PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF PIDGIN ENGLISH USAGE AMONG JAPANESE-AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS IN HAWAII

GERALD M. MEREDITH

University of Illinois

Hawaii has developed its own characteristic speech, Island Dialect, or Pidgin English. The present study investigated the personality characteristics of college-level Japanese Americans in Hawaii referred to remedial speech courses because of severe Pidgin English usage. 79 Island-born Japanese Americans in remedial speech were compared with 60 Caucasian Americans and with 75 Island-born third-generation (*sansei*) Japanese-American "controls" on the Cattell 16 P. F. Questionnaire. Both first- and second-order factors in the personality sphere differentiated the groups and findings were discussed in terms of the operation of physiological, educational and socio-cultural variables.

As a result of various language influences on the speech of the islanders and the remoteness of the islands from the mainland, Hawaii has developed its own characteristic speech, Island Dialect (Pidgin English, or simply "pidgin"). In its most divergent form the island speech may have four or five vowel substitutions, consonant problems such as substituting *t* and *d* for the *th* sounds, *n* for *ng*, and un-voicing of final consonants (Carr, 1960). Rhythm and inflection patterns also differ from standard English patterns of expression.

Historically, island dialect evolved from the "pidgin" which was used during the first half of the nineteenth century as a means of communication between traders and sailors who visited the islands and the natives (Lind, 1955). The language was carried over to the plantations when the large groups of immigrants arrived. The language in this milieu became the "language of command" used by the *haole* (a semi-derisive Hawaiian term meaning "foreigner," but used synonymously for a Caucasian) bosses to the laborers. At this point "pidgin" took on a lower class identification.

New ethnic groups were brought to the

plantations and each added words and developed their own version of "pidgin." In time "pidgin" became the language of communication between the worker and his children born in Hawaii. When used within the group the language became one of warmth. Gradually, the language emerged into a common *lingua franca* which permitted easy communication across diverse racial, cultural and linguistic lines (Aspinwall, 1960).

Because the modern island dialect developed from the plantation "pidgin," it carries the stigma of its earlier lower class status. If a person is confined solely to its use he is looked down upon by polite society. Moreover, its limited vocabulary and modes of expression, as well as the virtual lack of any literature, give to his language a restricted sphere of usefulness (Lind, 1960). In spite of, or perhaps at times because, the island dialect is disapproved by the "elite," teachers, the press, and other groups, the youth of Hawaii seem to cling to their characteristic speech. Clearly, island dialect has become a mark of being "one of the gang"—a symbol of in-group acceptance by the "youth culture" (Meredith, et al., 1964).

Congruent with the recent shift in

interest to the acculturation of third-generation (*sansei*) Japanese Americans in Hawaii (Arkoff, 1959; Arkoff, et al. 1961; Arkoff, et al., 1962; Arkoff, et al., 1963, 1964; Fenz, et al., 1962; Meredith, et al., 1964), the purpose of the present study was to investigate the personality characteristics of college-level Japanese Americans referred to remedial speech courses because of severe Pidgin English usage.

METHOD

Ss consisted of 79 Island-born Japanese Americans (56 males, 23 females) enrolled in remedial speech courses at the University of Hawaii. Ss were referred individually by a board of speech instructors and each S exhibited the typical constellation of impediments associated with Pidgin English expression, specifically, deviations in articulation, inflection and rhythm. Comparison groups consisted of 60 Caucasian Americans (30 males, 30 females) and 75 Island-born third-generation (*sansei*) Japanese Americans (26 males, 49 females), all undergraduate students enrolled in the introductory psychology course at the University of Hawaii. The three groups were designated RS (Remedial Speech), CA (Caucasian Americans) and 3G (Sansei Japanese Americans) for ease of discussion. Groups RS and CA were relatively free of chronic "pidgin" usage. The mean age of the RS, CA and 3G males were 19.2, 19.2 and 19.1 respectively. The corresponding values for the females were 18.6, 18.6 and 18.7. None of the age differences was found to be statistically significant. A basic set of source traits in the "personality sphere" based on the multivariate model of Cattell (1946) were measured with the 16 P. F. (Personality Factor) Questionnaire, Form A (Cattell, et al., 1964).

RESULTS

1. First-order analysis

The results of the Japanese-American and Caucasian-American Groups on the 16 P.F. are summarized with respect to the above problem. Initially, means and standard deviations were computed on

each scale for each of the six sub-groups (RS males, 3G males, CS males, RS females, 3G females and CS females). Since the sex variable is not of major concern to the present problem, *t* tests of significance were only computed between the personality scores within sex groups (i.e., RS vs. CS, RS vs. 3G, 3G vs. CS). Male comparisons are summarized in Table 1.

The comparison of RS and CS Ss indicates the ethnic disparity accentuated by the effects of language impediment on personality. In terms of primary trait description (Cattell, et al., 1964) the RS males are more reserved (A-), affected by feelings (C-), humble (E-), serious (F-), conscientious (G+), timid (H-), practical (M-), apprehensive (O+), controlled (Q₃+) and tense (Q₄+) than CS males. Conversely, CS males are more outgoing (A+), emotionally stable (C+), assertive (E+), happy-go-lucky (F+), expedient (G-), venturesome (H+), imaginative (M+), placid (O-), casual (Q₃-) and relaxed (Q₄-) than RS males.

The comparison of RS and 3G Ss indicates the relatively "pure" effect of language difficulty on personality with ethnic background held constant. In terms of primary trait description, RS males are more affected by feelings (C-), humble (E-), serious (F-) and tender-minded (I+) than 3G males. Conversely, 3G males are more emotionally stable (C+), assertive (E+), happy-go-lucky (E+) and tough-minded (I-) than RS males.

The comparison of 3G and CS Ss indicates the influence of ethnic background on personality relatively independent of language handicap. In terms of primary trait description, 3G males are more reserved (A-), humble (E-), conscientious (G+), timid (H-) and practical (M-) than CS males. Conversely, CS males are more outgoing (A+), assertive (E+), expedient (G-), venturesome (H+) and imaginative (M+) than 3G males.

A parallel analysis was applied to the

TABLE 1
Comparison of Males

First-Order Personality Factor	16 P. F. Questionnaire Mean Scores			Significance of the difference between means <i>t</i> Values		
	RS	3G	CS	RS/3G	RS/CS	3G/CS
A : Sizothymia vs. Cyclothymia	7.5	7.6	9.6	0.10	2.78**	2.64*
B : Low "g" vs. High "g"	8.9	8.7	8.5	0.66	0.96	0.38
C : Low Ego Strength vs. High Ego Strength	14.0	17.8	17.4	4.58**	4.38**	0.44
E : Submissiveness vs. Dominance	11.0	13.2	16.6	2.63*	7.46**	3.61**
F : Desurgency vs. Surgency	12.3	15.7	16.3	3.59**	4.40**	0.52
G : Low Superego vs. High Superego	13.1	12.0	10.2	1.87	4.01**	2.27*
H : Threctia vs. Parmia	10.2	10.1	14.1	0.07	3.98**	3.70**
I : Harria vs. Premia	10.1	8.0	9.1	2.80**	1.89	1.23
L : Alaxia vs. Protension	9.0	9.7	8.8	0.93	0.26	0.96
M : Praxernia vs. Autia	9.6	9.4	11.4	0.28	2.48*	2.24*
N : Artlessness vs. Shrewdness	10.3	11.0	11.5	1.05	1.90	0.78
O : Assurance vs. Guilt Proneness	12.5	11.2	9.5	1.49	4.05**	1.83
Q ₁ : Conservatism vs. Radicalism	10.8	10.1	10.4	1.02	0.53	0.32
Q ₂ : Group Adherence vs. Self-Sufficiency	10.5	9.5	10.4	1.51	0.22	1.05
Q ₃ : Low Integration vs. High Self-Concept	10.3	9.3	8.8	1.52	2.46*	0.65
Q ₄ : Low Ergic Tension vs. High Ergic Tension	14.8	13.0	11.7	1.82	3.44**	1.15

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level.

female Ss and the results are presented in Table 2. In terms of primary trait description, the RS females are more affected by feelings (C-), humble (E-), serious (F-) timid (H-), tender-minded (I+), shrewd (N+), apprehensive (O+) and tense (Q₄+) than CS females. Conversely, CS females are more emotionally stable (C+), assertive (E+), happy-go-lucky (F+), venturesome (H+), tough-minded (I-), forthright (N-), placid (O-), and relaxed (Q₄-) than RS females.

Regarding the language handicap comparison, RS females appear more abstract-thinking (B+), humble (E-), serious (F-), timid (H-), shrewd (N+) and critical (Q₁+) than 3G females. Conversely, 3G females are more concrete-thinking (B-), assertive (E+), happy-go-lucky (F+), venturesome (H+), forthright (N-) and conservative (Q₁-) than RS females.

The ethnic comparison indicated that 3G females are more affected by feelings

TABLE 2
Comparison of Females

First-Order Personality Factor	16 P.F. Questionnaire Mean Scores			Significance of the difference between means <i>t</i> Values		
	RS	3G	CS	RS/3G	RS/CS	3G/CS
A : Sizothymia vs. Cyclothymia	10.0	9.1	10.2	1.11	0.27	1.64
B : Low "g" vs. High "g"	9.1	7.8	8.1	2.42*	1.60	0.69
C : Low Ego Strength vs. High Ego Strength	13.4	15.0	16.8	1.45	2.99**	2.15*
E : Submissiveness vs. Dominance	9.3	12.0	13.9	2.83**	4.16**	2.04*
F : Desurgency vs. Surgency	12.3	15.7	15.4	3.29**	2.78**	0.37
G : Low Superego vs. High Superego	12.3	12.5	12.8	0.16	0.59	0.47
H : Thrextia vs. Parmia	8.9	11.8	13.4	2.94**	3.77**	1.46
I : Harria vs. Premia	13.0	12.0	11.1	1.53	2.77**	1.65
L : Alaxia vs. Protension	8.7	9.5	7.7	1.01	1.27	2.47*
M : Praxernia vs. Autia	11.7	12.8	11.5	1.38	0.16	1.66
N : Artlessness vs. Shrewdness	11.2	8.3	8.5	4.64**	4.11**	0.33
O : Assurance vs. Guilt Proneness	13.3	12.4	9.9	0.97	3.34**	2.68**
Q ₁ : Conservatism vs. Radicalism	10.6	9.2	9.5	2.09*	1.37	0.51
Q ₂ : Group Adherence vs. Self-Sufficiency	9.7	9.9	9.4	0.29	0.27	0.82
Q ₃ : Low Integration vs. High Self-Concept	9.9	9.3	9.5	0.58	0.35	0.28
Q ₄ : Low Ergic Tension vs. High Ergic Tension	16.1	14.7	13.8	1.43	2.20*	0.83

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level.

(C-), humble (E-), suspicious (L+) and apprehensive (O+) than CS females. Conversely, CS females are more emotionally stable (C+), assertive (E+), trusting (L-) and placid (O-) than 3G females.

2. Second-order analysis

A higher-order factor in the questionnaire (Q) domain is a source trait which contributes to the variance of several primary source traits and is thus broader in its influences (Pawlik, et al., 1964; Tsujioka,

et al., 1964). Recently, Gorsuch and Cattell (1964) factored the intercorrelations between the 16 primary (oblique) factors of the 16 P.F. and extracted a set of second-order source traits, the most salient ones being introversion-extraversion (also termed invia-exvia) and anxiety. Standard weights for estimating S's endowment on these second-order factors were applied to transform S's sten scores on the primaries to sten scores on the derived secondaries (Cattell, et al., 1964).

TABLE 3
Second-order Personality Comparisons

Sex	Second-Order Factor	16 P.F. Questionnaire Mean Scores			Significance of the difference between means <i>t</i> Values		
		RS	3G	CS	RS/3G	RS/CS	3G/CS
Males	Introversion vs. Extraversion	3.7	4.8	7.5	2.50*	9.40**	6.08**
	Low Anxiety vs. High Anxiety	7.0	6.3	5.6	1.49	3.49**	1.45
Females	Introversion vs. Extraversion	3.6	5.2	6.0	3.34**	4.33**	1.66
	Low Anxiety vs. High Anxiety	7.1	6.5	5.4	1.19	3.21**	2.32*

* Significant at .05 level.

** Significant at .01 level

A comparison of the RS, 3G and CS groups on the second-order introversion-extraversion and anxiety factors is presented in Table 3. Clearly both Japanese-American male groups (RS and 3G) appeared more introverted than Caucasian-American males. The Japanese Americans exhibit what Cattell (1957), has described as "inhibition of external reactivity (in terms of past discouragement and present timidity), and greater attention to inner stimuli and ideas (p. 268)." At this level of analysis CS males are best described as "socially outgoing, uninhibited persons, good at making contacts (Cattell, et al., 1964)." Within the Japanese-American group itself, RS males demonstrated a greater introvertive tendency than their 3G counterpart. In a parallel manner, RS females are significantly more introverted than 3G and CS females. However, 3G females are not as disparate from CS females as their male counterpart.

The second-order anxiety factor has been found to be the basis of clinical judgments of anxiety and, therefore, can be interpreted, in general as clinical anxiety (Gorsuch, et al., 1964). The factor score is essentially an index of the degree of dynamic integration of the total personality, under the self-sentiment Q_3 , utilizing ego strength C (Cattell, et al., 1961). RS males stand out as exhibiting greater anxiety than CS males. Among the females, both Japanese-American groups (RS and

3G) indicated higher anxiety levels than CS females.

DISCUSSION

Today many *sansei* Japanese-American students are bilingual, speaking near-standard English in the classroom or to *haoles*, and reverting to "pidgin" with their family and peer group (Carr, 1961). The present study focused on a sub-group of Japanese-American college students referred to remedial speech classes because of their inability to effect a transition to standard English expression. If the process of acculturation is directed toward the ultimate assimilation of the ethnic individual into American society (Broom, et al., 1955), then the remedial speech *Ss* appear "farther away" from Caucasians than do the *sansei* "control" group. Possibly the discrepancies are most dramatically seen in terms of the second-order 16 P.F. factors. Remedial speech *Ss* exhibit a strong introvertive tendency coupled with an elevation of anxiety level. Some recent (but as yet unpublished) cross-cultural comparisons suggest that the first- and second-order performance of "pidgin"-speaking *Ss* is closer to the Motherland-Japanese results of Tsujioka and Cattell (1964) than to either Caucasians or *sansei* "controls". Admittedly the "pidgin problem" is multi-causal, and several classes of variables (e.g., physiological, educational and socio-cultural)

have been proposed to "explain" the Island Dialect phenomenon and its relationship to personality structure.

Physiological factors include the ability to discriminate sounds and sound patterns, sensitivity to auditory stimuli, the ability to mimic, and audio-motor vs. visual-motor imagery (Kaplan, 1960; Van Riper, et al., 1958). Unpublished evidence indicates greater hearing loss among remedial speech Ss than Standard English-speaking Ss, but the present writer concurs with Gray and Wise (1959, p. 434) that the relationships between speech mechanisms and personality are not clearly understood and that a great deal of research is needed in this general area.

Educational influences include training in phonics, ear (or listening) training, poor methods employed in speech training, and foreign language training. With regard to bilingual home background, Murashige (1950) found that the language first spoken seemed to have an effect on accuracy of auditory discrimination for English sounds. Students who spoke two or more languages before entering school made fewer errors in discriminating sounds often confused in the islands than did students who spoke only one language in the home. It is interesting that the "pidgin problem" is predominantly a male problem. Fewer females are referred to remedial speech courses and the ones that are referred have been found far superior to males in their ability to change their speech patterns. This greater flexibility, imitative skill, and readiness to change on the part of females is congruent with the findings of Penfield and Roberts (1959).

Socio-cultural influences include economic status and locality of residence of the family, peer-group expectations and personal attitudes. Merritt and Shaver (1961) have observed that students are fiercely defensive about their voices and their way of speaking. They may insist that they speak like everyone else and that any attempt to change their speech

patterns will only result in artificiality and hence laughter and social disapproval. As one belligerent male in remedial speech phrased it, "Why you try change me? I no want to speak like damn *haole*!" There is hostility, disinterest and resistance to change among remedial speech students. A number of sociologists in Hawaii have attempted to link the "pidgin problem" with diminished classroom participation and leadership. For example, Lewis (1949) reports that students required to study remedial speech had significantly less favorable speech attitudes toward speaking in general and had done less of it in the school, home and in the community.

Two hypotheses are proposed—not to "explain" the present findings—but to suggest future lines of investigation. First, it is proposed that the elevation in anxiety level characteristic of the remedial speech sample is situationally-induced, rather than neurotic in origin (Cattell, et al., 1961). There is visible confrontation with authority and substantial pressure exerted for individuals to change. The university has stipulated that failure to remove a speech deficiency constitutes failure to meet graduation requirement—a severe consequence for speech deviancy.

Second, it is proposed that the strong introverted behavior pattern is linked to peer-group expectations and social control. As Parsons (1964) has observed, the "youth culture" places severe demands for conformity and Hawaii has developed its own distinctive Japanese-American "youth roles." A constellation of symbols, such as clothing fads, hair styles and use of Pidgin English speech patterns form the nucleus of the "swell guy" image of the adolescent male and the "glamor girl" image of the adolescent female (Meredith, et al., 1964). It is concluded that excessive use of Pidgin English handicaps the individual socially (and possibly neurologically) from accepting the challenge for upward mobility and positions of respon-

sibility within Japanese-American society.

SUMMARY

The present study investigated the personality characteristics of college-level Japanese-Americans in Hawaii referred to remedial speech courses because of severe Pidgin English usage. 79 Island-born Japanese-Americans in remedial speech were compared with 60 Caucasian-Americans and 75 Island-born third-generation Japanese-American "controls" on the Cattell 16 P. F. Questionnaire. Both first- and second-order factors in the "personality sphere" differentiated the groups and findings were discussed in terms of the operation of physiological, educational and socio-cultural variables.

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