

This article was downloaded by: [NUS National University of Singapore]

On: 30 January 2015, At: 23:57

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rmmm20>

Inked nostalgia: displaying identity through tattoos as Hawaii local practice

Mie Hiramoto^{ab}

^a Department of English Language & Literature, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, National University of Singapore, Blk AS5, 7 Arts Link, 117570, Singapore, Singapore

^b Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, 569 Moore Hall, 1890 East-West Road, 96822, HI, USA
Published online: 21 Oct 2014.



[Click for updates](#)

To cite this article: Mie Hiramoto (2015) Inked nostalgia: displaying identity through tattoos as Hawaii local practice, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 36:2, 107-123, DOI: [10.1080/01434632.2013.804829](https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.804829)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.804829>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms &

Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Inked nostalgia: displaying identity through tattoos as Hawaii local practice

Mie Hiramoto^{a,b*}

^a*Department of English Language & Literature, Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences, National University of Singapore, Blk AS5, 7 Arts Link, 117570, Singapore, Singapore;* ^b*Department of Linguistics, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, Honolulu, 569 Moore Hall, 1890 East-West Road, 96822, HI, USA*

(Received 3 March 2013; final version received 30 April 2013)

Almost a century after the end of the period of Japanese immigration to Hawaii plantations, the Japanese language is no longer the main medium of communication among local Japanese in Hawaii. Today, use of the Japanese language and associated traditional images are often used symbolically rather than literally to convey their meanings, and this is becoming more prevalent among locals through the medium of tattooing. Furthermore, tattooed texts and visual images now are imbued with additional local-specific indexicals that distance them from native Japanese from Japan. These tattoos are not just a fashion statement as the tattooees are committed to their own identity as represented by them. These inked identities have a value in the local community that draws on Japaneseness, but a form of Japaneseness does not necessarily share native Japanese values. Based on the data used for this study, it is clear that this method of declaring 'true' Japaneseness is decried as unthinkable and unacceptable to native Japanese. These different perceptions of Japanese text and images in tattoos suggest that because of their mobility, the immigrant Japanese group went through a radical transition and created new cultural values in a new homeland.

Keywords: cultural diversity; cultural identity; ethnic identity; heritage languages; language contact; immigrants

Introduction

Recent studies of meanings and signs, including written texts, have been offering interesting findings related to globalisation and mobility (e.g. Blommaert 2010; Fairclough 1992; Thurlow and Jaworski 2003). As a result of the physical mobility of people and globalisation in general, relationships between meanings and signs can go through a number of changes. The concept of 'moving texts' proposed by Blommaert and his colleagues offers an approach to the sociolinguistics of globalisation (e.g. Blommaert 2007; Blommaert and Dong 2010; Kroon, Dong, and Blommaert 2011). When people move, language gains mobility along with them. For example, signs travel across different spaces while changing their shapes rather unproblematically; however, meanings and values that are indexed with the signs do not always travel very well (Kroon, Dong, and Blommaert 2011, 2). As Jaworski (*in press*) points out, symbolic writings such as signs also interact with other communicative modes like images. Metaphorical motifs

*Email: ellmh@nus.edu.sg

represent different meanings along with or independently from the accompanying texts in symbolic writings. As such, similarly to the signs discussed by Blommaert and his colleagues, the texts and other visual images that move from one place to another may lose their meanings, indexicals and social values. The travel of texts and visual images across places can result in the building of layers of different meanings, indexicals and social values that are not mutually exclusive in the original and the relocated spaces. This means that relocated texts and visual images may also gain new attributes while losing the original ones associated with them. This paper attempts to address the different layers of meanings that come into existence with the travelling texts and images that accompany people's mobility.

The main focus of this paper is Japanese texts and visual motifs in the tattoos of Hawaii locals of Japanese descent. Hawaii locals generally take pride in having tattoos of *kanji* 'Chinese characters', a trend which has gained popularity among individuals of non-Asian as well as Asian descent (Robbins 2006). Increasingly, Americans are getting tattooed with *kanji* associated with certain symbolic or philosophical ideas regardless of their ethnic backgrounds. While Chinese character tattoos are a common trope among tattooees in Hawaii, some local Japanese Americans who feel they have a more direct connection with these symbols may have tattoos of names associated with their family in *kanji* and *kana*. Even for those who do not use the Japanese language, these characters carry nostalgic meanings and bolster their Japanese identity. While the specific symbolic meanings of the tattoos are usually not conveyed without knowledge of the language, to those who understand the Japanese language the indexical meanings can be easily guessed. For example, common Okinawan names like *Higa* or *Shiroma* imply the tattooees' heritage and archaic first names such as *Tsuru* or *Mitsuo* suggest that they belonged to the tattooees' ancestors. As new generations of Japanese are now linking back to their past through Japanese tattoos in the long-term settlement, the Japanese scripts and images that appear in tattoos tell a story of not only a movement but also a settlement.

Between 1885 and 1924, over 200,000 plantation workers migrated from Japan to Hawaii. In time, their descendants shifted their language to English, and the Japanese orthographies have largely come to function as iconic of a specific source of cultural capital. Japanese texts, along with the language, have changed their social values since they moved to the new space. Simultaneously, Japanese texts are still used as a regular writing system in its original space, Japan. While Hawaii locals of Japanese heritage may have limited understanding of the local *kanji* or *kana* tattoos, Japanese from Japan tend to comprehend the specific referential meanings due to the orthographic transparency. However, they are often mystified by the specific motivations behind these tattoos, while Hawaii locals share a common interpretation of these tattoos as local symbolism. Concisely, the two different groups of Japanese have quite different perceptions of these tattoos.

In Japan, tattoos were given to criminals as punishment during the Edo period; following this, between the Meiji and Showa periods (1872–1948), decorative tattoos were outlawed as means of social control (Fujita 2011; Haruta 1994). Even today, tattoos are associated with yakuza, public indecency and other anti-social aspects, and are often, whether officially or unofficially, excluded from a wide range of occupations including government offices, the Self-Defense Force, education and service industries. For example, in 2012 the mayor of Osaka conducted a survey of tattoo ownership among more than 30,000 employees and announced that those with tattoos (110 people) should leave the public offices and find jobs elsewhere (McCurry 2012). While it is true that

some young people enjoy small tattoos as a fashion, people are largely aware of the practical inconveniences caused by tattooing other than exclusion from many potential job opportunities (public baths, beaches, fitness-clubs, limitations on health insurance policies, etc.) and it has not been a popular practice.

This paper discusses the increasingly popular phenomenon of Japanese text tattoos among local Japanese in Hawaii. As this topic forms part of a larger project that involves different types of data collected through Internet search, fieldwork and interviews, other relevant data will also be discussed. The larger project will investigate symbols and personal identities of Asian immigrants' descendants via bodily exhibitions like tattoos, physique and fashion. The project aims to understand how elements of Asian tradition and heritage language are used as personal identity markers by these people. As such, the data in this paper include 'moving (and settled) texts and visual images' that carry meanings related to cultural capital such as family crests and maps. Observations on these data made in bloggers' postings and comments and media representations are included in the analysis. Before beginning to discuss the data, a brief explanation of Hawaii's multiethnic background will be useful.

Immigration and moving texts

After Captain Cook's visit to the islands in 1778, migrations to Hawaii from various parts of the world started, mainly for commercial purposes including whaling, sandalwood trading and plantations (Kawamoto 1993). In 1835, the first sugarcane plantation was established and became successful (Lind 1938). Between 1852 and 1930, Hawaii invited many immigrants as plantation labourers including Chinese, Portuguese, Japanese and Filipinos. First-generation immigrants formed diasporic communities at different plantation camps across the Hawaiian Islands between the mid-1800s and the mid-1900s. The communities continued to grow and slowly merged with groups of other ethnicities. As the immigrants' children integrated themselves into the newly established local community, the later generations established a new, hybridised local culture and identity that are based on their ancestors' homelands, and considered themselves locals of Hawaii.

The idea of local culture consists of the diversities of people who share plantation and/or Hawaiian heritage, and indeed, many cultural practices from a variety of ethnic groups have been generally adopted by Hawaii residents as their own. Instead of using terms such as 'Hawaiian-American' or 'Asian-American', many Hawaii-born Americans prefer to define themselves with the catch-all term *local*, implying membership in more than one of Hawaii's many ethnic and social communities (Okamura 1994). According to Rosa (2000, 101), local identity is 'a matter of positioning oneself in relationship to power and place'. Although Hawaii is part of the United States, its geographic and cultural isolation from the mainland makes the distinction between local and non-local particularly important to residents. For them, locally inspired tattoos such as ancestral names work as symbolic cultural tokens to mark themselves as distinct from Others, since they colour the wearers' shared experiences, rendering them uniquely local. Given the ethnic diversity in contemporary Hawaii, names tend to carry information about identity and heritage, including Hawaiian, Chinese, Japanese, Portuguese and Filipino, much of which is quickly deciphered by many locals. Japanese orthography is often made visible in local spaces, although not all locals, including local Japanese, may understand the texts. The texts in such situations function as symbols rather than language since they help to index emblematic 'Japaneseness'. For example, names of institutions or products

such as the *Izumo Taisha Shintô Shrine* ハワイ出雲大社, and *Aloha nattoo* アロハ納豆 ‘Aloha brand fermented beans’ occupy visibly noticeable local places. The Japanese texts mediate their meanings to those who are accustomed to local Japanese culture. Mediation is like communication that connects people or elements of society; it is a process that involves the exchanges of meanings and ideas (Agha 2011a, 2011b; Scollon 1998). Agha (2011b, 164) states that semiotic mediation is an ongoing process in social life that unfolds through linkages among semiotic encounters that yield multi-sited chains of communication. Thus, the unreadable texts here can be considered to take part in semiotic mediation (Agha 2011a, 2011b) among Hawaii locals, who consider familiarity with the customs of locals’ ancestral cultures, including Japanese customs, to be a trait of localness.

Semiotic mediation and unexpected places: tattooed symbols

In his monograph on language in unexpected places, Pennycook (2012, 7) explains his own nostalgic attempt to explore the past of his family. He states, ‘by revisiting landscapes, histories, objects, feelings and senses, by retracing routes taken long ago, I am asking what these traces are that I am following, what I can learn from what Joseph calls *mnemonic traces*’ which is described as:

[a]midst the fury of modernity’s upheavals float the fragments of cultures in transition, of peoples adrift. These shards of exchange are borne by a myriad of actors such as migrants, nomads, seafarers, travelers, refugees, immigrants, exiles and the curious. Their mnemonic traces are embedded in the debris of trans-oceanic contact and permeate the ebb and flow of global social exchange. (Joseph 2007, 62, cited in Pennycook 2012, 7)

By revisiting his own family’s history of migration and long-distance communication, he challenges himself to answer the questions of what rubs off in the process of relocation and in what places we may encounter other languages unexpectedly (Pennycook 2012, 7). Today, *kanji* tattoos, especially worn by non-Asian tattooees, may be considered an example of language found in an unexpected place. However, they are a global fashion trend – the frequent linguistic (in)accuracy of the scripts notwithstanding, their focus is the symbolic capital of ‘cool’ (Maher 2005; Sweetman 1999). Tattooing, traditionally an operation that belongs to specific marginal or subculture groups, has become mainstream (Sweetman 1999, 53) and tattoos of non-Romanised scripts have also become fodder for cultural consumption. Be it expected or unexpected, traditional or a new type of identity constructed in the name of global fashion or something else entirely, tattooees do make a commitment, and certain assumptions about their identity come with the semiotics mediated through their tattoos (Sweetman 1999).

Agha (2011a, 174) defines semiotic mediation as ‘the generic process whereby signs connect persons to each other through various forms of cognition’. In their analysis of written discourses in time and space, Scollon and Scollon (2003, 22) comment that ‘inscription is to the non-human material world what embodiment is to the human world of discourse’. Based on their ideas, Jaworski (in press) states that ‘the semiotic properties of a text depend on its spatial location, interaction with other signs and interactions between the sign and social actors’. Some sociolinguists treat writing as a multimodal medium (e.g. Jaworski and Thurlow 2010; Kress 2010; Kress and van Leeuwen 2001). For them, a visual medium incorporates various features from a range of semiotic

systems: the choice of a particular script, the font or typeface, the manner and medium of its execution, the use of colour and so on. Likewise, in the following sections I will investigate tattooed texts and visual images by using multimodal perspectives. While the Japanese-inspired tattoos that are common in Hawaii are by no means a traditional practice for the mainstream population in Japan, these tattoos signify something more than a fashion statement for Hawaii locals. Tattoos are highly stigmatised in Japan; moreover, Japanese name tattoos are decidedly unattractive to Japanese in Japan because they perceive them as permanent nametags. However, for local Hawaii Japanese, Japanese text tattoos signify different cultural values. I claim that these tattoos function as emblems of simultaneous/multiple identities in a local-specific context among people of Japanese heritage, projecting mnemonic traces of their transnationality. To explain the processes by which local Japanese (re)contextualise their identity through the tattoos, Bucholtz and Hall's (2004) ideas of authentication and denaturalisation are useful. The former is instantiated through the assertion of one's own or another's identity as genuine or credible, and the latter refers to a phenomenon whereby an identity is held up as inauthentic or unreal – as literally incredible (Bucholtz 2003, 408–409). Japanese tattoos function to authenticate the local Japanese tattooees' Japaneseness, whereas they are nothing but a denaturalisation of Japanese identity for Japanese in Japan. In short, local Japanese tattoos have become a semiotic resource to establish a new, and quite distinct, identity within the Hawaii local context (see Bucholtz 2004, 127).

Tattoos and local identity

Being the indigenous practice of Polynesia, tattoos have long been a tradition in Hawaii (Sweetman 1999), and native Hawaiian motifs have become popular among tattooees in Hawaii regardless of their ethnicity. Among locals, other than Polynesian motifs (waves, plants, petroglyphs, etc.), popular designs include maps, the Hawaiian state flag, local flowers, historical figures and names. As the Japanese tattoos worn by local Japanese index their Japanese identity, the Hawaii-specific tattoos often index tattooees' local identity. While it is not rare for non-locals to get memorabilia tattoos of Hawaii, their tattoos are based on individual experiences and they do not work as a membership token. However, local tattooees symbolise their often multi-layered local identity through local tattoos which, though they have more predictable content and style, serve to link them to the broader pan-Asian culture found in Hawaii. In what follows, I will demonstrate how the tattooed Japanese texts and visual images belong to the local space in Hawaii, and away from Japan, in order to exemplify moving texts and cultural visual images. For this, I conducted an online search to gather data from both English and Japanese websites. The data include excerpts from tattoo forums and blogs, and profiles of the bloggers and forum members are also presented to provide information about their backgrounds.

As mentioned, many local tattooees claim their affiliation to Hawaii through their tattoos. Excerpts (1) and (2) are postings by Hawaii males of unknown ethnicity in a popular English tattoo forum: (1) a 24-year-old SaleenDriva and (2) a 23-year-old robert_wusan¹ along with the images shown in Figure 1. They are good examples of how the tattooees negotiate their local identity through the tattoos:



Figure 1. Map of Hawaii on local men found in Rank My Tattoos forum. (a) *Carry a piece of home around with me*. Accessed August 1, 2012. <http://www.rankmytattoos.com/Hawaii/Honolulu/14579.html>. (b) *This is where I'm from*. Accessed August 1, 2012. <http://www.rankmytattoos.com/tattoo-designs/hawaiian-tattoo-11530296811616.html>.

(1) *Carry a piece of home around with me*, 8/5/2007²

I was born and raised in Hawaii and wanted to be able to carry a peice [sic] of home around with me at all times, and to remind myself of where I came from.

(2) *This is where I'm from*, 6/19/2007³

This is where im [sic] from.

In the comments, both of them state that their tattoos symbolise where they are from, their 'home'. Maps of Hawaii are indeed common designs, and it is not rare to see them on non-locals (e.g. former residents, tourists, out-of-state students, etc.). Figure 2 shows an example of a map tattoo worn by a non-local – a Caucasian man to be specific.

While non-locals may claim an attachment to Hawaii through their map tattoos, different degrees of commitment to Hawaii may be reflected through details of the tattoos.

Excerpt (3) is taken from a popular photo-sharing website by an artist named Margjie. The first four lines were posted by the photographer along with the photo in Figure 2.

(3) *The Hawaiian Islands with you everywhere!*, 7/12/2007⁴

1. Here is a Hawaiian photo for you: this is a guy on our recent
 2. winery tour in Sonoma County, California, with a TATTOO of all
 3. of the Hawaiian Islands on his left leg! I asked him if that was a
 4. tattoo of the Hawaiian Islands and he said 'yes'.
- >Comment 1 posted by Quikzero, July 2007
5. Tattoos are a big part of our Hawaiian culture. I have the
 6. Hawaiian Islands tattoo'd [sic] on me too, along with other
 7. Hawaiian/Polynesian tattoos. It is interesting to see the islands
 8. tattoo'd [sic] on a 'haole'.
 9. Aloha.

>Response 1 posted by Marjie, July 2007

10. @ Quikzero- Thanks. This guy and his wife spend 8 weeks of the
11. year in Hawaii⁵. They live in the Midwest (Indiana) and they leave
12. in the cold winters and go to Hawaii, usually Maui. Aloha.

The exchange between the commenter Quikzero (lines 5–9) and the artist (lines 10–12) demonstrates 'local vs. non-local' dynamics regarding the map tattoos. From his comments, Quikzero appears to be a Hawaiian or a local. He shares his knowledge

about the local tattoo culture (lines 5), and puts forward his local affiliation by mentioning his own map tattoo, which he describes as accompanied by other local designs (line 5–7); that is, he is able to describe it in a way that positions his map tattoo as ‘more local’ than the map tattoo he is commenting on. Moreover, he distances himself from the Caucasian map tattooee by referring to him as a *haole* ‘Caucasian’ (line 8), a local term that can function as an antonym of ‘local’. The artist’s response (lines 10–12) reveals that the tattooee in the photo lives part-time in Hawaii. There is a sense of nostalgia attached to the map tattoo by the tattooee; however, the degree of commitment to Hawaii localness projected through his tattoo is not nearly as strong as that of those who claim authentic local identity. While locals seem to try to position themselves in Hawaii, non-locals seem to position Hawaii as a part of themselves. I will come back to this point after introducing the next example.

A similar example of a Hawaiian map tattoo worn by a Caucasian man was featured in a popular American reality TV show.⁶ The show follows the events that happened at a tattoo studio in Florida. In one episode, a Caucasian man named Mike visits the studio to get a tattoo of the Hawaiian Islands. Excerpt (4) is from a picture book about the show:

(4) *Hawaii Mike* (Wagenvoord 2006, 51)

[Introduction followed by Mike’s comments] Born in San Francisco, Mike lived in Hawaii as a kid and later moved to New York. His friends called him ‘Hawaii’ Mike because he always wanted to surf and remember life in the islands.

1. Hawaii will always be a definite part of my life. Hopefully I can go back
2. there and retire someday and just hang out – be a beach bum!

Mike in (4) romanticises Hawaii as a place for beach bums from his childhood memories (lines 1–2), and he was committed enough to his nostalgia for Hawaii to tattoo the map with his moniker ‘Hawaii Mike’ over of it. But the focus of the tattoo is on the nickname part, thus the physical distributions of the islands in this tattoo are adjusted to fit the nickname. Based on the comments on Figure 2 and Excerpt (4), both non-local men are claiming their attachment to Hawaii through their map tattoos. However, there are clear differences between the local and non-local map tattoos. First, comparing the maps in by the locals and non-locals the local men’s tattoos show much more geographic accuracy than those of the non-local men, including the distances between each island and their relative locations, sizes and shapes. Conversely, in the non-locals’ tattoos, the maps are



Figure 2. Map of Hawaii on non-local Caucasian men found in Flickr (ArtsySF © ~ Marjie). *The Hawaiian Islands with you everywhere!* ArtsySF © ~ Marjie, permission for reprint received 2012. All rights reserved.

modified to fit a conventional tattoo aesthetic in which an image's parts are grouped closely and blank interior space is minimised, and as a result, they are less accurate geographically. Second, while the locals combine the map tattoo with other symbolic images representing their homeland, non-locals do not do the same. Figure 1a has the word *home*, and (b) has the Hawaii area code 808, while in excerpt (3), Quikzero comments that he has other Hawaiian/Polynesian tattoos as well as the map tattoo (lines 5–7). In contrast, the map tattoo in Figure 2 does not tell 'local stories' as the map sits by itself. Similarly, the map in the 'Hawaii Mike' tattoo described above is also different from the ones demonstrated by the Hawaii locals. Here, the word 'Hawaii' is used to highlight the tattooee's name rather than the map. The largest and most emphasized part of this tattoo is the name Mike, and the map is adjusted to fit a design that is based on the tattooee's nickname. In summary, while the local men tend to intensify their maps with the additional local elements that construct 'in-group stories' to exhibit their belonging to the islands, non-local men seem to use the map tattoos as superficial reminders of their wistfulness for Hawaii as a nostalgic place rather than their home.

Literally inked identity: tabooed practices

Japanese names are quite common in Hawaii⁷ – posts on Japanese name tattoos in Japanese writings were most commonly reported by Japanese nationals including transplant residents. Figure 3 shows name tattoos of (a) 平川 *Hirakawa*, (b) 坂田 *Sakata*, (c) 野尻 *Nojiri* and (d) 中野 *Nakano*, found in blogs of native Japanese from Japan.

All pictures in Figure 3 were posted as examples of the 'strange customs' of local Japanese and the accompanying comments express how incredible the bloggers find the Japanese tattoos to be. Excerpt (5) is a blog entry by Alohakaeru 'Aloha frog', originally written in Japanese, which appear in Figures 3a,b based on her interactions with the commenters. All translations from Japanese to English are done by me and I kept the original computer-mediated communication markers such as emoticons, exclamation marks and symbols in the translations:

(5) *Useful in case of emergency*, 6/2/2010⁸

>Comment 1 posted by Chivamp, 6/2/2010 16:39

1. Are Hirakawa and Sakata their family names?
2. Amazing. Name tattoos. Well, they can be useful in case they get
3. in a traffic accident, or drop dead or suffer from sudden memory
4. loss. I've seen some strange tattoos in NY, but this is my first time
5. seeing a name tattoo.

>Response 1 posted by Alohakaeru, 6/2/2010 18:05

6. Lately *kanji* tattoos have been in vogue, I suspect that local
7. Japanese are proud of their real names with *kanji*. ...
8. Of course if anything happened they
9. would be quite useful for identification.

>Comment 2 posted by Kurosuke, 6/4/2010 02:02

10. Long time no see! (^_^)
11. Lots of different kinds of tattoos, aren't there:)
12. I wonder if they [the tattooees] know the meanings?
13. Is Hirakawa the family name? Pupupu.
14. But isn't this the same situation as Japanese getting English phrases
15. even though they don't understand the meaning?

>Response 2 posted by Alohakaeru, 6/4/2010 09:21

16. ★ Dear Kurosuke, many local Japanese have family name tattoos
17. and I think most of them know the meanings.



Figure 3. Local *kanji* name tattoos posted by the native Japanese bloggers. (a) *Hirakawa*, Alohakaeru. Accessed August 8, 2012. <http://alohakaeru.blog62.fc2.com/blog-entry-393.html>. (b) *Sakata*, Alohakaeru. Accessed August 8, 2012. <http://alohakaeru.blog62.fc2.com/blog-entry-393.html>. (c) *Nojiri*, Taifū 10-gou. Accessed August 8, 2012. <http://ameblo.jp/namanchu66m/entry-11111935846.html>. (d) *Nakano*, ashura Accessed August 8, 2012. <http://www.mo-hawaii.com/ashura/201.html>.

According to the profiles, all three interlocutors are Japanese natives and online friends: Alohakaeru is an established entrepreneur who has been living in Honolulu for over 20 years with a local Japanese husband. The first commenter, Chivamp (lines 1–5), is a mother of a teenager who lives in New York and the second commenter, Kurosuke (lines 10–15), is a housewife living in Japan. The comments reveal that the name tattoos are a surprising phenomenon to the eyes of native Japanese. For example, ‘they can be useful in case they get in a traffic accident, or drop dead or suffer from sudden memory’ (lines 2–4) and ‘I wonder if they know the meanings?’ (line 12) show the general attitude towards the name tattoos as something unthinkable and shocking. An onomatopoeic expression for partly suppressed laughter ‘Pupupu’ (line 13) is somewhat equivalent to English ‘tee hee hee’, and displays negative sentiments it often implies ridicule.

Figure 3c shows a long line at a take-out restaurant, and was posted by a male tourist in his 20s, Taifū 10-gou ‘Typhoon No. 10’, in his blog as part of his notes on a daytrip to the North Shore area of O‘ahu as in excerpt (6):

(6) *Disappointing tattoo*, 12/19/2011⁹

1. There’s been no end of customers.

2. By the way, the person in the center's tattoo says
3. 野尻 [Nojiri]
4. I wonder if he wanted to get 'Wild Butts' written in *kanji*?
5. I also saw another disappointing Japanese tattoo
6. which said *Midori* [a popular female first name] in *hiragana*.

Although *Nojiri* (line 2) is unmistakably a Japanese surname, the blogger gives a literal translation *no* 'wild' and *shiri* 'buttocks' (line 3), which makes little sense. For the blogger, the tattoo and its context was so odd that he did not interpret it as a surname. In the following three excerpts, too, Japanese natives openly share their astonishment towards the tattoos. Excerpt (7) by Kingyo 'goldfish' (a part time college student) and (8) by Mi (married to an American from Michigan) are taken from blog-posts without photos by working women living in Honolulu. Excerpt (9) was posted by a frequent visitor to Hawaii and a mother of two preschoolers, Ashura, who lives in Japan; her comments refer to [Figure 3](#), picture (d):


(7) *Poor thing by anyone's account*, 4/26/2007¹⁰

1. Seems that in the past few years in Hawaii (or maybe from a long
2. time ago?), small tattoos¹¹ have become popular. ... And, as there
3. are many ethnic Japanese in Hawaii, I often see family name
4. characters. 鈴木 [Suzuki] or 村山 [Murayama] or 岡田 [Okada].
5. I would die before I got a tattoo of my name!
6. I've heard that recently it's become possible to remove them with
7. lasers or whatever, but poor thing by anyone's account. Certainly
8. nobody was around to stop them. Make sure to get somebody's
9. feedback before getting a tattoo.

(8) *Makes me a bit uneasy*, 9/24/2009¹²

1. In Hawaii (especially) the local Japanese have names that were
2. popular in the *Showa* era:) *Showa* meaning the time up until the
3. 1930s in Japan, for example for boys' names
4. *Tetsuo*, *Haruo*, *Kiyoshi* and names like the old-fashioned *manzai*
5. [comedy] performers,
6. For girls
7. *Yoshiko*, *Kazuyo*, *Toshiko*, *Teruko* and similar nostalgia-inducing
8. names are still quite common. ^ ^
9. Someone told me that names are often taken straight from their
10. parents or grandparents, and this is quite common so no wonder
11. there's a two-generation gap in popular names.
12. Tattoos have become fashionable among people in their 20s or
13. younger, and there are plenty of young people who have their
14. Japanese name *kanji* tattooed.
15. Seeing "良子" [*Yoshiko*] or "鉄男" [*Tetsuo*] tattooed on
16. somebody's ankle makes me a bit uneasy:), but it's their own
17. names and they think *kanji* is cool so ...

(9) *Seriously?! at a beach*, 8/7/2012¹³

1. This tattoo ... 
2. *Koi* [carp]?! Or maybe goldfish!?
3. *Nakano*!? Are you seriously Nakano-san!?
4. *Kamon* [family crest]!? That's a bellflower crest, right ...

The bloggers are dumbfounded by the local tattoos they saw in Hawaii as the described bizarreness; for example, in excerpt (7), the idea of name tattoos are rejected as 'I would die before I got a tattoo of my name!' (line 5) and 'poor thing by anyone's account' (line

7). In addition to expressing her uneasiness towards the name tattoos, excerpt (8) further describes the old-fashioned nature of local Japanese names per se as ‘the local Japanese have names that were popular in the *Showa* era’ (lines 1–2) and ‘nostalgia-inducing names are still quite common ^ ^’ (lines 7–8). Like the quiet laughter ‘Pupupu’ seen in (5), the emoticon ‘^ ^’ in this example indicates a grin, a reaction to the incongruity of old-fashioned names assigned to young local Japanese. Excerpt (9) comments not only on the Japanese family name but also on the tattoos of *koi* ‘carp’ and *kamon* ‘family crest’ – both are traditional Japanese images. Ashura expresses her strong reaction with the boldface letters and question plus exclamation marks: ‘**Koi!?**’ (line 2), ‘**Nakano!?** Are you seriously Nakano-san!?’ (line 3), and ‘**Kamon!?**’ (line 4). As pointed out by Jaworski (in press), symbolic writing often interacts with other communicative modes like images, and many tattoos of script are coordinated with metaphorical motifs indexing tattooees’ identity. Many local Japanese tattoo Japanese-inspired visual images; *koi* and *kamon* are representative. Other common designs include dragons, cherry blossoms, breaking waves, etc. Many of them also combine Japanese designs with Polynesian motifs.

Although the data presented above are taken from blogs rather than interviews, I conclude that the blog data are representatives of Japanese natives’ general opinions on the local’s Japanese tattoos. At different times over my 15 years of residence in Hawaii, local Japanese tattoos became a topic of casual conversation with many Japanese natives. Although they were sympathetic towards the tattooees’ Japaneseness, Japanese natives generally mentioned that the tattoos were too strange to be accepted, just as commented by the bloggers from excerpts (5), (7) and (8). During my time in Hawaii, I also had numerous opportunities to talk casually with local Japanese tattooees about their name tattoos. Some had their family names, 比嘉 *Higa*, 山本 *Yamamoto*, etc.; some had their mothers’ names, 悦子 *Etsuko*, まちこ *Machiko*, etc. and others had their own names, 礼子 *Reiko*, 英男 *Hideo*, etc. They all mentioned that their tattoos represented their identity and despite never having lived in Japan, or even in Hawaii during the plantation days, they felt the tattoos to be symbolic of a connection to their Japanese heritage. I will elaborate on this point further in the next section with relevant examples. While Japanese texts and images themselves are able to travel across spaces rather easily, the meanings and values that are indexed by them do not seem to have kept up, as evidenced by the gap between cultural understanding of local and native Japanese. This conclusion agrees with the findings of Blommaert and his colleagues in their research on signs as moving texts.

Essentially inked identity: appropriated semiotics of tattoos

The previous section focused on interpretations of Hawaii locals’ Japanese tattoos by native Japanese. For these bloggers, the tattooed texts and images do not have their original values. Hawaii locals have appropriated Japanese texts and images, assigning them new semiotic meanings and indexicals. This section discusses the cultural values of locals’ Japanese tattoos. One example can be seen in a blog entry about an arm tattoo, which reads お蔭様で *okagesamade* ‘I am what I am because of you ...’, that was posted below a photo of Figure 3a by the same blogger from excerpt (5), Alohakaeru. In this example, she includes the tattooee’s comments, which provide us with interpretations of the tattoos from local Japanese’s viewpoints:

(10) *Okagesamade*, 7/26/11¹⁴

Photo taken at Whole Foods at Kahala on 4/17/2011. Male, local Japanese in 20s.

If asked 'to whom do you feel *okagesamade* [obliged/thankful] ...?'

He is thankful to his ancestors, grandparents and parents for making him what he is today.

On his neck, arms, etc., he also had tattoos of his parents' and grandparents' names.

According to the blog entry, the phrase *okagesamade* 'I am what I am because of you' is dedicated to the tattooees' senior family members. Although the concept of filial piety is still highly regarded in Japan, expressing one's gratitude to family members in this manner is unimaginable to Japanese natives. Principally, it is culturally unacceptable because tattoos are so highly stigmatised: to get any tattoo would be contradictory to the purpose of displaying respect. However, perhaps most importantly, the incredulity given to such tattoos is due to the tattoo's linguistic inappropriateness as judged by Japanese natives. While one may say, [*ryōshin no okagede* ... 'thanks to [my parents]'], the phrase *okagesamade* is not suitable for one's own family members, as the honorific *sama* is usually reserved for non-family members. Addressing one's family members with honorific expressions in a tattoo would bring embarrassment rather than honor to the family.

In Hawaii, however, the formulaic phrase *okagesamade* has been reappropriated. It means 'to honor those who helped you', especially referring to those who contributed to one's well-being, including one's own ancestors who were first-generation immigrants. This usage has become symbolic to the local Japanese community particularly since the opening of the Japanese Cultural Center of Hawaii's signature exhibit in 1995, which focused on early Japanese immigrants, with this phrase as its title. It suggests that the successful modern lifestyles enjoyed by local Japanese are owed to the endurance and perseverance of their forebears who pioneered in their new homeland. Since the exhibit's opening, the phrase, along with its translation 'I am what I am because of you', has been widely broadcast through local media. For example, Daniel Inouye (the late United States senator) ran advertisements featuring the phrase. Thanks to statewide circulation, the phrase and translation became indexical of a model moral attitude for local Japanese – a newly established maxim. The phrase was also used more recently, in the summer of 2012, by a well-known Japanese retail store chain, Shirokiya, as a slogan of their anniversary event, as shown in [Figure 4b](#) from a shopping information webpage for tourists. With the phrase, the Shirokiya ad features a family crest of the Shiroki family and a picture representing the original Shirokiya from the Edo period. The Hawaii Shirokiya stores are international branches, and they are celebrating the 350th anniversary of its establishment in Japan. The phrase *okagesamade* should be translated as 'thanks to your continuous support (we made it to our 350th year)', and it reflects the phrase's usage by native Japanese. It refers to one's out-group members (customers) and the use of the honorifics is expected in this context. The two contexts given in [Figures 3](#) and [4](#) thus highlight different meanings and cultural values indexed through the phrase *okagesamade* by local Japanese 'I am who I am because of you' vs. native Japanese 'thanks to your continuous support'.

The next examples are comments taken from the same English tattoo forum as excerpts (1) and (2). A 28-year-old local Japanese woman, Aiko, had been posting on the making of her back tattoos, including the excerpts in (11) and (12) in this website. Excerpt (11) shows her accompanying comments for [Figure 4c](#):



Figure 4. Local phrase and *kanji* name tattoo found in different websites. (a) *Okagesamade*, Alohakaeru's blog. Accessed August 8, 2012. <http://alohakaeru.blog62.fc2.com/blog-entry-548.html>. (b) *Okagesamade*, Oreteki rurōjinsei © Mr. Nishikawa, permission for reprint received 2013. All rights reserved; the shopping guide in Honolulu. (c) *My Back As Of 3/2/08*, Rank My Tattoos forum. Accessed August 1, 2012. <http://www.rankmytattoos.com/tattoo-designs/japanese-tattoo-12021162796027.html>.

(11) *My Back As Of, 3/2/08*¹⁵

1. Finally added the water yesterday. So the goldfish are my dogs,
2. actually. Lily is for a lesson learned when I lived in Seattle. Peach
3. blossoms for Atlanta & why I was living there, (a 3yr relationship).
4. The *kanji* is my Japanese name, Aiko.

(12) *This is the story of the past 3 yrs of my life, 5/10/08*¹⁶

1. This is the story of the past 3 yrs of my life, places I've lived,
2. lessons learned, people I've met, bad relationships (ex-bf & ex-
3. job), & my doggies with me by/on my side.

As she explains, Aiko's tattoos are a condensation of her life story, with each element an indexical of a personal memory through metaphoric meanings. While the exact significance of each tattoo is likely to remain opaque to others, the surface meanings may be implied to those who understand Japanese, for example, her name and the ethnicity. The first character of the name Aiko is 愛 *ai* 'love'. Because it is a common character, it may be recognised even by people who have no linguistic knowledge of Japanese or Chinese. Let us contrast this with the second character, 子 *ko*, meaning 'child'. The combination of characters 愛子 *aiko* does not mean 'love child' as would be expected from a literal translation, but rather 'beloved'. The second character is often used as a female name suffix, as seen in the examples in excerpt (8) – *Yoshiko* 'faithful', *Toshiko* 'intelligent' and *Teruko* 'shining'. Other posts by Aiko wherein she explains the meaning of her name to other forum members reveal her understanding of Japanese naming conventions. One forum participant who was interested in getting a *kanji* tattoo meaning 'beloved' inquired of Aiko if 愛子 would be appropriate. She replies that *ko* is used as a name suffix and shows some reservations about the correspondent's adaptation of the same characters. One must have cultural knowledge in addition to simple *kanji* translations in order to make sense of meanings associated with formulaic expressions, including names and symbols. What is significant about Aiko's examples is her display of

Japanese identity through the tattoos and cultural knowledge. Although her personal interpretations of the symbolic representations cannot be decoded by others unless she explains them, she is claiming her (local) Japanese identity through the tattoos. Similarly, the *okagesamade*-tattooee from excerpt (10) also demonstrates his Japanese identity with the locally adopted formulaic expression embracing his Japanese heritage and thematic images. To him and others like him, Japanese tattoos are a direct link with their Japanese identity. While the local Japanese tattoo practice may appear strange, even unfathomable, to native Japanese, the prevalence of local Japanese tattoos in local culture lend them some legitimacy. In short, from the tattooee's position, the name tattoo reflects their nostalgic feelings towards their heritage. The *kanji* names function as emblems of simultaneous Japanese/local authenticity and identity as explained by Bucholtz (2003) on authentication and identity construction emerging from linguistic nostalgia.

Conclusion

Today, Japanese is no longer a main medium of communication among local Japanese in Hawaii. The Japanese language and traditional images are often used symbolically rather than to convey their original meanings. The Japanese texts and visual images in locals' tattoos are mnemonic traces for local Japanese, which take place in unexpected places for native Japanese. In Pennycook's (2012, 20) words, the idea of languages appearing in unexpected places 'is not a study in exotic strangeness, of the surprising and the extraordinary', and '[it] is precisely this unexpectedness that needs to come under critical scrutiny' in observations of moving texts and visual images. In this paper, by focusing on local Japanese tattoos in Hawaii, I hope to have shown how Japanese texts and visual images are appropriated and have gained local-specific cultural values. The tattooed texts and visual images now are imbued with additional indexicals that distance them from native Japanese. However, these tattoos are not just a fashion statement, such as the seemingly ubiquitous *kanji* tattoos meaning 'love', 'friendship', 'peace' and the like. The tattooees are committed to their own identity as represented by their names and the history, heritage and family that the names embody – these inked identities have a value in the immigrant community that draws on Japaneseness without sharing native Japanese values. The Japanese tattoos elucidate local Japanese experiences after their collective departure from Japan, particularly plantation history. With the tattoos, the tattooees project both localness – being a part of the decidedly local Japanese culture – and Japaneseness within localness. While local Japanese holds simultaneous membership in Japanese and local groups (see Woolard 1998), their name tattoos definitely alienate them from native Japanese, because both the tattoos' content and tattoos per se hold very different semiotic significances in Hawaii and Japan.

If name tattoos are a local Japanese declaration of 'real' or 'genuine' Japanese membership, they simultaneously assert local membership, both to locals, to whom they index belonging, and to native Japanese, to whom they index Otherness. Based on the Japanese bloggers' comments, this method of declaring 'true' Japaneseness is ironically denied as unthinkable and unacceptable to this group. These different perceptions of Japanese text and images in tattoos suggest that the simultaneous memberships of the local Japanese are based on the immigration history. Their memberships include a time depth and historical experience, then, during which different cultural values were absorbed and

other values lost in the course of the formation of the local culture. Because of their mobility, the immigrant Japanese group went through a radical transition and they created new cultural values in a new homeland. From another viewpoint, native Japanese culture over this same period remained conservative in their existing traditional sociocultural values as a result of not having ‘moving text and visual images’.

While the authenticity espoused by local Japanese tattooees is denied by Japanese from Japan, local tattooees decry ‘local’ tattoos worn by non-locals, such as seen in the comment on the map of Hawaii on the Caucasian man’s calf. One’s group identity is often manifested by drawing from resources such as race, culture and language. The Japanese tattoo practice clearly highlights different cultural and linguistic norms between two groups of people (‘Japan Japanese’ vs. ‘local Japanese’) who, at least to some degree, share a ‘Japanese identity’. The two groups differ in the cultural values they assign to tattoos (stigmatised vs. accepted) and in their default language (Japanese vs. English). Somewhat counterintuitively, local Japanese and other locals, even when they do not share an ethnic background, do share culture and language, which means that the local Japanese identity is both easily expressed and more readily accepted. According to Irvine and Gal (2000/2009), linguistic forms and social phenomena can be symbolic of a specific sociolinguistic system, and a linguistic variety can index a specific social group. While local Japanese may look like Japanese from Japan, they act and talk differently. Irvine and Gal (2000/2009, 403) also state that speakers (and hearers) often notice, rationalise and justify what is being indexed with linguistic information, thereby creating linguistic ideologies that purport to explain the source and meaning of the linguistic differences. Hawaii local Japanese tattoos exemplify how the ‘same’ people transform their identities across time and space through mobility.

Acknowledgements

I sincerely thank the journal’s editor and two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments on earlier draft. My sincere thanks also go to the University of Hawaii (Department of Linguistics and the Charlene Sato Center for Pidgin, Creole and Dialect Studies) for their institutional support for this project. I wish to thank Adam Jaworski, Kira Hall and Joseph Park for helpful feedback on an earlier version of this paper. I am greatly indebted to the following individuals for their invaluable assistance and encouragement at various stages of this project: Laurie Durand, Katie Drager, Gavin Furukawa, Benjamin George, Christine Jourdan, Kenneth Rehg, Kent Sakoda and Lionel Wee. I would also like to express my sincere gratitude to ArtsySF © ~ Marjie, and Mr. Nishikawa of *Uomo* magazine, who kindly gave me permission to include the artwork used in this paper.

Funding

I gratefully acknowledge the financial and institutional support given to this project by the National University of Singapore FRC Research Grant (AY2012-15).

Notes

1. The ages mentioned in this paper are based on the dates of the postings.
2. <http://www.rankmytattoos.com/Hawaii/Honolulu/14579.html>
3. <http://www.rankmytattoos.com/tattoo-designs/hawaiian-tattoo-11530296811616.html>
4. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/marjosfo/814472480>
5. The official spelling of the state’s name is Hawai’i; however, it is spelled Hawaii when it appears so in the source of direct quotation.
6. Miami Ink, aired on 3/7/2006 as ‘Episode 18: Rock ‘n’ Roll All Night’.

7. For general information on the popularity of Japanese surnames in Hawaii, see Williams (2011).
8. <http://alohakaeru.blog62.fc2.com/blog-entry-393.html>
9. <http://ameblo.jp/namanchu66m/entry-11111935846.html>
10. http://www.cutehawaii.com/hawaii_life/2007/120
11. As opposed to the large, whole-back or whole-body tattoos more common among the yakuza in Japan.
12. <http://blogs.yahoo.co.jp/mgandy2007/21414658.html>
13. <http://ashura.blog.mo-hawaii.com/201.html>
14. <http://alohakaeru.blog62.fc2.com/blog-entry-548.html>
15. http://www.rankmytattoos.com/Hawaii/Kahalu_U/6027.html
16. <http://www.ratemyink.com/?action=ssp&pid=52840>

References

- Agha, Asif. 2011a. "Large and Small Scale Forms of Personhood." *Language & Communication* 31 (3): 171–180. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2011.02.006.
- Agha, Asif. 2011b. "Meet Mediatization." *Language & Communication* 31 (3): 163–170. doi:10.1016/j.langcom.2011.03.006.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2007. "Sociolinguistic Scales." *Intercultural Pragmatics* 4 (1): 1–19. doi:10.1515/IP.2007.001.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, Jan, and Jie Dong. 2010. "Language and Movement in Space." In *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*, edited by Nikolas Coupland, 366–385. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bucholtz, Mary. 2003. "Sociolinguistic Nostalgia and the Authentication of Identity." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (3): 398–416. doi:10.1111/1467-9481.00232.
- Bucholtz, Mary. 2004. "Styles and Stereotypes: The Linguistic Negotiation of Identity among Laotian American Youth." *Pragmatics* 14 (2/3): 127–147. <http://elanguage.net/journals/pragmatics/article/viewFile/430/362>
- Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall. 2004. "Theorizing Identity in Language and Sexuality Research." *Language in Society* 33 (4): 501–547. doi:10.1017/S0047404504334020.
- Fairclough, Norman. 1992. *Discourse and Social Change*. London: Polity Press.
- Fujita, Shiori. 2011. "Irezumi/Tattoo Aesthetics and Antisocialism." BA thesis, Meiji Gakuin University.
- Haruta, Kunio. 1994. "Research of Ishiki Kai Ordinance: The Conflict of Westernization and the Common People's Life in Japan." *Beppu Junior College Kiyô* 13: 33–48. <http://repo.beppu-u.ac.jp/modules/xoonips/detail.php?id=tk01304>
- Irvine, Judith T., and Susan Gal. 2000/2009. "Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation." In *Linguistic Anthropology Reader*, 2nd ed., edited by Alessandro Duranti, 402–435. Singapore: SPi Publisher for Wiley-Blackwell.
- Jaworski, Adam. 2014. "Metrolingual Art: Multilingualism and Heteroglossia." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 18 (2): 134–158.
- Jaworski, Adam, and Crispin Thurlow. 2010. *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space*. London: Continuum.
- Joseph, May. 2007. "Old Routes, Mnemonic Traces." In *Cultures of Trade: Indian Ocean Exchanges*, edited by Devleena Ghosh, and Stephen Muecke, 62–75. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.
- Kawamoto, Kevin Y. 1993. "Hegemony and Language Policies in Hawaii." *World Englishes* 12 (2): 193–207. doi:10.1111/j.1467-971X.1993.tb00021.x.
- Kress, Gunther. 2010. *Multimodality: A Social Semiotic Approach to Contemporary Communication*. London: Routledge.
- Kress, Gunther, and Theo van Leeuwen. 2001. *Multimodal Discourse: The Modes and Media of Contemporary Communication*. London: Arnold.
- Kroon, Sjaak, Jie Dong, and Jan Blommaert. 2011. "Truly Moving Texts." *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, paper 3. Accessed February 13, 2013. http://www.tilburguniversity.edu/upload/9337fbc1-3723-474c-bf53_c9e457562bb2_tpcs%20paper3.pdf

- Lind, Andrew. 1938. *An Island Community: Ecological Succession in Hawaii*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Maher, John C. 2005. "Metroethnicity, Language, and the Principle of Cool." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 11: 83–102. <http://www.degruyter.com/view/j/ijsl.2005.2005.issue-175-176/ijsl.2005.2005.175-176.83/ijsl.2005.2005.175-176.83.xml>
- McCurry, Justin. 2012. "Mayor of Osaka launches crusade against tattoos." *The Guardian*. Accessed April 26, 2013. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/17/mayor-osaka-tattoos>
- Okamura, Jonathan. 1994. "Why There Are No Asian Americans in Hawai'i: The Continuing Significance of Local Identity." *Social Process in Hawai'i* 35: 161–178.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2012. *Language and Mobility: Unexpected Places*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Robbins, Brian. 2006. "When East Meets West on the Skin: An Analysis of Tattoos, Meaning, and Imagery of the New Age Movement." *The University of Alabama McNair Journal* 6 (Spring): 159–170. <http://graduate.ua.edu/mcnair/journals/2006/BrianRobbins.pdf>
- Rosa, John. 2000. "Local Story: The Massie Case Narrative and the Cultural Production of Local Identity in Hawai'i." *Amerasia Journal* 26 (2): 93–115. <https://aascpress.metapress.com/content/d8225q1252246575/resource-secured/?target=fulltext.pdf>
- Scollon, Ron. 1998. *Mediated Discourse as Social Interaction: A Study of News Discourse*. London: Longman.
- Scollon, Ron, and Suzie W. Scollon. 2003. *Discourses in Place: Language in the Material World*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Sweetman, Paul. 1999. "Anchoring the (Postmodern) Self? Body Modification, Fashion and Identity." *Body & Society* 5 (2/3): 51–76. doi:10.1177/1357034X99005002004.
- Thurlow, Crispin, and Adam Jaworski. 2003. "Communicating a Global Reach: Inflight Magazines as a Globalizing Genre in Tourism." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4): 579–606. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9841.2003.00243.x.
- Wagenvoord, James. 2006. *Miami Ink: Marked for Greatness*. Des Moines, IA: TLC & Meredith Books.
- Williams, A. R. 2011. "What's in a Surname? A National Geographic Map of American Surnames, Color-Coded for Ancestry." Accessed September 4, 2012. <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2011/02/geography/usa-surnames-interactive>
- Woolard, K. A. 1998. "Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 8 (1): 3–29. doi:10.1525/jlin.1998.8.1.3.