

IS DAT DOG YOU'RE EATING?: MOCK FILIPINO, HAWAI'I CREOLE, AND LOCAL ELITISM

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Abstract

This paper explores both racial and socioeconomic classification through language use as a means of membership categorization among locals in Hawai'i. Analysis of the data focuses on some of the most obvious representations of language ideology, namely, ethnic jokes and local vernacular. Ideological constructions concerning two types of Filipino populations, local Filipinos and immigrant Filipinos, the latter often derisively referred to as "Fresh off the Boat (FOB)" are performed differently in ethnic jokes by local Filipino comedians. Scholars report that the use of mock language often functions as a racialized categorization marker; however, observations on the use of Mock Filipino in this study suggest that the classification as local or immigrant goes beyond race, and that the differences between the two categories of Filipinos observed here are better represented in terms of social status. First generation Filipino immigrants established diaspora communities in Hawai'i from the plantation time and they slowly merged with other groups in the area. As a result, the immigrants' children integrated themselves into the local community; at this point, their children considered themselves to be members of this new homeland, newly established locals who no longer belonged to their ancestors' country. Thus, the local population, though of the same race with the new immigrants, act as racists against people of their own race in the comedy performances.

Keywords: Hawai'i Creole; Mock Filipino; Stylization; Ethnic jokes; Mobility.

1. Introduction: HC as a membership categorization marker

After Captain Cook's arrival in 1778, Hawai'i became a stopping point for "vessels bound between the American and the Asian or Australian coasts... and because of its richness of agricultural resources, Hawaii has been inevitably exposed to foreign influences, linguistic and other, almost from the time of its discovery" (Reinecke 1935/1969: 23). Whether Captain Cook "discovered" Hawai'i or not, it has attracted a constant influx of immigrants beginning with westerners involved in the fur trade between the US and China after 1786 (Kawamoto 1993: 194). After its initial encounter with westerners, Hawai'i came to be controlled by a minority Caucasian group who gained political and economic power over the local monarchy. One of the main industrial events after the westerners' arrival was the development of sugar plantations across the islands. A large number of Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese immigrants were recruited as plantation laborers between 1850 and 1900, followed by Filipinos who joined the immigrant workers after 1906. Kawamoto (1993: 198) writes, "[b]y 1900, of a total population of 154,001 people living in Hawaii, 25,767 were Chinese; 18,272 were Portuguese; 37,656 were Hawaiian (including 7,857 part-Hawaiians); 61,111

Japanese; and 10,657 Caucasians.” Hawai‘i Pidgin English (HPE)¹ developed among the plantation workers where it served as “a secondary mode of communication for speakers who conducted the bulk of their interactions in their native tongue” (Sato 1989: 259). The crucial pidginization period of HPE is thought to have been between 1880 and 1910, and involved the languages of the Americans, Hawaiians, Chinese, Portuguese, and Japanese. The latecomer Filipinos are said to have contributed less to the formation of HPE (e.g., Kawamoto 1993; Siegel 2000). Given this historical background, Hawai‘i is often referred to as the melting-pot of the Pacific for its ethnic diversity. The coexistence of diverse multiethnic cultures is often described with metaphors like “bento box” or “mixed plate lunch,” a local meal that traditionally includes several different dishes, with the emphasis on the variety of the ingredients. Whether this somewhat idealized description of local identity is representative of the actual social situation in Hawai‘i is arguable, but there does exist a locally ubiquitous linguistic variety, Hawai‘i Creole (HC), which is creolized from HPE² and often functions among local speakers to build solidarity or to confirm membership among Hawai‘i residents, establishing their shared knowledge and history of local cultural practices, styles, and manners of speech.

Today’s immigration demographic has changed considerably since the height of the plantation period in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While Hawaiians and descendants of immigrant plantation workers from China, Portugal, Japan, and the Philippines have already been settled in the area for several generations, giving Hawai‘i its much-lauded multiethnic constituency, immigrants from the Philippines, alone among these, continue to arrive in large numbers today. According to the Census 2010 data, Filipinos are the second largest immigrant group, following Mexicans, in the US. Almost half of all immigrants in Hawai‘i were Filipino born and two of every five immigrants in Honolulu are Filipinos (Terrazas and Batalova 2010). This change in immigrant demographics is causing a gap between local Filipinos and newly immigrating Filipinos in Hawai‘i. Access to HC - called simply “Pidgin” in Hawai‘i - identifies local Filipinos as no longer belonging to their homelands in the Philippines, and creates a new boundary, beyond racial categorization, between them and the Filipino newcomers. This paper investigates the role of language as a membership categorization marker concerning a distinction between locals and non-locals by focusing on one of the most obvious representations of language ideology, namely ethnic jokes concerning the two types of Filipino populations. The current literature on mock language often discusses imposed racial boundaries between dominant and subordinate groups, and the social inequalities represented through the use of mock languages by the dominant group (e.g., Hill 1993, 1998; Meek 2006; Ronkin and Karn 1999). While the recent works on mock varieties have attended primarily to the distinction between “white” and (non-white) “Others,” this study focuses on a “local” vs. “non-local” ideological axis rather than either a racial or a socioeconomic one.

¹ HPE grew to become the lingua franca among residents and immigrant workers around the beginning of the 20th century, and as the number of speakers across the islands increased, the descendants of the immigrants began shifting their dominant language from their heritage tongues to HC.

² As is the case with many other pidgins and creoles, grammatical features of HC, a descendant of HCE, are more focused compared to HCE; e.g., in HCE, depending on a speaker’s first language, differences in word order were noted. (1) Japanese SOV word order: *Da pua piple awl poteito it*. ‘The poor people just eat potatoes.’ (Bickerton 1981:11); (2) Filipino VSO word order: *Luna, hu hapai? Hapai awl, hemo awl*. ‘Who’ll carry it, Boss? Everyone will cut it and everyone will carry it.’ (Bickerton 1992: 120).

Ethnic jokes in Hawai'i comedy can be better explained by terms other than race, as the boundaries between local Filipinos and immigrant Filipinos clearly illustrate. Taking this claim as the point of departure, this paper will show how mock language can be used to impose local vs. non-local categorizations by discussing the case of Mock Filipino performances in Hawai'i comedy shows.³

People who grow up in Hawai'i are generally conscious of the distinction between local and non-local personal attributes.⁴ In the transitional period between 1898 when Hawai'i was annexed to the United States and the time it became the 50th state in 1959, "Caucasian" vs. "non-Caucasian" marked the main socioeconomic boundary. For the ruling *haole* (a Hawaiian language term that, when used in HC or English means "Caucasian") class, Hawai'i became known early on as a tropical paradise where multiculturalism and ethnic harmony were much celebrated (see Adams 1937; Lind 1938; Park 1926).⁵ The majority of residents being Asians and Pacific islanders influences racial norms; indeed, different standards have been applied to locals and haoles from the plantation days, mirroring Hawai'i's socioeconomic stratifications. These norms have been associated with the language ideology which says that locals speak HC while haoles speak Standard American English (SAE). As such, one of the dominant characteristics of the local vs. non-local distinction is the use of HC. Today, it is estimated that approximately 600,000 people (about half the population of the state of Hawai'i) speak HC (Sakoda and Siegel 2003). HC is predominantly used at home, in local businesses, and in more private, intimate contexts than SAE. At the same time, HC is highly racialized (as a variety of English spoken by non-haoles) in that its use serves as a membership categorization marker among locals, specifically descendants of native Hawaiians and early immigrant plantation workers, to demarcate themselves from non-locals (e.g., Kawamoto 1993; Sato 1989; Tamura 1996). The concept of local culture is based on the celebration of the cultural diversities of people who share Hawaiian or plantation heritage, and indeed a number of cultural practices from a variety of ethnic groups have been adopted by Hawai'i residents in general as their own. In contrast to Hawai'i residents' ethnic or national identities, local identity is of particular importance given Hawai'i's physical and cultural separation from the rest of the US. Most Hawai'i residents prefer to define themselves with the catch-all term "local," implying membership in more than one of Hawai'i's many social and ethnic communities (see Okamura 1994 for detailed discussion). The term "local" itself implies, given the broad range of ethnicities and cultures present in Hawai'i, that membership in the local community is based on criteria other than ethnicity and heritage language. For example, shared experiences since the plantation time, ancestry that includes multiple ethnicities, and speaking HC are regarded as some of the major semiotic symbols of local membership.

³ As one of the reviewers has pointed out, there seems to be "ample fodder" for ethnic jokes everywhere; ethnic jokes are not a special trait of Hawai'i comedy shows only.

⁴ According to historian John Rosa (2000), use of the term "local" to refer to non-Caucasian residents became widespread in Hawai'i after the infamous Massie Case in the early 1930s, which involved the alleged abduction and sexual assault of Thalia Massie, the wife of a Navy officer from the mainland (see Stannard 2005 for details about the incident). Rosa notes that "the Massie Case has since become a kind of origins story of the development of local identity in Hawai'i among working-class people of color" and that "residents of Native Hawaiian, Asian, Portuguese, or Puerto Rican descent have often used the term 'local' in order to distinguish themselves from more recent arrivals to the islands, including tourists, military personnel, and post-1965 immigrants" (Rosa 2000: 94).

⁵ This is one of the reasons why the Massie Case became the nation-wide sensation that it did.

A number of scholars have pointed out that language use plays a large part in the constructing of regional identities (e.g., Coupland 2001; Johnstone 1999; Labov 1972). Speaking HC is one of the key factors of local membership in Hawai‘i, meaning that not only mainland haoles (meaning Caucasians from the continental US), but also newcomers from the homelands of the original plantation immigrants, do not have access to one of the key requirements for being considered local. Despite the fact that even local people are aware of the importance of SAE as an overt prestige variety, HC has persisted and remained the primary language for most Hawai‘i residents.⁶ Tamura (1996: 438) posits that by continuing to use HC, the speakers “demonstrate their continued identity with their primary groups. Moreover, using non-standard English symbolizes people’s ethnocultural identity and their solidarity with a social group.” Today, so long as one is born and raised in Hawai‘i, looks Asian and/or like a Pacific islander, and has a good command of HC, one belongs to this normative category of “local.” Local people who speak excessive SAE to their in-groups may be criticized for being “too haole” (or “haolefied”) by their peers. Likewise, newcomers who are not fluent in HC are marginalized even if their looks are indistinguishable from the looks of prototypical locals. Talmy (2004), reporting on his observations of a high school English as a Second Language classroom in Hawai‘i, notes that newcomer students are often ridiculed by advanced students in this environment. In this case, access to HC sets a boundary between new and old students, with old students openly mocking the mistakes of the newer students while demonstrating their own fluency in HC. Talmy explains that long-term resident students who were able to speak HC were able to use it as a membership categorization marker to exclude newer students because HC “is hardly something an FOB would, or more precisely, could speak” (Talmy 2004/2008: 360). Talmy’s study exhibits a particularly good example of the ways in which speakers employ language and dialect “to appropriate, explore, reproduce and challenge influential images and stereotypes of groups that they do not themselves (straightforwardly) belong to” (Rampton 1999: 421). Similarly, the data observed in this study show that local comedians’ mockery of new immigrants, specifically Filipinos, reflects Hawai‘i’s post-plantation sociolinguistic and socioeconomic stratifications. Plantation-era immigrant Filipinos’ social behaviors, including language as well as important indexical aspects, changed over time, and changed radically, as one would expect after relocation to a new country. This kind of transformation process is often discussed in globalization studies regarding mobility and scales.

From the point of view of mobility and language, Blommaert (2007) explains the importance of scales and scaling processes in relation to metaphors frequently used in globalization studies. A scale is an arbitrary measure of the closeness or distance, conceptually but possibly also physically, between two objects or locations or even two more abstract features such as social norms or popular ideals. According to Blommaert (2007: 1),⁷ “social events and processes move and develop on a continuum of layered scales, with the strictly local (micro) and the global (macro) as extremes, and with several intermediary scales (e.g., the level of the State) in between.” By moving through spaces, people must adjust to a new environment as they pass through the boundaries defined by these scales. Blommaert, Collins, and Slembrouck (2005: 200) argue that

⁶ Tamura (1996: 439-440) refers to a note written by a middle school girl in 1934 which highlights the difference between HC and SAE: “If we speak good English [SAE], our friends usually say, ‘Oh you’re trying to be hybolic (i.e., to act high and mighty), yeah!’”

⁷ He makes references to Lefebvre (2000) and Geertz (2004) in this quote.

“[e]nvironments are polycentric, and individuals always have to orient to multiple centers of indexicality.” A jump from one scale to another signifies changes parallel to “the individual to collective, the temporally situated to the trans-temporal, the unique to the common, the token to the type, the specific to the general” (Blommaert 2007: 4). Blommaert and his colleagues describe how such changes often involve not only space but also time:

Processes such as diaspora are *structural* processes which develop over long spans of time and result in *lasting*, or at least more or less permanent, social reconfigurations. They thus result in lasting sociolinguistic and discursive reconfigurations which have effects across wide ranges of situations for everyone involved. (Blommaert et al. 2005: 201, italics original)

First generation Filipino immigrants established pockets of diasporic communities in Hawai'i at different plantation camps across the state. The communities kept growing and slowly merged into other groups in the hosting space. As a result, the immigrants' children integrated themselves into the local community; at this point, their children considered themselves to be members of this new homeland, newly established locals who no longer belonged to their ancestors' homeland. Over the course of time, the plantation immigrants' descendants developed a new *lasting* social configuration where the center of their social world had been moved from their old home to their new, and what they recognized as local, according to their scales, was now Hawai'i.

Where there is more than one simultaneous scale in a society, the scales tend to form hierarchical orders, and their order is not always predictable. According to Blommaert et al. (2005):

when there is a conflict between local and transnational (globalization) pressures on a government, for instance, it is by no means sure that the transnational influences will prevail. But the point is: scales are not neutral items, they attribute meaning, value, structure and characteristics to the processes that they are part of. (Blommaert et al. 2005: 202)

In Hawai'i, SAE stands at the top of the state's hierarchy as the “official” language. It is, however, HC that prevails over SAE in the everyday life of locals. While considered a non-standard variety at the state level, HC indexes prestige in Hawai'i at large, being a sign of local identity. Compared to English, whether it is SAE or HC, languages of the Philippines that are associated with immigrant Filipinos lower their commercial values in Hawai'i and lose their significance in accordance with the mobility of the speakers. However, conscious local residents are quite aware of the existence of Filipino languages spoken by Others in connection to their heritages or as scattered expressions now adopted into HC from Filipino languages. Filipino languages in Hawai'i largely become visible as communication mediums of those belonging to a low socioeconomic class who take up unskilled professions. Thus, although Mock Filipino is merely an imagined linguistic variety, a form associated with newly arrived immigrants, it also functions to index social meanings and values that are attached to derogatory stereotypes about Filipinos. Mock Filipino owes its existence and pervasive, pejorative uses to Filipino immigrants' lower position in the social hierarchy in comparison to locals in general. As Appadurai (1990: 295) states, “[o]ne man's imagined community

(Anderson 1983) is another man's political prison"; Mock Filipino confines immigrant Filipinos by automatically categorizing them into a socially deprecated position.

2. Stylization, parody, and legitimacy of mockery

Entertainment is one of the most accessible domains in which code- and style-shifting between linguistic varieties occurs, and a number of researchers have reported on these topics (e.g., Chun 2004/2008 on East Asian languages and English; Siegel 1995 on Fijian and Fiji Hindi; Woolard 1987 on Catalan and Castilian). While comedy shows and other media reinforce stylistic ideologies attached to a specific speech variety already circulating in society, ethnic jokes in general tend to be accepted because they belong to an "anything goes" category of language arts. As such, ethnic jokes related to the Pacific islands or the plantation history remain one of the more common tropes among Hawai'i comedians (Furukawa 2007, 2011; Labrador 2004/2008). However, it does not mean that these jokes are appreciated unanimously by local audiences. As mentioned in Labrador (2004/2008) and Furukawa (2011), a comedian's possible racist intent is sometimes brought up in local media. For example, Frank DeLima, one of the most established local comedians, has been accused of being racist in his performances in the *Honolulu Advertiser*, a newspaper that has the largest circulation in the state (Cataluna 2000). DeLima, who claims to have Portuguese, Hawaiian, Irish, Chinese, English, Spanish, and Scottish heritage, has a website where he showcases his repertoire of ethnic characters, including an old Chinese man, Lolo Bono (a Hawaiian sumo wrestler), a Portuguese auntie, Abudullah Fataai (a Samoan man), and a local *moke* 'macho man' (DeLima 2008).⁸ One of his routines includes impersonating an older Filipino woman who talks about the popular Filipino dish *adobo*, a dish containing marinated meat. In this performance, DeLima, speaking in a thick mock-Filipino accent, tells the audience that the small plastic container he has is for chihuahua adobo, the medium size for beagle adobo, and the large size for Great Dane adobo, a joke based on the local stereotype that Filipinos enjoy eating dogs. To mitigate the criticisms, DeLima endorses his ethnic jokes by stating that "we can laugh at each other in Hawai'i" because people live in harmony (see Labrador 2004/2008).⁹ Similarly, James Roche of the popular comedy duo Da Braddahs, who is of Filipino descent, comments that local people tolerate ethnic jokes because they get along with each other (James Roche, personal communication, April 2008). In Example (1), another local Filipino comedian, Augie Tulba (aka Augie T.), shows a similar attitude as DeLima and Roche when he says that they can make jokes about the people in Hawai'i because they are merely representing society.

⁸ Frank DeLima has been criticized for his overtly ethnic jokes by Hawai'i-based newspaper columnists (Cataluna 2000; also see Furukawa 2011).

⁹ DeLima justifies his position on ethnic jokes in his website, under "Ethnic humor in Hawaii: Helpful or harmful?" (DeLima 2008, <http://www.frankdelima.com/speaker.html>)

(1) Augie T. rationalizes his ethnic jokes¹⁰

(Source: *Augie T. Live!: Doing Comedy on the Mainland* 2004)

- 1 *Yæh. Oh, wi da meltin pawt ov da Pasifik. Shut, wi da wrs!*
Yeah. Oh, we're the melting pot of the Pacific. Shoot, we're the worst!
- 2 *Das wai wi ken tel joks æn dat's wai it's OK, bikawz*
That's why we can tell jokes and that's why it's OK, because
- 3 *wi tink it. Yu no, æn da's wai Ai luv duin mai jawb.*
we think it. You know, and that's why I love doing my job.
- 4 *Ai ken sei, "Ai'm a mirah ov sosaieti." Æ's wai pipol get mæd.*
I can say, "I'm a mirror of society." That's why people get mad.

Like other local comedians, Augie T. routinely makes ethnic jokes, and many of his jokes are based on his immigrant family members, though he maintains that, as a sympathetic family member, he makes it clear in his performance that his jokes do not have any real racist or insulting intent. In their performances, local Filipino comedians often alter their speech styles between HC and Mock Filipino, according to the roles of the characters that they play to convey different social meanings attached to these two varieties. When touching upon the subject of new Filipino immigrants, they often blur the boundary between their own identity (local) and similar Others. That is, they can conveniently justify their jokes by invoking their ethnicity and the "we can laugh at each other" ideology. This is what Chun (2004/2008) calls an "ideology of legitimacy" in her analysis of Margaret Cho's Mock Asian jokes.

Chun (2004/2008) explains that some comedians seem to take for granted that they are permitted to ridicule a group of people with whom they share a common heritage. However, the pertinent point in cases such as that examined in Chun's (2004/2008) data or Hawai'i local comedy performances is that it is the boundary between the local and foreign which is being erased, rather than ethnic, or even necessarily cultural boundaries. The indexical links between the performers and the performed are modified to be close or distant as is convenient to the performers' intended mockery. The references of their ethnic jokes overlap in the eyes of the audience, because should the references of a Hawai'i comedian's Filipino joke index ethnicity, it refers to both the local Filipino comedians and the immigrant Filipinos. However, when the reference of the joke indexes non-localness, it only refers to the immigrant Filipinos. Through the erasure of their local persona in their jokes, local Filipino comedians legitimize their potentially racist mockeries by implying their membership in both local and newly immigrated Filipino groups. For instance, Augie T. displays his position as a sympathetic Filipino family member while making fun of his own immigrant relatives. The demonstration of simultaneous membership in both local and Filipino groups is a common trope among many other local comedians as well, including Da Braddahs, Andy Bumatai, and Mel Cabang.¹¹ Their identities are defined by the idea of simultaneity - the possession of more than one of a set of seemingly exclusive identities, as per Woolard's (1999) description.

¹⁰ The HC data have been transcribed using the Odo orthography designed by Carol Odo (Odo 1975; Bickerton and Odo 1976). Although there is no standard orthography for HC, the Odo orthography is widely used by linguists (Romaine 2005: 106; Sakoda and Siegel 2008: 227). Full transcriptions of the data examined in this study are presented in the appendix section.

¹¹ As one of the reviewers has pointed out, it is also the case that non-Filipino comedians, e.g., Frank DeLima and Gregg Hammer, make jokes about Filipinos, including by the use of Mock Filipino.

The Bakhtinian ideas of parody and stylization are relevant to how both HC and Mock Filipino appear in Hawai'i comedy, which makes use of these varieties in double-voiced discourse. The concept of double-voiced discourse describes the way that a single discourse considers that a single discourse may be representative of multiple layers of identity for a speaker and his stylized Others:

It serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author. In such discourse there are two voices, two meanings and two expressions. And all the while these two voices are dialogically interrelated, they - as it were - know about each other (just as two exchanges in a dialogue know of each other and are structured in this mutual knowledge of each other); it is as if they actually hold a conversation with each other.... A potential dialogue is embedded in them, one as yet unfolded, a concentrated dialogue of two voices, two world views, two languages. (Bakhtin 1981: 424-325)

Bakhtin also writes that the “Other’s utterances can be repeated with varying degrees of reinterpretation... they can be silently presupposed; or one’s responsive reaction to them can be reflected only in the expression of one’s own speech” (Bakhtin 1986/2006: 106). In this sense, parody concerns speakers’ appropriation of someone else’s speech to serve their own purposes (see Wong 2005: 771). Because double-voiced discourse as often used in quoted speech contains a deliberate reference to other speakers’ utterances, such discourse may be open to many simultaneous interpretations. The way in which these references are to be interpreted leads us to the distinction between stylization and parody where stylized utterances align with another’s thoughts and utilize aspects of this Other’s speech in order to support a similar point of view, while parody adopts another’s discourse to introduce “a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one” (Bakhtin 1984: 193). Here, the second voice collides with the original voice and creates “an arena of battle between two voices” (Bakhtin 1984: 193). Both stylization and parody involve appropriation of aspects of another’s voice for one’s own purposes; stylization drawing on the stronger aspects of another’s voice for support and parody focusing on the weaker aspects of another’s voice as easy targets. Stylization works to express the general practice of representing some “voice,” while parody is a type of stylization juxtaposed with collusion, another type of stylization which would indicate alignment. Hawai'i local comedians manipulate Mock Filipino, as parody, to signify a voice disdainful of Others, while they use HC, as a local alignment marker, to embody solidarity. In a sense, parody is a type of crossing (Rampton 1995, 1999) or an overtly twisted stylization.

The term “Mock Filipino,” presented in this paper was introduced by Roderick Labrador in his 2004 article in *Pragmatics*, and it is adopted from the idea of mock language which began to take hold among linguistic anthropologists and sociolinguists beginning with Hill’s work on Mock Spanish (1993), framed in the Bakhtinian notion of parody. Her works focus on racialized language use to emphasize incongruities between the stereotyped (subordinate) and stereotyping (dominant) groups (e.g., Hill 1993, 1998, 2005). According to Hill, the use of Mock Spanish exemplifies how language appropriation functions symbolically among a dominant group, in this case in the White public sphere in the US. Mock Spanish examples display iconization of language, stylization, quotation, or play and are not necessarily limited to parody (personal communication, November 2008). More recently some researchers (e.g., Hiramoto

2009; Inoue 2003; Queen 2005; Wong 2005) have pointed out that in scripted speech, negative stereotypes are manifested by intertextual discourse that highlights non-normativity. Irvine and Gal (2000/2009) explain the action of three semiotic processes, iconization, recursiveness and erasure, on constructing ideological representations of linguistic differences (see Wee 2006). Mock Spanish, presented as “some kind of joke,” through iconization associates Hispanic English speakers with the iconic Mock Spanish speaker, with the clear message that people who speak Spanish should not be taken seriously. Although Hill’s work on Mock Spanish does not deal with examples that are as explicitly denigrating as those in some other studies (e.g., Chun 2004/2008; Meek 2006; Ronkin and Karn 1999), she makes the point that negative stereotypes of parodied parties as stupid, violent, lazy, dirty, and disorderly have been propagated just the same, whether the overt intention of the speaker is derogatory or not (e.g., Hill 2005, 2008). Such imposed normative boundaries serve to assign people, in broad strokes, into one of two categories: Insider or outsider. The recursiveness discussed by Irvine and Gal (2000/2009: 403) involves “the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship onto some other level.” This semiotic process is also relevant here, as by categorizing Filipino speakers’ English as non-standard, even an imaginary variety of Filipino-accented English makes a parallel between a real, specific group of speakers and non-standardness. When such an imposition is conducted through parody, the first order indexicality (Ochs 1992, 1996) that marks discrimination is often overridden by positive interpretations such as coolness or humor and is thus no longer overtly offensive to the in-group.

	Direct index	Indirect index
Mock Filipino	“non-standard language” intensity (stupid, violent, lazy, dirty, disorderly, etc.)	coolness or humor “voice”
Hawai'i Creole	“non-standard English” intensity	local or solidarity “voice”

Table 1: Direct/indirect indexes of Mock Filipino and HC (following Ochs 1992: 269)

Although mock varieties contain potentially problematic interpretations, joking circumstances override the threatening picture, and thus the awkward elements in mock varieties are circumvented. In what remains of this section, I refer to some relevant studies that deal with imaginary languages whose constructions and representations deal with semiotic processes of iconicity, recursiveness, and erasure in a similar manner as Mock Filipino.

Meek (2006) discusses the linguistic representation of Native Americans in United States mass media through the creation of imaginary Native American characters seen in TV shows, movies, and greeting cards. She reports that the language assigned to imaginary Native Americans in these media is neither a dialect nor a variant of standard American English specific to American Indian second language learners. She refers to this style of pseudo-Native American language as Hollywood Injun English (HIE) and demonstrates that HIE is a byproduct of a pan-North American stereotype imposed on Native Americans living throughout the entire North American region. HIE’s realization is a typical site of stereotyping as it draws partly on characteristic elements of some Native American languages and is strongly marked as non-normative in both spoken

and written forms, as can be seen in one of Meek's examples of HIE from a Thanksgiving greeting card showing a Pilgrim squatting in some bushes near a Native American who asks "why you make poo-poo in poison ivy?" (Meek 2006: 110):

First, the statement conforms to the tense pattern of HIE illustrated above; there is no tense marking on the verb. Second, the auxiliary verb *are* is deleted. Third, this expression uses a modified lexical item, *poo-poo*, to talk about bowel movements. Not only is this term commonly found in American English baby talk (and not something one adult would typically say to another), but in this example it is reduplicated, a common phonological practice in baby talk. (Ferguson 1996 [1964]: 107 cited in Meek 2006: 110)

Meek concludes that HIE is a pseudo-ethnic language created through language ideology imposed on Native Americans. HIE is not based on detailed linguistic observation of any Native American languages, but rather on generalized stereotypical clichés. Observations of such linguistic stereotyping are also reported in Ronkin and Karn's (1999) study on Mock Ebonics. They investigate the use of written Ebonics data on certain websites in the form of jokes and parody, and claim that the Ebonics-like language found therein does not conform to the grammatical norms of Ebonics. Naming the cyber-space linguistic register "Mock Ebonics," Ronkin and Karn (1999) argue that Mock Ebonics texts are assigned to some imaginary characters, which supposedly represent stereotypical Ebonics speakers. For example, linguistic representations such as the asystematic graphemic, similar to eye-dialect or phonetic spelling, highlight the non-standardness. There is a website that features "The Ebonics Electric Library of the Classics" spelled as *De Ebonics Lectric Library O De Classicks* and "The Apology of Plato: Socrates' Defense" as *The Ebology O Blato: Sockradees Defense*. More derogatory and offensive examples of Mock Ebonics are also pointed out by Ronkin and Karn (1999: 363-364), in support of the study's main point, that Mock Ebonics is a byproduct of anti-Ebonics ideology. While often used in comedic settings, the current literature is in agreement that mock language propagates the inequalities between the mainstream and socially subordinate languages (see Lippi-Green 1997). Previous works on mock language often point out the polarized nature of language discrimination between the parodying and parodied parties based on speakers' races. However, in the case of Mock Filipino in Hawai'i comedy, the parodic nature of mocking goes beyond racial differences.

3. Data and methodology: Hawai'i Creole vs. Mock Filipino

Labrador (2004/2008) states that Mock Filipino signifies immigrant Filipinos' "outsider status and their subordinate position in the social hierarchy" (Labrador 2004/2008: 294). His claim is closely related to observations of the ways other mock varieties can be used to highlight contrasts between "white" and (non-white) "Others," where the ideological axis is based on race and assumed socioeconomic status. Labrador's (2004/2008) primary contribution is that he problematizes the "we can laugh at each other" ideology, which is, rampantly, the local comedians' justification for their ethnic jokes. While this paper supports Labrador's claim, it further argues that alternation between Mock Filipino and HC in local Filipino comedians' performances is a reflection of strong attachments to their (re)claimed homeland, Hawai'i, among long-term residents, rather than the kind of racial or socioeconomic boundary constructing discussed in other

literature on mock languages. While the data used in Labrador's (2004/2008) study were audio recordings or texts, this paper analyzes "Othering" of immigrant Filipino by local Filipino comedians from a multimodal approach through use of audiovisual data.

Mock Filipino, like other mock varieties, often lacks correct grammatical constructions; its linguistic characteristics are most often strongly Filipino-accented English with exaggerated phonological transfers as well as mixing of the most obvious features of Ilocano and/or Tagalog, the prominent Filipino languages in Hawai'i from plantation times,¹² frequently combined haphazardly. The data used for this study are solely from audiovisual recordings of comedy performances of Hawai'i local comedians who are native HC speakers. The transcriptions of the Hawai'i comedy shows were done between 2006 and 2008 in the context of a larger study of linguistic ideology in Hawai'i. Transcriptions of more than twenty DVDs and videotapes of Hawai'i comedy shows were gathered for the entire corpus of the study; from this large data set, this paper focuses particularly on the recordings of two television programs - *Pidgin to da Max* (1983) and its sequel *Pidgin to da Max: Hana Hou*¹³ (1984), productions based on a locally bestselling comic dictionary published in the 1980s. Additionally, a recording of the standup comedy performance *Augie T. Live!* (2004) was also investigated. The reasons that these three recordings were selected are because they (1) are representative of typical HC and Mock Filipino performances, (2) allow comparisons between relatively old and new comedy performances, and (3) allow for comparisons between two types of performances - TV show sketches and standup comedy with a live audience. Entire video recordings of *Pidgin to da Max* and *Pidgin to da Max: Hana Hou* programs run about twenty-five minutes each; within each program, several individual skits are included. Similarly, Augie T.'s recording is made up of a number of short skits although the entire performance is over ninety minutes long. All of the skits included in this study run about five minutes in length.

Language	Skit Title	Source	Year	Style
HC	Poi Dog	Pidgin to da Max	1983	TV
MF	Teddi & Nanci Sabala Show	Pidgin to da Max: Hana Hou	1984	TV
HC	Doing Comedy on the Mainland	Augie T. Live!	2004	Standup
HC	Olympics	Augie T. Live!	2004	Standup
MF	Dog Meat	Augie T. Live!	2004	Standup

Table 2: Five Comedy Skits Used for This Study

¹² The vast majority of the Hawai'i Filipino community are Ilocanos coming from Northern Luzon. There are also a significant number of Tagalogs and Visayans (Center for Filipino Studies, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 2010, <http://www.hawaii.edu/cps/fil-community.html>).

¹³ *Hana hou* means 'once more, again' in Hawaiian. It is also a commonly used expression among the locals.

Five comedy skits that demonstrate stereotypical perceptions of immigrant Filipinos as well as local people in Hawai‘i were chosen for analysis. From the *Pidgin to da Max* series, the following two skits were selected: *Poi Dog* (the name is an HC term referring to people of mixed ethnicity) is a simulated television game show featuring a host and a panel of local contestants. The object of the show is for contestants to guess the constituent ethnicities of a single mystery guest, and thus is based on competition between Hawai‘i residents to demonstrate their local knowledge. *The Teddi and Nanci Sabala Show* is a parody of a popular 1970s Waikīkī entertainment show featuring the married entertainer couple Teddy and Nanci Tanaka, who were Japanese American and Caucasian, respectively.¹⁴ The characters who are the hosts of the parody are a newly immigrated Filipino male, Teddi Sabala (played by local Filipino comedian Clayton Wai) and his haole wife, Nanci. On top of Teddi’s Mock Filipino, this show contains numerous references to negative Filipino cultural stereotyping. The last three skits listed in Table 1 are all taken from *Augie T. Live! In Doing Comedy on the Mainland*, Augie T. relates a series of anecdotes regarding his tour in the continental US, often regarded as “the mainland” by Hawai‘i residents. The segment contains many references to HC and local culture in comparison to mainland culture as well as mainland English. In *Olympics*, Augie T. talks about the origin of the Olympic Games by performing the characters of HC-speaking Hercules and Atlas. Finally, in *Dog Meat*, Augie T. impersonates his immigrant uncle who recently moved to O‘ahu from the Philippines. As Augie T.’s show is solo stand-up comedy, during his performance he performs all the characters, and in this skit, he code-switches between HC and Mock Filipino while creating conversations for himself and his uncle.

4. Discussion

While both Mock Filipino and HC are decidedly non-standard varieties, they each possess easily recognizable characteristics, making their use transparent to any local audience. In terms of defining phonological traits, there is little overlap between the two, and whereas the HC in the data was more or less grammatical, Mock Filipino was often used unsystematically, drawn indiscriminately from any Filipino language, or possibly merely Filipino-like expressions, often consisting of features such as reduplicated nonsense syllables or exclamations such as “Ay sus!”

4.1. *Mock Filipino features*

One of the most salient linguistic features of Mock Filipino found in the data is the phonological transfers from Filipino languages to English. These include: Alveolar stops replacing interdental fricatives ($\theta > t$, $\delta > d$), trilled liquids instead of retroflex liquids ($\text{ɻ} > r$), and bilabial stops in place of labiodental fricatives ($f > p$, $v > b$). Occasionally, ($p > f$) alternation appears as a hypercorrection.

¹⁴ Teddy and Nanci Tanaka established their careers as singers/entertainers and hosted a show in Waikīkī hotels since 1966. Teddy Tanaka retired in 1981 from the entertainment business (Shimote 2001).

	Standard English	MF	MF Examples
Interdentals (Alveolars)	θ, ð	T, d	tink (think) dey (they)
Retroflex liquid (Trilled liquid)	ɻ	r	rrecipes (recipes)
Labiodentals (Bilabials)	f, v	P, b	wipe (wife) lobely (lovely)
Labiodentals Hypercorrection	p	f	fuffy (puppy)

Table 3: Mock Filipino Phonological Features (The trilled liquid is spelled ‘rr’.)

Mock Filipino tokens in this study are derived from three male characters whose roles are first generation Filipino immigrants in Hawai'i: Teddi Sabala and Boy Oh Boy Ignacio, characters in the *Teddi & Nanci Sabala Show*, and Augie T.'s impersonation of his uncle from the *Dog Meat* segment of *Augie T. Live!* Excerpts from the data shown in Examples 2 and 3 below exemplify how these features are used:

(2) Boy Oh Boy Ignacio introducing huli huli (BBQ) Chihuahua
(Source: *The Teddi and Nanci Sabala Show, Pidgin to da Max: Hana Hou* 1984)

- 1 Eh, porr example I hab a good one called ***huli huli, uh,***
- 2 ***chihuahua.*** Dis you need two-hundrred porrtty pibe
- 3 chihuahua, a churrch parrking lot to huli huli it in, and, uh,
- 4 don't porrget two teaspoon olibe oyell.

(3) Augie T. impersonating his uncle on the topic of buying a pet dog
(Source: *Dog Meat, Augie T. Live!* 2004)

- 1 I go, I go to de fet storre and buy a fuffy, fuffy porr my
- 2 nepew. I buy a fuffy porr my nepew. And den I go to worrk,
- 3 lunch time, I hab my tupperrware, I open my tupperrware,
- 4 eberrybody 'What is dat, dog? ***Is dat dog you're eating?***'
- 5 Das pish!

Boy Oh Boy Ignacio is played by Frank DeLima, a local comedian mentioned earlier who is well-known for his ethnic jokes and who is also not ethnically Filipino. The character being played here is actually a parody of Boy George from the 1980s British pop band, Culture Club. Like Boy George, Boy Oh Boy Ignacio has a rather eclectic appearance - long hair with dreadlock-like braids, heavy make-up with facial hair, and baggy unisex attire, and he sings a parody of one of the band's hit songs, *Karma Chameleon*. Immigrant Filipinos' fashion tastes are often ridiculed by locals for being too loud, too flashy, or simply too "over the top." The skit from which Example (2) is derived shows that the prototypical impressions attached to immigrant Filipino people go beyond their language use. For example, the visual images assigned to Boy Oh Boy Ignacio also become resources of semiotic symbols of negative evaluation. There are intertextual connections that link two pop stars, Boy George and Boy Oh Boy Ignacio, and the parody character, Boy Oh Boy Ignacio, gains an automatic nonsense nuance by displaying "a semantic intention that is directly opposed to the original one" (Bakhtin

1984: 193). As for Augie T.'s performance of his uncle, due to the nature of stand-up comedy, he is not able to change his attire as a part of stylization for mockery. However, he does play two different personas - his uncle and himself - by changing his manner of speech. When projecting the uncle's character, Augie T. casts an upward glance and speaks unconfidently with fidgetiness. Again, in addition to Mock Filipino, Augie T.'s acting of his uncle includes non-linguistic stylizations of semiotic symbols and links material and physical attributes to non-local Others who are thought to be placed in more vulnerable and socially lower positions than locals.

Table 3 tabulates usage of the Mock Filipino features by the three characters. These data indicate that all Mock Filipino accent features except for the hypercorrection were used frequently by all of them. The interdental alternation ($\theta > t$, $\delta > d$), although used frequently, may not reflect the Mock Filipino accent due to the fact that the comedians are native HC speakers and that HC also substitutes alveolar stops for interdental fricatives. The hypercorrection of ($p > f$) was only evident in Augie T.'s performance, and the application is limited to specific vocabulary such as *puppy/fuffy* and *pet store/fet store*. In the large corpus of Hawai'i comedy transcriptions, this type of hypercorrection is only evident in relatively recent performances. For example, in skits from a local TV series, *Da Braddahs and Friends*, James Roach plays some Filipino male characters and mixes (p) and (f) haphazardly.

(4) Performance of an old Filipino gardener

(Source: *Braddahs and Friends* Vol. 2, Episode 6 2004)

- 1 But, porr me perrsonally, I tell to you, you should fay de teachers what
- 2 dey should get faid. Becauss, uh, you going to have lilly (little) one
- 3 like dis an' he grow big like dis, an' he not hab de education...
- 4 Aysus Mariosa, you gon' hab plenty stufid feofle running around.

(5) Performance of the former Hawai'i governor of Filipino descent, Ben Cayetano

(Source: *Braddahs and Friends* Vol. 5, Episode 14 2005)

- 1 What are you telling the feofle? You don't tell dem de're going to fey
- 2 now, you'll sneak it in on da back fart of your tenure!

This hypercorrection seems to be a fairly new feature used by local comedians; it does not appear in older productions such as *The Teddi & Nanci Sabala Show* sketches from *Pidgin to da Max: Hana Hou* (1984).¹⁵

¹⁵ Anecdotally, having lived in Hawai'i for fifteen years, I have personally noticed the hypercorrection of ($p > f$) by immigrant Filipinos on a number of different occasions.

	Interdentals → Alveolars	Trilled R	Labiodentals → Bilabials	Hypercorrection p~f
Teddi Sabala	20/20 (100%)	32/37 (86.5%)	56/60 (93.3%)	0/21 (0.0%)
Boy Oh Boy Ignacio	12/12 (100%)	16/24 (66.7%)	28/35 (80.0%)	0/16 (0.0%)
Augie T (as his uncle)	17/17 (100%)	13/13 (100%)	6/9 (66.6%)	5/11 (45.5%)
Total	49/49 (100%)	61/74 (82.4%)	90/104 (86.5%)	5/48 (10.4%)

Table 4: Mock Filipino Phonological Features

Teddi Sabala of *The Teddi & Nanci Sabala Show* sports a shiny satin suit and colorful patterned shirt with big curly hair. Example 6 below, taken from the opening of *The Teddi & Nanci Sabala Show*, demonstrates Mock Filipino cultural characteristics other than food (i.e., dog) jokes, as seen in Examples 2 and 3 above. The setting of this parody sketch mirrors that of the original *Teddy and Nanci Tanaka Show*; however, while Teddy Tanaka, a Japanese American host, was considered to be an in-group member of the local audience, in the parody version, Teddi Sabala is depicted as an obvious Other. Moreover, semiotic resources for the character's representation signal that he is not to be taken seriously in the given context.

- (6) Teddi and Nanci Sabala, opening scene of their talk show
 (Source: The Teddi and Nanci Sabala Show, *Pidgin to da Max: Hana Hou* 1984)
- 1 Teddi: ***Cagayang di cagayanga.*** I am Teddi Sabala, and dis is
 2 my lubely big haole wipe, Nanci. Say hello in Ilocano,
 3 Nanci.
 4 Nanci: ***Psst, psst.*** Hui!
 5 T: Isn't she lubbly? Tonight, we hab a pabulous show porr you.
 6 We hab de pop starr, Boy Oh Boy Ignacio on our dog-
 7 cooking show!
 8 N: And later on, on "Girl Talk" we're having world-famous
 9 Ewa Beach home perm expert Alicia Robusto who's
 10 going to fix my hair.
 11 T: Oh Nanci, I tink your hair looks...pine. (singing) I lub
 12 you, just da way you are.
 13 N: Oh Teddi, you ***manongs*** really know how to turn on the
 14 charm. (heavy kissing action)

After this opening scene, the set lights turn down for a moment. When they come back, Teddi is fixing his hair and has lipstick marks all over his face and neck while Nanci, next to him, is straightening her dress. *Manong* is a kinship term in Ilokano that refers to one's older brother or more generally to older men of one's generation.¹⁶ As *haole* refers to Caucasians and *kanaka* refers to Hawaiians among locals, *manong* is a

¹⁶ I thank the reviewer for supplying me with the definition.

common term to refer to Filipinos in general in Hawai‘i. In line 13, Nanci’s use of the term *manongs*, with the plural *-s* suffix, is HC and means Filipino men in general, and its use in this line and with the following actions signifies a stereotypical image of Filipino men as overtly sexual and ready to seduce women at any time. In addition to the “dog cooking show” (lines 6-7) and “home perm practices” (line 9), *The Teddi and Nanci Sabala Show* covers topics such as cock-fighting and over-crowded housing problems. The show, starting with Teddi’s nonsense pseudo-Filipino greeting (reduplication of non-word, line 1) and Nanci’s response (line 4, a common attention-getter among Tagalog speakers, although here it is supposed to be Ilocano), reinforces the perception that these Others have strange practices. Locals, especially local Filipinos, stand to gain from such uses of Mock Filipino, as it serves to distance them from a stigmatizing association with immigrant Filipinos.

The data derived from the comedy shows confirm that imaginary ideological constructions of immigrant Filipinos go hand in hand with Mock Filipino and broader culture images of the people and their activities (see Irvine and Gal 2000/2009: 403). The comedic portrayals of immigrant Filipinos are often associated with negative cultural stereotypes which are believed to be connected with Filipino people in the Philippines. Common examples include, as seen in the examples above, that Filipinos eat strange food items and favor flashy, over-the-top attire. Other (real or imagined) cultural features include that they engage in backward social practices, or that Filipino men are sexually loose, and prone to violence and illegal activities like gambling. These projections of the negative cultural images that are attached to newly immigrated Filipinos are also connected to Mock Filipino. Thus, through iconization, Mock Filipino speakers are associated with negative cultural stereotypes, and these stereotypes are then extended by the indexical relationships between Mock Filipino and newly immigrated Filipinos.

Although the Othering of newly immigrated Filipinos is done by local Filipino comedians, post-plantation local culture in general does not position all local people in the same socioeconomic class, as there is an assumed social hierarchical relationship among different ethnic local groups. Example 7, an excerpt from the *Poi Dog* sketch from *Pidgin to da Max*, provides a sample of how Filipinos are placed in a “culturally backward or underdeveloped” class.

(7) Byron and Sherilynn, a host and a contestant of a game show

(Source: *Poi Dog, Pidgin to da Max* 1983)

- | | | |
|---|------------|--|
| 1 | Byron: | <i>Oke, nau, pænel. Hir iz yor first klu. Tunait’s</i>
OK, now, panel. Here is your first clue. Tonight’s |
| 2 | | <i>misteri ges’ waz born insaid wan hospital.</i>
mystery guest was born inside a hospital. |
| 3 | Sherilynn: | <i>Mus not bi Filipino, den.</i>
Must not be Filipino, then. |

Sherilynn in Example 7 is supposed to be a local Japanese, and after her comment (line 3), whether a joke or not, the contestant and the host are thoroughly convinced of her judgment. The *Poi Dog* show consists of a group of apparently local people, some of whom are local Filipinos; however, from the example, there is no knowing whether “Filipino” refers to a new immigrant or a local. The very existence of this kind of stereotype concerning pan-Filipino populations in Hawai‘i suggests that while local Filipinos are included in a local category and share the same culture as other locals,

there still exists social stratifications among local people. That is, while the idea of local culture is often touted as evidence that the post-plantation Hawai'i community is culturally homogenous, various subordinate ethnic groups are marginalized (see Okamura 1990, 1998). The perception of locals as Hawai'i's mainstream population with access to wealth and power may be true for local Japanese Americans or Chinese Americans; however, it is not true for other local ethnic groups, including Filipinos. While local Filipinos are certainly considered local, that in itself does not provide them with wealth or power, as evident from their working class status (compared to haoles, local Japanese, or local Chinese), and the same holds true of other working-class local groups such as native Hawaiians, other Pacific Islanders, or Puerto Ricans. Members of the latter groups and local Filipinos certainly may look, act, and talk "like a local," but that does not prevent their socioeconomic and political marginalization along with immigrant groups such as Filipinos, Vietnamese, and Samoans. In contrast, although they might be viewed as culturally marginalized, haoles, while generally not considered local, are among the dominant political and economic groups in Hawai'i. The following example shows how SAE is used as a distancing language while HC functions to mark solidarity among locals.

- (8) Byron and Sherilynn, a host and a contestant of a game show
(Source: *Poi Dog, Pidgin to da Max* 1983)
- 1 B: OK, moving right along, le's say 'aloha' to our second guest,
2 Ms. Sherilynn Fukuda.
3 S: Oh, hello Byron. I'm a student at the University of Hawai'i
4 and I'm majoring in fashion merchandising. Also, I'm a
5 graduate of John Robert Powers' Modeling Institution,
6 and I'm pledging Wakava Chi for my...
7 B: *Ænd wat hai skul yu went græjueit from?*
 And what high school did you graduate from?
8 S: *O, wow, jus trow mi of bro, huh. Wat, yu kæn nawt weit*
 Oh, wow, just throw me off, bro, huh. What, you cannot wait
9 *'til Ai finish o wat?*
 'til I am finished or what?
10 B: *Ji, Ai'm sawri Sherilynn, Ai min Ai...*
 Gee, I'm sorry Sherilynn, I mean I...
11 S: *Go den, go den jus go to da neks person, neveh laik*
 Go then, go then just go to the next person, I never like to
12 *finish eniwei.*
 finish anyway.

From lines 1 to 6, Byron and Sherilynn are speaking in SAE, just as most people speak on American game shows. The SAE is used as an ostensible language for the mock game show, and Sherilynn tries to present herself as a sophisticated and educated individual in her SAE. When Byron switches to HC in line 7 and interrupts her self-introduction, however, Sherilynn also switches to HC and reveals her true local voice. An assumed language of haoles, SAE, is not their own for locals. Example 8 demonstrates how haoles, who have power and wealth in Hawai'i, are also marginalized as non-locals.

In a nutshell, coming back to the discussion of Filipinos in Hawai'i, the primary differences between local and immigrant Filipinos are based on cultural, not class, differences, including language and other everyday behavioral norms and practices,

such as those related to kinship relations, household relationships, dietary preferences, childcare, etc. Immigrant Filipinos are not considered local because they do not adhere to local cultural beliefs, practices, and values, not because they do not share a common class status with any other local groups, which they in fact do. All in all, the examples presented in this section portray negative images of immigrant Filipinos spanning almost the last three decades, by different comedians of a variety of ethnicities. Yet by stylizing linguistic and/or cultural practices of immigrant Filipinos, HC speakers have been continuously reinforcing the boundaries between locals, including local vs. immigrant Filipinos, for over twenty years.

4.2. *Hawai'i Creole features*

Phonologically, as with Mock Filipino, HC substitutes alveolar stops for interdental fricatives ($\theta > t$, $\delta > d$). This is the only overlapping feature with Mock Filipino observed in this paper. Other common HC features are syllable final (\lrcorner) deletion or its substitution with (h), and reduction of consonant clusters in syllable coda positions.

	Standard English	Hawai'i Creole	Examples
Interdentals (Alveolar substitution)	θ, δ	t, d	this → dis
Syllable-final (\lrcorner) ((\lrcorner) deletion or (h) substitution)	r\$	\emptyset \$ h\$	more → mo moh
Word-final CC (The final C deletion)	CC#	C \emptyset #	act → ac

Table 5: Hawai'i Creole Phonological Features

Examples of the HC phonological features are shown in the following excerpts, followed by a table indicating the overall quantitative findings. The HC data below are transcribed in Odo orthography with an SAE gloss.

(9) Winston, the show's mystery guest, talking to the host

(Source: *Poi Dog, Pidgin to da Max* 1983)

- 1 Winston: *Byron, dis min Ai don get dat tostah?*
Byron, does this mean I don't get that toaster?

(10) Augie T. talking about his tour in the mainland

(Source: *Doing Comedy on the Mainland, Augie T. Live!* 2004)

- 1 *Wat, laik Ai spik wan difren længwij o sumtin?*
What, like I speak a different language or something?
- 2 *Ya eva hiah pipol in da Midwes tak?*
You ever hear people in the Midwest talk?

	Interdentals → Alveolars	Terminal (ɹ) deletion	C-cluster reduction
Augie T.	99/99 (100%)	25/26 (96.1%)	11/12 (91.6%)
Poi Dog Males	33/33 (100%)	37/37 (100%)	22/27 (81.4)
Poi Dog Females	17/18 (94.4%)	19/20 (95.0%)	12/14 (85.7%)
Total	149/150 (99.3%)	81/83 (97.6%)	45/53 (84.9%)

Table 6: Hawai'i Creole Phonology Performance

In addition to phonological features, some morphosyntactic features were also investigated. These are presented in Table 7 with representative examples from the data.

	Standard English	Hawai'i Creole
Copula deletion (Zero copula)	They are asking funny questions.	Dey Ø askin' funny kine questions.
Indefinite article 'one'	I mean, if I get a job...	I mean, if I get one job...
Infinitive marker 'for'	I'm so happy to be here.	I so happy for be here.

Table 7: Hawai'i Creole Morphosyntax Features

In contrast to the Mock Filipino performances, the HC features used in the data function as membership categorization markers, and this comes from the fact that local audiences recognize HC as part of their local identity. This means that not only does exaggerated comedic usage of HC appear humorous and funny, but HC also reinforces positive stereotyping as it helps to align local comedians with the local audience. In short, the solidarity-generating capacity of HC seems to come in large part from its use to discuss cultural themes related to local values, norms, and practices. Kawamoto (1993: 201) writes, “[b]y being ‘local’, one could maintain a sense of ethnic identity while at the same time identifying with a larger, more encompassing culture.” As such, if these topics function as identity markers for locals, seemingly odd topics in the jokes can be found acceptable. Below is an excerpt from the opening scene of *Poi Dog in Pidgin to da Max*.

(11) Byron's (the host) opening monologue where he explains the premise of the show
(Source: *Poi Dog, Pidgin to da Max* 1983)

1 Byron: *'ey bra, yu Potogi, Filipino, Chaini, Hawaiian, Tongin,*
Hey bro, are you Portuguese, Filipino, Chinese, Hawaiian, Tongan,

- 2 *Haole, Spanish, Korean, Japanee, Italian, Samoan, o wat?*
White, Spanish, Korean, Japanese, Italian, Samoan, or what?

Not only does the question start with one of the most stereotypical HC vocatives, it also makes the rather explicit assumption that members of local audiences have multiethnic backgrounds. In their performances, the comedians often use friendly vocative terms like *braddah*, *bra*, *cuz*, or *sistah*. These vocative expressions as well as code-switching in the data often function as contextualization cues to frame the local voice. In the following two examples, Augie T. demonstrates how HC, especially the vocative *bra* or its synonymous variations, works as a contextualization cue for solidarity marking.

(12) Augie T. impersonating Atlas and Hercules

(Source: *Olympics, Augie T. Live! 2004*)

- 1 Atlas: *Bro, I chælenj yu. Hu kæn trou da bal da*
Bro, I challenge you. Who can throw the ball the
2 *fades? Hu kæn trow da kænnonbal da fades?*
farthest? Who can throw the cannonball the farthest?
3 Hercules: *Bra Ai'm Herkyuliz!*
Bra, I'm Hercules!
4 A: *Ya, butcha gotta trow da bal from rait hia, rait*
Yeah, but you got to throw the ball from right here, right
5 *hia. Nawt from... rait hia. Ænd yu gotta trow*
here. Not from... right here. And you've got to throw
6 *hia, from insaid dis sirkol.*
here, from inside this circle.
7 H: *'ey, da's notin, Atlas.*
Hey, that's nothing, Atlas.
8 A: *Weit bra. Weit, yu gotta spin firs, bifor yu*
Wait, bra. Wait, you've got to spin first, before you
9 *trow da bal.*
throw the ball.

(13) Augie T. talking to the audience about his mainland tour

(Source: *Doing Comedy on the Mainland, Augie T. Live! 2004*)

- 1 *Dat's hau it waz! Wok on steij, eribadi laik [clapping]*
That's how it was! Walk on stage, everybody [was] like [clapping]
2 *"Dæm, dat's a funi lukin Mexiæn-Hawaian, boi."*
"Damn, that's a funny looking Mexican-Hawaiian, boy."
3 *But i's a chrip, an Ai enjoi da kine staf, kaz Ai biliiv moks,*
But it's a trip, and I enjoy that kind of stuff, cuz I believe mokes,
4 *Hawaian men, rait, lokal bradaz, laik a jin awei ov beiin*
Hawaiian men, right, local brothers, [are] like a gene away of being
5 *redneks.*
rednecks.

In Example 12, the two Greek mythological figures exchange dialogue in HC and the dialogue by itself is amusing to the local audience; the two geographically unrelated spaces are connected though HC by a local comedian, framing the linguistic context as something familiar to the audience. Moreover, Atlas and Hercules are represented as typical "mokes" in the performance. The type of strong masculinity portrayed here, along with HC, reminds the audience of local values and social meanings. In Example

13, line 3, Augie T. explicitly uses the term “moke” as well as other terms, “Hawaiian men” and “local braddahs” (line 4), and aligns them with mainland “rednecks” (line 5) to highlight the desired maleness of local people. Here, the term “Hawaiian men” is not used exclusively to refer to ethnic Hawaiians but is extended to refer to local masculine males. The point to be made is that principal outsiders such as Hercules, Atlas, Mexicans, and Midwesterners can be placed in the same in-group with HC speakers via conventional HC use.

5. Conclusion

Humor is a fertile site for examining questions of perspective. Comedians who play on ethnic stereotypes often succeed by offering “mainstreamers” or outsiders an insider’s glimpse of an ethnic group. The “inside glimpse,” no matter how stigmatizing it is, can mark the movement of the typified category to mainstream status, their presence now publicly speakable. This is often accompanied by the emergence of upwardly mobile populations who gain a measure of authenticity by a distanced association with the stigmatized ethnic category (Gal 2004: 339). Mock Filipino is stylized by local comedians to be something that sounds like some kind of a Filipino language, or English spoken by immigrant Filipinos. The justification for Mock Filipino jokes or ethnic jokes in Hawai‘i by local comedians involves invoking a sense of community (viz., Anderson 1983); that is, Hawai‘i is imagined to be a racial utopia where all of its inhabitants live together amicably, and being able to laugh at each other is a reflection of this racial paradise (see Labrador 2004/2008). However, Mock Filipino is framed as not their own voices by local Filipino comedians and through the mockery, the local Filipinos are positioning themselves above the newly immigrated Filipinos who are stylized (see Chun 2009).

In local comedy shows, HC is most commonly used as humorously as Mock Filipino; however, unlike Mock Filipino, HC is part of a common background between the performers and the audience. It is not only language use that gives rise to the local identity but also culturally appropriate topics involving familiar shared knowledge. HC jokes are usually aligned with local normative ideas such as making references to one’s high school or the components of one’s assumed multiethnic background. On the other hand, use of Mock Filipino is often not only humorous but also derogatory. Van Dijk (1989: 218) writes that the media portrayal of minorities in general is negative, associating minority groups with violence, illegal activities, and strange cultural practices. The stereotypical portrayals of newly immigrated Filipinos found in the Hawai‘i comedy data observed in this study confirm these ideas and are in stark contrast to the “we can laugh at each other” ideology (Labrador 2004/2008). Mock Filipino’s negative attributes, its first order indexicality, to use Hill’s terms, are overshadowed by the positive interpretation of being humorous and therefore become no longer blatantly insulting to the audience. Moreover, the jokes are often justified by the comedians as instances of Hawai‘i’s celebration of cultural diversity and the harmonious coexistence of the residents. However, some see this multicultural ideology as simply a way to pass off the underlying racist attitudes towards certain groups as an innocuous part of what is in reality a less than homogenous society. The data from different time periods cited in this study reveal that this ideology of separation of local from immigrant Filipinos has been in practice among the local (Filipino) comedians for at least a quarter of a century

in Hawai‘i. Because of the changes in post-plantation immigration demographics, it seems that Filipino newcomers have become one of the default denigrated “FOB” populations targeted in Hawai‘i comedy shows. Based on the data, Mock Filipino in local comedy serves to ostracize immigrant Filipinos in two ways. First, linguistically, Mock Filipino reinforces a perception of the strangeness of Filipino accents by highlighting features such as nonsense reduplications, simple grammar, and a number of contrived words that sound funny to native English and HC speakers. These practices produce and reproduce ideas that the Others speak bad English. Secondly, Mock Filipino serves to separate immigrant Filipinos from mainstream local culture by constant overtly negative references to specific (real or imagined) cultural practices.

Being identified as local, according to Labrador (2004/2008: 297), is the result of a racial (look local), cultural (act local), and linguistic (talk local) construction. He also refers to the Hawai‘i Multicultural Model posited by Okamura (e.g., 1990, 1998), and explains that this idea endorses localism as a racialized normative category (Labrador 2004: 292). The Hawai‘i Multicultural Model is a social representation whereby local Asian and/or Pacific Islander identities are used to index local normativity. While the idea of local culture is often touted as evidence that the post-plantation Hawai‘i community is culturally homogenous, Okamura (1990, 1998) emphasizes that locals are in fact a subset of the population; specifically, locals are the mainstream population in Hawai‘i that has access to wealth and power, while various subordinate ethnic groups are marginalized. As mentioned in the discussion of Example 7, this subset of the population is characteristically made up of those who espouse local cultural beliefs, practices, and values. Meanwhile, other local ethnic groups including people of Filipino descent, while being popularly considered local, do not have the same kind of access to wealth or power that is available to those of Japanese, Chinese, or Caucasian descent. According to Irvine and Gal (2000/2009), linguistic forms and social phenomena can be symbolic of a certain sociolinguistic system, and a linguistic variety can index a specific social group. While local Filipinos look, act, and talk “like a local,” they often share the same socioeconomic and political class with immigrant Filipinos. Consequently, when Mock Filipino is deployed in entertainment, it can covertly signify differences within the category of local, as well as overtly constructing a boundary between locals and non-locals. Local Filipinos may speak HC and mimic immigrant Filipinos’ English, but socioeconomic distinctions for local Filipino exist at a different level than the local vs. non-local distinction in a large picture of today’s Hawai‘i that involves people of many other racial backgrounds. Irvine and Gal also state that “speakers (and hearers) often notice, rationalize, and justify such linguistic indices, thereby creating linguistic ideologies that purport to explain the source and meaning of the linguistic differences” (Irvine and Gal 2000/2009: 403). The discursive practices concerning HC and Mock Filipino should call into question the legitimacy of the harmonious coexistence of Hawai‘i’s multiethnic residents and their cultures.

Acknowledgements

I gratefully acknowledge the financial and institutional support given to this project by the National University of Singapore FASS Start-up Grant (AY2008-1). My sincere thanks go to the journal’s editors and reviewers for their valuable suggestions and

comments on earlier versions of this paper. I am greatly indebted to Laurie Durand, Diana Eades, Benjamin George, Jane Hill, and Kent Sakoda for their invaluable assistance and encouragement at various stages of this project. I would also like to thank James Roach of Da Braddahs who kindly shared his views about local comedy with me.

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Abbreviations

SAE, Standard American English; HC, Hawai'i Creole; HIE, Hollywood Injun English; FOB, Fresh off the boat.

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Appendix: Transcriptions

(HC transcriptions are done in conventional spelling rather than Odo orthography in the appendix in order to save space.)

1. *Pidgin To Da Max Hana Hou: Teddi and Nanci Sabala Show*

Teddi: (singing) You'll neber get away prrom me. You can climb de mango tree. Bakalang bow-wow-oooh

- Nanci:** (singing) True, though you say I'm getting fat, but a little thing like that wouldn't stop you now.
- T&N:** I love (**Teddi:** lub) you
- T:** Kagayang di kagayanga. I am Teddi Sabala, and dis is my lubely big haole wipe, Nanci. Say 'hello' in Ilocano, Nanci.
- N:** Psst, psst. Hui!
- T:** Isn't she lobely. Tonight, we hab a pabulous show porr you. We hab de pop starr, Boy oh boy Ignacio on our dog-cooking show!
- N:** And later on, on Girl Talk we're having world-famous Eva Beach home perm expert Alicia Robusto who's going to fix my hair.
- T:** Oh Nanci, I tink your hair looks... pine. (singing) I lub you, just da way you are.
- N:** Oh Teddi, you Manongs really know how to turn on the charm.
- (making out)
- T:** Oh! Tank you, tank you. Bepore we go ober to today's interbiew, to all our wonderpul biewers who enjoy de bery best baked goods, bakalong do bio de bot bot, de Respicio's Bakery Delight, sagalong do baios de seben-por-pibe (745) School Street... no Beretania (address on screen changes) XXXX de bios de regusto de musto de cream pupp (cream puff), de bagaong chipon (chiffon) cake, de balot eclaire, along di busto legasta a la taos, de Respicio's Bakery Delight. And now, we'll be back apter dis word prom our ponsors.
- (commercial)
- Girl:** Oh honey! What's that awful stink? (smiling)
- Man:** Bagaonga Filipino Fish Flakes, honey.
- M&G:** (singing) If you hungry in the morning, and no more milk for drink, try Bagaonga, da cereal dat stink.
- M:** Bagaonga Filipino Fish Flakes. Mmmm, stink.
- (commercial ends, talk show resumes)
- T:** And now, let's talk to and old friend ob ours, who's always dynamic, stimulating, exciting, what else can I say (not much), about de Gobenor ob all ob us.
- Governor:** (falls over chair as Nanci hangs lei around his neck)
- T:** Say governor, you are quick on your peet.
- G:** Uh, yes, mahalo. Thank you.
- T:** Uh, tell you what, governor, you hungry? You like someting to it (eat)?
- G:** Well, that, that, that's a very important question...
- T:** I tell you what, hey, my wipe did not cook dis so it's sape (laughs) (Nanci throws a yam at his head)
- Nanci, I lobe de pire (fire) in you!
- N:** Oh, you big buk-buk stud (kissing)
- T:** And now let's begin de interbiew. Gobernor...
- G:** Yes?
- T:** Could you tell us, ip you ever goin' connec' de preeway?
- G:** Well, I, uh, actually, that, that, that's a very good question, because, uh, you see, you see, I live on Beretania Street, right across the street from where I work, so I, usually I just cross the street and, um... so it doesn't concern me much at all.
- T:** Uuuuh, OK den. Uh, suppose you tell us ip you going to be legalizing cok pights (cock-fights)?
- G:** I think that, um, if, if, if the cocks could just get together and talk they wouldn't have to fight and, uh, because I think everybody should be happy because this is a place filled with Aloha.
- T:** Uuhh, Nanci? What do you tink?
- N:** I think it's time for our next guest.
- T:** Nanci, you are pabulous! You are pabulous. And now, let us welcome our nex gues'. Our next guest has his own show in Waikiki. He's a spectacular person. Let's all welcome Moku Kahala!¹⁷ Tell me, how does it peel to hab a head made ob wood?
- G:** Well, actually it doesn't bother me much at all because I have, uh, a...
- T:** Uh... Gobernor, hehe, I'm talking to Moku.
- G:** Oh, yes, I'm sorry.
- T:** Ok, now tell me please, how are you going to ease de housing shortage?
- G:** Well I think first of all...

¹⁷ Moku is a puppet.

- Moku:** I think the answer lies in long-term assistance to low-end potential renters without current cash surplus. On the other hand we could just build more houses.
- N:** Well, I think it's important to remember that a house is not necessarily a home.
- G:** A-and it's important to note that a home is not necessarily where we live.
- M:** And you people definitely belong in a home.
- T:** Ok, I tink dat's it for de interbiew portion ob our show. (laughs) And now, direct prom a cok-pight in Waianae, in standing-room-only engagement let's bring our very popular, popular guest, de popstarr and cooking expert, Boy Oh Boy Ignacio!
- Ignacio:** Hello, I am prrom the Pillipines and my name is Boy Oh Boy Ignacio.
(singing) Ip you look at me and don't know what to say; Please believe me when I tell you I'm not gay, I'm just a man who is part chicken; I'm a man who love the dog,
Please don't ask me porr a rreason; I just love dog, I love de dog, ooh!
Come'a come'a come'a come'a, come over here black dog,
Try come no go, I love you so,
Loving dog is easy if you come from the Pillipines, red, gold and green, my Pillipine
(spoken) Errebody I am here today to sharre with you all ob my rrecipies, my personal ones prom my own piles. Eh, por example I hab a good one called Huli Huli, uh, Chihuahua. Dis you need two-hundred porty pibe Chihuahua, a church parking lot to Huli Huli it in, and, uh, don't porget two teaspoon olibe oyell.
That's two teaspoon olibe oyell, olive oil, ok? And, uh, also, uh, I hab a real good one for de locals. Dis one is Bow-wow lau-lau.¹⁸ Uh, eberyting just like de rregular lau-lau except, eh, instead of de pork, you use de weiner.
- T:** Wonderful. Beautipul.
- I:** What are you doing?
- T:** ...but I tink we hab enough, okey.
- I:** I am not pinished yet!
- T:** I said stop. Stop for now.
- I:** Listen here, I am temperamental, I have to share all of my rrecipies with my public. They love me.
- T:** I am Teddi Sabala and dis is my lobely big haole wipe, Nanci.

2. *Pidgin To Da Max: Poi Dog*

- MC:** And now, stay time for Hawai'i's favorite game show, *Poi Dog*!
- MC2:** And now, here's your host, Byron Rodrigues!
- Byron:** How's it, how's it, how's it and welcome to *Poi Dog* da game show dat ask da question: 'ey bra, you Portugee Filipino Chinese Hawaiian Tongin Haole Spanish Korean Japanese Italian Samoan, o'what? I'm Byron Rodrigues, and les go ova here an' meet our guesses. Say "how's it" to broddah Rory Pokesquid of Aiea. So what, broddah, what you do for one livin'?
- Rory:** Ey Byron, I was going gone UH afta' graduate from Ferrington, huh. But it was da economy of da eighties. I figure I jus' cruise instead, eh. I mean if I get one job I'm gon' just hafta work and...
- B:** So what, bra, you get any hobbies o' what?
- R:** Oh yeah, I like for going North Shore and reap the waves, eh. And at night, I like for go fishing for squid.
- B:** Ok, moving right along, le's say "aloha" to our second guest, Ms. Sherilynne Fukuda.
- Sherilynne:** Oh, hello Byron. I'm a student at the University of Hawai'i and I'm majoring in fashion merchandising. Also, I'm a graduate of John Robert Powers' Modeling Institution, and I'm pledging Wakava Chi for my...
- B:** And what high school you went graduate from?
- S:** Oh, wow, jus' trow me off bro, huh. What, you cannot wait 'til I finish o' what?
- B:** Gee, I'm sorry Sherilynne, I mean I...
- S:** Go den, go den jus' go to da nex person, never like finish anyway.
- B:** Gee, I sorry man. Le's meet our next guest. Welcome Mrs. Rosa Rodrigues of Wahiawa. How's it, ma? I mean, uh, Mrs. Rodrigues.
- Mrs. R:** Oh Byron, I so happy for be here. You know my son Byron always told me, gotta be pretty desperate for guest for put you own muddah on your own gameshow. But I always said:

¹⁸ Lau-lau is a popular Hawaiian food.

- Byron, someday you gonna need your own muddah, and sure enough...
- B:** Ma, you know, uh...
- Mrs. R:** And one more ting. I hope all you folks know by now the place for go when you get ono for sausage is Auntie Rosa's Portuguese Sausage Lanai!
- B:** Ma, actually, you not supposed to do dat kind stuff on top da show, OK?
- Mrs. R:** Byron, I just telling my friends.
- B:** I tink it's time for start da game, ok? But before we bring out tonight's mystery guest, panel, put on your blindfolds!
- Mrs. R:** Ho, that cheap looking ... And I just did my hair I got da false eyelashes on. I got put dis on, it doesn't even match!
- B:** And now let's welcome tonight's mystery guest! Tonight's mystery guest get twelve different races inside him. But if you get six you win, ok? Remembah, you can only ask da kine 'no' or 'yeah' questions, yeah?
- Panel:** No, no, yeah.
- B:** Yeah? Ok. Dat's not too complicated, yeah?
- Panel:** Yeah, yeah, I mean no.
- B:** Ok, now, panel, here is your first clue. Tonight's mystery gues was born inside one hospital.
- S:** Mus not be Filipino, den.
- B:** OK les start our questioning wit broddah Rory
- R:** Eh, you one boy o' one girl? *laughs*
- Winston:** Yeah. I mean no.
- B:** Sherilynn?
- S:** Yes, uh, do you belong to a fraternity?*giggles*(standard)
- W:** Fraternity? What is a fraternity, Byron?
- B:** Uh, da answer is, uh, no.
- Mrs. R:** I know! I know! He's Filipino, Japanese, Samoan, and maybe little bit Portigi because he get accent.
- B:** Oh, sorry Mrs. Rodrigues. Uh, dat's da wrong answer so we gonna hafta skip your turn, alright?
- Mrs. R:** Byron, no talk to your muddah dat way.
- B:** Look, ma, we gotta follow da rules, alright?
- Mrs. R:** What about dat rule respect your muddah?
- B:** OK, OK, OK, OK, go go go go den.
- Mrs. R:** OK here's my question yeah? Do you ever eat at Auntie Rosa Portuguese Sausage Lanai?
- W:** No.
- Mrs. R:** No!?
- W:** No.
- B:** OK, panel, here is your secon' clue: our mystery gues' used to be one basketball playa',
- R:** What, bra? You one popolo?¹⁹
- W:** No.
- B:** Sherilynn.
- S:** Yes, uh, what high school did you graduate from? (standard)
- W:** Ferrin'ton, Ferrin'ton.
- B:** Uh, Winston, you can only answer 'no' o' 'yeah.'
- W:** Aw, but dey askin' funny kind questions, Byron.
- Mrs. R:** My turn! Wit one first name like "Winston" you must be part Pake, huh?
- W:** Yeah!
- B:** OK, panel, here is your las' and final clue for tonight: tonight's mystery gues' was expelled from school for pullin' one knife on one cafeteria worker when he was told there was no more Spam.
- R:** Knife?! Spam?! Hey! Winston Zapinski!
- S:** Winston Zapinski? Hey, my sista' hapai²⁰ because o' you, bro.
- W:** Byron, dis mean I don' get dat toasta?
- B:** Uh, I'm not so...
- R:** Hey, Winston no more twelve races, bra! He only Filipino, Chinese, Haole like dat.

¹⁹ *Popolo* 'African American' in Hawaiian and HC

²⁰ *Hapai* 'pregnant' in Hawaiian and HC

- W:** I had to write down something good for get on da show. Dey pay me a hundred bucks, dat's why.
- B:** OK, I tink dat's it for tonight, den. Be wit us nex' time on "Poi Dog" when our mystery gues' comes from Palolo housing but he's not Samoan! Dat's it fo' tonight, gang. See you guys lata', aloha!
- MC 2:** *Poi Dog* is a Melting Pot Milton Rodrigues production and taped before a studio audience. Prizes provided for promotional consideration by Auntie Rosa's Portuguese Sausage Lanai and Rodrigues Modern Appliances and Services. Contestants were chosen at random from a list of friends of the Rodrigues family.

3. Augie T. Live!: Olympics

Anybody watch da Olympics? OK some of you. Da oddah half was like "nah, nah." 'Cause there's some weird stuff at the Olympics, like I canna' undahstand da shotput, wheah dey take one cannonball, one small bowling ball, and dey trow it. Who came up wit dis? Like, Greeks, two tousand yeahs ago and "Hey Hercules." And dey did speak Pidgin, OK? "Hercules?" "Yeah what's up, Atlas? What tired carryin' da world on yo' back or sometin? What?" "Bra, I challenge you, who can trow da ball da fahdes' (farthest)?" Follow along. "Who can trow da cannonball da fahdes'?" "Bra I'm Hercules!" "Yeah but ya gotta trow da ball from right heah. (holds imaginary ball next to his chin) Right heah. Not from... right heah, bu. And you gotta trow 'em inside dis circle (draws boundary on ground)." "Ey, das nothin' Atlas." "Wait bra. Wait, you gotta spin firs', before you trow da ball." "Oh, try for make me dizzy, eh? Try for make me dizzy!" An afta... "Ey hohsboy (horseboy) hohsboy, hohsman (horseman), hohsman, wheahevah (wherever) da ball lan', mahk 'em wit yo' hooves." Who da hell?! Who came up wit dat kine stuff? And ya know, honestly, it's not ethnically diverse. We all know who gonna win: da Russians, da Chinese, an' da Americans. Come on. In dis time wheah everyting is equal, why don' we get like, uh... a Samoan gymnast in, c'mon. I would watch if dey had one Samoan gymnast team, c'mon! "xxx, xxx, get on top da balance beam. Xxx! Go up top da balance beam. We gonna be da firs' for be da Samoan in da Olympics. Go up top da balance beam. Go up top. Go up top pick ya toes up in da aiah (air) go like... OK?" See that would be beautiful. I would watch da Olympics to see that. (laughs)

4. Augie T. Live!: Dog Meat

And now, supposedly, I dunno- if you guys seen dis in da news. Supposedly deah's an abundance of dog meat being sold on O'ahu. Tree tousand missing dogs gone las' yeah (year). When was da las' time you went to Maili an' saw patele, aku, dog meat? But you know wha's insulting, right? If you guys saw da news. Nevah have one Filipino on da newscas'. Had oddah (other) different etnic race holding one black dog. And him going "Oh, lookit dat!" See, this is wheah you take advantage of da whole "being a victim." Have one of my Filipino uncles, jus' snap on TV for, like, racial discrimination. Go on TV: "eberr since joo guys, you do dat news report about da missing dogs, oooh, my neighbors now dey lock de dog on de chain. Y'know before, I come home de dog's (yipping and moving hands about) all oberr de place, now inside de kennel. I go to de fet store..." (in normal voice) Pet, pet, pet store. "I go (laughs), I go to de fet store and buy a fuffy, fuffy for my nepew." (to audience member, in normal voice) Puppy. "I buy a fuffy for my nepew, da lady look at me 'Huh! Whatchoo buying de fuffy for? What choo going do wit dat!?' And den I go toooo work, lunch time, I have my tupperware, I open my tupperware, everybody 'What is dat, dog? Is dat dog you're eating?' Das pish!" (laughs)

5. Augie T. Live!: Doing Comedy on the Mainland

Yeah, doin' comedy on da mainlan' was a trip. Midwes', man. Tree-hundred peopoh, all rednecks. Yee-haw! Dat's how it was! Walk on stage, erreybody like (clapping) "Damn, dat's a funny lookin' Mexican-Hawaiian, boy." But i's (it's) a trip, an' I enjoy da kine stuff, because I believe mokes, Hawaiian men, right, local braddahs, like a gene away of bein' rednecks. We staht (start) allowing trailah pahks (trailer parks) in Waianai, Wamanalo, guarantee you gon' get one tornado every mont. Guarantee! So we a lot... we similah, very similah. Yeah, how you gon' get... I tell you somethin': you hang aroun' peopoh long enough, you become jus' like 'em. Yeah, by da time I lef' Tennessee I had my (pretends to play Dueling Banjos). I had my twang goin' on! Yeah, by da time I get to Kentucky, shoot, I's talkin' jus' like 'em. By da time I got into Kentucky, went to da Kentucky Fried Chicken, 'cause I wanted to see what's real Kentucky Fried Chicken. Went to da Kentucky Fried Chicken, try out my new twang. Go to da drive trough (through): (in southern accent) "Yeah, can Ah get a Numbah Two, wit some slaw and some mash potatahs, and a Diet Pepsi!" Da guy undahstood every ting I said! I's fired up, man! He go (in southern accent, as cashier, slightly slurred) "Lemme repeat that order again. Dat's a Diet Coke, dat's a Diet

Pepsi, wit a Numbah Two, wit some slaw (screech)” Thinkin’ what is dat, reverb or sometin’? (in southern accent) “Sir can you repeat my order again?” (as cashier, slurred) “Yessir, dat’s a Numbah Two wit some slaw, and da mashed pota (screech). Please drive trough.” So now I drive trough, right, an’ I’m lookin’ at da braddah. An’ I use to tink dat, wheah I use to live people had a problem wit missing teet (teeth). Holy smoke is deah (there) a law in Kentucky wheah ya hafta be missing teet?! I like, damn! Mus’ be hahd fo’ da Tootfairy in Kentucky! ‘Cause you know da Tootfairy’s gotta make quota, right? It’s like: “Kentucky Toothfairy!” “Yes, yes, yes King of All Toothfairy?” “You gotta gimme six hundred teet.” “Damn! Dat’s too much teet, Toothfairy King! Gotta call da Japanese Toothfairy. ‘Cause you know dose (those) Japanese got so much teeth da teeth ovahlap (overlap). (using hand as telephone) Fujisaki-san! Fujisaki-san!”

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