

ABSTRACT

D'ANDREA, KRISTINA MARIE. Re-examination of Dialect Recession in Ocracoke Island. (Under the direction of Walt Wolfram.)

Though dialect recession in small, historically insular communities has now been the focus of a number of variation studies, there are few studies that scrutinize this process in real time. Ocracoke Island, located in the Outer Banks of North Carolina, presents an ideal situation for this study as tourists and new residents continue to flood the island that is still called home by 300 to 400 ancestral islanders among its 700 to 800 permanent residents. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted on the island by the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) in the early 1990s, almost 15 years ago, and since that time the NCLLP's presence on the island has remained constant. In recent years (2005-present), a follow-up study to that conducted in 1993-1995 has been launched in order to assess how quickly the language of Ocracoke really is receding, and what, if any, effects the NCLLP's presence has had on the dialect.

This thesis examines both qualitative and quantitative data collected from almost 70 interviews. In an analysis of discourse between Ocracoke middle schoolers, certain ideologies about Ocracoke in-group identity are discovered as well as struggles in maintaining the image of "color-blindness" in conversations about the recent Hispanic presence on the island. Additionally, two morphosyntactic and one phonological feature typical of the Brogue dialect are analyzed. Past tense remorphologization of the negative forms of *be*, as in *I weren't* or *she weren't*, and the use of the static locative *to* in place of prepositional lexical items such as *at*, as in *he's to the dock*, are both common morphosyntactic features found along the Outer Banks and especially in Ocracoke (Schilling-

Estes & Wolfram 1994; Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999; Vadnais 2006). Also, the relative backing of the nucleus of the glide /ai/ in relation to /a/ production, creating such productions as *hoi toid*, is a salient and commonly referenced variation of this particular region (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1995; Craig 1994).

While all three of these features are decreasing in relative usage, the distribution among different age and social groups leads to the usage differentiations analyzed in this thesis. Local groups, including the “Poker Game Network” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1995, 1997; Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999) and the “Pelican Network” (identified in this thesis) help to clarify the definition of a “traditional” Ocracoke male. However, participating in such networks may not singularly correlate with the preservation of traditional island norms. Certain families and individuals seem to be the inspiration for the vision most islanders consider a true O’cocker, as they’re called.

RE-EXAMINATION OF DIALECT RECESSION IN
OCRACOCKE ISLAND

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DEDICATION

To my family,
Dad, Mom, Michael, Charles, Nicholas, Matthew, and Marianna,
my inspiration, support, and entertainment

BIOGRAPHY

Kristina D'Andrea was born on June 1, 1983 in Red Springs, North Carolina. When she was seven years old, she moved to Raleigh, North Carolina. After graduating from Sanderson High School, she began her undergraduate education at North Carolina State University in August of 2001, studying for a B.A. in Communications, concentrating in Communication Disorders. Kristina began researching with the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) during her senior year, and she began the M.A. English- Linguistics program in the fall of 2005.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF FIGUREvi
LIST OF TABLES	vii
1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. SOCIOHISTORICAL BACKGROUND	4
2.1 History of Ocracoke Island	4
2.2 North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) Arrival on Ocracoke and Subsequent Changes	8
2.3 Interview Methodology	16
3. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS	19
3.1 Rationale for a Qualitative Analysis	19
3.2 Discourse Analysis, “I thought we weren’t supposed to be racist?”	20
4. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS	40
4.1 Rationale for a Quantitative Analysis	40
4.2 <i>Weren’t</i> leveling	42
4.3 Static locative <i>to</i>	47
4.4 /ai/ and /a/	51
5. BREAKDOWN ANALYSES OF QUANTITATIVE DATA	55
5.1 Rationale for Breakdown Analysis	55
5.2 The older “Poker Game Network” compared to its younger counterpart	56
5.3 Panel Study of Four Ocracoke Speakers Diachronically	59
5.4 Analysis of Three Ocracoke Families	65
5.5 Predicting Change through Observations of Ocracoke Adolescents	71
6. CONCLUSIONS	75
6.1 Changes in Ocracoke	75
6.2 Status of the Brogue in Ocracoke	76
6.3 Future of the Brogue in Ocracoke	78
REFERENCES AND WORKS CITED	81
APPENDIX	87
Transcript A	88
Transcript B	94

LIST OF FIGURES

	PAGE
Figure 1. Acoustic vowel space for CL at two time periods	60
Figure 2. Acoustic vowel space for ReO at two time periods	62
Figure 3. Acoustic vowel space for CaG at two time periods	63
Figure 4. Acoustic vowel space for BeaO at two time periods	64
Figure 5. Acoustic vowel space for DE, DSE, and JE	66
Figure 6. Acoustic vowel space for RDG, DG, and AlG	68
Figure 7. Acoustic vowel space for ReO and BeaO in two time periods	70

LIST OF TABLES

	PAGE
Table 1. Overall <i>weren't</i> regularization, 1994-1996	44
Table 2. Overall <i>weren't</i> regularization, 2005-2006	45
Table 3. Overall static locative <i>to</i> usage, 1994-1996	49
Table 4. Overall static locative <i>to</i> usage, 2005-2006	50
Table 5. <i>Weren't</i> regularization	56
Table 6. Static locative <i>to</i> usage	57
Table 7. Four speakers' <i>weren't</i> regularization in two time periods	60
Table 8. Four speakers' locative <i>to</i> regularization in two time periods	61
Table 9. <i>Weren't</i> regularization and locative <i>to</i> usage for a father, son, and daughter	66
Table 10. <i>Weren't</i> regularization and locative <i>to</i> usage for a mother, father, and son	68
Table 11. <i>Weren't</i> regularization and locative <i>to</i> usage for father and son, Times I and II	71
Table 12. <i>Weren't</i> regularization in three generational groupings	72
Table 13. Static locative <i>to</i> usage in three generational groupings	73

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Though dialect recession in small, historically insular communities has now been the focus of a number of variation studies, there are few studies that scrutinize this process in real time. In many respects, Ocracoke Island, located in the Outer Banks of North Carolina, presents an ideal situation for this study. Tourists and new residents continue to flood the island that is still called home by 300 to 400 ancestral islanders among its 700 to 800 permanent residents—and 4000 to 6000 daily tourists during the height of its tourist season that now lasts almost nine months. Sociolinguistic interviews were conducted on the island by the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) in the early 1990s, almost fifteen years ago, and since that time the NCLLP's presence on the island has remained constant. In recent years (2005-present), a follow-up study to that conducted in 1993-1995 has been launched in order to assess how quickly the language of Ocracoke really is receding, and what, if any, effects the NCLLP's presence has had on the dialect.

Ocracoke has recently felt the effects of major changes to both its economy and culture. Not only does the tourism industry continue to increase on the island, but the arrival of Hispanic immigrants has also recently added to the growing numbers of people who move onto Ocracoke every year. Native, locally-born families struggle to hold onto conventions of the past, and traditional marine-related island work has almost exclusively been replaced with tourism-related occupations. Ocracoke residents do look at tourism as good for the economy, and thus, for island life, but this also results in a loss of traditional ways of life.

Among the traditional pieces of culture from the past that locals would like to remember is the unique language variety of Ocracoke. The “Brogue,” as it is called, is beginning to be lost in younger generations, however. Certain groups of people with particular ties to Ocracoke identity may hold onto it longer than others, but its presence in the speech of younger generations is becoming less obvious. Also, as adolescents move off-island to go to college or travel across the country, they often return to Ocracoke with fewer features of the Brogue than they originally had.

This thesis examines both qualitative and quantitative data collected from a series of interviews recorded in two different time periods, the early 1990’s and recent years between 2005 and 2006. In an analysis of discourse between Ocracoke middle schoolers, certain ideologies about Ocracoke in-group identity are discovered as well as ideologies that underlie conversations about the recent Hispanic presence on the island. Being a native, locally-born Ocracoke resident on the island carries with it a status unobtainable by outsiders. This symbolic local power is inherent in much of Ocracoke’s discourse, representing native islanders’ power over all non-local groups of people, including Hispanics. In addition to this ideology, however, there exists an ideology of non-racism which also influences island speech. The middle schoolers examined in this section understand the necessity of portraying an image of “color-blindness” when referring to the local Hispanic population. With the presence of these competing ideologies, both an interesting struggle and strategies for alleviating this struggle can be found in the language of young islanders.

Additionally, two morphosyntactic and one phonological feature typical of the Brogue dialect are analyzed. Past tense remorphologization of the negative forms of *be*,

as in *I weren't* or *she weren't*, and use of the static locative *to* in place of prepositional lexical items such as *at*, as in *he's to the dock* for *he's at the dock*, are both common morphosyntactic features found along the Outer Banks and especially in Ocracoke. Also, the relative backing of the nucleus of the glide /ai/ in relation to /a/ production, creating such productions as *hoi toid*, is a salient and commonly referenced variation of this particular region. In fact, Outer Banks residents are sometimes referred to as “Hoi Toiders” due to this particularly salient production. While all three of these features are decreasing in relative usage, their distribution among different age and social groups leads to the usage differentiations analyzed in this thesis.

While group distinctions between local and non-local Ocracoke residents are among the most significant community boundaries, explorations into boundaries among native islanders are also worthwhile to pursue in order to assess changing language patterns. Local groups, including the “Poker Game Network” (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1995, 1997; Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999) and the “Pelican Network” (identified in this thesis) help to clarify the definition of a “traditional” Ocracoke male. However, participating in such networks may not singularly correlate with the preservation of traditional island norms. Certain families and individuals seem to be the inspiration for the vision most islanders consider a true O'cocker, as they are called.

An overall picture of Brogue features in the language of native-born Ocracoke residents will be presented along with a more in-depth analysis broken down by specific family, individual and age groupings. It is hoped that through using these more specific community divisions as the basis for a comprehensive analysis, more insight into the

current status and future projections of Brogue usage will be uncovered. Also, this detailed sociological knowledge will hopefully lead to a broader understanding of the role long-term sociolinguistic engagement in a community, such as that of the NCLLP's, has on local perceptions of its traditional language and, perhaps, local efforts to preserve or revitalize a dissipating dialect.

Chapter 2 – Sociohistorical Background

- Section 2.1 – History of Ocracoke Island

2.1.1 SETTLEMENT AND EARLY GROWTH, 1500-1846

Ocracoke, a 14-mile-long island located in the Outer Banks of North Carolina, has a rich history of change beginning as far back as its first European settlers. Most likely originally inhabited by a Native American tribe named the *Woccon*, as they were referred to around 1585 in a map by John White, European settlers had largely overtaken the island by the early 1700s (Stick 1958). In fact, the Anglicization of the word *Woccon* is the probable source for the naming of the island as *Ocracoke* in later years (Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999).

Throughout the 1700s, ship traffic in the Ocracoke Inlet increased, and local pilots were in high demand to guide large ships through the treacherous waters towards the mainland. The North Carolina Assembly passed “An Act for Settling and Maintaining

Pilots at Roanoke and Ocracoke Inlet” in 1715, providing steady income for several families who were willing to live in the small island village of “Pilot Town,” later to become “Ocracoke” (Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999). The population of the island increased with these job opportunities, with recent British and Scots-Irish emigrant families coming to Ocracoke from settlement areas such as the Tidewater Virginia area and the Albemarle Sound region of North Carolina (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1994).

The shipping industry thrived in Ocracoke well into the 1800s, and there were even a few job opportunities working at the lighthouse on the island, built in 1823. The population increased consistently, rising to 536 in 1850, making it, along with the nearby island of Portsmouth, the largest, busiest settlement area in North Carolina (Stick 1958).

Also, some new jobs became available later in the nineteenth century as ship captains became increasingly aware of the dangers of passing through the Outer Banks islands. Ocracokers took jobs along with other islands’ residents with the United States Lifesaving Service, guiding ships through the area which became nicknamed “the Graveyard of the Atlantic.” This Service would later merge with the Revenue Cutter Service to become the United States Coast Guard.

2.1.2 A PERIOD OF ISOLATION, 1846-1950

In 1846, a massive storm swept through the area, opening up the Hatteras Inlet enough to provide another course for ship traffic to take on its way to the mainland, bypassing the Ocracoke Inlet (Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999). Not long after

this event, in the later 1800s, commerce shifted towards land transportation. As a result of both of these changes, Ocracoke and the other islands of the Outer Banks became more and more isolated from mainland North Carolina.

Ocracoke residents began to depend economically more and more on island livestock as means to support themselves. In 1931, the fishing industry of Ocracoke began to develop as Cockle Creek was dredged out and Silver Lake Harbor was constructed, allowing larger ships to anchor at Ocracoke Village. Improved transportation and refrigeration techniques also aided Ocracoke's initiation into the seafood industry. However, the Great Depression forced some Ocracoke families to relocate to busier ports such as Wilmington, Delaware, and Philadelphia. They often returned after several years, and once World War II came, Ocracoke's economy improved considerably with the construction of military bases on the island.

2.1.3 CHANGES TOWARDS TOURISM, 1950-1993

Throughout the 1950s, several noteworthy changes took place on the island, which lead to the explosion of an industry that still supports the island in modern times—tourism. Three major factors helped build Ocracoke's tourism industry. The first of these three was the declaration in 1953 by the United States government that all of Ocracoke Island, excepting the square mile of land comprising Ocracoke Village, was to become national park land (Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999). Additionally, the North Carolina Department of Transportation began running a regular ferry service to and from the island through several different ports. Running several times per day, this

brought a substantial number of visitors onto the island and allowed them to easily make a vacation or even a day-trip out of their stay. Lastly, in 1957, a state highway was built leading up the island from the Ocracoke Village all the way through the national park land to the ferry at the end of the island, which made regular runs between Ocracoke Island and Hatteras Island (Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999).

Shortly after this time period, Robert Howran (1962) conducted an early sociolinguistic investigation into the dialect of local Ocracoke residents. Though his results were preliminary, he did establish the use of certain dialect features unique to the island, and set the stage for future linguistic research to continue.

Since this time, Ocracoke continued to grow as an attraction for beach vacationers from all over the country. Residents reported a boom in the tourism industry of Ocracoke around the time of the early 1980s, and it continued to become more and more popular into the early 1990s. Some tourists who were particularly fond of the island purchased land and decided to move their families to Ocracoke. Some savvy entrepreneurs saw the tourism boom on Ocracoke and began new businesses on the island. New rental houses and hotels were being constructed almost constantly, and islanders were uncertain whether to be thankful or bitter about the onslaught of tourists, often referred to as “dingbatters.”

- Section 2.2 –North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) Arrival on Ocracoke and Subsequent Changes

2.2.1 THE FIRST NCLLP STUDY OF OCRACOKE, 1993-1995

In 1993, the North Carolina Language and Life Project (NCLLP) traveled to the popular Ocracoke Island to explore some folk observations associated with the islanders' particular dialect of English: namely, erroneous assumptions about Ocracoke speech representing Elizabethan English. In an effort to construct their findings within a sociolinguistic framework, a detailed sociological profile was completed in addition to language data collected (some of which will be discussed in later chapters).

By this point, tourism had grown so exponentially that during summer months islanders report almost 7,000 people from all over the country can be found on the island on any given day, with only about ten percent of them being year-round residents. While there was a definite divide between local year-round residents of the island and the visiting tourists, divisions and social groupings could also be found throughout the local islanders. Island residents recognized a difference between the families whose roots on Ocracoke went back to the first groups of settlers of the village and those who had arrived more recently. Some members of these native families were extremely proud of their local identity and affiliated themselves with local occupations, pastimes, and ways of speaking. Fishing and other seafood gathering or marine-related activities were core

pieces of both the islanders' occupations as well as their free time, and parts of the local dialect, the Ocracoke "Brogue," as it is called, could be heard in their speech.

The NCLLP team found that, though the overall dialect was receding, in one particular group, features of the Brogue were especially strong and even more distinct than in other islanders. This community of practice (Meyerhoff 2004; Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992), named the "Poker Game Network" by Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1995), was comprised largely of middle-aged men who gathered on a regular basis to play poker in a male-exclusive location several times a week in addition to socializing with each other on a regular basis (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997, 2003; Wolfram, Schilling-Estes, & Hazen 1997). These men were quite proud of their island heritage and shared values of community stability amidst an influx of tourists and new residents who threatened their way of life.

When interviewed, these men were keen to discuss the uniqueness of their island heritage and the distinctive nature of their speech. One even capitalized on his striking Brogue features, enhancing them for tourists as they regularly gathered in the summer-time to watch him clean fish returned from charter fishing boats. He later became the subject for Natalie Schilling-Estes' work on performance speech, making his pride in the Ocracoke Brogue famous to sociolinguists and O'cockers alike (1995, 1998).

2.2.2.1 "Save the Brogue," 1993-present

In addition to the sociolinguistic research that the NCLLP conducted on Ocracoke during the 1990s, researchers were careful to apply the principal of linguistic gratuity to

their work (Wolfram 1998; Labov 1982). As the research progressed, informants were told that preservation of their unique dialect was a foremost concern of the research. “Save the Brogue” T-shirts were designed, displaying various Ocracoke lexical items on the back. A popular-audience book about the Brogue and its history in Ocracoke was also published (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997), as well as an audio CD containing speech samples from almost 40 different speakers (Cloud, Childs, & Wolfram 1999). A video about the Ocracoke Brogue was completed (Blanton & Waters 1997), and a longer video is forthcoming (Hutcheson forthcoming). Profits from these items continue to be donated to the Ocracoke Preservation Society, located on the island.

Perhaps more important than the products, however, was the development of a short eighth grade curriculum about dialect research and the Ocracoke Brogue (Wolfram, Schilling-Estes, & Hazen 1997; Reaser & Wolfram 2005). Every eighth grade student since 1995 has participated in this week-long course in which they learn to collect language data, analyze the local dialect, and realize what NCLLP fieldworkers have been doing on the island since the early 1990s. Some knowledge from this curriculum has been passed from students to their parents, and the general attitude about language research on the island is positive. In fact, most of the local islanders recognize the director of the NCLLP, Walt Wolfram, and have become friends with him and his students and colleagues. Many residents not only accept the team’s work, but are greatly appreciative of it and have begun to value their own unique linguistic heritage.

O’cockers, as they called themselves, recognized the importance of commodifying their language in a growing tourist economy. As mentioned in the previous section, one local fisherman cleans fish while chatting with tourists using his

best native dialect. The “Save the Brogue” T-shirts were not only a hot tourist item, but a favorite article of clothing for the proud O’cocker, as well.

Ocracoke residents realize that their particular language variety is one of the few remnants of the past ways of life in a changing local culture, and they are proud to savor their native islander identity. Their language sets them apart from their local neighbors who may have moved onto the island relatively recently. While they are sociable and often even close friends or spouses with these residents, native O’cockers will always share a special bond with each other.

2.2.3 HISPANIC IMMIGRATION, 1997-PRESENT

Ocracoke, as has been discussed throughout this chapter, has been a dynamic location since its settlement, changing in everything from its population to its relative isolation to its economy. The most striking demographic change of the past five to ten years has been the influx of Hispanic immigrants to the island. These families have emmigrated mostly from Mexico, coming to Ocracoke for work, especially in the summer months when increased tourism necessitates employers to hire additional help. In the local Kindergarten through twelfth grade school of just over 100 students, almost one-third of the students in the Kindergarten through fifth grade classrooms are Hispanic.

Although all islanders are aware of the negative social stereotypes of Hispanic immigration, the Ocracoke children are also aware of the necessity of using politically correct means to accommodate their new neighbors. A clear segregation can be found between white and Hispanic adults in social situations (for example, the local adult

basketball league has both all-white teams and all-Hispanic teams); however, there is reason to believe that this segregation will decrease in future generations.

Because of the small nature of Ocracoke classrooms and the high percentage of Hispanic children in the school, very young white islanders seem to be perfectly willing to accept local Hispanic children. However, it may be assumed that Hispanic children, while perhaps not segregated by their Hispanic ethnicity at this age, are still referred to as part of the “outsiders” group of Ocracoke residents. While young native islanders may perhaps be friends or eventually intermarry with Hispanic islanders, as with other white non-local islanders, the idea persists among O’cockers that no group will ever really fully integrate into the local O’cocker culture.

2.2.4 THE CURRENT NCLLP STUDY OF OCRACOKE, 2005-PRESENT

While Native Ocracoke residents do share a special bond with each other, there are, of course, several divided, though amicable, groups within the community. Non-local islanders who join into the local culture will do so by attempting to become a part of one or more of these smaller, local groups.

As mentioned in the Ocracoke community profile of almost 15 years ago, there used to be a strong presence on the island of a community of practice that Wolfram and Schilling-Estes termed the “Poker Game Network” (1995). These men, most of whom were in their late thirties and above, met regularly to play poker, drink, and spend time with each other. As some of the strongest Brogue speakers on the island, they were sometimes *over*-producing their dialect features in order to retain the strong community

tie that they shared. Currently, the group does not meet as often as they once did, although they do still exhibit relatively strong Brogue features in their speech, as will be examined through a linguistic analysis of a few of the Poker Game Network's core members in a later section.

Currently, a prominent group of island men can be compared to the Poker Game Network. This group, referred to here as the "Pelican Network" because of the local bar that these men frequent called The Pelican, is the subsequent generation most comparable to the men of the Poker Game Network in the 1990's. Some members of the Pelican Network were actually interviewed as adolescents in the early 1990's by NCLLP members.

This community of practice of young men are all in their late twenties to early thirties and are integrated into what could be called traditional island culture activities. They enjoy fishing and taking beach rides, as well as the newer island culture nautical activities of surfing and jet skiing. Some of the men are involved with the local basketball league, playing on a team comprised of other native islanders. Additionally, most members of this group capitalize on the local tourist economy, owning businesses from jet ski rental and parasailing rides to owning restaurants. These businesses, as with most tourist industry-based businesses, are quite lucrative during the summer months, but either close down or run on a shortened schedule during the winter. Thus, one of the differences between this group and the Poker Game Network is that often men in the Pelican Network will travel for a significant amount of time during the winter months to far-off destinations.

There are, of course, various degrees of integration into the Pelican Network. The son of one of the members of the Poker Game Network is associated with the Pelican Network through his participation in island activities; however, he is marginal. As a worker on the ferry, he maintains a tie to the nautical life, though he does not participate in local businesses that capitalize on the tourist economy as the other men do, and he is largely supported by his parents.

His father, while a member of the original Poker Game Network, might also hold a questionable status as far as how accepted he is by his own group. He also works on the ferry and has some fairly significant problems with alcohol use. While nominally a member of the Poker Game Network, it is interesting to consider his exact status in the group when compared with his son's marginal status in the Pelican Network.

These two men are not the only father-son pairs from the Poker Game Network and the Pelican Network. Actually, most of the older Poker Game Network men as well as the younger Pelican Network men are a part island families who consider themselves "traditional" residents of Ocracoke. Their families have resided on the island for generations, and they often have a significant stake in both the island's economy as well as its social life. Islanders recognize these well-known families' apparent status, and, in fact, interviewers are often directed towards these families in order to hear local stories and folklore.

Among these long-standing island families, as well as both the Poker Game Network and Pelican Network, several individuals hold an especially prominent status on the island as prototypical O'cockers. These traditional islanders have a similar reputation as the traditional families – experts to consult about island history or to hear a story.

Additionally, they are also well-known for their strong Brogue dialect. Islanders repeatedly name them for tourists (or interviewers) interested in hearing the Brogue. One of these well-known local Ocracoke women was actually solicited by a tourist to “speak!” in her locally-owned store (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997). Several of these prominent Ocracoke Brogue speakers and their families were interviewed originally in the early 1990s. Since that time, they have become better acquainted with the staff of NCLLP and its members and are more friends now than research participants.

Another group interviewed in the early 1990s by NCLLP members was the locally-born adolescents of the island. Several of these adolescents are members of prominent island families, and exhibited fairly notable Brogue features in their speech. These adolescents are now in their late twenties and early thirties, and most who have remained on the island (which is the majority of them) have become members of the Pelican Network or become involved with traditional Ocracoke activities on the island. During 2005 to 2007, the newest group of adolescents has now been interviewed. These adolescents were all born on the island. Their new ideas about island culture as well as their variations on the Brogue dialect provide interesting grounds for comparison with their older counterparts and insight into future directions of change in the dialect.

- Section 2.3 – Interview Methodology

2.3.1 PARTICIPANTS

For the analyses in this thesis, several different groups of participants were identified for interviews in the comparative analysis. First, follow-up interviews with participants from the early 1990s collection of interviews were undertaken. These subsequent interviews covered individuals from the original Poker Game Network and the current Pelican Network, as well as most prominent islanders identified as strong Brogue speakers from the first set of interviews. Prominent island families were re-interviewed, as well as some members of “traditional” island families who were absent (usually away at school) for the first group of interviews.

Lastly, the current group of adolescents has been the focus of several more interviews. As several members of this group will probably leave for several years after completing high school, a concentrated effort has been made to record these young people before they leave the island. Although many will probably return to Ocracoke, their speech at that point may be substantially altered with either strengthened or weakened Brogue features, depending on their perceived ties to the island while they are away.

Most of the techniques used for identifying interview subjects included asking for “friends-of-a-friend” or, because a large majority of local Ocracoke residents are related somehow, “relatives-of-a-friend” (Milroy 2004). While the original sociolinguistic study on Ocracoke required some door-to-door solicitation, interview subjects now are able to

be found with relative ease, as most have either heard of Walt Wolfram or the NCLLP Brogue materials on display in the Ocracoke Preservation Society museum (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997).

Analyses of speakers employ both real and apparent time constructs (Bailey, Winkle, Tillery, & Sand 1991; Bailey 2004). Because two sets of interviews were completed with a span of almost 15 years between them, differences in individual speakers and the overall community can be found diachronically. Various generations were recorded in each of these time periods. Using the apparent time construct, one can make the assumption that speakers of these various age groupings represent language use at a specific time period in history—the time when they began using language. Additionally, speakers recorded in both time periods are analyzed for change in real time.

2.3.2 INTERVIEWING AND RECORDING

A collection of more than 70 interviews of Ocracoke residents was recorded between the years 1993 and 1996. In a follow-up study, almost 50 interviews have been recorded on Ocracoke again since 2005. Several speakers who participated in the first collection of interviews were re-interviewed. Also, an additional group of people not interviewed in the 1990s (because they were temporarily off-island for school or work, or they were not born yet) was added to the collection. These interviews are housed in the William C. Friday Linguistics Lab on North Carolina State University's campus.

As the most recent interviews were collected after an approximately 15-year gap in time with changes in technology, they were recorded in various different ways.

Most of the first study's interviews as well as the earlier interviews from the follow-up study use an analog Marantz audio tape recorder with either a hand-held, lavalier, or Platypus (to be set on a table) microphone. A few of the more recent interviews, however, were recorded using a digital Marantz professional recorder PMD660 with a lavalier electronic condensing microphone. Recordings range in length from approximately 45 minutes to 90 minutes. Interviews were conducted in a variety of different group configurations, including one interviewer and one interviewee, two interviewers and one interviewee, or a mixed group of both interviewers and interviewees.

While every effort was made in each interview to make the participants feel as comfortable as possible, the effect of NCLLP presence on the island for almost fifteen years cannot be discounted when comparing older and newer recordings. As mentioned in previous sections, participants are often considered friends now instead of just interviewees, and it is assumed that they regard interviewers with considerably more familiarity than they did in the early 1990s. Also, the NCLLP's work in the schools and community with regard to linguistic awareness and education has had some effect on the community and its opinion of a linguistic interview. While the exact effect cannot be measured precisely, it should be taken into account when considering the following linguistic analyses.

Chapter 3 – Qualitative Analysis

- Section 3.1 – Rationale for a Qualitative Analysis

The first perspective of language data analysis to be discussed in this thesis is a qualitative analysis of current Ocracoke adolescent residents. A relatively spontaneous conversation was used as the basis for the interviews (Feagin 2004; Labov 1972; Wolfram & Fasold 1974). Because of this interviewing format, participants were freer to speak in an uninhibited manner with their interviewers. This was further benefited by the NCLLP's trustworthy reputation on the island. Thus, the adolescents felt that they could open up to the outsiders, despite the presence of possibly obtrusive recording equipment.

These interviews were also conducted with more than one Ocracoke adolescent resident at a time. Through this format, interviewers were even more comfortable with the recording and interviewing process, and interviews turned out to be more conversational than directed, allowing speakers' usual speech patterns and styles to be displayed.

Keeping this in mind, casual conversation interviews such as these are therefore an ideal place to find qualitative data revealing beliefs and attitudes about language. Through discourse analysis, additional information about social groupings can be found to complement the sociological profiles of Ocracoke Island that have already been completed.

- Section 3.2 – Discourse Analysis, “I thought we weren’t supposed to be racist?”

3.2.1 INTRODUCTION

It is no secret that many conversations about social, religious, and ethnic groups in which the speakers do not have membership often proceed awkwardly and leave conversation participants feeling uncomfortable or perhaps confused about others’ opinions and ideas. Speakers realize that the language they use to convey their ideas about possibly controversial matters, especially when discussing distinctive groups of people, needs to be carefully constructed and monitored. This can result in ambiguity at best or overt discrimination at worst. These concepts may not be explicitly taught to younger members of society, but even young people have clearly defined notions of appropriate means of discussing a stigmatized group. In fact, research suggests that younger people who have been “ingrained from day one with the ideology of color-blindness” are actually better at employing conversational strategies that will help them appear less racist (Bonilla-Silva 2002: 62).

Over the past decade, the Hispanic population in much of America has drastically increased. North Carolina has the fastest growing population of Hispanics in America, and Ocracoke Island, located in the Outer Banks of North Carolina, reflects this pattern. The small community of approximately 800 year-round inhabitants has seen a rapid growth of Hispanic immigrants, especially in the past five or so years.

Because of this sudden and intense growth, the Hispanic population on Ocracoke has become the focus of attention for native islanders. Often, attention is directed in a

negative way, and the rapid change is not perceived positively. The island is starting to see the integration of Hispanic families into work, school, and social activities such as community basketball leagues, and along with this rapid change in social demographics, racist ideologies are infiltrating the community. These attitudes towards the changing social demographics of the island are, of course, reflected in the everyday discourse of Ocracoke residents.

However, Ocracoke residents are no strangers to popular ideas of tolerance and inclusiveness. As with all of their conversations, their lexical and grammatical structures used in conversation are carefully constructed. In conversations about local Hispanics, both their negative feelings about the change and the expectation about the need to steer clear of “racism” are revealed. This tension between two very different expectations—the norm of disapproval with changing social demographics versus the norm of disapproval of racist ideologies—is revealed in their discourses. Discomfort results from the ongoing struggle, and specific strategies are employed to alleviate it.

Through the analysis of interviews with four Ocracoke eighth graders—one interview of two boys and one of two girls—specific ways will be illuminated in which even these children reveal through their discursive choices their awareness of this struggle between the negative Hispanic image and the positive “politically correct” image of an accepting non-racist American. A mix of these ideologies is found in their discourse through the use of certain lexical group markers (*they, them, everybody, Mexicans, locals, etc.*) and certain grammatical constructions of mitigation (*you know, but, though, like, etc.*). This is set within the framework of first explaining how the Ocracoke residents use discourse techniques to define their own community before discussing their opinions of

“outside” groups. Additionally, the use of humor, pauses, and subject changes will be briefly discussed as strategies employed by Ocracoke speakers to deal with the discomfort of conflicting ideologies.

3.2.2 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

While negative ideologies regarding minority groups are not new, the recent negative perceptions of Hispanic immigrants to North Carolina, especially to Ocracoke and the Outer Banks, are fairly recent developments. Research into the Ocracoke community’s strategies of addressing both overt and covert racism, as seen in four of the town’s youth, is therefore based on a framework of several other studies that have looked into group stratification, especially racial groups, and how that division plays a part in the language of the empowered socially dominant group.

In *Language and Power*, Fairclough (2001) establishes the link that exists between how one uses language and the amount of perceived power that a person has. People are generally aware of the relative power structures in a community, and they will portray this structure through lexical and grammatical conventions. Various *subject positions*, or social roles, are displayed, especially by those in empowered situations who wish to keep their power over a certain group or groups in a community.

Bourdeiu (1999: 502) also recognizes the direct implications one’s social position has on language. He notes that, “utterances are not only... signs to be understood and deciphered; they are also signs of wealth, intended to be evaluated and appreciated, and signs of authority, intended to be believed and obeyed.” The language spoken by a

person will display his or her relative position in a community and is expected to be understood by all. People are also expected to act in accordance with the language signs presented to them.

As Irvine and Gal (2000: 36) note, “there is no ‘view from nowhere,’ no gaze that is not positioned.” Every utterance will have some connection to this position which the speaker holds and the speaker will make a judgment over their own as well as others’ social positions. “Linguistic form,” Irvine and Gal note later, “including whole languages, can index social groups” (37).

After these power differences are set and maintained through language, however, how do people react to them? Ideologies are often noticed by speakers, and an attempt is often made to justify them. Additionally, when a speaker notices the disparate power relations apparent in his or her discourse, he or she may also try to ignore the relevant issues at hand. For example, the process of *Erasure*, whereby a speaker either does not attend to or explains away “facts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme” they are purporting, is a common strategy for dealing with ethnic ideologies (Irvine & Gal 2000: 38).

Bourdeiu (1999) recognizes the struggle that often comes along with conversing about ideas that strongly implicate a possible perceived negative through the construct of *stylistic collision*. When speakers are conflicted between which style they should choose to communicate with, this often has strong implications for their choices about portraying their own ideologies. It is often acceptable to portray a socially recognized negative ideology within a group of close peers or family, while it is unacceptable to portray these same ideologies in a less well-known group of listeners.

In current American culture, it is popularly understood that all should strive for a non-racist society and be accepting of other cultures and ethnicities. Also, it is usually preferred that members of society minimize the differences between races, ignoring potentially uncomfortable issues or conflicts (Chesler, Peet, & Sevig 2003). This ideology, termed “color-blindness,” infiltrates the way we use language to discuss issues of race in an apparently non-racist manner (Bonilla-Silva 2002). All people feel the pressure of this dictum, even while simultaneously dealing with the reality of the natural negative reaction to change and the unknown. Those who are blatantly racist will also often mitigate their comments, implying their absolute knowledge of these constraints in society (van Dijk 1999). As Bonilla-Silva states, the “language of color blindness is slippery, apparently contradictory, and often subtle.” People will employ various linguistic devices as well as hesitating with “digressions, long pauses, repetition, and self corrections” in order to avoid the social stigma of being a racist (2002: 42).

In addition to employing the linguistic devices used to portray themselves as non-racists, speakers will also be careful in their naming choices for various racial and social groups. As Green (2002) mentions about labels for African American English, for example, a label for a group is directly related to the perceptions of that group. Certain terms are considered to employ the “tolerance” and “acceptance” that Americans feel the push to employ, as noted above, while certain other terms convey a notion of disrespect.

While the theoretical framework is a strong basis for beginning exploration into the Ocracoke discourse strategies dealing with Hispanics, inquiry first will be completed on the construction of the Ocracoke identity itself, in order to set it apart from other groups, such as the Hispanic immigrants. Using Cameron’s (2001) model from *Working*

with Spoken Discourse, we realize the need to do an inward look at the Ocracoke community to examine how they define themselves. She asserts that “language using is among the social practices through which people assert their identities—who they are or take themselves to be—and distinguish themselves from others who are ‘different’” (2001: 161).

Beginning with an in-depth examination of the Ocracoke community and its definitions of itself, and then proceeding to an extensive analysis of discourse strategies used to deal with conflicting ideologies of racism and tolerance in the eighth grade locals, a picture of Ocracoke ideologies about Hispanic immigrants will be revealed.

3.2.3 BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

Along with the large increase of tourism on Ocracoke Island in the mid-twentieth century came an increased need for workers. Much help is needed for construction, housekeeping in rental houses and hotels, and restaurant service, for example. This has led many families, including a large Hispanic population, to move onto the island in search of employment, despite the skyrocketing price of real estate and rent.

Interviews of approximately 90 minutes were conducted with four eighth grade students of the Ocracoke School for this study. The four children were split into two groups—one of two boys and one of two girls—and a group interview with two fieldworkers and the two children was conducted for each group. All four of the children had lived on the island since they were babies. Two of the adolescents, JJ (one of the

girls) and AC (one of the boys), were the children of local parents, and were consequently related to a large portion of islanders by either blood or marriage.

The interviews were conducted in March of 2006 at the Ocracoke School building located on Ocracoke Island during after-school hours. The Ocracoke School teaches approximately 115 children from kindergarten through twelfth grade and has been steadily expanding so much over the past few years that a new addition was completed for the 2006-2007 school year. The high school classes have an average of about eight or nine students per grade level, whereas the youngest elementary school classrooms have anywhere up to about 10 or 12 students. This may be in part due to the recent immigration of young Hispanic families with children.

The 90-minute sociolinguistic casual conversation interviews ranged in topics dealing with anything from childhood experiences to Ocracoke current events. Probably because the town is so small, the children had a relatively good grasp of local happenings and prominent people. The children of local parents had an especially extensive knowledge of community ties.

For this study, two portions of each interview were transcribed for detailed analysis. (These transcripts, Transcript A with the girls and Transcript B with the boys, can be found in the Appendix.) The first section discusses the establishment of the Ocracoke identity. Family relations are discussed in the girls' interview extensively and the boys' briefly. The boys also discuss the changing use of the Ocracoke Brogue. These sections occur about 20 to 30 minutes into the interviews for each group.

Having this background of Ocracoke identity in mind, the next section of each interview was chosen because of the discussion of the increased immigration of

Hispanics to the island. The topic is introduced spontaneously by the interviewees themselves in both interviews, and the discussion of the issue is continued at length. These sections both occur at about an hour to an hour and fifteen minutes into the interviews. It should be noted that by this point, any uneasiness the children had with the interview process or the fieldworkers should be minimized, thereby increasing the comfort of the children's discourse to its maximum level of the interview.

After transcribing these sections, a careful critical reading of the transcriptions revealed similar discourse techniques used by both sets of children to set apart the Hispanic group. Additionally, there were several structures employed that led to a more "color blind" or inclusive, non-racist ideological conversation. With this constant struggle between the competing ideas the children had about Hispanics on the island, a noticeable discomfort was perceived and strategies for dealing with this discomfort were observed.

The analysis that follows is a synthesis of the strategies employed by the Ocracoke children in dealing with this somewhat uncomfortable topic.

3.2.4 ANALYSIS / DISCUSSION

3.2.4.1 Defining Ocracokers

To begin with, it is important to summarize the constructions native Ocracokers use to define who they are. By doing this, it will become easier to realize how the group of Hispanic immigrants on the island is set apart from these locals. In the interviews with

AW and JJ (named from here on as Interview A) and AC and DJL (Interview B), both lexical items and certain conversation topics are focused on by the children.

Towards the beginning of Interview A, an inquiry is made into the girls' knowledge of other "people on the island" (line 1, A). In line 7 of JJ's response, she defines her mother as a "local, local person." This reveals an important construction of defining one's "localness." First, the use of family ties as related to the speaker pulls them into the sphere of a "local" in the "in-group." JJ's use of speaking about her mom shows the emphasis of the community on the familial relationships of natives. Similarly, in AC's discussion of the Brogue, an obvious local quality, he relates it especially to "parents" (line 27, B).

Along with the importance of family relations, mentioning the occupations of these relations is a discourse strategy to show a strong tie to Ocracoke identity. If a person has a local identity at a certain job, Ocracokers will recognize that they have an important contribution to the community, and they may end up recognizing them. DJ, a local to the island, but a child of relatively recent White immigrants to the island, is quick to offer that his father is a fisherman when relating him to the Brogue speech of the island (line 10, B). In her interview, JJ also mentions her mother's place of work at the local variety store, as well as her local aunt's employments at the school (lines 9 and 31-36, A).

While AW, like DJ, is a local child of parents who did not live on the island, she is quick to recognize the cues that tie a person in with the local Ocracoke identity. She cues in to JJ's multiple family relations, as well as bringing up the subject of last names, another "local cue," in line 38 (A). Several names, such as "O'Neal," as AW mentions,

are quite prevalent and well-known to be names of those families who have strong ancestral ties to Ocracoke (lines 40-43).

In addition to these specific conversation cues of local identity, two key lexical items are used by the eighth graders to convey in-group identities. In Interview A, JJ shows the importance of the word *local* in conveying Ocracoke identity (line 7). She uses the word twice, emphasizing both its importance and the degree of “local-ness” that she and her mother have. Another term of inclusion is the item *native*. AC uses this in line 24 (B), in his description of people who have relatives who have lived on the island for generations.

3.2.4.2 Lexical group markers for Ocracokers vs. Hispanics

The first way one defines an out-group is by naming it. The name choice one gives to a group correlates to embedded ideologies that the speaker feels about it. In these interviews, when the eighth graders need to use a name reference, they, by and large, use the term *Hispanics* when referring to the Hispanic immigrant group on the island. In Interview B, the term is first introduced by DJ, in line 41. He sets *Hispanics* apart from *Caucasians* when describing the two basketball teams. Interestingly, he uses *Hispanic* as both a description of the group and the actual group name itself. Whereas one basketball team is “like a whole *white* team of, like, *Caucasians*” (emphasis added), they also “had a *Hispanic* team of *Hispanics*” (lines 42-43).

In Interview A, AW and JJ name the group at the same time as their speech overlaps; however, JJ uses a different term than AW does: *Mexicans* (line 54). After the

introduction of this term, AW goes back and corrects herself with “Mexican, Hispanic,” and JJ corrects herself with “Yeah. Nicer way to say it” (lines 52-55). While AW tries to display the fact that she could also use *Mexican*, as her friend did, and that it really doesn’t make much difference either way, she also goes back again to the use of *Hispanic*. JJ seems to agree with her final verdict, as she recognizes the “niceness,” or perhaps, social ramifications in front of relative strangers, at using this socially taboo term.

They obviously recognize the importance of using *Hispanic* as opposed to *Mexican*, especially in this social situation including strangers and a tape recorder; however, AW continues to defend her friend’s use of the word *Mexican*, which may or may not be perceived as a racist word by the listeners at this point. She continues, “Well, some people think it’s racist to say Mexicans, but they’re *from* Mexico. We’re from America- Americans” (lines 56-57). After this, AW uses the term *Mexican* one more time, in line 66, “Pure-bred Mexicans,” using an adjective that is usually associated with animals, especially dogs and horses. In the rest of the conversation, however, name-usage returns to *Hispanic*, as is solely used in Interview B. Perhaps a great deal of the reason the children stick to *Hispanic*, though, is because of the persistent use by the interviewers themselves. It may well be the case that if interviewers had referred to the group as *Mexicans* at any point, the children could have easily switched over to this usage.

Pronominal usage has also been shown to be an excellent indicator of negative opinions and ideologies about certain groups of people in several studies of political figures, the media, gender relations, etc. (see, e.g., Cameron 2001; Fairclough 2001; etc.). Ocracoke eighth graders’ language usage is another example of pronominal usage being

used to set apart a certain group of disempowered people. The use of *they* and *them*, as opposed to *us* and *we*, reveals embedded ideologies about the relation between locals and Hispanics. Unlike the naming terms of *Hispanic* and *Mexican*, which are often ideologically charged one way or another, *they* and other exclusive pronouns seem to increase the distance between the speaker and the group referred to. It is not as implicating of the speaker, and does not commit him or her as much as a blatant use of unambiguous names might be.

For example, in Interview A, AW is trying to explain a theory she has about Hispanic people buying alcohol for underage (native Ocracoke) drinkers in the town (lines 71-73): “I think *they* might, like, you know, give *them*, I don’t know, like, *they*’ll give *them* money and then, so then *they*’ll, *they*’ll go get like whatever from- for *them*, cause *they*’ll be old enough.” It isn’t until her next comment (lines 75-76) that it becomes clear what she is referring to with her mention of the ABC store: “I wonder if the people at like the ABC store are like ‘hm, these people always come in here’ (laugh) ‘you know?’” For a usually fairly clear speaker, this comment is unusually ambiguous in its use of several pronouns without a clear referent. Because the accusation of the comment is so charged, however, AW places the Hispanic population into the “other” group category, along with a group of kids who she has noticed participating in illegal activities. There is no allowance for members of the Hispanic group that are not a part of *they* and *them*. Hispanics are therefore all grouped into one out-group.

DJ similarly implicated the entire Hispanic group in Interview B with “They’re the ones that do street racing, they’ve supplied some people (pause) um (pause) the issues, and going to the school, hooking up with all the girls” (lines 123-125). He has

grouped them into one category of a group that engages in aggravating, if not illegal, activities.

In a final observation about pronoun usage, the realization that AW makes towards the end of Interview A, in lines 132-134, is examined. It follows a particularly long section of transcript in which she tries to explain and defend the reasons why Hispanics get paid less than local Ocracokers: “*They’re* not like *slaves*, I mean *they’re* really nice, but—(laugh) I hate to refer *them* to—as *them, they*, right? But, you know.” As the realization of the need to avoid racist ideologies is brought to her attention after discussing such a politically charged idea such as unfair wages, she feels the need to establish herself as a non-racist. At the outset, it looks as if she is defending Hispanics, letting us know their value. However, by even mentioning slavery, it brings up an underlying ideology that had earlier been unmentioned. Hispanics are being treated unfairly, as slaves had been in the past. AW realizes the image projected by constantly referring to Hispanics as *they* and *them* is an odd way for natural conversation, but she is unsure of any way to correct this problem.

3.2.4.3 *Structures for mitigation*

As the children proceed in their interviews and realize that they are treading a thin line that may or may not mark them as “racist,” they employ several strategies to mitigate the perception that they are racist, in keeping with overarching societal expectations of tolerance. Tag questions, hedges, and disclaimers all serve as devices employed to portray an image of non-racist ideologies.

In Interview B, when the interviewer begins to ask about the community's perception of Hispanics in the area, both DJ and AC quickly speak up at the same time that the community does not mind. However, their statements include a tag question (*ya know*), hedges (*it's just; some of them; I guess; like*), and a blatant disclaimer from both boys (*but I...I never seen some; but like*): DJ: "No. They don't mind, *but like, it's just uh, a lot of them (unintelligible),*" to which AC responds: "Uh, some of them. I like- *yeah- I like some of them, but I guess (unintelligible) see them every day, I never seen some before, ya know-*" (lines 119-122).

In Interview A, the girls employ similar strategies to protect their non-racist image. As mentioned above, there is a rather long section of transcript in which AW examines the phenomenon of Hispanic people getting paid less than locals for jobs (lines 123-130). Here, she employs a massive amount of hedging, disclaiming and tag questioning, as seen in this excerpt: "And then, *but like, if you gave it somebody- cause I think the money exchange in Mexico is like high or something? I don't know. Even if it wasn't though, but um—and then there are people here who wouldn't do that work for that much money probably. I bet*" (lines 125-128). When dealing with such an uncomfortable topic, as well as one that she may not know an expert amount of information on, in relation to the adult interviewers, she feels the need to distance herself from her comments as much as possible with these mitigators.

3.2.4.4 Strategies for dealing with the ideological struggle

Obviously the children quite quickly become aware of the struggle they have encountered between the external social pressure of appearing non-racist and the internal ideologies about Hispanics that they probably have rarely had to face in a *stylistic collision* such as this. They have ways of indicating to the interviewers (and perhaps each other) that they do not, in fact, want to align themselves with “racist” ideologies; however, they are uncomfortable with the collision between having to use these techniques along with sharing how they really perceive the situation. They know that some thoughts will be viewed as perhaps slightly racist, but they also feel that their ideas are legitimate and justifiable. Discourse markers such as pauses, subject changes, and the use of humor are all results of this internal struggle.

For example, when asked if the Hispanic and white children in the Ocracoke school hung out together, AW’s reply is, “Yeah, it’s not separated, I don’t think. Yeah. Plus, with the younger kids they don’t really notice, like (pause) when they’re really young. (pause) Yep” (lines 90-91, A). She is uncomfortable actually admitting what it is that the younger kids do not notice because, although she notices racist ideologies, she does not know a “correct” way of putting this into words. Her pause helps her cope with her discomfort and insecurity of continuing along a path where she may have to reveal further what her own beliefs are in the presentation of others’ views. Pauses are an interesting part of these particular interviews also because of the fact that there are two children being interviewed at a time. With as much interruption and overlap as there is of each other, it is obvious that one is not refraining from speaking based on a sense that he

or she should wait for the other to finish. In this way, a pause is really indicative of both children's insecurities in the topic at hand, not only that of the current speaker.

In Interview B, an interesting occurrence of a subject change made its way into the conversation through an indirect avoidance of a response to a particular question. The interviewer asks a similar question as the one she asked to the girls, "How about the kids in the school? The Hispanic kids. Do they get along with everyone in the school?" (lines 136-137). Apparently the boys have a similar discomfort as the girls have in answering this question. AC responds with a one-word "Yeah" (line 138), while DJ employs a subject change. He begins talking about a girl, M, and how she had been made fun of by other school children (lines 139-143). When the interviewer asks repeated questions about if M or the teasers were Hispanic (lines 144, 150), it was found that the story about M was apparently irrelevant to the question, other than the fact that it pertained to the issue of school harmony. The fact that both interviewees responded in uncomfortable ways to the question of how Hispanic children were integrating with the white children is an interesting cue as to somewhat racist ideologies that the school children may share.

Lastly, the use of humor and laughter by the eighth graders is a common strategy that the children use when dealing with their ideological struggle. In Interview A, as mentioned earlier, AW deals with the idea of legitimizing JJ's and her own use of *Mexicans*. After stating that "We're from America—Americans" (line 57), she moves on to joke that "They should call us United-ans or something" (line 59). This results in laughter by both the interviewees and interviewers. By bringing a light-heartedness to the conversation, AW was not only focusing the attention off of hers and JJ's possible

“mistake” of using *Mexicans*, but making light of her increasingly obvious ideological views.

The boys in Interview B also use humor to lighten the mood during what could potentially be a serious discussion about an important political and economic issue for Ocracoke. During a discussion of basketball, DJ brings up “And there’s this little speedy guy that’s—I don’t know his name—R. (pause) Um, he’s pretty funny because like if you see a ball like go in the air- (JR: mmhm) –at any time he’ll be up there (laugh) Even if it’s for the other team” (lines 84-88). This is followed with laughter by both of the interviewers. Not only does DJ employ the use of a humorous common anecdote (scoring for the wrong team), he also uses the phrase “speedy little guy” evoking a stereotypical image about Hispanics. He refers to R as *little* although he is an adult and therefore quite a bit older than DJ, and he uses the word *speedy*, bringing to mind a connotation of “Speedy Gonzales.” DJ’s use of humor, while perhaps distracting listeners from paying attention to negative aspects of his discourse, is full of ideological markers of racism towards Hispanics.

3.2.5 DISCUSSION

In Ocracoke, the native islanders control most of the economic resources of the town, as well as direct much of the social happenings, such as community league basketball games. As native islanders, the children of Ocracoke grow up completely aware of this power relation between themselves and recent immigrants. The Hispanics moving onto the island are employed by wealthier Anglo Ocracokers, and they have less

economic and social capital to offer than the locals. The power relation here is quite clear, and it ends up being displayed through the local discourse. As Faiclough would predict, the children use various lexical and grammatical conventions as they display their relative power (2001). The children's social roles, or *subject positions*, are defined by their local familial ties to the island, which, in effect, is a tie to money and power. As the empowered group on the island, they speak accordingly.

As the Ocracoke eighth graders speak, they reveal not only the messages they intend to send, but also hidden meanings that are clues to their local Ocracoke heritage and prestige. Through their linguistic practice, they reproduce, maintain, and legitimate the power ideology present in their community (Bourdeiu 1999).

The children of Ocracoke, as all speakers, must take a position on the idea of power differential that is present in their town. They must index their relative social position. The language of Ocracoke speakers does this especially in their discourse revolving around Hispanic immigrants. The social group of white Ocracoke natives is set at a complete dichotomy with the newly arrived Hispanic community. The index is set, and the language of the town facilitates the power difference (Irvine and Gal 2000).

While the index is often set with reasonable clarity to outsiders, Ocracoke speakers may not feel as comfortable displaying the ideologies behind their indexical judgments to those they do not know well. In circles of other native Ocracokers with similar perceptions of both the ideology and unspoken facts about local Hispanics, eighth grade speakers may feel comfortable continuing a conversation in one style, linguistically maintaining hierarchical social relations. However, when speaking with non-native fieldworkers, as these eighth graders did, they may have felt the collision of linguistically

expressing their usual ideologies about Hispanics with the need to present an “open-minded” un-biased position on the power difference for near strangers.

Children of Ocracoke use several different linguistic strategies to give the appearance of a “color-blind” racial ideology, employing disclaimers to their comments about Hispanics while concurrently validating their comments that place Hispanics in a negative view (Bonilla-Silva 2002). They realize that they do have underlying negative perceptions of Hispanics, which make their way into their discourse, but they also realize the social need to steer clear from racism and comments that could implicate them as such.

3.2.6 CONCLUSIONS/ FURTHER QUESTIONS/ FUTURE RESEARCH

As seen through the analysis of the transcripts of interviews with Ocracoke eighth graders, even these children have and are completely aware of both racist and non-racist ideologies. Because of the presence of both of these views, there is an internal struggle between how they are used to presenting their views (perhaps around most other “locals”) and how they feel they should present themselves in front of strangers (the interviewers and a recording tape).

This is a brief case study, comprised only of two short excerpts of interviews that were each 90 minutes long. Obviously more conversation with these students, as well as with several other speakers, would fill out the analysis and make data more statistically significant. It would be worthwhile to include interviews with older Ocracoke speakers as well as younger ones to compare the differences in ideologies.

Additionally, it would be interesting to hear discourse about how Ocracokers refer to tourists. As AW says at the end of Interview A, the Hispanic population is really the only other noticeable ethnicity on Ocracoke. Tourists, though often not a different ethnicity from the native islanders, are definitely an “out-group,” as are Hispanics. Further exploration as to how Ocracokers mark the tourist status may give more insight into discourse about Hispanic residents. Ocracokers may have a certain power over tourists, as locals who know “the ropes” of the island; however, they are definitely dependent upon tourists economically, which slightly alters power relations, and most likely discourse as well.

Struggles with the competing ideologies of racism and “political correctness” manifest themselves in the discourse of these four children. In line 47 of Interview B, DJ questions, “I thought we weren’t supposed to be racist?” He recognizes this overarching expectation of society, and yet in his observation of the adults of the town, he notices the segregation of something as simple as a basketball team. While the children may not understand fully the implications of racist ideologies or segregation, they do have a definite understanding of the ideas themselves, and how they are presented in discourse.

The future of Hispanic integration into the community will probably lessen the discomfort of dealing with the issue and reduce negative stereotypes, thereby reducing the competition with the politically correct ideology of inclusiveness. A follow-up study, similar to this one, interviewing middle school age children in future years, would be an interesting way to track the ideologies about racism in the younger Ocracoke population. Maybe then, in future years, when these four eighth graders are the adults of the

community, children will not have to ask questions such as “I thought we weren’t supposed to be racist?”

Chapter 4 – Quantitative Analysis

- Section 4.1 – Rationale for a Quantitative Analysis

Now moving into a more quantitative presentation of speaker data, the analyses of general trends and trajectories of change in certain Ocracoke dialectal features indicate a shift in the social structure of the island. Two morphosyntactic structures and one phonological feature were found to be characteristic of the Ocracoke Brogue fifteen years ago: past tense *be* leveling to *weren’t*, the use of static locative *to*, and /ai/ nucleus raising (Howren 1962; Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1994; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1995; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1996). Comparative data between the interviews conducted in the early 1990s and those conducted in 2005-2006 show differences in Ocracoke language usage in specific individuals and age groups in real and apparent time.

For this overall quantitative analysis, speakers have been divided into four age groupings: Young, Middle, Older, and Oldest. Young speakers were teenagers through 20 years old at the time of their interview. Middle speakers were in their 20s and 30s, and Older speakers were in their 40s and 50s. Oldest speakers were 60 years of age or older at the time of their interviews. Additionally, the data are divided into two general time periods representing the date of the interview: Time I and Time II. Interviews in the

Time I category were recorded in the early 1990s and those in the Time II category were recorded in the follow-up study in the 2000s.

Division between the age groupings happens at fairly significant historical points in the history of Ocracoke for both the Time I and Time II interview groupings. The speakers' generational group characteristics tend to center around the growth of tourism on the island and the speakers' parts in dealing with it. First, the division between Young speakers and Middle speakers at the age of 20 happens around the transition time between high school and college, or for many, joining the work force. This is the point in time for some Ocracoke residents when they begin to search out opportunities for remaining and working on the island. Also, for those Ocracoke adolescents who do not want to remain on the island, this is the point in time where they can realistically leave.

The divide between the Middle and Older generations in the more recent interviews marks the age-group boundary that is the divide between those people who were children or in high school during the time of the tourist boom of the 1980s and those who were already working adults by this time. In the earlier group of interviews, the division marks the difference between those who were born before and after the 1950s, the time when Ocracoke first began to become much less isolated as well as a hot spot for tourism. This division, therefore, is also the division between the Older and Oldest generations of the more recent interviews.

Additionally, the growth of tourism in the 1950s also affects the division of the Older and Oldest generations of the earlier collection of interviews. The Oldest people in this study were adults by the time of this major shift on Ocracoke, and they were old enough to remember life before tourism became such an influence on the community.

- Section 4.2 – *Weren't* leveling

4.2.1 BACKGROUND/ METHODOLOGY

As in most vernacular dialects of English, Ocracoke Island's Brogue exhibits interesting variations in forms of the verb *to be*. This section examines the unique coastal pattern of past tense *be* remorphologization in which *were* leveling is based on polarity rather than plurality (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1994). That is, *were* leveling from *was* is limited to negatives, as in *I weren't there* or *she weren't happy*. Though there are some variable instances of *were* regularization in other contexts, this negative past tense *be* leveling is one of the variables that has traditionally defined this region (Wolfram, Hazen, and Schilling-Estes 1999). *Weren't* regularization is not particularly salient to islanders, even though it is highly diagnostic of coastal and island speech extending from the Outer Banks of North Carolina to the Eastern Shore and islands of Virginia and Maryland in the Chesapeake Bay (Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999).

Tabulations of potential and actual cases of *weren't* regularization were made based on listening to interviews recorded for more than 30 Ocracoke speakers. Speakers with no potential cases of *weren't* regularization were excluded from this part of the study. A potential case of *weren't* regularization could simply be defined as any case where Standard English would require *wasn't*. All tabulations of regularized *weren't* usage were compared with the total number of potential cases (regularized *weren't*

totalled with the standard *wasn't*). No cases of Standard English *weren't* were tabulated, i.e. *you weren't* or *they weren't*.

Because of the nature of the casual conversation sociolinguistic interview style used in most of the Ocracoke interviews of both the early 1990s and the 2000s, positive ideas are often accentuated. This leads to a very small number of negative constructions with the past tense of *be*. The low token count for actual and potential cases of *weren't* regularization for each speaker was compensated for by compiling several speakers' data into one set representative of the entire age group. This overall ratio was then averaged to show a percentage somewhat representative of the whole generational group.

It is hoped that by using this method, the chance of a skewed portrayal of *weren't* usage in a particular group will be lessened. It is important to keep in mind, though, the fact that whether averages are calculated using compiled data or the average of individuals' averages, percentages may not be the best way to fully represent the level of *weren't* regularization on Ocracoke because of the extremely low token counts. It is always necessary to observe the individual speakers that comprise a generational group.

4.2.2 AGGREGATE *WEREN'T* DATA

In observing changes in *weren't* regularization through both the collection of interviews recorded in the early 1990s and those recorded in the 2000s, seen in Tables 1 and 2, it can be perceived that the overall trend of the usage of this feature seems to decreasing in real time.

Table 1. Overall *weren't* regularization, 1994-1996

<i>TIME I</i>												
	<u>Young</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Older</u>		<u>Oldest</u>					
	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	
	JB	2	2	CaG	1	2	DE	4	8	OM	4	4
	MM	0	2	CL	7	7	MG	1	1			
	BaB	0	1	ReO	0	7	JBG	9	10			
	BuB	6	7				RA	2	6			
	HE	0	1				WT	0	2			
TOTALS		8	13		8	16		16	27		4	4
%		62%		50%			59%			100%		

Table 2. Overall *weren't* regularization, 2005-2006

TIME II											
	<u>Young</u>		<u>Middle</u>		<u>Older</u>		<u>Oldest</u>				
	N	T	N	T	N	T	N	T	N	T	
BW	0	2	DSE	0	3	RDG	4	4	RA	0	5
ChG	0	1	WO	1	1	DG	1	1	WT	0	4
ML	1	1	CaG	1	4	CL	19	19	JBG	4	8
RoO	0	2	ErO	0	2	ReO	1	6	RP	4	4
AIG	1	1	BuB	2	2						
AW	1	1	DM	4	7						
AC	0	1	SW	0	1						
			MP	0	2						
			JB	0	1						
			BeaO	2	3						
			JE	0	1						
			RL	1	2						
TOTALS	3	9	11	29	25	30	8	21			
%	33%		38%		83%		38%				

The Young generation of the current time period, Time II, seems to be much lower in their average *weren't* regularization than those of Time I. In fact, every generational group of Time II is at least slightly lower than their earlier counterparts in their usage of this feature with one exception. The Older group in Time II is quite high at 25 instances (N) of *weren't* regularization out of 30 possible total (T) tokens.

The reason for this extremely high ratio, however, is the presence of speaker CL. He uses 19 instances of *weren't* regularization for all 19 of his possible tokens. Keeping

in mind that his data will greatly affect the overall numbers, especially because the other three speakers in this particular group have such low token counts, it is interesting to note what the overall percentage would be without his data. At six instances of *weren't* regularization out of 11 possible tokens, the percentage would be 55%, lower than the comparable Older group's percentage of 59%.

Another factor to note in this *weren't* regularization overview is the observation in apparent time of an increase in the feature's usage in the youngest generation of the former group of interviews. In the early 1990s, the speakers of the youngest group had a ratio of 8 usages out of 13 possible regularizations of *weren't*, higher even than the Older group's ratio of 16 out of 27 possible tokens. Again there is an instance of one speaker using the majority of all possible *weren't* regularization tokens, and he, like CL, is also a frequent user of *weren't*.

However, it may also be helpful to take into account the fact that the youngest generation is comprised of people who have not yet left the island for college or other experiences lasting for long periods of time off the island. Therefore, these young people have probably not yet had to encounter much pressure from an outside community to conform to more Standard English constructions. While young people in current times are also in this same situation, they also have had much more exposure to non-native islanders who do not speak with Brogue features than their older counterparts ever did. Tourism has continued to grow and outsiders have continued to move onto Ocracoke at a staggering rate, both of which may have influenced their three out of nine cases of regularization ratio to be lower than it currently is. This possibility will also be important to keep in mind when examining features in later sections.

While the numbers are not completely reliable due to issues such as token count and a differing number of speakers per generational group for each time period, this sketch of *weren't* regularization in Ocracoke gives a general overview of the status of this Brogue feature on the island. The feature, while gradually dwindling away, still holds strong with certain members of the community for various reasons which will be explored in the next chapter.

- Section 4.3 – Static locative *to*

4.3.1 BACKGROUND/ METHODOLOGY

Although a seldom studied linguistic variable, the use of the preposition *to* as an alternative for the preposition *at* has been found throughout several eastern North Carolina dialect areas, especially in coastal regions (Carpenter & Vadnais 2005; Vadnais 2006; Nichols 1986). Though its use was found to be decreasing in several communities, *to* used as a preposition indicating static location remains a relatively small yet stable feature in the Ocracoke Brogue. Examples of the static locative *to* construction include *he's down to the pier* for Standard English's *he's down at the pier*, or *she works to the restaurant* instead of *she works at the restaurant*.

Uses of similar constructions of locative *to* have been documented as far back as the early 900s (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2005). In America, static locative *to* has been cited in areas along the eastern seaboard of the United States, throughout New England, and even to some extent in the Midwest (*Dictionary of American Regional English*

forthcoming). In fact, throughout the period of the American Revolution, the use of *to work* for *at work* was a noted colloquialism in several communities (*DARE* forthcoming).

Interviews with over 50 speakers were tabulated for potential and actual cases of static locative *to* usage. As with the morphological variable of *weren't* regularization, the use of static locative is a fairly rare occurrence in sociolinguistic interviews of 45 to 90 minutes. Potential locative *to* cases for tabulation in this study were defined to be any usage of either the preposition *at* or *to* when referring to a subject existing in a static location. To manage the low token counts of the potential and actual cases of locative *to*, data have been compiled by age group again in this section. Speakers with no potential cases for static locative *to* usage have been eliminated from this portion data presentation. While similar issues with data reliability need to be accounted for in the observation of locative *to* usage, this data overview should provide a useful image of its place in Ocracoke residents' speech through different times and generational groups.

4.3.2 AGGREGATE LOCATIVE *TO* DATA

As can be seen in Tables 3 and 4, the usage of static locative *to* is obviously much less frequent than the morphosyntactic variable discussed above, *weren't* regularization. Speakers tend not to use locative *to* categorically. Despite its less frequent usage, there are still some speakers who do use it fairly regularly, though observation of the two

different time periods of interviews seems to indicate the feature's general demise through each generation.

Table 3. Overall static locative *to* usage

<i>TIME I</i>											
<u>Young</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Middle</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Older</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Oldest</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
JB	4	5	CaG	4	11	DE	2	5	EH	3	5
MM	2	6	CL	1	3	JBG	1	7	CW	2	3
BaB	0	1	ReO	0	6	EP	2	5	MaurB	5	13
BuB	5	12	KB	1	3	EdO	1	4	EsO	6	10
HE	1	2	RDG	0	4	EB	1	13	BS	2	3
BeaO	0	3	CatO	2	4	DO	2	6	MaudB	7	14
JeJ	0	1	LG	0	11	RA	1	5			
CarO	1	3	TT	4	6						
CB	1	4	JaneM	0	1						
IB	0	16	JanaM	3	7						
AnG	3	5	BenO	1	3						
			SH	0	8						
			CS	0	14						
TOTALS	17	55		15	78		8	40		25	48
%	31%		19%			20%			52%		

Table 4. Overall static locative to usage, 2005-2006

<i>TIME II</i>											
<u>Young</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Middle</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Older</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Oldest</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
BW	1	5	DSE	0	6	RDG	2	5	RA	3	7
ChG	1	1	WO	1	5	DG	2	2	WT	0	5
ML	0	6	CaG	5	20	CL	5	6	JBG	3	8
AIG	0	4	ErO	0	3	ReO	0	5			
AW	0	12	BuB	1	1						
JoJ	0	2	JB	0	5						
			BeaO	0	4						
			JE	0	11						
			RL	1	1						
TOTALS	2	30	8	56	9	18	6	20			
%	7%		14%		50%		30%				

The youngest group of speakers in Time II only shows seven percent usage of locative *to*, the lowest of any group through time, almost 50 percentage points lower than the oldest group of speakers displayed here from Time I. It can be predicted that this ratio from the youngest group will probably lower as the group ages, too, as most of its members will take time to leave the island for college or other activities.

As seen with the interviews of the youngest group in the early 1990s, their usage of locative *to* was much higher than either the Middle or Older groups of their time period. Now, though, the Middle aged group, which is comprised of the same cohort and even a few of the same speakers, is quite low in their locative *to* ratio, lower than both the Older and Oldest age groups with eight out of 56 possible cases of locative *to* usage. The

future of locative *to* in Ocracoke's Brogue does not look bright, and it will probably disappear entirely within the next couple of generations.

- Section 4.4 – /ai/ and /a/

4.4.1 BACKGROUND/ METHODOLOGY

The backing of the nucleus of /ai/ is a highly marked and stereotypical feature of Outer Banks English (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1995; Wolfram, Hazen, & Schilling-Estes 1999). The backing of the /ai/ in words such as *high* and *tide* has even produced a lexical item that defines the inhabitants of the Outer Banks as “hoi toiders.” This variable has proved to be a key part of Brogue dialect performances, which is attributed to its strong salience on the island (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram 1994; Schilling-Estes 1996, 1998). Although well-established as a traditional feature of the Ocracoke Brogue, it has, as with other Brogue dialect features, changed with the shifting demographics of the island.

The backing of the nucleus of /ai/ has been known to exhibit different degrees of movement in various phonological constraints. For example, the nucleus of /ai/ when followed by a voiceless consonant (e.g., *tide*) is usually found to be more backed than when followed by an unvoiced consonant (e.g., *tight*). When measuring the relative backness of speakers' /ai/ usage in this study, the two environments were separated. The /ai/ usages with a following voiced consonant are reported here since this is the most favorable and diagnostic environment for backing. Additionally, the speakers' /a/

realization in words such as *hot* and *mall* was measured in order to provide an anchor vowel for comparing the production of the nucleus in /ai/.

Ten speakers were measured for both /ai/ and /a/ production, and four of these had measurements taken for interviews recorded over two different time periods, one from an interview in the early 1990s and one from an interview in the 2000s. The four speakers with diachronic measurements over two time periods provide a sample of the changing production of /ai/ in relation to /a/ through a period of more than a decade. The remaining six speakers exhibit a current version of Ocracoke /ai/ production, as these interviews were all recorded in the last few years.

For the phonological analysis of the two variables /a/ and /ai/, vowel measurements were taken using PRAAT software. Linear Predictive Coding (LPC) was used for formant estimates, and each of the first three formants was measured. For the /ai/ glide, the first three formant measurements were taken 35 milliseconds into the onset and 35 milliseconds before the end of the offset. For /a/, the first three formants were measured at one point in the center of the vowel. Ten tokens were taken for each /a/, /ai/ in pre-voiced consonant environments, and /ai/ in pre-voiceless consonant environments. No more than two tokens of the same word were measured in order to reduce the possibility of lexical biases. The ten token measurements for each phonetic variable were averaged together and converted and normalized using Bark difference metric in order to reduce the effect of gender, age, and voice qualities on vowel comparisons (Traunmüller 1997).

Unlike morphosyntactic variation studies, the phonological analysis of a

variable such as /ai/ nucleus backing relies heavily on the assumption that all recording equipment and sound qualities are of equal caliber, or at least that they result in equivalent acoustic wave forms. As the recordings were taken over the span of almost fifteen years by more than two dozen fieldworkers, the variation in both the recording equipment and recording methods of the interviews are obviously reflected in these measurements. However, it is hoped that the comparative nature of the following analysis, observing /ai/ measurements with the use of /a/ as reference points, will help to augment the validity of the measurements.

4.4.2 /ai/ DATA OVERALL

Information on the comparative measurements from the four speakers interviewed at two different time periods will be discussed in a later section. Here, an overall assessment of /ai/ production in Ocracoke will be discussed. Traditionally, the nucleus of the /ai/ diphthong will be produced somewhere at or farther forward in the mouth from production of /a/. In Ocracoke, as in several other Outer Banks sites, the *hoi toid* /ai/ production is found through the measurement of the placement of /ai/ relatively behind, or backed from, the placement of /a/, resulting in /ai/ being realized more as / \square i/.

Generally, as seen from panel studies, the nucleus of /ai/ production has seemed to move farther forward throughout time in Ocracoke. The five interviews recorded in the early 1990s seem to have nuclei which would lead to the production of word like *tide* to sound more like *toid*. While interviews recorded in recent years may still exhibit this

feature to a degree, the variable's frequency is decreasing as evidenced by real time observations.

Unfortunately, these measurements at different points in time raise many questions about normal variation and reliability in acoustic measurements. Sociophoneticians have been content to measure vowels for one interview in one condition and present this as an absolute representation of a speaker's vowel system. But there is, of course, normal variation in the speech of the same speaker on different occasions as well as variation found under different recording conditions with different equipment. As interpretations are made about the significance of variation over a 12 to 14 year interval, important questions are exposed about reliability and normal variance in sociophonetic analysis that extend considerably beyond change in real time. In addition to the changes in recording equipment, location, and interviewers, speakers' changing perceptions about the interview process, the interviewer's motivation, and their own dialect could all have an effect on individual variation through time.

Interestingly, using the apparent time construct, the youngest speakers' /ai/ production actually has the farthest backed nucleus of all interviews measured in this section. This observation does fall in line with the notion that young speakers will exhibit stronger Brogue features due to their lack of time spent off of the island as of yet; however, the major difference between him and the other speakers may also be due to recording differences, background noises, or possibly a problem with the normalization technique used. This speaker does impressionistically seem to have a fairly backed /ai/, though, and he is noted by his peers as being one of the few young Brogue speakers.

Chapter 5 – Breakdown Analyses of Quantitative Data

- Section 5.1 – Rationale for Breakdown Analyses

In examining the overall trends of *weren't* regularization, static locative *to* usage, and the backing of the nucleus of /ai/, several variations on the general trends can be seen. Particular people or groups of people will be better analyzed with a closer look at and comparison of all of the data collected for them. Here, certain speakers have been selected from the general analyses and put into groups for closer examination. First, members of the older “Poker Game Network” are analyzed alongside their younger counterparts, the “Pelican Network.” Next, a panel of four traditional island residents of ancestral Ocracoke descent is analyzed in the context of the two different time periods in which they were interviewed. Then, three island families are examined more closely. Lastly, the two groups of adolescents interviewed, one from the early 1990s and one from the 2000s, are studied with comparisons to one another in order to begin to predict changes in the Brogue for future groups of young people. Through these detailed analyses of groups of Ocracoke residents, a better picture of the current status of the Brogue as well as its direction for the future can be determined.

- Section 5.2 – The older “Poker Game Network” compared to its younger counterpart

Three speakers from the original Poker Game Network and four speakers from the Pelican Network were included in the previous chapter’s analysis. In Tables 5 and 6, they are grouped together with their figures for both *weren’t* regularization as well as static locative *to* usage. As mentioned earlier, the Poker Game Network is comprised of several men who participate in many traditional island activities such as fishing, crabbing, and hunting. Although they do not meet as often as they once did to play poker, these men are still today considered a core group of traditional Ocracoke residents. The younger group of men in the Pelican Network is the next generation of native islander males. These men also enjoy the nautical activities of their older counterpart, and additionally partake in other water activities such as skiing, jet skiing, and surfing.

Table 5. *Weren’t* regularization

	<i>Poker Game Network</i>		<i>Poker Game Network follow-up</i>		<i>Pelican Network</i>				
	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>		
	ReO	0	7	ReO II	1	6	ErO	0	2
	JBG	9	10	JBG II	4	8	BeaO	2	3
	DE	4	8				RL	1	2
							JB	0	1
							WO	1	1
TOTALS	13	25		5	14		4	9	
%	52%			36%			44%		

Table 6. Static locative *to* usage

	<i>Poker Game Network</i>		<i>Poker Game Network follow-up</i>		<i>Pelican Network</i>				
	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>		
	ReO	0	6	ReO II	0	5	ErO	0	3
	JBG	1	7	JBG II	3	8	BeaO	0	4
	DE	2	3				RL	1	1
							JB	0	5
							WO	1	5
TOTALS	3	16		3	13		2	18	
%	19%			23%			11%		

Usages of both *weren't* regularization and static locative *to* usage are slightly higher in the Poker Game Network than the Pelican Network. While these differences are not large, they do suggest a shift away from Brogue features overall, even among those who are most representative of the traditional Ocracoke male. The most striking observations about this data, though, are the generally low percentages of usage of both of these features when compared to the overall numbers for the networks' cohorts in the same time period.

The use of locative *to* for the Poker Game Network is at a ratio of three usages out of 16 possible tokens (19%), which is a very slight bit lower than both their Middle and Older cohorts from the early 1990s (both at 20%), though not by much. JBG did show an increase in locative *to* usage in later years, but ReO remains the same- always at a lower usage ratio than his age and social network cohorts. This fact is ironic because of ReO's celebrated status as a performer of the Brogue, perhaps demonstrating ReO's purposeful use of noticeable Brogue features while at the same time skipping over the much less

salient features such as locative *to* usage. DE, of the Poker Game Network, unfortunately passed away a few years ago; therefore only ReO's and JBG's follow-up data are presented here.

The younger Pelican Network, at a ratio of two out of 18 possible locative *to* usages (11%), is also lower than their modern Middle generation cohorts at 14%. Both age groups of “traditional” island males, then, seem to have a lower instance of usage of Brogue features in their interviews than the general conglomeration of all speakers in their generational breakdown.

Weren't regularization for the Poker Game Network, at 52%, is slightly higher than their 1990s Middle cohorts at 50%. However, it is still less than the same time period's Older speakers at 59%, to which two of these three Poker Game Network members belong. This feature actually decreases with age for ReO and JBG (down to 36%), which is below the ratio for both the Older and Oldest generation groups.

Weren't regularization for the Pelican Network, however, was the only feature that either of these networks demonstrated to be higher than all the cohorts in their same group. The Middle generation of Time II has a 38% *weren't* regularization ratio, while the Pelican Network used *weren't* regularization 44% of possible times. This feature, while not as salient as a phonological change, such as backing the nucleus of /ai/, is quite a bit more salient than locative *to* usage, though. In fact, in the dialect curriculum taught to eighth graders on Ocracoke every year, students assert that they have never heard this feature in use—even those who have been recorded using it themselves.

- Section 5.3 – Panel Study of Four Ocracoke Speakers Diachronically

In examining the four speakers in this study, the placement of the nucleus of the /ai/ glide is examined in relation to the anchor vowel of /a/. Also, tabulations for *weren't* leveling and locative *to* usage will be compared in Tables 7 and 8. Through these comparative measurements, differences among each of the four subjects and differences with themselves through time can be found.

In the case of CL, there do not appear to be differences when the nucleus of the /ai/ vowel is compared to the anchor /a/ vowel in Figure 1, though both are more backed in the 2006 interview. The nuclei of his /ai/s in both time periods seem to be only slightly backed behind the acoustic vowel space for his /a/ production. His *weren't* regularization and locative *to* usage yields a similar result. Neither of these features have altered much in his speech between the two time periods.

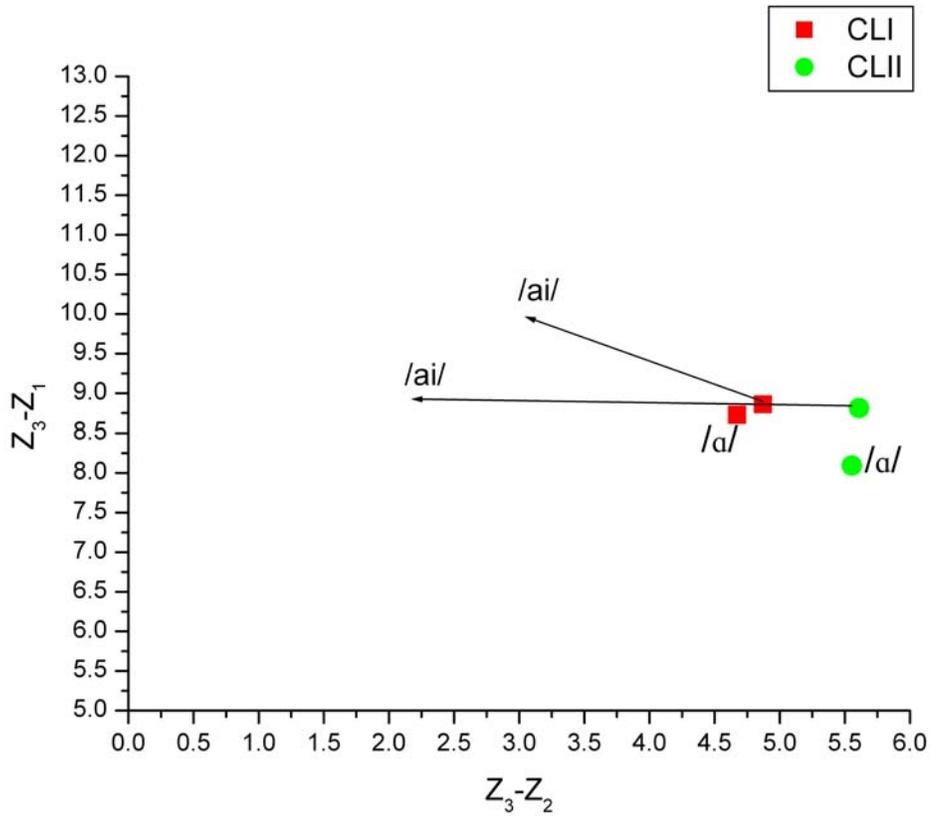


Figure 1. Acoustic vowel space for CL at two time periods

Table 7. Four speakers' weren't regularization in two time periods

	<i>TIME I</i>		<i>TIME II</i>	
	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
CL	7	7	CL	19 19
ReO	0	7	ReO	1 6
CaG	1	2	CaG	1 4
BeaO		NT	BeaO	2 3
TOTALS	8	16	23	32
%	50%		72%	

Table 8. Four speakers' locative *to* regularization in two time periods

		<i>TIME I</i>		<i>TIME II</i>	
		<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
	CL	1	3	CL	5 6
	ReO	0	6	ReO	0 5
	CaG	4	11	CaG	5 20
	BeaO	0	3	BeaO	0 4
TOTALS		5	23	10	35
%		22%		29%	

ReO, as the speaker shown here with the most backed /ai/ nuclei as compared to /a/ production, also continues to keep the same relative backness of the /ai/ nucleus from /a/, as seen in Figure 2. Remembering the salience of this variable, especially when considering ReO's status as one of the "best" Brogue speakers on the island and his relatively low usage of both regularized *weren't* and locative *to*, one might not find the extreme backness of his /ai/ nuclei surprising. ReO, like CL, keeps similar levels of his Brogue morphosyntactical variables between his two interviews as well.

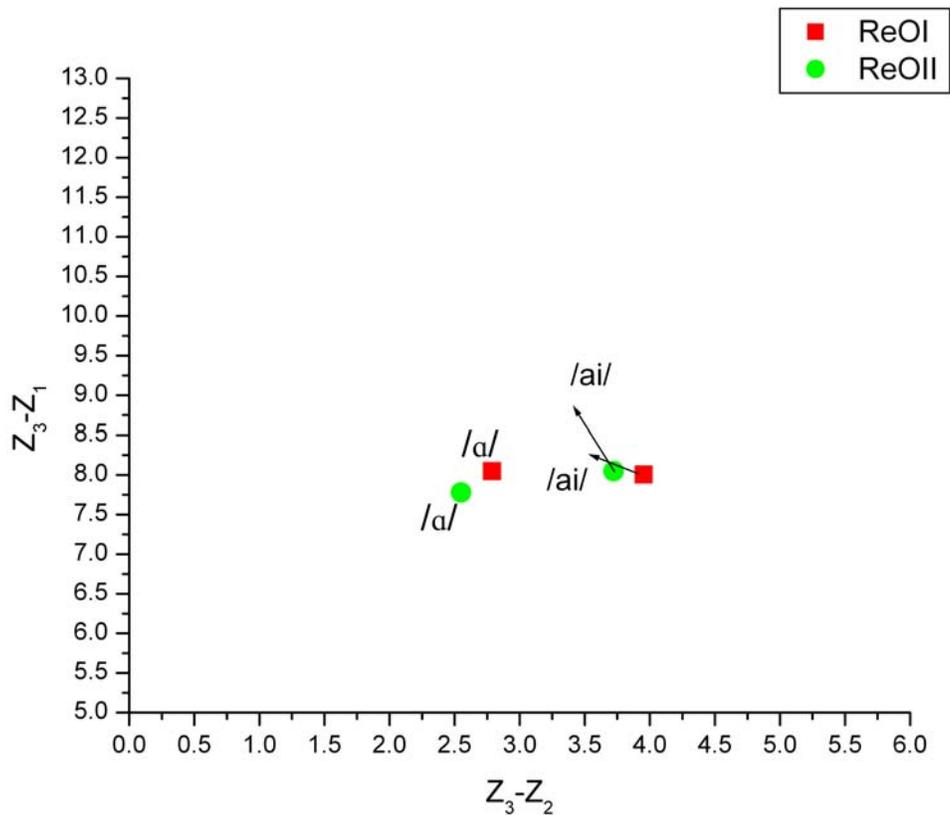


Figure 2. Acoustic vowel space for ReO at two time periods

In the case of CaG, seen in Figure 3, however, there is a small shift in the relationship between /a/ and /ai/ between her first and second interviews. Her second interview may be characterized by a slightly less backed /ai/ nucleus when compared to her /a/ placement, though it is not a substantial difference. Her comfort with the interviewers in the second interview could have impacted her /ai/ usage, as she was one of the very first interviewees recorded in the early 1990s. Between that time when no one knew who the NCLLP fieldworkers were and 12 years later, CaG kept in fairly close

contact with the members and the work of the NCLLP. By the time of her second interview, she spoke with the ease of chatting with friends rather than possibly dealing with outsiders who were only trying to “record the Brogue.”

Her initial “performance” of the Brogue, as well as perhaps her relative youth (she was in her 20s at the time of her first interview and went on to have travel experiences between that and her second interview), could both be factors in this minor phonological difference between the two time periods. Her morphosyntactic variables did not alter much in their relative amounts of production, though, which can be attributed to the saliency of these variables as compared to /ai/ production.

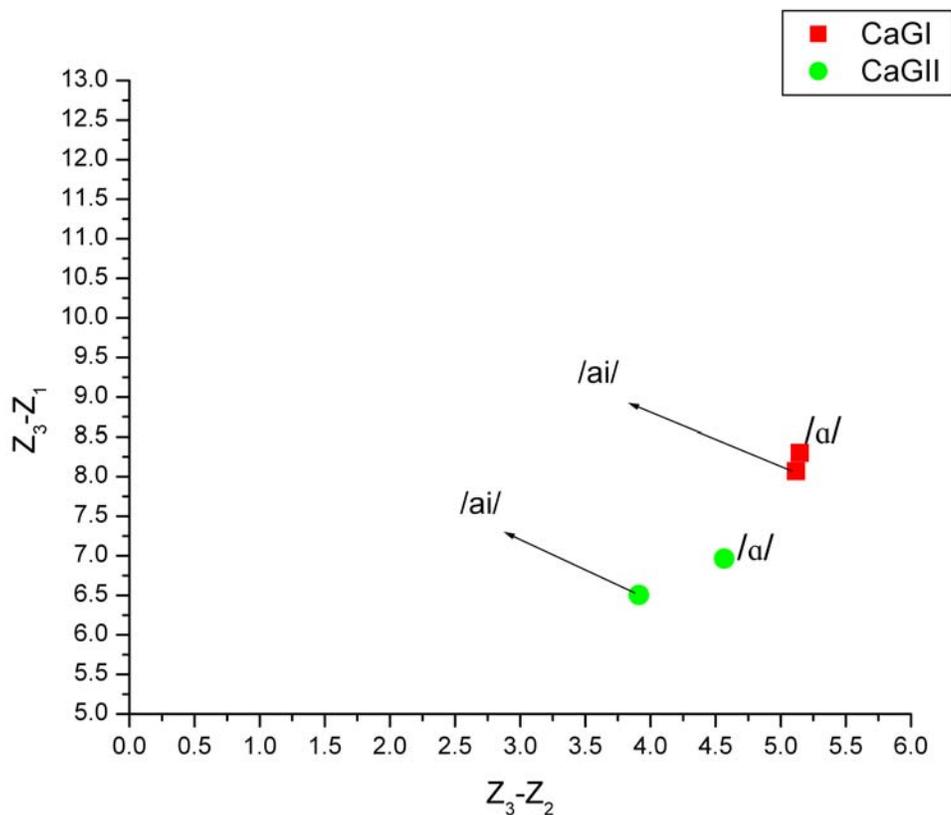


Figure 3. Acoustic vowel space for CaG at two time periods

BeaO, however, who was 16 at the time of his original interview, seems to have a more backed, raised, and perhaps rounded version in the first interview, as can be seen in Figure 4. Though tabulations of his morphosyntactic variables do not clearly indicate whether or not his other features have lessened throughout time (there were no tokens of possible *weren't* leveling in his first interview, and he never showed any production of locative *to* in either interview), it is possible that his Brogue usage overall altered sometime between high school and adulthood. With the influence of college between the two time periods, as well as significant travel experiences across the country, BeaO was most likely able to control the noticeable backness of his /ai/ production. Whether or not his other morphosyntactic variables altered much, the change in this one phonological variable would have a discernible difference in his general speech patterns.

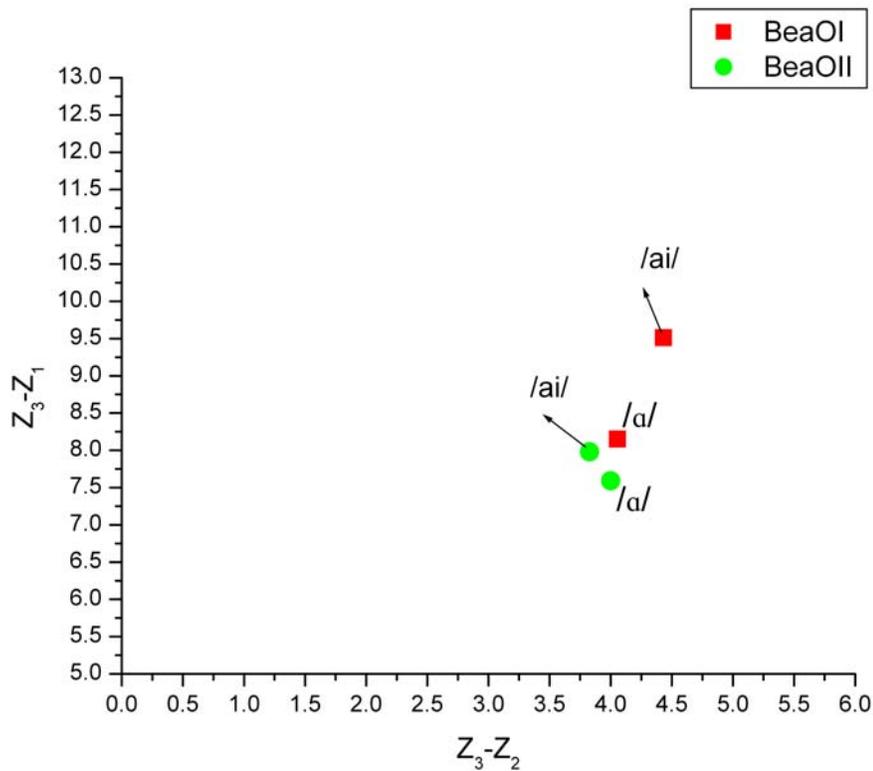


Figure 4. Acoustic vowel space for BeaO at two time periods

It is important to keep in mind that the limited age distribution of these four speakers should not obscure the potential for shifts during the life cycle of speakers. As seen in the observations of the four speakers here, it cannot be assumed that a 10- or 20-year difference between 15 and 25 or 35 is the same as that between age 45 and 55 or 65. Large changes in language usage seem to take place between the younger ages, whereas once a person reaches adulthood this shifting will usually slow down or stop altogether.

- Section 5.4 – Analysis of Three Ocracoke Families

The next view on change considers generations within the same family, observing three sets of locally born parents and sons or daughters. In the first family, a father was an ancestral islander and the mother was from off-island (not an uncommon family arrangement). The older son and daughter, now in their early 30s, are well-integrated and embrace indigenous island culture. The father, now deceased, was considered one of the core members of the Poker Game Network, so much so, in fact, that his death led to the dwindling away of the group. The vowel plot for the father, the son, and the daughter are given in Figure 5, and the table for *weren't* regularization and locative *to* usage can be found in Table 9.

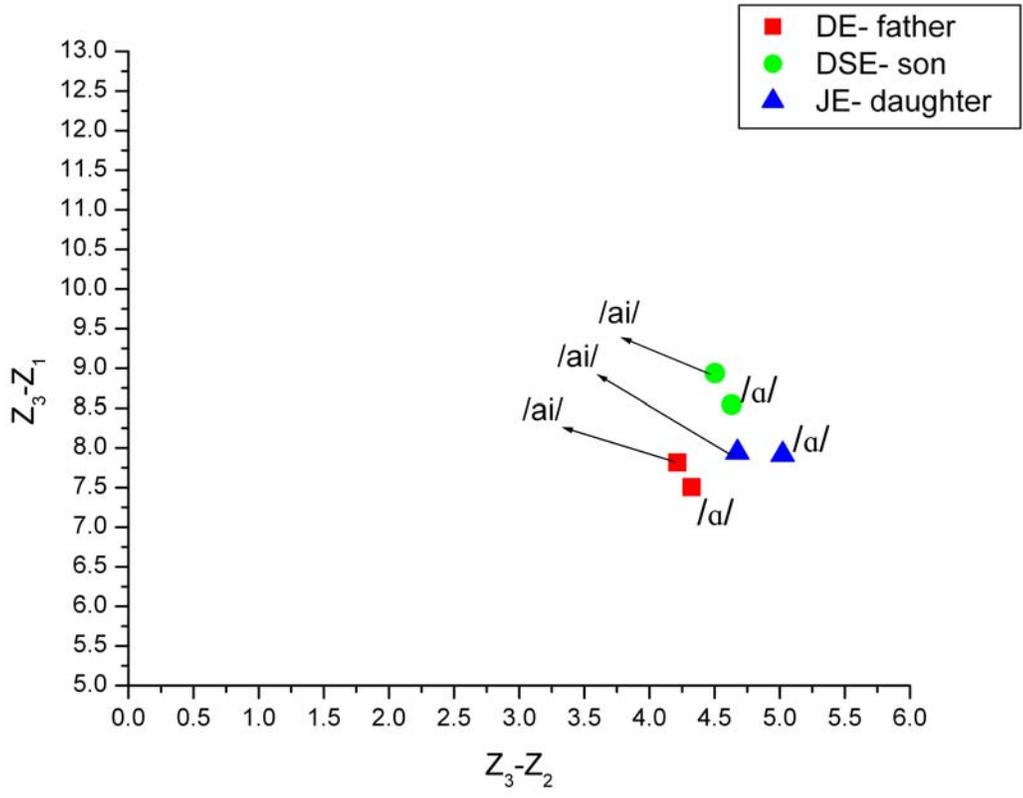


Figure 5. Acoustic vowel space for DE, DSE, and JE

Table 9. *Weren't* regularization and locative *to* usage for a father, son, and daughter

	WERENT		TO	
	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
DE	4	8	DE	2 5
DSE	0	3	DSE	0 6
JE	0	1	JE	0 11
TOTALS	4	12	2	22
%	33%		9%	

The father's interview was recorded in the early 1990s, while his children were away at college. Their interviews, recorded recently in the 2000s, represent their adult speech and probably do not reflect how they spoke before their father's interview. Their comparisons, therefore, are fairly striking in relation to each other. While none of them appears to be a traditional *hoi toider* in terms of the nucleus of /ai/, the father, a paragon of the traditional island male, does use the features of *weren't* regularization and static locative *to* in about half of the potential cases that they could be used. This is remarkably different from his son and daughter, who did not maintain this feature at all in either of their interviews. It should be noted that both of them have been observed to use this feature occasionally in unrecorded casual conversations, however, but not enough to amount to any strong presence in their speech.

In Figure 6 and Table 10, compare the case of an ancestral couple who have lived all of their lives on the island with that of their teenaged son. The vowel plot indicates that the father, DG, maintains a somewhat traditional backed nucleus for /ai/ in relation to his /a/ production, but his wife and son do not, although both the son's /ai/ and /a/ productions are quite backed.

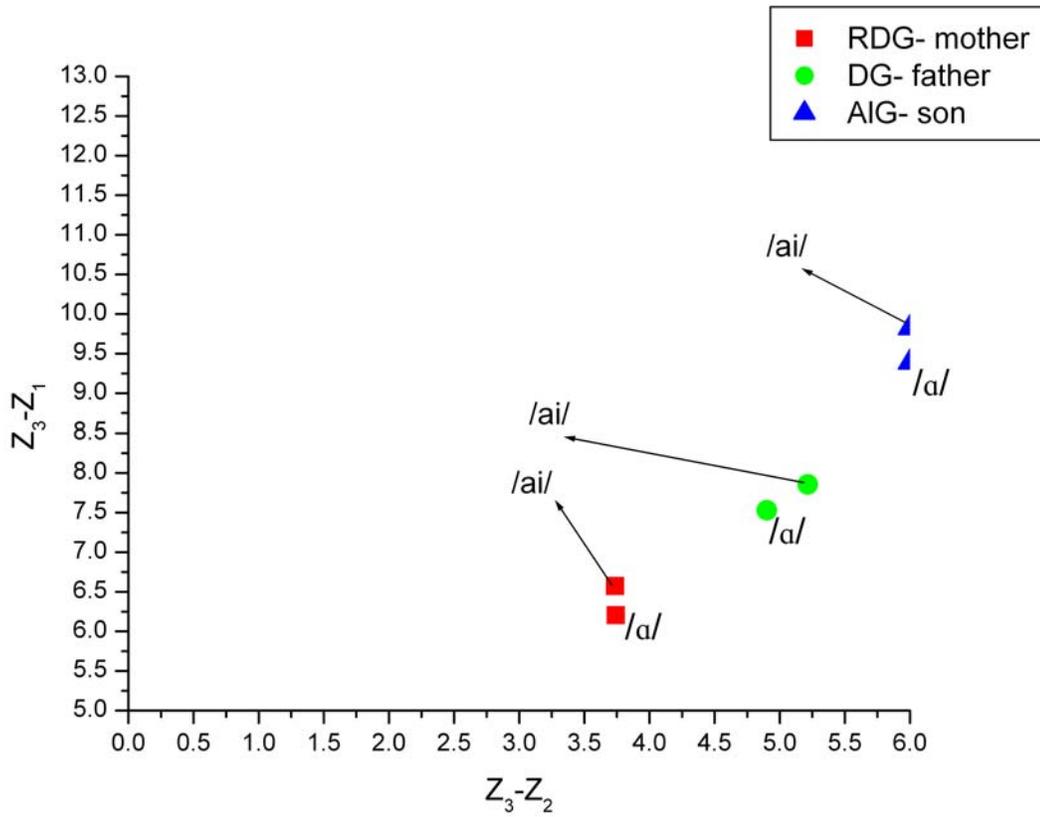


Figure 6. Acoustic vowel space for RDG, DG, and AIG

Table 10. *Weren't* regularization and locative *to* usage for a mother, father, and son

	WEREN'T		TO	
	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
RDG	4	4	RDG	2 5
DG	1	1	DG	2 2
AIG	1	1	AIG	0 4
TOTALS	6	6	4	11
%	100%		36%	

Both parents use *weren't* leveling practically 100% of the time, though there were not many tokens of *weren't*. The son, a high school student at the time of the interview, does not vary much from his parents' example. Though the son has only one instance of potential *weren't*, interacting with him outside of the tape-recorded sociolinguistic interview reveals that he does indeed perpetuate the use of *weren't* regularization. One difference he does have, however, is his lack of usage of static locative *to*. This could probably be attributed to the very low usage of this feature seen in everyone from his generation; it is, in fact, much lower even in the adult generations than the feature of *weren't* regularization. It can be predicted that when AlG returns from college, he probably will have lost most of his last remaining Brogue feature of *weren't* regularization and any traces of locative *to* usage that he may have occasionally used on the island, diverging even farther from his parents' traditional Brogue usage.

Finally, consider in Figure 7 and Table 11, the case of a father and son interviewed at both time intervals, two of the speakers seen in analysis of the Poker Game Network and the Pelican Network as well as in the individual panel studies. ReO, member of the Poker Game Network and a well-known Brogue speaker, is father to BeaO, member of the Pelican Network. The comparison of the father and son at the two different time intervals indicates, as seen above, that ReO has remained fairly stable in his /ai/ nucleus backness, whereas his son BeaO has lost some of that feature. Neither father nor son show any usage of locative *to* in these figures, although both have been heard to exhibit the feature occasionally in casual conversation. The son does still reflect some remnants of the traditional dialect in *weren't* usage, though, in his recent interview. Though the father has been married to an off-islander (second marriage) for some time

now, the family is among the strongest celebrants of island traditions, including the Brogue. Though we see some dissipation from father to son, especially phonologically, we still find remnants of traditional Ocracoke speech in ReO's oldest son, the child most like his father.

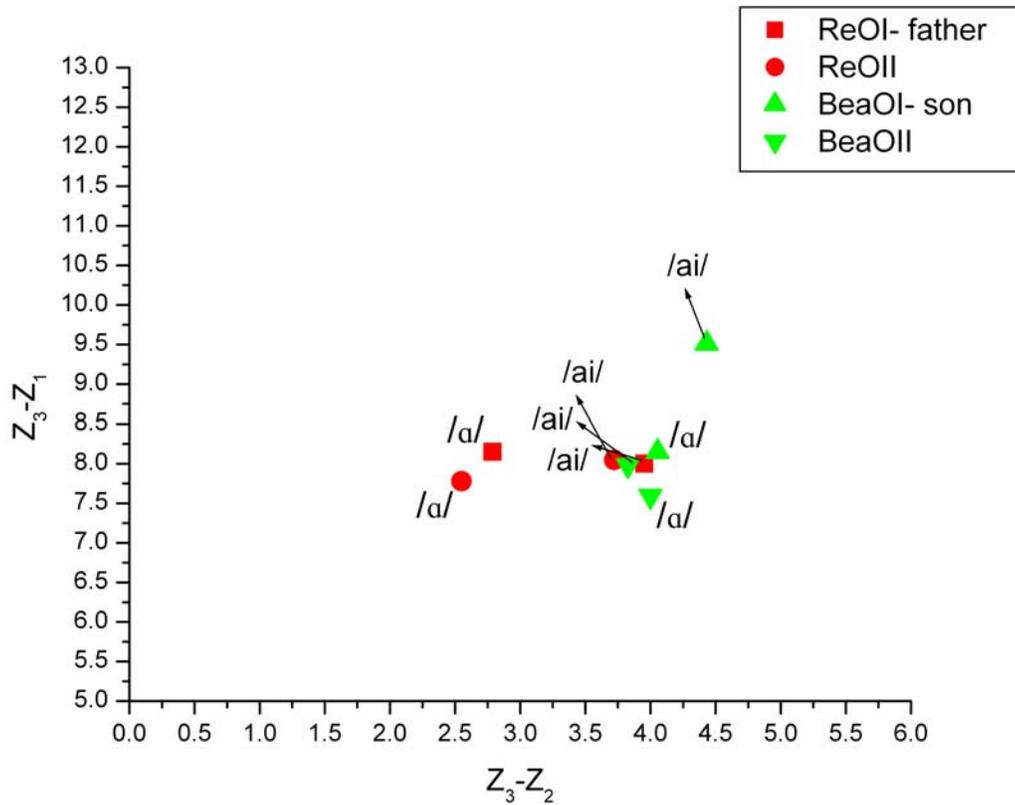


Figure 7. Acoustic vowel space for ReO and Beao in two time periods

Table 11. *Weren't* regularization and locative *to* usage for father and son, Times I and II

		TIME I				TIME II			
		<i>WEREN'T</i>		<i>TO</i>		<i>WEREN'T</i>		<i>TO</i>	
		<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
	ReO	0	7	0	6	1	6	0	5
	BeaO		NT	0	3	2	3	0	4
TOTALS		0	7	0	9	3	9	0	9
%		0%		0%		33%		0%	

- Section 5.5 – Predicting Change through Observations of Ocracoke Adolescents

With these detailed analyses in mind, some preliminary conclusions can be made in conjunction with the observation of two different generations of adolescents on the island. Differing generations of adolescents from the group interviewed in 1993 through 1995 and the group currently being interviewed are compared for *weren't* leveling and locative *to* usage. Some figures for the past and current generations of young residents are given for thirty speakers in Tables 12 and 13. Also, note that the figures are given for the Middle generation of Time II as a point of comparison with how the Young generation of Time I has changed over the past 12 to 15 years. Though it is difficult to ascertain trends from such limited tokens as found here, we do see that *weren't* regularization is still sufficiently robust to qualify as a dialect characteristic of island speech, while locative *to* may be on its last leg.

Table 12. *Weren't* regularization in three generational groupings

<i>TIME I</i>			<i>TIME II</i>					
<u>Young</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Young</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Middle</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
JB	2	2	BW	0	2	DSE	0	3
MM	0	2	ChG	0	1	WO	1	1
BaB	0	1	ML	1	1	CaG	1	4
BuB	6	7	RoO	0	2	ErO	0	2
HE	0	1	AIG	1	1	BuB	2	2
			AW	1	1	DM	4	7
			AC	0	1	SW	0	1
						MP	0	2
						JB	0	1
						BeaO	2	3
						JE	0	1
						RL	1	2
TOTALS	8	13	3	9		11	29	
%	62%		33%			38%		

Table 13. Static locative *to* usage in three generational groupings

<i>TIME I</i>			<i>TIME II</i>					
<u>Young</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Young</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>	<u>Middle</u>	<i>N</i>	<i>T</i>
JB	4	5	BW	1	5	DSE	0	6
MM	2	6	ChG	1	1	WO	1	5
BaB	0	1	ML	0	6	CaG	5	20
BuB	5	12	AIG	0	4	ErO	0	3
HE	1	2	AW	0	12	BuB	1	1
BeaO	0	3	JoJ	0	2	JB	0	5
JeJ	0	1				BeaO	0	4
CarO	1	3				JE	0	11
CB	1	4				RL	1	1
IB	0	16						
AnG	3	5						
WM	0	3						
TOTALS	17	61		2	30		8	56
%		28%			7%			14%

People from the Young generational group in the early 1990s did seem to reduce their frequency of use of both of these features between the first and second time periods, decreasing by about half of what their usage had been. The same could be expected for the young generational group now, resulting in about the same ratio of *weren't* leveling in the Middle generation 15 years from now as is seen in locative *to* usage in the Middle generation of Time II. However, when the locative *to* ratio decreases after the current

Young people return from college, it will be nearly nonexistent, most likely occurring at much less than five percent of possible instances in their generation. Considering the fact that current young people do not even recognize the feature as an indicator of the Brogue, it would not be surprising to see it slip away completely in a few short years.

While the mostly likely trajectory of change for the Brogue seems to be the decrease of these features, it can also be assumed that, as with several older members of the community, some individuals will retain and perhaps intensify their *weren't* and static locative *to* usage, and even /ai/ nucleus backing. It seems that peer influence is a strong indicator of one's ties to the local dialect, but family influence is perhaps even stronger. Being identified as a part of a "local, local" family possesses a definite status marker to adolescents growing up on the island, and children from such families may be stronger Brogue users than their cohorts.

Additionally, adolescents' mental ties to Ocracoke could influence their usage of any Brogue features that they may have had going into their 20s. While some adolescents plan to return to Ocracoke as soon as they finish two or four years of higher education, some plan never to return. As Ocracoke adolescents have encounters with individuals from across the country, they also must make learn how they will handle comments about the marked characteristics of their speech. Whether or not they are proud of and willing to display their Ocracoke heritage will carry substantial weight on their dialect choices for future years regardless of where they chose to reside.

Chapter 6 - Conclusions

- Section 6.1 – Changes in Ocracoke

As the Ocracoke community continues to undergo change, as it has continuously since its beginning in the 1700s, the community is constantly re-evaluating itself based on cultural traditions and values. Especially with the recent immigration of the Hispanic population onto the island, locals are forced to reckon with losing a part of their heritage because of tourists and new permanent residents alike. The construction of native-born Ocracokers as the insiders group on the island is common among locals, especially excluding groups such as the tourists and Hispanics. Islanders must often decide who will be allowed into their community, and what the costs and benefits will be to their economy, the culture, and even their language.

Even children as young as middle school age are aware of the conflict that is presenting itself with the addition of another large population of Hispanic immigrants to the mix of native Ocracoke residents. They recognize the benefits this immigration has on their community, but they are also not very willing to give up any of their claims over Ocracoke in order to let Hispanics reach the status that a native resident may have in the community. The children employ several discourse strategies to deal with discussion of these conflicts, rather than potentially marking themselves as racists to outsiders such as sociolinguistic interviewers.

As the community continues to change in other ways, not only with the addition of new people to the community, but with locals often making several trips off-island for

vacations or temporary relocations, the influence of all of this movement is significant on the island's culture and, therefore, language. As some locals try to hold onto their changing culture, they will do their best also to maintain the island's Brogue, even if only through performance phrases and lexical items. For others, though, the Brogue is a peculiarity of the past, interesting to hear, but they are satisfied with moving into the future as it fades away.

- Section 6.2 – Status of the Brogue in Ocracoke

The analyses of the variables of /ai/ backing, *weren't* leveling, and locative *to* usage show that a traditional dialect recession is found to be continuing on Ocracoke island. Overall, the traditional Brogue features used in the speech of native local O'cockers are slowly diminishing, even amidst several groups of native Ocracoke residents who feel strongly about preserving old ways of life and culture on the island. As tourism reaches higher and higher levels on the island each year, and locals, who work frantically all summer, take more and more chances to leave the island for anything from a short trip to a long college experience, the Brogue continues to be driven out of local speech.

Though *weren't* regularization is still fairly robust—or at least receding at a slower rate—it may, in fact, only represent a selective kind of dialect focusing that persists as other more salient, stereotypical features recede. Though it may surprise sociolinguists, *weren't* regularization is not a particularly prominent dialect feature to

islanders and typically, not among the linguistic features they readily associate with traditional Ocracoke speech.

Phonological variables, such as the backing of the nucleus of /ai/ to produce forms such as *hoi toid*, are much more salient to native islanders, perhaps influenced somewhat by the stereotypical Ocracoke fisherman's performance phrase of "*hoi toid on the sound soid*." Interestingly, though, the Outer Banks feature of glide fronting of /au/, shifting to produce forms such as *saind* for *sound*, is generally not realized in the recitation of this phrase. /ai/ backing seems to be the best recognized feature to associate with the traditional manner of Brogue speaking, and it is therefore the most produced when a speaker is emphasizing his or her inclusion as a Brogue speaker.

Through observations of the speech of presumably some of the most emblematic Ocracoke males on the island, it is found that even members of the modern equivalent to the "Poker Game Network" of 15 years ago have lost much of their Brogue characteristics.

With respect to dialect change in the life cycle of speakers, we do not find dramatic shifts over the last 15 years. This does not necessarily mean that some younger speakers might not subsequently shift as they establish their adult roles and statuses, but the evidence, at least, suggests that speakers in mid-life are relatively stable. Those who change over their adult life cycle would certainly be the exception rather than the rule. Any changes during this point are usually minor, and they could be attributed to variations in interviewers, interview settings, or just the speaker's particular stance that day.

By the same token, marked differences are often found within families generationally, as indicated in the comparison of parents and children. It appears that the dialect erosion may be somewhat retarded if both parents are ancestral islanders with a heavy Brogue and the children exhibit endocentric values. The Brogue, of course, continues to recede, but there are also individual exceptions, which can often be attributed to parental influence.

Some adolescents and teenagers who identify strongly with traditional island ways of life may retain—at least during their adolescent years—a fairly noticeable version of the Brogue. However, these individuals are clearly exceptions among their peers, and other ancestral adolescent islanders may even comment on how strong their Brogue is. Whether these individuals can withstand these peer situations over time remains to be seen. Accordingly, there is still considerable variation among younger speakers even as the generational cohort group continues the dialect decline.

- Section 6.3 – Future of the Brogue in Ocracoke

Despite the good feelings and the celebrated commodification of the Brogue among Ocracokers, tourists, the media, and enterprising sociolinguists, there is no evidence that a moribund dialect such as Ocracoke's could ever be revitalized. At best, there is some selective reconfiguration and dialect focusing, but this is quite different from reversing language change and recession. A few individual speakers carry forward a more traditional version of the dialect and individual variation may be robust,

supporting Dorian's (1994) observation that individual variation is maximized in dialect recession.

With regard to the North Carolina Language and Life Project's extensive dialect awareness program in Ocracoke, it is difficult to ascertain its effects on the community. Without a doubt, people do feel different about their dialect today. Young adults often recount how much fun it was to learn about their dialect and how they treasure its symbolic role in an increasingly assimilationist island culture. Older community members, while regretting that the NCLLP could not have gotten to the island sooner, are glad that the current state of the Brogue and Ocracoke culture will at least be preserved from this point on.

Also, there have been a couple of cases of lexical revitalization—or at least symbolic revitalization—where words on the verge of extinction when the NCLLP arrived on Ocracoke 15 years ago appear to have been revived. A generation ago, when islanders were surveyed about words like *meehonkey*, the older term for the island version of “hide and seek,” it reflected a clear generational correlation. Only middle-aged and older people knew the term at all. Today, young islanders are much more likely to know what it means, even if they rarely play the game.

A few fading lexical items apparently turned out to be as intriguing to young islanders as they were to sociolinguists. That may seem to be a rather superficial effect, but in the final analysis it is not within the prerogative of sociolinguists to tell people what they should do with their dialect. If, however, islanders have shared in a bit of intrigue and respect for their heritage dialect, the NCLLP has faithfully practiced the

linguistic gratuity principle—and shared knowledge and respect for a fading dialect tradition.

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APPENDIX

Transcript A

Interview with AW & JJ, Ocracoke Eighth graders

Interviewers: KD & JS

3/6/06

(approx. counter #240-300)

1 KD: So you guys know most of the people on the island, I'm guessing?

2 JJ: Yeah.

3 AW: I don't know a lot of the older people.

4 KD: Okay.

5 JJ: [I do.]

6 AW: [She knows] more than I do.

7 JJ: My mom's a local, local person. ((laughs))

8 KD: What's her name?

9 JJ: M. She works at the variety store. If you go in-

10 KD: What does she look like?

11 JJ: She has short brown hair.

12 KD: I think I may have seen her in there.

13 AW: Yeah, but her mom is like related to everybody.

14 JJ: Yeah.

15 KD: Really?

16 AW: Yeah.

17 KD: Who's she related to?

18 AW: Like everybody.

19 JJ: [Yeah.]

[(laughs)]

20 AW: No, really.

21 KD: You're like, really, I'm not joking.

22 JJ: Really.

23 AW: Like, by- down the line [it's]

24 JJ: [like] I'm related to... like, everyone at school that
25 didn't move here-

26 AW: by marriage or-

27 JJ: (?)

28 AW: like, we're not related, but that's cause my mom, um, and dad moved here,

29 KD: Okay.

30 AW: and then like a year later

31 JJ: yeah, and my aunt [is a teacher.]

32 AW: [I was born.]

33 JJ: and then my- I have two aunts that are teaching.

34 KD: Who are they?

35 JJ: Aunt J and Aunt K. Computers- Aunt K is doing computers. And
36 Aunt J, science.

37 KD: Huh.

38 AW: What was your mom's maiden name... like-

39 JJ: It was... M Garrish.

40 AW: Yeah, cause you know Garrish is big, and like O'Neal.

41 JJ: Right.

42 AW: Geeze, if you look at our little phone book, you know, O'Neal's like a whole
43 page.

44 JJ: Yeah.

((laughs))

45 AW: And...what else? Like Gaskins. Styron. Those are all big names.

46 JS: O'Neal. Oh, you already said that.

47 AW: You can say O'Neal twice, that's a big one.

((laughs))

....

(approx. counter #285-335)

48 JS: Where do they get it [drugs, alcohol] from?

49 AW: Um, I don't know.

50 JJ: I have no idea.

51 KD: That's a good question.

(pause)

52 AW: I think some of- [I think they get it from the Hispanics. (pause) Mexican,
53 Hispanic.]

54 JJ: [I think like some of the Mexicans. Yeah. Nicer way to
55 say it.]

56 AW: Well, some people think it's racist to say Mexicans, but their *from* Mexico.
57 We're from America- Americans.

58 JJ: Yeah.

59 AW: They should call us United-ans or something.

((laughs))

60 AW: But, yeah.

61 KD: So all of the Hispanics here are from Mexico?

62 JJ: [Yeah, um]

63 AW: [Most of them.] Yeah. Or they moved to like Little Washington, but yeah,
64 they're all from Mexico.

65 JJ: [Some of them are pretty creepy.]

66 AW: [Pure-bred Mexicans.]

67 KD: Oh Really?

68 JJ: Yeah. They're like 21, and they try to hit on us [or something?]

69 AW: [Sometimes.] Yeah.

70 KD: [What about-]

71 AW: [I think they might,] like, you know, give them, I don't know, like, they'll
72 give them money and then, so then they'll, they'll go get like whatever from- for
73 them, cause they'll be old enough.

74 JJ: mm-hm

75 AW: I wonder if the people at like the ABC store are like "hm, these people 76
76 always come in here" (laughs) "you know?"

77 KD: What about the Hispanic kids that are in the schools? Are they nice to them
78 (unintelligible)

79 AW: Yeah, yeah. The population's definitely growing, though,

80 JJ: [Yeah it is.]

81 AW: [cause we don't have] any Hispanic kids, but um, in like the 4th grade there's
82 like three or four Hispanic girls. The whole class is girls, but- it's funny- but, um,
83 out of like, there might be like six or seven, and at least- yeah, half of them I think
84 [are Hispanic.]

85 JJ: [Yeah.]

86 AW: It's like A, A, and K.

87 JJ: [Yeah.]

88 KD: [Does everyone] hang out together? Or is it-

89 JJ: Yeah-

90 AW: Yeah, it's not separated, I don't think. Yeah. Plus, with the younger kids
91 they don't really notice, like (pause) when they're really young. (pause) Yep.

92 KD: Do the Hispanic people live in different places, or is it just kind of scattered
93 around the island?

94 JJ: Um-

95 AW: I think they kind of live like-

96 JJ: Like a lot of them live in one house.

97 KD: Oh really?

98 AW: Yeah. Not like one particular house. Yeah, but

99 KD: like (unintelligible?)

100 AW: [Yeah.]

101 JJ: [Yeah.] mmhm

(pause)

102 AW: But some of them are really nice.

103 JJ: Yeah.

104 JS: What do they do for work around here? Is that why they come here?

105 JJ: [Yeah.]

106 AW: [Like,] yeah- Like, some of them work at the Pub, like- the cooks are all

(pause)

107 AW: [Hispanic.]

108 JJ: [Two of them] work at the Variety Store.

109 AW: mmhm

110 JJ: Because they do do work. They do. do. good work.

((laugh))

111 AW: They do do. Well that makes sense, but um. Yeah, and they- they- they work
112 for less. And a l- and a *lot* of the women- like almost all the women, like, clean
113 rooms for the [realities]

114 JJ: [Yeah.]

115 AW: or hotels or (pause) um, stuff like that. Yeah.

116 KD: Nobody complains about them not doing good work?

117 AW: Not really-

118 JJ: -no.

119 KD: So you said that they get paid less then the local-?

120 AW: I don't know if they get paid less, but they'll do like a really good job, and I
121 think they charge less

122 JJ: Yeah-

123 AW: -or like they- or what you give them? Yeah, maybe they get paid less, but
124 what-whatever you, like, if you gave them a certain amount for doing really good
125 job, they'd be *very* grateful. And then, but like, if you gave it somebody- cause, I
126 think the money exchange in Mexico is like high or something? I don't know.
127 Even if wasn't though, but um- and then there are people here who wouldn't do
128 that work for that much money probably. I bet. Yeah. (pause) Plus, I think where
129 they grew up, like they'll do more stuff. I don't know. (pause) It's not like
130 Ocracoke would, like, not survive without them, but-

131 JJ: But they'll do jobs that like other people won't want to do-

132 AW: like mow lawns, you know- whatever. They're not like *slaves*, I mean
133 they're really nice, but- (laugh) I hate to refer them, to- at *them*, *they* right? but,
134 you know.

135 KD: I know what you mean.

136 AW: That's the only, um, like, different race (pause) on Ocracoke. We have like
137 one black lady, but that- [I guess, African American]

138 JJ: [Oh yeah, she's like a hundred one years old]

139 AW: Yeah. She's *really* old.

Transcript B

Interview with AC & DJ, Ocracoke Eighth Graders

Interviewers: JR & KD

3/7/06

(approx. counter # 230-245)

1 JR: So do you think that you like have less of the Brogue than other kids that have
2 grown up here or do you think you're about the same? I mean, not to have parents
3 that were from the island.

4 DJ: Umm.... I'm not sure.

5 KD: Do you ever think about it?

6 DJ: Not really.

7 KD: Oh, okay.

8 DJ: My dad kinda talks like that.

9 JR: He's picked it up a little bit?

10 DJ: Yeah, 'cause he's a fisherman, and like all the fishermen talk like that, so....
11 He kinda talks like that.

12 AC: Cause there's some people at the school that do

13 JR: Yeah.

14 AC: more than others.

15 JR: Who are the people that have it really good?

16: AC: ...M does a little bit.

17 JR: Yeah.

18 AC: ML [(Actually-?)]

19 DJ: [P N]

20 AC: Yeah P kinda does a little.

21 JR: P N?

22 AC: Yeah.

....

(approx. counter # 250-270)

23 KD: So why do you think some kids have the Brogue more than others?

24 AC: Um... well, like- for each class, like, the people that are native- there's not
25 too many. Like in ours-

26 DJ: I guess it just kinda depends on [who-]

27 AC: [yeah] like who their parents are. Cause like
28 me and J are the only ones. Or J and I. I don't think... yeah.

29 JR: What do you think is gonna happen to the dialect here?

30 AC: Um... it's gonna change. Y'know... right now it is, compared

31 JR: Yeah

32 DJ: I think after a while it's gonna be like the only thing down here, actually,
33 because... if the... no, I won't say any more. (laugh)

34 JR: No, what do you mean?

35 DJ: Umm. Cause like so many people are involved in... the reasons why SDI's
36 down here- SBI. That- I won't say any names or anything- but, uh, so many
37 people involved are in that and stuff that... this town could literally be torn apart.

38 JR: You think so, huh?

39 DJ: Yeah.

....

(approx. counter # 145-160)

40 DJ: It's- The first one starts at six. It's the Dolphin girls, I think playing
41 (unintelligible) a whole team of (pause) Hispanics. (pause) They kind of like mix
42 them up. I don't why, th-th-they had like a whole white team of like Caucasians,
43 and then they had a Hispanic team of Hispanics.

44 JR: Yeah?

45 DJ: So, it's like-

46 JR: (laugh)

47 DJ: I thought we weren't supposed to be racist?

48 JR: Yeah.

49 DJ: And they go and put a-

50 AC: Yeah, like that one team just is Hispanics.

51 JR: Huh.

52 DJ: [Sometimes they put uh (unintelligible)]

53 AC: [They're pr- They're pretty good] And they're not real tall, ya know,
54 some of them-

55 DJ: But they can shoot, like uh- J. You know [him? Some times they'll put]

56 AC: [Yeah. I was surprised.]

57 DJ: some of the girl Dolphins on there like backups or something. And this one-
58 there's, like, these big, tall girls on the white team, and they just get pummeled.

59 JR: (laughs)

60 DJ: Plus, (unintelligible) named T, and they- they like- I guess mostly B.
61 You know B [J?]

62 JR: [Yeah.]

63 AC: I haven't seen them play-

64 DJ: She, the uh- both the Ts- they get pummeled by B. She'll just, rip the
65 ball out of their hands and smack them with her butt and they'll fall on the ground
66 or something.

67 JR & KD: (laugh)

68 DJ: She'll just back up on them, they'll fall.

69 KD: Is that J's sister?

70 AC & DJ: Yeah.

71 DJ: [It's pretty amaz-]
72 JR: [I think we had her] in class last year.
73 DJ: Yeah, yeah.
74 JR: That's neat. We should check it out.
75 DJ: Th-the guys [(game?) is intense]
76 AC: [There's one Thursday, too.]
77 JR: Alright.
78 DJ: They're really good, too, [because that way you can dunk.]
79 AC: [Oh yeah. It's perfect.]
80 JR: Really?
81 AC: Yeah, oh yeah.
82 DJ: Like W and M and Coach B and...
83 AC: MT (?) is pretty good.
84 DJ: MT. And there's this little speedy guy that's- I don't know his name-
85 R. (pause) um, he's pretty funny because like if you see a ball like go in the
86 air-
87 JR: mmhm
88 DJ: -at any time he'll be up there (laugh). Even if it's for the other team.
89 JR & KD: (laugh)
90 DJ: One time the-the ball's coming down from the rim and he jumped over this
91 guy and grabbed the ball.
92 JR: (laugh)
93 KD: So tonight's the girls, and Thursday's guys?
94 DJ: No, they got all four games tonight.
....

(approx. counter #170-210)

- 95 JR: So do the, uh, th-the Hispanic people integrate pretty well with the
96 community here?
- 97 DJ: Uh, yes-
- 98 AC: [Some people.]
- 99 DJ: [A lot of them] are known for like hooking up with girls like one
100 third their age and stuff. Like- I won't say what has happened with
101 them,
- 102 JR: Yeah.
- 103 DJ: but my sister is also a victim of liking- 30, 20, 30 year olds
- 104 JR: (laughs)
- 105 DJ: [And I'm trying to put a stop to it. Some of them are 30.]
- 106 AC: [He's that old? They don't- they don't look- they don't] look that old. They
107 look like 14.
- 108 DJ: Well one she recently been with- 19. Which is way too old. She's only
109 like 14 or 15. [But he (ran out on her?) when he found out-]
- 110 AC: [You had her last year, didn't you?]
- 111 DJ: -I was looking for him.
- 112 AC: Did you have S last year? Yeah, I think you-
- 113 JR: Yeah, yeah, I did.
- 114 DJ: Mostly S and B are known for it. And M. M-
115 buhduhbuhduh- I don't know her last name.
- 116 AC: (unintelligible name)
- 117 DJ: (unintelligible name) Yeah.
- 118 JR: But the uh, the community doesn't mind having the-
- 119 DJ: No, [they don't mind it, but like, it's just uh, a lot of them (unintelligible)]

120 AC: [Uh, some of them. I like- yeah- I like some of them, but I guess]
121 (unintelligible) see them every day, I never seen some before,
122 ya know-

123 DJ: They're the ones that do street racing; they've supplied some people (pause)
124 um (pause) the issues, and going to the school, hooking up with all the
125 girls.

126 JR: mmhm

127 DJ: I mean, I've literally seen like a 20 year old just sit there and stare at this
128 other little girl (unintelligible)

129 AC: I never really (unintelligible). Like, when they come to the basketball court
130 and I been there, I just pretty much leave. If they're there,
131 you know.

132 DJ: I (unintelligible) go there to play basketball, but

133 AC: I don't really know them that well, so... I mean some of them.

134 JR: So, um, they keep to themselves?

135 AC: Uh, they work a lot for different people around here.

136 KD: How about the kids in the school? The Hispanic kids. Do they get along
137 with everyone in the school?

138 AC: Yeah.

139 DJ: Yeah. Actually, there's this one girl, you know M? She's got li- she-
140 I don't remember what she said happened, but she messed up part of her leg
141 when she was a kid- like a littler kid.

142 KD: Uh huh.

143 DJ: And I guess everyone picks on her about that. They just don't like her, but

144 KD: So she's a Hispanic girl?

145 AC: [No.]

146 DJ: [No,] she's (pause) Caucasian.

147 KD: Okay.

148 DJ: She's (pause) I think she has glasses.

149 AC: Yeah, but- [but like]

150 KD: [(unintelligible)] the Hispanic kids pick on her?

151 DJ: No, everyone does.

152 KD: Oh.

153 DJ: In her class.

154 KD: Okay.

155 AC: But the, uh. Like the younger- once you hit seventh grade, everybody has
156 Hispanics in it. And then the other ones- ninth grade has one, and 11th grade has
157 one.

158 JR: Okay.

159 AC: But after, yeah, seventh grade and down there's all Hispanic.

160 JR: So they're mostly younger?

161 AC: Yeah.

162 JR: I see. And do they- are they- do they tend to stay here? Or do they- do you get
163 different ones every year?

164 AC: Uh, sometimes. Like my brother- one of my brothers is in second grade,
165 one's in kindergarten; they both have Hispanics in there, but (pause) sometimes
166 they stay in for a long time.

167 JR: Yeah.

168 AC: Like M, he's been here for a long time.

169 JR: Which one's he?

170 AC: He's in seventh grade.

171 JR: Okay.

172 DJ: You'll pry see him next year. He's a little... (laughs)

173 JR: (laugh) Yeah. We say a guy- I was talking to a guy this morning at the gas

174 station, um, he's been here five years. He said- I guess his name was
175 R?

176 DJ: Yeah, his [I don't know if h-]

177 AC: [The guy that rides a bike? Was he riding a bike?]

178 JR: Yeah.

179 AC: Yeah.

180 DJ: I don't know where he lives or anything-

181 AC: -he can play guitar really [good]

182 DJ: [He-] he's good at guitar, but-

183 AC: -that's what I've heard, I never heard him.

184 DJ: -he, like, rides his bike around all day.

185 AC: Is he the guy who runs with the hood on and the jogging stuff, looks like he's
186 a boxer? Who's that guy?

187 DJ: I'm not sure.

188 AC: He's- it's pretty funny watching him (though?)

((laughs))

....