too much separateness.

INFORMANT: That's true.

260 FIELDWORKER: But your own work has kept you very closely in contact with Hawaiian children in the broader sense of the word, that is, all the local children.

INFORMANT: Yes, I saw all types of kids, all types of, uh, youngsters who had a fair amount of upbringing, I think in this private school of this sort you get, well, we were lucky, we didn't get the rough and tumble type that you hear about in some of the other schools.

FIELDWORKER: Yes.

265 INFORMANT: Our, uh, schools here are not bad, uh, as far as rough crowd goes, like some of the ones you read about in New York. But at the same time, there was a school (known, which, was a) block again, uh, that had youngsters that were anti-teacher enough that they got the teacher and they locked him in a closet one day and didn't, left him there until somebody else came to rescue him. I, his story, I (met at a) summer session at the university of Hawaii once
270 when, uh, I was in with a lot of people from all the different public schools. This was the man who, proudly now, told how he got locked up in his closet by his kids, he thought this was lovely, but uh, knowing the reputation of that school, I think there was more to it than just the kids friendlily locking him up.

FIELDWORKER: Friendlily locking him up, oh that's what he said, huh? [laugh]

275 INFORMANT: But, they are a fairly rough gang in that school, but now at Punahou, they were uh, not little Lord Fauntleroy's, but they were more delicately reared, and they surprisingly, uh, better behaved all the time, as I would think the bad would have to come out in somebody in more than just being naughty in a classroom, or, uh, cussing when they shouldn't cuss, and so on, but they we didn't have too great problems, we may have them now, I don't know, because
280 in this particular generation, I think uh, rebellion is the key note.

FIELDWORKER: It certainly seems to be, there's a spirit of rebellion around, I, I don't see how it can last very long because it, uh, it doesn't lead anywhere, but, um, the children you had at Punahou school must have been uh, from fairly ambitious families that were moving up.

285 INFORMANT: Yes, and, uh, Punahou, until the la-, until Doctor Fox came in, kept a a little bit
unreal, uh, makeup, racial makeup. It had limited the oriental children to, I forget what the
percent was, it was a very small percent which is entirely unrealistic compared to the
population. After Doctor Fox came uh, they claim that there is no, uh, limitation still, but I think
they attempt to keep a proportion, however if a kid has the brains and character
290 recommendations, and, uh, possibility that somebody reads into thinking for his future
development, they will accept him.

FIELDWORKER: Regardless of anything else

INFORMANT: Regardless of any, uh, background.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm, he still has to be well enough off to pay for a private school

295 INFORMANT: But, again—he should be—but again, they're eager to get people that perhaps
can't afford it that would be fine upstanding citizens, and so there is a certain number of
scholarships that are available.

FIELDWORKER: Available.

INFORMANT: And they steer them toward the scholarships, and some of it's for football too,
I'm sure.

300 FIELDWORKER: [laugh] Well, we have to have our...

INFORMANT: We have a very poor team and a very poor season this year.

FIELDWORKER: We have to have the—so has the University of Wisconsin, the worst in history. I
don't know what this says about the, uh, uh, academic, by contrast, but, in any case, the, there
is then, I suppose, quite a cross section of all kinds of races and mixtures at Punahou School.

305 INFORMANT: Mm-hmm, mm-hmm, yes.

FIELDWORKER: Do you get any language reflections of this, do you have any language
difficulties in the school which you can trace back to non-English language in the home?

310 INFORMANT: Yes, once in a while, you get, once in a while, you'll get a, a Japanese or Chinese
student that evidently still has a lot of Japanese spoken in the home, so that his twists of the
English language are odd.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

315 INFORMANT: And when, I taught English four s-, off and on for some of the years, and the
compositions were very stilted and peculiar tense usage, uh, all the way through them, then,
um, we get some youngsters that grow up in the, some of these scholarship ones that grow up
in atmosphere where there's a great deal of pidgin spoken,

FIELDWORKER: Uh huh.

INFORMANT: And, um, the minute they get out of the classroom, you'll hear them go out the hall, door, and down the hall and pidgin is, is the, the lingo.

FIELDWORKER: They just drop back into it.

320 INFORMANT: They just drop right back into it, and, uh, I had a couple of them that couldn't speak anything but pidgin in the classroom in freshman year, in the eighth grade year.

FIELDWORKER: Eighth grade.

INFORMANT: Mm-hmm.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

325 INFORMANT: And had to be broken of it. They were football prospects.

FIELDWORKER: Uh huh, well, now, what was the attitude of the school officially toward the so-called pidgin?

INFORMANT: Get them to speak English, standard English.

FIELDWORKER: In the classroom.

330 INFORMANT: And try to make it stick.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: Which we couldn't do, but there was an effort not only in the classroom to try but to, to try to moor them into trying, to using all the time.

FIELDWORKER: Using it all the time.

335 INFORMANT: Mm-hmm.

FIELDWORKER: Now what would you say was, furnished the problem here? I supposed it's obvious that if they got back with speakers of pidgin that's all they could speak. But if you did succeed in luring them into speaking standard English, what conditions would be necessary for the success of that?

340 INFORMANT: I think you'd have to remove them from the environment completely.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: To where that was all they heard, because the minute that, uh, they are with their peers, since the peers admire the ruggedness (life) that goes along with the pidgin speaker,

345 FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

INFORMANT: And, uh, the peers are going to think speaking pidgin is fun and this is the thing to do.

FIELDWORKER: Well there, I suppose there were cases of speakers of standard English at home who learned pidgin at school.

350 INFORMANT: Could be, very well.

FIELDWORKER: So as to, uh...

INFORMANT: Keep up with—it's the (Jones of school).

FIELDWORKER: Yes, to be really in it. Yes. What you have really then, I suppose, is two dialects going at school, one for intimate use and the other one for s-, classroom use.

355 INFORMANT: Yes, one for the, one for the, uh, one sports field, for one thing, and the other for the classroom.

FIELDWORKER: The sports field is definitely pidgin.

INFORMANT: Mm-hmm. I don't know if this still does on, but I think it does.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm. And then, the ones who are more academically turned would, uh...

360 INFORMANT: They would continue, probably, majority of them, using their normal English. Uh, there is one case of a, of a son of a minister that was connected with another school here who sent his boy to Punahou. Uh, the family definitely didn't speak pidgin, it spoke very, very superior English, the boy could always speak superior English in school, but the minute he got out of school, he went into pidgin.

365 FIELDWORKER: And what his parents do about it?

INFORMANT: His parents didn't like that at all, but they hadn't, couldn't control this.

FIELDWORKER: Yes.

INFORMANT: So on the field, he had the, he out-pidgined the rest of the pigdinese, I think [laugh].

370 FIELDWORKER: Well now, what about the effect of pidgin in, in life in general, um, I've noticed that where a pidgin exists a politician who wants to succeed has to be able at least to lapse into it from time to time for the sake of votes. Is that true here?

INFORMANT: It's an accomplishment, I think so, it's an accomplishment.

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

375 INFORMANT: Uh, we have our, our, what you call a vice governor or whatever he's called, anyway he's the (the big), h-, the one that would take over in case the governor—not the

governor, the, what am I talking about, the mayor, no it's the governor—this is, take over in case the governor, uh, died or something, he's advocating teaching pidgin in the schools, and getting—

380 FIELDWORKER: He is.

INFORMANT: stirring up quite a furor among the people that don't see why one should go out of their way, one's way to teach it.

FIELDWORKER: Yes.

385 INFORMANT: But he says, "Well why not teach it in the schools?" But he, he has this ability to lapse in-, to use it when he feels like it. He can tell a story in pidgin, Of course this is an accomplishment.

FIELDWORKER: Yes.

INFORMANT: You can speak, you can speak the pidgin very good, you know,

FIELDWORKER: Mm-hmm.

390 INFORMANT: But not, it's not very good pidgin on the end, but uh, some of the inflections I can get, and I picked up in the course of a long career. And it's, uh, it's, strange thing is as a teacher I found that some of the youngsters liked it if on the side you would just hoomulimuli them—oh that's a good Hawaiian word—uh, for, with a little bit of pidgin and, uh, then lapse right back into the normal English. "Teacher's right on, she can do it," see.

395 FIELDWORKER: Yes, she can do it, only she's not allowed to.

INFORMANT: Yeah, that's right.

FIELDWORKER: She would if she could [laugh], if she were permitted.

INFORMANT: Yep.

400 FIELDWORKER: Well, the, what kind of argument does this assistant to the governor make for teaching pidgin in the school?

INFORMANT: Most I can make out of it is that he feels, he says he feels, that since, that it's never, it's not going to die, it's a very practical thing to use and, uh, there's no reason why you can't have it.

FIELDWORKER: Well you could have it but—

405 INFORMANT: Because there's so many youngsters that, whose families he says don't speak English anyway so you might as well let the kids learn good pidgin. That doesn't make good sense to me. I just think he's, uh, trying to butter up some, some of his constituents.

FIELDWORKER: Oh, mm-hmm. Well, if, uh, if the schools (would) reach the point where they at least tolerate pidgin, and recognize that it is an idiom for people, there's been a great gain.

410 INFORMANT: I don't think the schools really do though.

FIELDWORKER: You don't?

INFORMANT: No.

FIELDWORKER: They're still set their face pretty strongly against it.

415 INFORMANT: They still are technically against it. That's another problem is that a lot of the, of the teachers have been, uh from, have been educated here, and have come a background where they themselves can lapse into pidgin and they have trouble handling the English, uh, as pure English, and so they, uh, just, themselves, use, like I said, use poor English in class.

FIELDWORKER: They're uncertain what is pure, I s-

420