

Gavin Lamb

## “Mista, Are You in a Good Mood?”: Stylization to Negotiate Interaction in an Urban Hawai’i Classroom

**Abstract:** The transgressive use of language by out-group speakers, or crossing is used in a variety of ways to achieve both affiliative and disaffiliative ends among youths. However, crossing can also be used as an affiliative resource in asymmetrical power relations between teachers and students. Reporting on the findings of a 1.5 year ethnography of an English/language arts classroom at a multilingual and multiethnic public middle school in Hawai’i, this paper explores one teacher’s use of stylization practices which take the form of crossing. The teacher stylizes students’ voices through ventriloquizing, which is an affiliative resource when strategically embedded in ritual oppositional frames of interaction. However, when embedded in other interactional frames, this transgressive use of language results in acts of insult or mocking. I analyze audio recordings of naturally occurring interaction to explore how Hawai’i Creole (or Pidgin) is used transgressively in reported speech by the teacher, an “out-group” individual, for negotiating interactions in his English language arts classroom. Instances of transgressive language emerge as artfully performed strategies that provide a rich site for the construction of affiliative identities. The use of crossing allows the teacher to take liminal stances between offense and respect to strategically manage student participation in this diverse classroom. These findings point to the important role that crossing plays in acts of identity through reported speech where the performance of crossing within positively valued, jocular oppositional classroom rituals demonstrates the capacity for crossing as a contributing factor to the emergence of a shared sense of community in the classroom.

**Keywords:** stylization, teacher-student interaction, crossing, Hawai’i Creole

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Gavin Lamb, Department of Second Language Studies, University of Hawai’i at Mānoa, Moore Hall 570 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, HI 96822, USA, E-mail: lambg@hawaii.edu

# 1 Introduction

Research on youth culture has explored a range of stylization practices (Bucholtz 2011; Chun 2009; Rampton 1995, 2006; Reyes 2007; Talmy 2008), revealing how “contemporary urban vernaculars” (Rampton 2011a) are used in the formation of youth identities and how stylization practices negotiate the boundaries between affiliative acts of identity and insult. Less research has explored how adults and, in particular, teachers use stylization in their daily interactions with their students. The current study explores how stylization is used by one teacher, Mr. Cal<sup>1</sup>, with his students in a multilingual Hawai’i public middle school classroom. I argue that the teacher’s stylization practices of affiliative crossing and disaffiliative crossing (mocking) are resources for negotiating “boundaries” of diversity in an ethnically and linguistically diverse classroom context. When the teacher stylizes students’ use of Hawai’i Creole (HC), or Pidgin<sup>2</sup>, in reported speech, the framing (Goffman 1974) within which his stylized utterances are embedded shape the outcome of their interpretation as affiliative or disaffiliative. These stylization practices can also be used to indirectly index a field (Eckert 2008) of more macro categories of migration and social class, highlighting elements of a hegemonic institutional structure that the teacher and students in the classroom inhabit (Rampton 2011b: 1239). This last point highlights how stylizing HC is located in a style polarity with middle-class standard or Mainstream U.S. English (MUSE) (Lippi-Green 1997) making relevant indexical interpretations that may polarize ethnolinguistic difference, power asymmetries and sociocultural values in this sociolinguistic ecosystem.

## 1.1 Hawai’i Creole and local/non-local identity categories in Hawai’i

Hawai’i has experienced various influences of language contact at least since 1778 with colonial exploration of the Pacific. A pidgin emerged in the 1800s

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<sup>1</sup> All names of both individuals and institutions in this study have been given pseudonyms to protect anonymity.

<sup>2</sup> “Pidgin” is the term used most widely in Hawai’i to refer to the range of language varieties associated with Hawai’i Creole, often using the descriptors “heavy” and “light” to characterize realizations of HC that fall more on the basilectal or accrolectal spectrum respectively. The term Hawai’i Creole is for the most part only used by linguists to highlight the fact that it used as a first language by the vast majority of its speakers and is therefore technically a creole rather than a pidgin language.

among immigrant sugar plantation workers which primarily had English as a lexifier but with influences from Hawaiian, Portuguese, Cantonese, Japanese, Ilokano, and to a limited degree Spanish, by immigrants from Puerto Rico. By the early 1900s the children of these immigrants had transformed this pidgin into HC (known locally as Pidgin), using it and other languages with their families as well as other children at school. Currently, around half the population in Hawai'i or as many as 600,000 speakers are believed to use HC (Sakoda & Siegel 2003). Many speakers of HC also use Hawai'i English (Sato 1993), a local variety of English with phonological similarities to HC, often making it difficult for both speakers and linguists to draw clear-cut distinctions between accretional varieties of HC and Hawai'i English. For speakers from the mainland US like Mr. Cal, more subtle phonological aspects of Hawai'i English may be ideologically lumped together with HC and thus be seen as a single language variety.

HC is also used alongside Hawai'i English and MUSE both in the media (radio, television, performing arts) and the linguistic landscape (street signs, bumper stickers, T-shirts, and advertisements) of Hawai'i (see Higgins in press; Hiramoto 2011). Historically perceived as a marker of local (non-white) and working-class identity, it has been seen as a barrier to socio-economic mobility and with a general sense of stigmatization when used in educational and professional contexts (Sato 1989). Despite this public awareness of HC's stigmatization, however, there are many accounts of speakers using it in a wide range of contexts and expressing pride in using it as a marker of local identity (Higgins & Furukawa 2012; Marlow & Giles 2010).

A key focus of this analysis for understanding Mr. Cal's stylization is how he recognizes and draws on what he sees as salient linguistic features of HC.<sup>3</sup> Further, because his use of HC involves performances where putting his utterance on display "opens it to scrutiny by an audience" (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 73), both his achievement of these linguistic features and the stances (Jaffe 2009) he takes up in his use of HC are publicly available to be evaluated by his students who are users of HC. Some of the main features of HC Mr. Cal and his

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**3** When describing HC in relation to MUSE, there is a danger in describing its features in deficit terms due to the fact that HC uses English as a lexifier, potentially leading to perceptions of it as a reduced or simplified variety of English. Further complicating this is the fact that most speakers of HC are bilingual in different varieties of HC in addition to Hawai'i English/MUSE (and in Valley Middle School, often other languages as well). A key site for future research is to explore the linguistic realization of stylized HC more precisely, for example how certain features are selectively drawn on, to what degree these features are congruent with actual phonological processes in HC, and hence how they are (mis)realized by "outgroup" speakers (see Bell & Gibson 2011).

**Table 1:** Phonological descriptions of HC that appear in the excerpts

linguistic feature in HC	example	HC	equivalent in MUSE
words where you would expect to find [r]-colored vowels in MUSE, are realized with regular vowels in HC.	mister	[mɪstə]	[mɪstə]
	figure	[fɪgə]	[fɪgə]
where you find post-vocalic [r]'s in MUSE you would find [a] in HC, with variation in the realization of [a]	for	[foa] ~ [fo]	[fɔ] ~ [fə]
	more	[moa] ~ [mo]	[mɔ] ~ [mou]
	where	[wea] ~ [we]	[weɪ] ~ [hweɪ]
monophthongization	you	[ju]	[ju]
	go	[go]	[go]
	break	[brɛk]	[brɛk]
	away	[awe]	[əweɪ]
no interdental fricatives in HC	the	[dʌ] ~ [dɑ]	[ðʌ]
	then	[den]	[ðen]
	like	[laɪdɪs]	[laɪk ðɪs]
	this	[dɪs]	
post-vocalic [l]-vocalization	already	[ɑɹedi]	[ɔɹedi]

students use in the excerpts are listed in Table 1<sup>4</sup> above (see Sakoda & Siegel 2003 for a linguistic overview of HC and Sakoda & Siegel 2004 for an overview of HC phonology in particular).

A rhythmic aspect of HC that further distinguishes it from MUSE is that it is a “syllable-timed” language, where the amplitude and duration of each syllable in an utterance tends to be more equally prominent than in a “stress-timed” language-like MUSE. Mr. Cal makes use of this syllable timing in his stylization of HC. To illustrate this, a sample from my data set, *mo pau da staf, put'um awe awredi den* (we're finished with the stuff, put it all away now) spoken by a student shows that all syllables occur for the most part at equal intervals:

HC: /Mo /pau /da /staf /put'um /awe /aw /re /di /den  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

<sup>4</sup> The phonological descriptions in Table 1 are necessarily incomplete and do not represent an overview of the phonological processes of HC in question, but rather only different phonetic realizations of the lexical items in my data which are shared by both languages.



immigrants, the military, tourists, and foreign investors' (Okamura 1994: 165; cited in Talmy 2008: 624) comprise other identity categories subsumed under "non-Local." Because the use of HC is tightly bound ideologically with being born and raised in Hawai'i and often by those of a particular ethnolinguistic and socioeconomic background, the use of HC by a non-local can potentially be a risky practice, especially for a *haole* from the mainland US like Mr. Cal. For example, the use of HC by non-Locals has a high probability of being perceived by Locals as mocking, or at best an attempt at accommodation. Non-Local use of HC is particularly unusual in educational contexts since HC has traditionally been sanctioned in schools. The excerpts analyzed in this study show how Mr. Cal's stylization of HC is used as a resource for his negotiation of these membership categories in a multilingual public middle school in Hawai'i, where being categorized as Local includes speaking HC. It is in Mr. Cal's stylization within reported speech, I argue, that provide him with a resource to negotiate ethnolinguistic difference for both disaffiliative, and surprisingly, affiliative means while also engaging in linguistic practices that index these broader social categories through the semiotic processes of framing (Goffman 1974) and *tactics of intersubjectivity* (Bucholtz & Hall 2004, 2005). In taking up this approach in the analysis to follow, it is necessary to deal with the often ambiguous boundaries between disaffiliative and affiliative acts of stylization (i.e. mocking and accommodation) (Chun 2009). Further, it is important to determine how Mr. Cal frames his stylized utterances, as well as how he controls the various linguistic features of HC he uses in these different frames of interaction to negotiate his ownership of HC with his students.

## 2 Performance in stylization: framing, ambiguity, and reported speech

### 2.1 Framing and ambiguity in the performance of stylization and crossing

This paper focuses on two contrastive ends of crossing, linguistic acts of identity and linguistic acts of insult, to understand the ways in which Mr. Cal, a *haole* or non-Local, Caucasian male teacher from the U.S. mainland, uses stylization of HC. These consequences of crossing result from either affiliating with students' ways of speaking, moving from English towards HC, or acts of insult or *mocking* (Hill 1995; see Furukawa this issue) the students' ways of speaking, which

Mr. Cal largely achieves through Mock Pidgin, or strategically inauthentic (Coupland 2007) use of HC. Mr. Cal's discursive movement across this spectrum of crossing is located in a complex web of semiotic resources for negotiating identity relations in a particular sociolinguistic ecosystem. To analyze the data, I draw on research on language use in contexts of linguistic heteroglossia (Bailey 2012; Bakhtin 1981; Rampton 1995, 2006) that explore the multivocality (Higgins 2009) and ambiguity (Chun 2009) in stylization practices. When Mr. Cal stylizes HC in interaction with his students, the "indexical valence" (Ochs 1996) of his utterances depends on various interactional framings. These interactional framings involve the embedding of multiple frames of interaction: moment-by-moment interpersonal frames where affective and epistemic stances are taken up, genre framing tied to particular speech genres associated with both his institutional identity as a teacher and more interpersonal identity with students as a friend or simply adult (e.g. lecturing vs. storytelling) and finally, a broader sociocultural framing (Goffman 1974). This last type of framing involves the presuppositions, expectations and more explicit language ideologies indexing Mr. Cal's and his students' acculturated "knowledge and experience of participation in larger social systems" (Rampton 2013: 1). This larger sociolinguistic system involves the linguistic resources of HC, Hawai'i English and MUSE and constitutes a semiotic ecology where power, prestige, and intimacy are both interpersonally and ideologically negotiated in interaction.

In Chun's (2009) analysis of the discourse of Asian immigrant and non-immigrant youth in a Texas high school, the sometimes ambiguous boundaries between accommodation and mocking in non-immigrant Asian students' stylization of immigrant students' language led her to argue that "these cases of ambiguity are not problems in need of resolution but complexities of social meaning that speakers are well equipped to manage" (p. 19). This well-equippedness to deal with these complexities in social meaning is seen through Mr. Cal's *performance* (Bauman 1977) in reported speech, where he makes immediately relevant "a display of communicative competence" (p. 11) in his use of HC to his students. This is reminiscent of how Chun (2004) describes the comedian Margaret Cho's shifting "between serious narratives and humorous portrayals of characters" (p. 281) in her stand-up comedy performances. While stand-up comedy as a staged performance may on the surface seem radically different from everyday interaction, research on performance in sociolinguistics (see Bell and Gibson 2011), especially research on stylization (Coupland 2001, 2007; Rampton 1995) has shown how performance is a crucial component of negotiating, reflecting and reproducing identities in everyday face-to-face interaction.

Since Mr. Cal's performance of stylization in both playful and serious/institutional frames of interaction "invoke, and may reproduce, the same set of

ideological meanings, such as ideologies about language, race, gender, and community membership” (Chun 2004: 281), analyzing the semiotic processes involved in the framing of his stylization of HC is central to understanding the sometimes ambiguous indexical meanings of his crossing into HC. In other words, embedding crossing in different frames of interaction provides individuals who use “outgroup language” with a resource to negotiate a discursive space where ideological social orders may be either reproduced or potentially reimagined. This last point, how and to what degree different macro-sociological indexical orders (Silverstein 2003) are invoked through various frames of interaction, is crucial to analyzing how Mr. Cal achieves affiliative and disaffiliative stances in his use of HC with his students. The discursive practices analyzed in this paper, then, explore how these different frames of interaction contribute to the interactional and ideological work accomplished with crossing in instances of Mr. Cal’s stylization of HC.

## 2.2 Reported speech and (in)authenticity in stylization

The overwhelming majority of Mr. Cal’s stylization of HC occurred in his reported speech of other students, and in particular, through *ventriloquizing* (Tannen 2007), or the stylization of another’s immediately previous utterance *in that person’s presence*. As the interpretive outcome of stylization partly depends on the frame of interaction in which it emerges, stylization may be constructed as a positive alignment with the style when embedded within a “play frame” (Goffman 1974). However, when this frame is not “in play,” stylization through ventriloquizing may take the form of mocking. Chun (2009) points out, drawing on the work of Bakhtin, how mimicking others’ voices may attribute negative value to the person being mimicked or mocked, where “the mocker’s voice enters a dialogic relationship (Bakhtin 1981, 1984) with the voice it mocks, structurally merging with it in the moment yet implicitly distinct and superior” (Chun 2009: 20). Analyzing how these frames emerge in interaction allows us to see how the act of stylization through ventriloquizing alters these frames in which Mr. Cal’s crossing gravitates towards either acts of insult (mocking) or positively aligned acts of identity, which I refer to as *affiliative crossing* in this paper. Finally, the interactional framing of an utterance through reported speech may be doing strategic identity work for interlocutors to negotiate the ambiguous boundaries between affiliation and mocking in risky discursive acts like crossing where issues of ethnolinguistic authenticity and ownership over linguistic resources come to the fore. For example, in one of our conversations, Mr. Cal expressed that when using HC there is a risk of him sounding like



a “poser” or an inauthentic user of the language and thus he only uses it when he is “being funny.” This again highlights the performative nature of his use of HC in the following excerpts and ultimately how he navigates this sociolinguistic ecosystem through *strategic inauthenticity* (Coupland 2007) in stylizing his students’ voices.

### 3 Context and methodology

This study is based on a 1.5 year period of data collection at Valley Middle School (pseudonym), located in an urban area of Hawai’i. My analysis focuses on the stylization practices of Mr. Cal, a *haole* teacher in an English/language arts classroom consisting of Local Hawai’i-born and both Local and non-Local generation 1.5 students. The generation 1.5 students included both Local or “old-timer” generation 1.5 students who demonstrated “cultural knowledge of and affiliation with Local culture, cultural forms, and social practices; experience with US and Hawai’i school expectations and practices,” and in relation to the non-Local generation 1.5 students, a “difference from newcomer or lower-L2-proficient classmates” (Talmy 2008: 625). Valley Middle School is comprised of a relatively large population of students of which over 90% are of Asian/Pacific Islander ethnicity, serving a lower to working class community where many of the students live with their families in government subsidized housing projects.

Following research that has aimed to explicate both the micro processes of everyday interaction while maintaining an analytic interest in engaging with broader macro social categories such as language ideology, ethnicity, social class, and migration (Mehan 1998; Rampton 1995, 2006; Talmy 2008), I use the methodological frameworks of ethnographic discourse analysis and interactional sociolinguistics (Erickson 2004; Gumperz 2003) as they allow for the detailed and ethnographically informed exploration of stylization practices (Bakhtin 1984; Chun 2009; Rampton 1995). Each example I analyze highlights the different kinds of frames in which stylization occurs and how different indexical relations of stylization are accomplished through these different frames. The analysis of transcribed audio-recordings focuses on the patterning of contextualization cues in co-occurrence with different linguistic resources for stylization in the unfolding frames of interaction. As participants negotiate interpersonal alignments and stances (Ochs 1992), or orientations towards these frames in the interaction, stylization emerges as a creative resource for mediating identity relations in Mr. Cal’s classroom.

Mr. Cal moved to Hawai’i in the early 2000s to receive his teaching credentials and begin his career as a teacher in public school education after spending

his high school years and his twenties being “a street kid,” as he put it, on the continental U.S., or the *mainland*, as it is referred to in Hawai’i. He had been teaching at this particular public middle school for approximately six years. In my interviews with Mr. Cal however, he repeatedly described his positive relations or rapport with the students as one of the central factors in his teaching practice and one of the main reasons for his desire to continue teaching at this academically struggling public school. An example of this comes in the following informal interview, one of the first I conducted with him, where I was interested in his general thoughts on his teaching practice and challenges he faces at the institution he was teaching in.

Excerpt 1 Mr. Cal Interview: Rapport (see Appendix for transcription conventions):

- 1 Gavin: What’s the general situation that you’re teaching in (0.2) you know it’s uh- (0.4) th- the teachers that you work with y’know, the situation being there as kinda uh- (0.2) what are your thoughts about the school?
- 2 Mr. Cal: Oh I love the school, I would never work anywhere else.
- 3 Gavin: why is that?
- 4 Mr. Cal: Uh I like the students uh, I like some of the people I’ve been there with for uh- (0.2) six years. But the students, uh, I wouldn’t teach any other students.
- 5 Gavin Why, what about the students that you like uh-
- 6 Mr. Cal: U::m just, I uh, I have a good rapport with them (.) it’s easy for the way that I am it’s easy for me to develop a rapport with those types of kids, who are uh (0.2) street kids because (0.4) I didn’t grow up like them but as I got to be in my teens and stuff I was running down the streets too so (0.5) I understand where they’re coming from and where they’re going a lot of them.
- 7 Gavin: So it um helps you relate to the student then?
- 8 Mr. Cal: Yeah, definitely.

In my interviews with him, Mr. Cal’s own personal history frequently came up as a resource of commonality between him and the students. This commonality often served as an affiliative resource that was based on similar experiences related to the categorization of himself and his students as being “street kids.” His belief in shared experiences, I argue, plays a role in his use of his stylization. As Rampton (2013) concludes, the achievement of crossing in multilingual educational contexts leads to “changes in the social distribution and in the

symbolic valuation of originally migrant speech forms [...] where solidarities emerge from common activities, common problems, pleasures and expectations” (5). However, the “migrant speech forms” Rampton refers to, in this case, are represented by HC, a majority language in Hawai’i, albeit one that is often stigmatized vis-a-vis MUSE, particularly in schooling (Eades *et al.* 2006).

## 4 Data analysis

The five excerpts analyzed below explore the spectrum of crossing that I observed in Mr. Cal’s classroom, moving from a disaffiliative act of insult to more affiliative acts of identity. The final excerpt exemplifies how hegemonic language ideologies invoked by Mr. Cal’s stylization in a heightened frame of performance are negotiated and even challenged by the students themselves, demonstrating the potential for crossing to not only reproduce dominant ideologies but also provide the conditions for subverting them in affiliative ways.

### 4.1 Mock Pidgin: stylization as an act of insult in frames of language correction

The following excerpt shows how Mr. Cal invokes basic dualistic cultural and natural semiotic templates (Bourdieu 1991) through Mock Pidgin. The ideologies indirectly indexed by Mr. Cal’s use of “Mock Pidgin,” a hyper-exaggerated, stereotyped stylization of HC, engage both the broader discourses of HC’s stigmatized status in Hawai’i in addition to the mocked student’s linguistic competency (Agha 2007; Rampton 2003). This highlights how his stylization engages with the identity tactics of *distinction* and *illegitimation* (Bucholtz & Hall 2004, 2005) and how these tactics are used to navigate ethnolinguistic difference, institutional ideologies and power relations. As opposed to its counter-tactic of *adequation*, where social difference is suppressed to emphasize social sameness, the identity tactic of *distinction*, broadened from Bourdieu’s (1984) original theorizing of social distinction, deemphasizes social sameness in accentuating difference. *Illegitimation*, in contrast to its counterpart *authorization* (see Sharma this issue), refers to how “identities are dismissed, censored, or simply ignored” (2005: 603) through institutional discourses of ideology and power. While the affiliative or disaffiliative outcome of these tactics are highly dependent on the framing and stances taken up in the emerging context of interaction, they provide fundamental resources for Mr. Cal to negotiate identity relations through his crossing into HC.

Although the overwhelming majority of instances of stylizing by Mr. Cal were embedded in “playful” frames that allowed him to build positive alignments with the students, there were instances when his stylization of HC clearly had the opposite effect, in particular when foregrounding the rights and obligations of his institutional identity as teacher (i.e. correcting students’ language). This framing of his stylization with disaffiliative consequences is highlighted in the excerpt below where he shifts frames from humorous storytelling to language/grammar-correction. This interaction occurred immediately after Mr. Cal and his students were having a playful conversation during the break between class periods (see excerpt 2) about a broken ceiling fan in the classroom which one of the students, Matthew, had broken “on accident” a few days earlier. Mr. Cal’s stylized Mock Pidgin occurs in line 35:

Excerpt 1: “Wai yu brokt it?”<sup>7</sup>

- 22 Mr. Cal: did I yell at you  
 23 Mat: °ah no° (0.4) but you were gonna do it  
 24 Bea: he was gonna put it ↑ba:ck you ↓know  
 25 Will: *Matth[ew wai yu ↑brokt ↓it*  
           *Matthew why you broked it*  
           *‘Matthew, why did you break it?’*  
 26 Mr. Cal: [who Matthew  
 27 Bea: yeah  
 28 (1.2)  
 29 Mr. Cal: Will (.) >there’s no such word as broked <  
 30 Will: °a ↑yu fo ↓ri:l°  
           are you for real  
           *‘are you for real?’*  
 31 Mr. Cal: bro[ke it  
 32 Bea: [how did you brok-

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<sup>7</sup> Although mixing and codeswitching between language varieties (variants of English, HC, and other Asian/Pacific languages used in this classroom) is common throughout my data, I use both italics and the orthographic system developed by Carol Odo (1975, 1977) in representing clear instances of Mr. Cal’s and the students’ HC, a system mainly used by linguists. For a more thorough linguistic overview of Pidgin see Sakoda & Siegel (2003).

- 33 (1.5)
- 34 Mat: it ↑jrap awn ↓mi  
it drop on me  
*'it dropped on me'*
- 35 Mr. Cal: **Matthew** ↑wai yu ↓brokt it  
Matthew why you broked it  
*'Matthew, why you broked it?'* ((in Mock Pidgin))
- 36 Will: hau yu ↑figa it brek ↓den ((addressed to Mat))  
how you figure it break then  
*'How do you figure it broke then?'*
- 37 Mat: I don't [know
- 38 S?: [he was jumping and
- 39 Students: [(xxx)
- 40 Will: [(jumps Several times))
- 41 Bea: I told you guys he was jumping and then he whacked it.

In line 30, Mr. Cal exercises his perceived rights as a final arbiter of acceptable language as a teacher thereby claiming authority over the non-existence of certain words and in turn indirectly indexing the hegemonic language ideology of MUSE in this English classroom. In response, Will, whose language is being deemed “wrong,” illegitimizes Mr. Cal’s authority with his utterance in HC “are ↑yu fo ↓real” in line 31. Will’s disaffiliative stance, and the lack of shared laughter by the students show that Mr. Cal’s stylization here is missing the affiliative framing present in the excerpts to follow. In line 35, through a shift in footing, Mr. Cal ventriloquizes the exact words just uttered by Will treating his utterance in line 25 as linguistically problematic and draws on an exaggerated realization of HC’s high-to-low intonational pattern for yes-no questions, in combination with retaining the “non-existent” word item under scrutiny: “broked.” Through his shift to a serious and linguistically confrontational frame, then, Mr. Cal’s stylization of HC is negatively, or at best, neutrally taken up by the students and interpretable as an act of insult through Mock Pidgin. By ventriloquizing Will’s utterance as a strategy to correct his language, Mr. Cal’s Mock Pidgin indirectly indexes several ideologically motivated social binaries. He invokes the binary Local/non-Local associated with ethnicity and language practices in Hawai’i through his stylization of Will’s intonational patterns and lexical choices as markers of Local linguistic practices. Embedded in this particular framing above, then, Mr. Cal’s Mock Pidgin reflects and reproduces hegemonic ideologies (Hill 1995) of MUSE/HC in Hawai’i. In particular, these ideologies involve the juxtaposition and emphasized distinction

between HC and MUSE, indexing the linked normative social class polarizations of high/low (superiority/inferiority, social distance/solidarity), reason/emotion (vigor/constraint, educated/un-educated) in addition to the ethnolinguistic binary of Local/non-Local. His Mock Pidgin in this instance also overlaps with the varidirectional mocking (Bakhtin 1984) explored in Chun (2009) in which “the represented voice was the object of derisive commentary, even if playfully so” (21). By simultaneously invoking his institutional identity as a teacher and positioning himself authoritatively above his student’s voice through the tactics of illegitimation and distinction, he indexes linked normative polarizations associated with HC/MUSE in Hawai’i, taking a stance that draws on stereotypes of HC for the purpose of confrontationally drawing attention to and mocking language use, and thus ultimately resulting in the disaffiliative outcome of his crossing as an act of insult.

## 4.2 Affiliative crossing in non-institutionally framed performances of HC

Though Mr. Cal may come across as callous in the transcript of excerpt 1, it is important to point out that he often used a playfully confrontational style of interaction with the students tinged with humor and sarcasm. Hence, it is not simply his confrontational conversational style that makes his stylization read as an act of insult (i.e., Mock Pidgin). Rather, it is the act of embedding his stylization in different frames that allows him to achieve affiliative or disaffiliative crossing. As this section will demonstrate, most of the time, he embedded his sarcastic and jocularly oppositional stance within mini-performances in the classroom, ventriloquating students’ voices in storytelling and achieving more positive outcomes.

Moving from a disaffiliative outcome of crossing (i.e. mocking) in excerpt 1, the following excerpt highlights how Mr. Cal interactionally achieves affiliative crossing through the framing of his stylization outside of institutionally framed moments of “teaching.” Excerpt 2 shows how Mr. Cal and his students engage in a kind of verbal duel or playful banter during the break between class periods when institutional roles were slackened and more symmetrical power relations were foregrounded between Mr. Cal and his students. The banter was ritualized in that performances such as this one were part of a routinized discursive practice I observed in his classroom over the 1.5 years of my field work. The example begins when a student asks Mr. Cal about the broken fan in the classroom, the topic of the previous excerpt as well. Mr. Cal then begins telling the story of what happened just

after one of the students had broken the fan. The instance of Mr. Cal's stylization occurs in lines 14–15:

Excerpt 2: Mista<sup>8</sup>, what haepen tu da fan?

- 1 Will: *Mista* [mɪstɑ] *wat hæpen tu da ʃæn*  
Mister what happened to the fan  
'Mister, what happened to the fan?'
- 2 Student 1: Ryan has it [Chris has the other one. ((in the background))]
- 3 Will: [*Mista* (1.2) *wat hæpen tu da ʃæn*  
Mister what happened to the fan  
'Mister, what happened to the fan']
- 4 (0.6)
- 5 Bea: Matthew Lupert broke it ((exaggerated pitch))
- 6 Will: Matthew ((laughing)) (xxx)
- 7 Students: (xxx)
- 8 Mr. Cal: dude, you shoulda seen how >I don't know< he was  
9 goofin around when yesterday I came walking in  
10 he goes (0.7) you were standin over there who were  
11 you with?  
12 (0.4)
- 13 Matt: with Aaron and,  
14 **Mr. Cal:** with Aaron when Aaron goes (0.4) mista [mɪstɑ] (.) are ↑you  
15 **in a good** ↓moo::d
- 16 Students: ((laughter))
- 17 Mr. Cal: I'm like ↑*ye:ah*, I'm like ↓*why*,  
18 he goes (0.2) cause Ma- Mathew broke the fan
- 19 Students: ((laughter))
- 20 Mr. Cal: and Matthew was like ((frowns, hunched shoulders))
- 21 Students: ((laughter))
- 22 Mr. Cal: did I yell at you
- 23 Matt: °ah no° (.4) but you were gonna do it
- 24 Bea: he was gonna put it back you ↓know.

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<sup>8</sup> Mister/'Mista' [mɪstɑ] (or "Miss" if the teacher is female) is a polite form of address for teachers used by local students in Hawai'i.

In line 8, Mr. Cal deploys “dude” as a tactic of adequation whereby the power differential in the institutional roles between student and teacher are rendered less relevant and the interpersonal relations foregrounded in the interaction. He often used the non-Local vocatives “dude,” “bro” and “man” (and only rarely the Local vocative “bra”) with students but it is noteworthy that these non-Local terms of address were never used by the students to address Mr. Cal in my data. Notably, students exclusively addressed Mr. Cal as “Mista” in my data (Mr. Cal often using this as a tactic to animate a student's voice, underscoring the institutional identity they ascribed to him as a teacher. Further, although the content of Mr. Cal's interactive story is rhetorically built around two institutional roles (a teacher in a position to punish a student; a student showing worry about being punished), it is in the reimagining and thus positive revaluing of this possibly conflictive event where crossing occurs.

In keeping with his classroom persona, Mr. Cal continually “up-keys” (Goffman 1974) the informal and humorous frame of the narrative through a successive deployment of rhetorical and prosodic resources in his initial narration of the event, including the telling of interpersonal topics, and an increase in tempo. Eliciting students' participation in the reconstruction of a past event (i.e., lines 10–11 and 22,) allows Mr. Cal to change the activity frame from that of assigning blame to a particular student to the cooperative negotiation of moral and epistemic stances with those involved in the event.

Stylization occurs with Mr. Cal's use of reported speech in lines 14 and 15, where he ventriloquizes the voice of a Local Hawai'i student (who was present) by his use of “mista” [mista] in line 14, coupled with expressive prosodic elements such as exaggerated high-to-low pitch contour on “are ↑you in a good ↓moo::d.” Though HC exhibits such pitch contours, Mr. Cal's performance is over the top in its high and low ranges. Nevertheless, the stylization comes off positively, and there are moments of shared laughter among the students (lines 16, 19 and 21), providing the contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982, 1992) crucial for both recognizing and establishing the positively aligned, shared frames of interaction between the teacher and his students. Keying the narrative as playful through the high performance frame, which allows for stylized HC, Mr. Cal is able to nudge the interaction towards a jocular oppositional frame, rather than an instance of mock language. As narrative rights become shared by participants in his storytelling, epistemic and moral stances become susceptible to subsequent reformulations, and it is in these reformulations of stance where Mr. Cal is able to leverage the use of stylization to achieve moments of affiliative crossing.



### 4.3 Affiliative crossing in institutionally framed performances of HC

In contrast to the previous excerpt which occurred during breaks between class sessions, the majority of affiliative crossing by Mr. Cal in my data occurred during institutionally framed sequences of teaching language arts content to the class. This seemed to be a recurrent strategy of relating the content of the lesson to students' daily life and experiences. Further, humor was often used, perhaps to ease the racial and linguistic tension where the teacher is a member of an ethnolinguistic and social class outgroup. In the following excerpt, Mr. Cal is engaged in the task of teaching literary devices from Walter Dean Myers' memoir, *Bad Boy*. The memoir recounts the story of a young African-American boy living in the Bronx in New York City, whose daily life consists of a variety of challenging events, such as gang violence, poverty and racial struggle. In the example, the teacher comments on a specific literary device used: sarcasm. During these kinds of activities where students learn specific vocabulary terms, Mr. Cal used a fairly common discourse strategy of building on his and the students shared experience through some kind of explanatory narrative. The interaction begins when Mr. Cal tries to find someone to read the next paragraph in the book aloud. Mr. Cal's stylization comes at line 27 in the excerpt:

#### Excerpt 3: Sarcasm

- 13 Mr. Cal: somebody volunteer or I'm gonna call on you (3.0) Mai very good.  
 14 Mai: << My business became less ° important ° as school started  
 15 as I had other things to think about, boys, °other girls gossip, °  
 16 you know, real important stuff >>  
 17 Mr. Cal: what does that sound like- there to you (0.5) "you know real  
 18 important stuff"  
 19 Mai: °proly sarcastic°  
 ((probably sarcastic))  
 20 Mr. Cal: thank you, say it nice and loud  
 21 Mai: °sarcastic°  
 22 Mr. Cal: sarcastic, the author's being sarcastic, so go ahead and label that  
 23 sarcasm. S-A-R-C-A-S-M ((spelling out each letter)) sar(.)casm  
 (0.2)  
 24 I'm sarcastic with you guys all the time.  
 25 >Like when you go- when I come back and I obviously just  
 brought

- 26 back food from < Ka-FK Kentucky Fried Chicken and you say to me  
 27 *mista (.) we ↑yu ↓it kentucky ↑fried ↓chicken*  
 mister where you eat kentucky fried chicken  
*'mister (.) where did you go eat? Kentucky Fried Chicken?'*  
 28 and I go no (.) Burger King.  
 29 Students: ((laughter))  
 30 Cal: I'm being sarcastic.

After a student reads the short excerpt, Mr. Cal asks the students to direct their attention to clarify a specific point in the paragraph in lines 17–18: “you know real important stuff.” Mr. Cal asks Mai to speak up after acknowledging “sarcastic” as being the correct answer, and after the student repeats her previous statement, he launches into a storytelling sequence in line 22. Here we see the cluster of prosodic features characterizing Mr. Cal’s recurrent high involvement conversational style (Tannen 1984) beginning in line 24: the telling of (inter) personal topics, faster conversational pacing, and an emphasis on dramatizing over lexicalizing events (i.e. conveying meaning through non-verbal modalities such as gesture, facial expression and posture) during the telling of the story to make his point. It is through these features that Mr. Cal accomplishes a shift in footing where, in this case, an interpersonally oriented frame is embedded within the overall task of learning literary devices, an initial strategy in gearing up for the establishment of a positively aligned narrative frame through the use of crossing. After initiating this playfully framed narrative, he begins describing a regularly occurring practice when he comes back to school after picking up lunch from the well-known U.S.-based fast-food chain restaurant Kentucky Fried Chicken (KFC). The pronoun “you” in Mr. Cal’s utterance in line 26, “...and you say to me” is addressing the entire class in this exchange and his stylization of HC through ventriloquizing comes in line 27, “*mista (.) we yu ↓it, kentucky ↑fried ↓chicken*” (*mister, where did you go eat? Kentucky Fried Chicken?*).

Here, Mr. Cal initiates a shift in footing through a change in the loudness, pitch, and tempo of the utterance and through layering various linguistic features, Mr. Cal indexes the students’ Local identity as an HC speaker in various ways: 1) through the utterance initial “*mista,*”; 2) through HC intonational patterns where the falling intonation on both “eat” and “chicken” index Mr. Cal’s perception of HC’s intonational patterns when asking questions; 3) through the simplification of tense, “*we yu eat,*” indexing Mr. Cal’s perception of HC as a form of simplified English and finally both a lower pitch and slower tempo in this stylization of students’ speech. Finally, in line 28, the punchline is reached, and Mr. Cal says

“no, Burger King”, again shifting footing back from reported speech to his normative speech register. The students align positively with shared laughter to Mr. Cal’s crossing into HC. It is unclear if the students are laughing about his language use, the example of sarcasm he provides, or more broadly indexed ethnolinguistic associations he invokes through his stylization, thus highlighting the reflexive discursive space of “language about language and culture about culture” (Bell and Gibson 2011: 562) opened up by Mr. Cal’s performance of HC. In any case, it seems clear that the students accept Mr. Cal’s crossing into HC as an affiliative move, even during an institutionally oriented task such as learning literary devices used in a novel. In summary, excerpts 2 and 3 provide a stark contrast to his crossing in excerpt 1 where Mr. Cal’s playful derision of a targeted student’s voice lacked any affiliative uptake by the students.

#### 4.4 Reproducing and challenging hegemonic ideologies of Mock Pidgin

Interwoven in all acts of Mr. Cal’s stylization of HC in the data thus far is the question of (in)authenticity (Coupland 2001) as it relates to affiliative or disaffiliative crossing. The style contrasts between MUSE and HC in the next excerpt provide an instance of how Mr. Cal’s use of Mock Pidgin in heightened frames of performance, even more so than the previous excerpts, draws on a strategic inauthenticity (Coupland 2007) highlighting both ethnolinguistic difference and his illegitimacy as a speaker of HC. By invoking the latter categories in the relational binaries of superiority/**inferiority**, reason/**emotion**, and high/**low** through his “over the top” use of HC, these categories are indirectly indexed through the affective stance Mr. Cal takes towards his projection of an HC speaker’s identity as a pouring out of carnal desire. Here the excerpt begins after I ask a student whether Mr. Cal is able to speak Pidgin. The student then passes the question along to Mr. Cal himself which initiates the highly performative framing of this interaction and when asked to “say anything in Pidgin,” by the student, Mr. Cal then performs HC “for show” (Coupland 2001: 347):

Excerpt 4: “Mister, can you say anything in Pidgin?”

- 37 Gavin can he say anything in Pidgin?  
 38 (1.4)  
 39 Jay MISTER CAN YOU SAY ANYTHING IN PIDGIN? ((shouting to Mr. Cal))

- 40 Gavin ((laughter))
- 41 Mr. Cal What?
- 42 Jay can you say anything Pidgin.
- 43 Mr. Cal Pidgin (0.8) yeah.
- 44 (3.0)
- 45 Student? talk.
- 46 Mr. Cal (o)kay.
- 47 Jay ((laughter))
- 48 Mr. Cal** *ai lai(k) wæ(k) wan plet go slip*  
 I like whack one plate go sleep  
*'I'd like to devour a plate lunch and go to sleep'*
- 49 students ((laughter))
- 50 Jay ma:::n
- 51 S? *Mista yu hafta du laidiss* (xxx)  
 mister, you hafta do like this  
*'mister, you have to do it like this'*
- 52 Jay sounds like ogre ((laughter))
- 53 Mia ((laughter))
- 54 Jay sounds like Mister J ((laughter))  
 ((Mister J is another teacher in this school who is Caucasian))
- 55 Mia ((laughter))

As a result of my own presence, Mr. Cal was elicited to “say something in Pidgin” by Jay from across the room, and this interactional exchange became the focus of the entire class when for a brief moment, Mr. Cal was “put on stage”. In this moment of performance, Mr. Cal’s stylization is expected to win approval and to entertain, but the student’s invitation for him to speak HC in front of the entire class also carries the potential for both subverting his authority as a teacher and authenticity as a speaker of HC. His turn on line 48 can be seen as Mock Pidgin for its simplistic representation of both the content of what can be said in HC and the form, due to its reduced grammatical aspects. Even worse, it presents a pejorative depiction of HC speakers as only interested in a limited range of recreational and carnal pursuits. By contrasting his voice with ideologized local ways of speaking, this instance of mocking shows Mr. Cal’s “knowing deployment of culturally familiar styles and identities that are marked as deviating from those predictably associated with the current speaking context” (Coupland 2001: 345). In other words, Mr. Cal draws on the contrastive and

familiar Local/non-Local and low/high binaries of HC/MUSE in the wider public discourse of Hawai'i to foreground HC itself as an inferior variety against the prior contextual backdrop of MUSE. Since he is using Mock Pidgin, the associations of negative attributes with HC become a way of authorizing the links between MUSE and (presumed) upward mobility. This is accomplished through both his exaggerated prosodic, phonetic (reduced vowels in *go* = *gø*, and voicing (lower-voice) features), an exaggerated emotional display, and in particular the social practices lexicalized in the activities of “whacking (eating) and sleeping”: category bound activities associated here with the first in these contrastive pairings: **Local**/non-Local, **low**/high, and **emotion**/reason. The indexical valence of these stylized utterances highlights the associative webs of meaning that are activated in this instance that engage with broader macro socio-economic categories at the intersection between language, ethnicity, Localness, and social class.

At the same time, the exaggerated linguistic features Mr. Cal uses to accomplish Mock Pidgin strategically de-authenticate his use of HC as a legitimate speaker of the variety, as his performance is directed towards an audience of Hawai'i youth who speak the language and who have the capacity to judge his linguistic performance in HC. The asymmetrical institutional roles of teacher/student may subvert the higher epistemic gradient of the students' linguistic proficiency in HC. These role-relations then position Mr. Cal as exercising his sociality rights and obligations as a teacher to arbitrate and comment on HC despite his limited proficiency as a *haole*. However, the students' reaction to Mr. Cal's Mock Pidgin interestingly draws on Mr. Cal's own previous tactics of intersubjectivity, illegitimizing his stylization by subverting its ideological implications and critiquing the authenticity of his HC. The students do this initially through laughter in line 49, and then through various derisive commentary in lines 50–55, pointing both to his transgressive and illegitimate use of HC (lines 50 and 52) including recommendations for how he should speak HC (line 51). This is also reminiscent of Vidal's (this issue) data where Abuelo's granddaughters contest his linguistic authority by challenging his “style of doing things,” indirectly indexing linguistic normality and shifting power relations by critiquing his Spanish as “weird”. This excerpt highlights how the reading of Mr. Cal's Mock Pidgin as an act of insult or an act of identity depends on the performative framing of his crossing, and how stylization operates as a resource for ‘strategic inauthenticity, with complex implications for personal and cultural authenticity in general’ (Coupland 2001: 350). This reversed polarity of tactics of intersubjectivity, where the same tactics are used by the students to reject Mr. Cal's Mock Pidgin as illegitimate, points to the role a recurrent or “ritual”

framing of jocularly oppositional interactions plays in the affiliative or disaffiliative outcome of his crossing.

## 5 Discussion and conclusion

The use of stylization within different frames demonstrates the capacity for two sociolinguistic practices on the spectrum of crossing: affiliative acts of identity and acts of insult, to be important for Mr. Cal to act as a teacher in his ethnolinguistically diverse classroom. For crossing to achieve a positive alignment between the teacher and the students, it is vital that it occur within recurrent playful oppositional frames of interaction as evidenced in excerpts 2 and 3. At moments when the frame was confrontationally directed at a student's language use without embedding his stylization in playfully framed interaction as in excerpts 2 and 3, a negative alignment between students and the teacher ensued, usually with no uptake by the students and notably with an absence of shared laughter, as shown with Mr. Cal's disaffiliative or mocking correction of Will's grammar usage in excerpt 1. However, in excerpt 4, the ambiguities of stylization in frames of high performance result in a more complex realization of acts of identity and insult where framing is especially key to the role of stylized utterances. Because stylization is a thoroughly relational practice, the instances of stylization observed in the data show a sensitivity to the contingencies of the on-going keying, and rekeying of frames of interaction. In order to understand how stylization is used to manage relations between interlocutors, I explored the level of autonomy participants held in both their institutional roles as students and teacher and how (in)authenticity emerged as a social practice in contexts of language use. I also highlighted the constant framing and re-framing of the interactional tasks at hand (i.e., the shifts that occurred between institutional and non-institutional frames of interaction and the (re)embedding and (re)entextualization that reframing practices can realize. The analysis suggests that stylization is a key resource in ethnolinguistically diverse, working class educational contexts to negotiate identities, and where the social structures that participants "inhabit" (Bourdieu 1991; Rampton 2011b, 2013) come to light through the reflexive management of multilingual resources for performing acts of identity and insult in their daily lives.

Stylization is a crucial site of engagement between ideology and interaction where authenticity comes to the fore. The entanglement of interactional

sensitivities and mutually present “territories of the self” require a constant guarding and negotiation of the “filigree of wires which individuals are uniquely equipped to trip over,” (Goffman 1971:135–6), but this entanglement is both a source of ambiguity and of intentionality. Consequently, it is necessary to examine the environments in which stylization occurs through considering frames and the larger ethnolinguistic and socio-political contexts. Through the use of stylized HC, ideological metacommentaries come into play and a broader understanding of the social and institutional structures these interactions are embedded in help to inform the unfolding interaction. Due to the historically low prestige attributed to HC in schooling in Hawai’i, all instances of Mr. Cal’s stylization of HC could be interpreted as mocking, and thus as fairly controversial utterances, possibly illustrative of covert racism or discrimination. However, the interactional framings in which he uses stylization show it to also be a powerful, spontaneous, and often affiliative resource in managing multilingual student-teacher interaction in the contemporary, urban classroom. This is also in line with research that has pointed to the positive educational outcomes of valuing stigmatized languages as a resource in classroom interaction (Cummins 2009; Kamwangamalu 2010; Rubdy 2007; Sato 1989).

In linguistically diverse urban environments where speakers use plurilingual language practices (Jørgensen 2008) or fragments of differently valued linguistic resources to negotiate interaction in zones of global contact, analyzing how features of HC are used as a resource by linguistic “outsiders” provides fertile ground for future research into stylization practices. Focusing on the ways in which stylization is accomplished through reported speech highlights the symbolic hybridization as well as contested appropriation of language as it is used in a globalizing world. Research on stylization has explored this hybridization of symbols as they “flow” across national borders and perceived cultural barriers (Alim *et al.* 2009; Higgins 2011; Pennycook 2007) and Hawai’i offers a rich site to explore the ways that newcomers acquire and use languages within new contexts. In these plurilingual contexts where people must increasingly negotiate the relationship between the local and the mainstream in everyday life, and as they “learn to live happily with their own exclusion from groups that they actually like and interact with daily” (Rampton 1995), stylization, and crossing in particular, offer a symbolically rich site for exploring how language is used to negotiate the interstices of social life, and how positive social relations are managed through the affiliative and disaffiliative, boundary-crossing linguistic practices of late-modern society.

## Transcription conventions and abbreviations

[	The point where overlapping talk and/or gesture starts
]	The point where overlapping talk and/or gesture ends
(1.0)	length of silence in tenths of a second
(.)	micro-pause less than 0.2 seconds
::	elongated sound
-	cut-off; self-interruption
=	“latched” utterances
,	listing (continuing) intonation
(xx)	unintelligible stretch, however each x indicating one beat of an utterance
(text)	transcriber’s unsure hearings
((text))	transcriber’s descriptions of events
<b>text</b>	instances of stylization
°text°	a passage of talk quieter than the surrounding talk
↑↓	rising, falling intonation
<u>text</u>	emphasis of lexical unit underlined
‘text’	idiomatic gloss of talk

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