ABSTRACT

VADNAIS, JANELLE CHAUNDRE. A Cross Regional Study of Locative *to* in North Carolina. (Under the direction of Dr. Walt Wolfram.)

This study compares the use of static locative *to* in the speech of African Americans and European Americans in various regional communities throughout Eastern North Carolina. These communities are located on Roanoke Island, in Hyde County, Harkers Island, Ocracoke Island, Princeville and in Robeson County, North Carolina. Quantitative examination of locative *to* reveals a marked pattern of ethnolinguistic alignment related to integration patterns. In Hyde County and Roanoke Island, the use of locative *to* is sharply reduced in the speech of African Americans who first attended integrated schools. However, in Ocracoke, the decreasing use of locative *to* is gradual across time, marking the role of an active social variable in the divergence of African American speech after integration. By comparing all of these communities, I seek to explain why there is this ethnolinguistic patterning and what social factors have contributed to it. Additionally, I uncover what this language pattern says about the history of race relations on a regional level in North Carolina and what happens to this language feature over time.

A CROSS REGIONAL STUDY OF LOCATIVE *TO* IN NORTH CAROLINA

by

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Chairperson of Supervisory Committee

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To Mom, Dad & Kenny:
Thank you for always encouraging me to strive for success
and for reminding me that nothing is impossible.

And for Jen:
Who showed me what true strength and determination looks like.
Thank you… for everything.

"There's no telling how many miles you'll run when you're chasing a dream…"
-anonymous-

BIOGRAPHY

Janelle Chaundre Vadnais was born on July 28, 1982 in Brooklyn, New York but moved to Massapequa, New York just two years later after her brother, Kensaun, was born. Janelle graduated from St. John the Baptist Diocesan High School in 2000 and later received her Bachelor of Arts degree in English, Language, Writing & Editing from North Carolina State University in 2004. With the completion of this thesis, Janelle fulfills the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in English with a concentration in Linguistics.

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Chapter 1- Introduction & Field Sites

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Recently, the role of regionality in dialect development has been a prominent issue contextualizing the historical and current development of African American English (AAE) (Bailey & Maynor 1987; Baugh 1980; Davis 1971; Dillard 1972; Kurath 1949; McDavid & McDavid 1971; Montgomery, Fuller & DeMarse 1993; Poplack 1999; -- & Tagliamonte 1991; Rickford 1977; Singler 1991; Stewart 1968; Wolfram 2000). Recent studies of African American speech in rural enclave communities have found regional dialect variables and norms coexisting with trans-regional AAE dialect features (Childs & Mallinson 2003; Mallinson 2001; Mallinson & Wolfram 2002; Vadnais & Carpenter 2004; Wolfram & Thomas 2002). Due to this evidence, regional dialect accommodation has taken on greater significance in the examination of AAE.

This study compares the use of static locative *to* in the speech of African Americans and European Americans in various regional communities throughout Eastern North Carolina. These communities are located on Roanoke Island, in Hyde County, Harkers Island, Ocracoke Island, Princeville and in Robeson County, North Carolina. Quantitative examination of locative *to* reveals a marked pattern of ethnolinguistic alignment related to integration. In Hyde County and Roanoke Island, the use of locative *to* is sharply reduced in the speech of African Americans who first attended integrated schools. However, in Ocracoke, the decreasing use of locative *to* is gradual across time, marking the role of an active social variable in the divergence of African American speech after integration. By looking at all of these communities, I seek to explain why there is this ethnolinguistic patterning and what social factors may or may not have contributed to it. Additionally, I

further seek to uncover what this language pattern says about the history of race relations on a regional level in North Carolina and what happens to this language feature over time. A map showing these communities can be seen in figure 1.1.

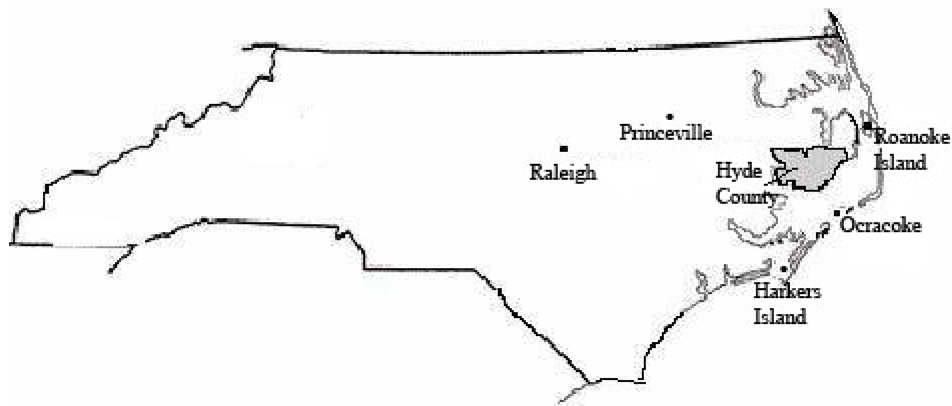

Figure 1.1 Location of Field Sites in North Carolina

Static locative *to* or *to* for *at* is a popular Outer Banks English (OBE) feature as well as a regionally attested dialect feature that is neither widespread in American English dialects nor documented in trans-regional AAE (Schilling-Estes 1996; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997; Wolfram, Hazen & Schilling-Estes 1999). Some examples of static locative *to* use include: *I worked over to the Lone Cedar* (a local restaurant) for *I worked over at the Lone Cedar*. Other examples would be *you're to the bank* for *you're at the bank*; and *we were over there to the church* for *we were over there at the church* (Vadnais and Carpenter 2004).

The *Oxford English Dictionary* documents static locative *to* or *to* expressing simple position dating back to the early 900s, as well as the phrase "*to work*" as an American English colloquialism dating back to the period of the American Revolution. The *Dictionary of American Regional English* (Volume V, forthcoming) documents the use of this form on the

eastern seaboard of the United States, throughout New England and even to some extent in the Midwest. The *Dictionary of American Regional English* (*DARE*) also notes that static locative *to* was likely a typical New England dialect variable in the late 1800s and into the beginning of the 1900s.

Each of the communities examined in this study (as can also be seen in figure 1.1 above) are all located in Eastern North Carolina, where the well-attested variety of Outer Banks English (OBE) is spoken. Therefore, the similarities and differences among the communities are a key element to understanding the significance of the changing patterns in use of the regional dialect variable, static locative *to*.

1.2 THE AFRICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY OF ROANOKE ISLAND

Roanoke Island, a thirteen-mile island located off the coast of North Carolina, is considered part of the Outer Banks of North Carolina, although the island itself rests between the mainland coast of North Carolina and the rest of the Outer Banks barrier islands. The African American community of Roanoke Island is a long-standing enclave community located within an approximately three quarter-square mile area in the outskirts of the town of Manteo. Currently, there are approximately 200 African Americans living on Roanoke Island, many of whom can trace their family histories back to a Freedmen's Colony that existed on the island between 1862 and 1865. In fact, the African American community on the island is the only long-term, contiguous minority population of its kind in the Outer Banks geographical region (Vadnais & Carpenter 2004). Also noteworthy is the fact that the permanent population of Roanoke Island experienced sizable population growth in the years immediately following integration up to the present day.

So, how did the African Americans arrive on Roanoke Island? According to Kay & Cary (1995), most of the slaves in the Northern Coastal region of North Carolina came from the slave trades of the coastal area of Virginia. There was also an active slave trade further south in Wilmington, North Carolina as well as some free African Americans who had probably migrated down from Virginia settlements. However, as Wright and Zoby (2000) explain, "because the free blacks were of little economic threat…[they] shared the limited resources on more or less equal footing with their white counterparts." Despite the small amount of agriculture on the island, the census figures for 1850 give the total population of Roanoke Island as 610 and the slave population as 168 (Stick 1970). This means that a decade before the onset of the Civil War, the Roanoke Island slave population constituted almost 28% of the total Roanoke Island population (Carpenter 2004).

Roanoke Island was a key site during the Civil War. As the Union Army moved further into Confederate territory, runaway and freed slaves went to locations where Union armies established camps. One such camp was on Roanoke Island (Stick 1958). After the war ended, however, more than 3,000 slaves were lost and the land that the Freedmen's Colony had occupied was returned to the former owners, displacing many African Americans (Carpenter 2004). According to Bowser & Bowser (2002), at least two different tracts of land on a section of Roanoke Island were sold to African American residents of the colony who were determined to stay. By 1900, approximately 300 African Americans were living on the island and had formed their own neighborhood called California (Wright and Zoby 2000).

1.3 THE WHITE COMMUNITY OF OCRACOKE

Like Roanoke Island, Ocracoke Island is located in the Pamlico Sound Dialect region and is a part of the Outer Banks barrier islands that line the coast of North Carolina. Today, all of the residents of Ocracoke Island live on the southernmost, one-mile part of this small, thirteen-mile island. Unlike Roanoke Island, however, the Ocracoke community consists of a nearly all-white population; there is one African American resident currently residing on the island.

In 1585, vessels carrying the first colonists to Roanoke Island initially stopped at Ocracoke Inlet. It was common for vessels and other ships, during this time, to stop there as they made their way north along the coast (Stick 1958). However, it wasn't until the early 1700s, when the North Carolina colonial assembly passed an act for the placing of pilots on Ocracoke, that people began to settle on the island (Ballance 1989). Settlement on the island was slow at this time, however, due to the island's reputation as a pirate hangout. Among the pilots were a number of African Americans, both freed people as well as slaves. Based on the 1790 census (the first official United States census), which covered both Ocracoke and Portsmouth islands, there were thirty-one slaves. The 1800 census, which applied only to Ocracoke, listed sixteen slaves; in 1810, there were thirty-nine; in 1820, there were fifty-seven; and in 1850, there were 104—the largest number ever kept on Ocracoke. In terms of white inhabitants, the 1790 census listed approximately seventy-five families as living on Ocracoke (Ballance 1989). Later, census records recorded an increase in population on the island from 137 people in 1800 to 536 people in 1850 (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1997).

In terms of education, the first school was built in approximately 1808. However, between the early 1800s and 1917, various public and private schools existed on the island. Most of the schools only had one teacher, and class sizes were small. In 1917, the first

permanent school was built. However, the school only went up to the eighth grade; therefore, students who wanted to finish high school had to leave the island.

In more recent times, there have been other important developments affecting the community of Ocracoke, three to be specific. The first was the dredging out of Cockle Creek and the construction of Silver Lake Harbor in 1931, which made it possible for large vessels to dock in the village. This resulted in a sizable fishing industry. The second development was the establishment of the Cape Hatteras National Seashore in 1953. The third was the construction of the Ocracoke Island highway in 1957 (Stick 1958). The last two developments contributed to Ocracoke's latest and most notorious industry: tourism. Other improvements which affected the development and growth of the community included the introduction of the first long-distance commercial telephone service in 1956. Also, until the introduction of the first car ferry in 1950, people, supplies, fuel, livestock and cars were transported by freight boats (Ballance 1989).

Due to increasing tourism nowadays, both Roanoke Island and Ocracoke Island have experienced an influx of summer-only residents and a boom in real-estate construction. For example, Wolfram et al. note that during a typical summer day, anywhere from 3,000 to 5,000 people visit the mainland of Ocracoke, overwhelming the mere 600 permanent residents. Today, Ocracoke is still only accessible by ferry, but this hasn't seemed to hinder tourism on the island.

1.4 THE LUMBEES OF ROBESON COUNTY

Unlike Ocracoke and Roanoke Island, Robeson County does not attract as much tourist attention. However, Robeson County is home to the largest Native American group east of the Mississippi River and the seventh largest in the United States. Important to keep in mind is the general location of Robeson County in relation to the other two communities. A tri-ethnic community located in the eastern coastal region of the state, Robeson County is more rural and spread out. It is also the largest county in North Carolina by area (948 square miles). The population makeup consists primarily of African Americans, Lumbees and European Americans. An ethnic breakup of Robeson County taken from the 2000 United States Census can be seen below in figure 1.2.

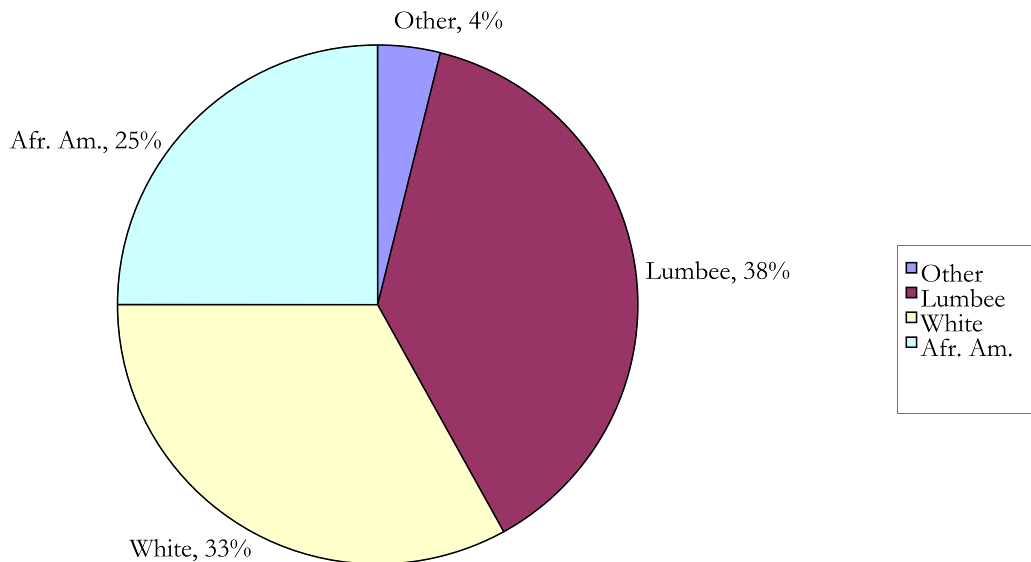

Figure 1.2 Ethnic Distribution in Robeson County*

* Information from this graph was obtained from Wolfram, et al. (2002).

The area of Robeson County has long been a "cultural crossroads" where several different groups of Native Americans interacted through trade and various other activities (Knick 2000). According to historical records, early Anglo settlers from the Scottish Highlands, some of whom were Gaelic speakers, found the Lumbee, the Native-American group within the county, speaking English when they arrived in the Robeson County area in the 1730s. A group of African Americans, including both runaway and free slaves, was also scattered in the region at the time, so that the three ethnic groups have lived in this region for almost three centuries. While Knick (2000) contends that his archeological evidence proves the Lumbee are the descendants of the original inhabitants of Robeson County, oral traditions as well as many Lumbees disagree. Meanwhile, Adolph Dial, Lumbee Historian and State Senator, firmly believed in the theory that the Lumbee were, at least in part, the descendants of the Croatan Indians with whom residents of the Lost Colony made contact. He cited McMillan, a late nineteenth century historian who noted that 41 out of 95 lost colonist surnames were held by Lumbees (Torbert 2000). Later, Dial admitted that not everyone believed the "Lost Colony Theory" and that the Lumbee were probably evolved out of a combination of different sources: the Lost Colony, Eastern Siouan people, the Tuscarora, and perhaps even the Cherokee (Dial 1993).

Robeson County has always been swampy, which made movement from one place to another difficult until the 1950s, when paved roads became more widespread. Since travel was difficult, industry took a long time to develop, and work was difficult to find. Small farms, often growing tobacco, were the main means of sustenance until after World War II. After WWII, segregation only intensified in Robeson County (Dial & Eliades 1975). Moreover, communities kept to themselves in large part, serving to delineate ethnic boundaries (and speech communities) clearly (Torbert 2000).

The ethnic relations of the three groups have shifted through time in response to various sociopolitical events, including the desegregation of county school in the early 1970s. Despite some increase in intercommunication among the three ethnicities, ethnic boundaries remain strong; and Robeson County, in large part, continues to exist in a state of de facto segregation into three ethnic communities. There are also cultural as well as geographical boundaries that contribute to this division. For example, Wolfram and Dannenberg (1999) note that Pembroke is 95% Lumbee. This monoethnic area of the county helps to perpetuate dialect differences. It is also the site where two railroads intersect, one running an east-west route and the other one running a north-south route.

Another way in which this community is divided is by income. According to a 1990 Census, the median household income in Robeson County was $15,000, $25,000 and $30,000 for African Americans, Lumbees, and whites respectively (Torbert 2000). Education is also a dividing factor, with slightly under half of Lumbees possessing a high school diploma, compared to two-thirds of their white cohorts. Dannenberg (1999) also notes that political and economic power in Robeson County may be shifting in the last couple of decades with the appointment of the first Lumbee sheriff. However, the subordination of minorities in Robeson County, especially of the Lumbees is still evident:

> The indeterminate ethnic status, cultural isolation, and discrimination that the Lumbee endured are important background for understanding the development of Lumbee English. The sociopolitical and cultural context not only fueled the Lumbee incentive to carve out a niche within the Robeson County community, but also served to create a strong sense of Lumbee solidarity. Historically, the Lumbee have endured acts of discrimination based on their non-white status, and reports of violence, segregation in school and workplace, and asymmetrical power relations in county government are still recounted vividly by many Lumbee people (Dannenberg 1999).

Given the prominence of the Lumbee in this region and the longstanding tradition of maintaining three separate ethnic communities, Robeson County provides an ideal site for examining how the English variety of a Native-American community is sociolinguistically situated with respect to surrounding local varieties (Torbert 2000).

1.5 HARKERS ISLAND

Harkers Island is part of the Outer Banks, and is a Core Banks island community located off the coast of Eastern North Carolina. Originally known as Crany Island or Crane Island, it was first granted to Thomas Sparrow, who sold it to Thomas Pollock, who willed it to his son George in 1722. In 1730, George sold the island (then 2,400 acres) to Ebenezer Harker. Three years later, Harker sold half of his interest to John Stevens. Harker continued to live on his portion of the land he then owned, and it came to be known as Harkers Island (Stick 1958). A map showing the location of Harkers Island can be seen in figure 1.3.

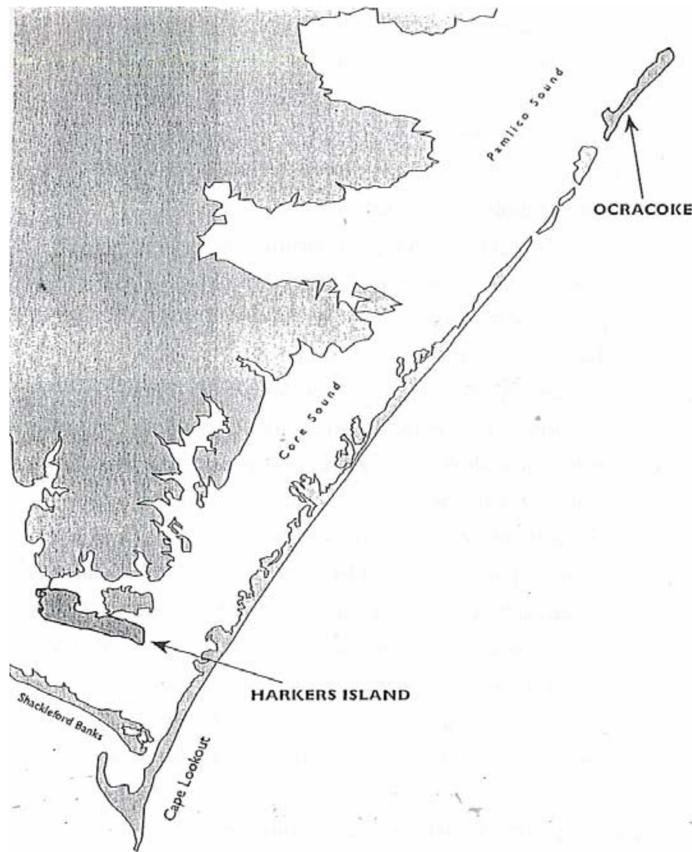

Figure 1.3 Map of Harkers Island*

Before European settlers arrived on Harkers Island, it was inhabited by the Coranine or Coree tribe of Native Americans. The tribe died out or moved off the island by the 1700s; however, some of their pottery as well as other artifacts were left behind as proof of their existence (Wolfram & Creech 1995).

Prior to the late 1800s/early 1900s, Harkers Island was sparsely populated. However, several storms in the late 1890s resulted in a population surge between 1899 and 1903, when most of the residents of Diamond City on nearby Shackleford Banks moved their houses across the sound to Harkers Island (Stick 1958; Rose 1992). One of the first of

* This map was obtained from Cheek (1995).

these displaced residents to arrive was a man by the name of William H. Guthrie, who in 1899 purchased 60 acres of land on Harkers Island. At the time, there were only 13 families living on the island (Rose 1992). By 1900, Diamond City had become a ghost town while Harkers Island was teeming with a population that numbered almost a thousand. Other than a narrow inland path through the trees, the only highway on the island was the shoreline. In 1926, a road was cleared that eventually became the main highway (Island Drive). Ferry operations to the mainland began that same year. However, in 1941 a wooden bridge was built and connected the island to the straits on the mainland*, ending the need for the ferry service. In 1948, the first telephone service arrived on the island, further improving communication. As Cheek (1995) noted: "The 1950s also marked the addition of electricity to [Harkers Island], thus bringing the outside world into the homes of the islanders through radio and later television." However, the biggest change in the habits of the islanders came in 1949 with the integration of high school students into a mainland high school for their education (Cheek 1995). This exposed students to other dialects besides their own.

Before the access bridge in the 1940s connected it with the mainland coastal South, Harkers Island was isolated. Thus, the dialect of the islanders existed in almost complete isolation for two and a half centuries prior to World War II. Up until 1894, a sailboat from Beaufort, NC would bring mail, supplies and people such as doctors, teachers, preachers, missionaries and schoolteachers. Today, Harkers Island is home to approximately 500 ancestral islanders, residents whose parents are from either Harkers Island or the neighboring Shackleford Banks and who have lived on the island most of their lives.

This island community differs from the rest of the Outer Banks in two major respects. One, unlike the other islands, the bridge, built in 1941, provides driving accessibility

* This bridge was replaced in 1968 by a newer, concrete bridge.

to the island. Secondly, the community is fairly conservative in comparison to the other islands, such as Ocracoke, both in terms of its socio-political ideology and its reaction to the tourist industry that has become the staple economy of the other Outer Banks islands. Unlike Ocracoke, whose economy is centered around the service-related tourism industry, Harkers Island maintains a number of small indigenous island trades including fishing, boat-building, and, more recently, decoy carving. (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997; Wolfram, Hazen & Schilling-Estes 1999). While these trades allow some islanders to continue working on the island, the majority seek employment on the mainland, adding to the rapidly changing dialect of Harkers Island (Cheek 1995).

1.6 HYDE COUNTY

Mainland Hyde County is a rural area of farmland and swampland surrounding North Carolina's largest natural lake, Lake Mattamuskeet, in the eastern coastal region of the state. It is one of the largest of the communities in the study in terms of both land mass and population. Principal industries in Hyde County include agriculture, fishing and tourism. The main communities within inland Hyde County are Swan Quarter (the county seat) in the west, Englehard in the east, and Fairfield in the north. Other, smaller communities include Middletown and Nebraska in the east and Rose Bay, Sladesville and Scranton in the west. Many families can trace their ancestry in Hyde County to colonial times (Wolfram & Thomas 2002). The rurality of the Hyde County community supports a scattered population, dispersed across the land area, instead of one primary center of the population, like what exists in small island communities like Roanoke Island or Ocracoke (Carpenter & Vadnais 2005).

According to Green (1998), a great deal of the Hyde County's longstanding insularity has been due to the physical topography of the county. It doesn't have an airport, railroad system, major freeway or bus line. And today, Hyde County remains the second most sparsely populated county in North Carolina even though it is one of the oldest counties. Also important to note is the population makeup. In the two centuries of official census figures, the ratio of African Americans and Anglo Americans has remained much the same, with approximately one-third of the population being African American (Green 1998). The total population and African American percentage of Hyde County from 1775 through 2000, based on colonial censuses and US Census records, can be seen below in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 Hyde County Census*

Year	*Total population*	*% African American*
1755	1412	19.8
1767	2341	22.8
1790	4120	26.3
1800	4829	30.0
1810	6029	32.2
1820	4967	34.7
1830	6184	34.0
1840	6458	37.9
1850	7636	37.7
1860	7732	39.4
1870	6445	36.9
1880	7765	43.0
1890	8903	44.3
1900	9278	43.3
1910	8840	41.9
1920	8386	38.9
1930	8550	40.9
1940	7860	41.2
1950	6479	42.2
1960	5765	42.2
1970	5571	41.3
1980	5873	35.6
1990	5411	32.9
2000	5826	35.1

* This information was obtained from Wolfram & Thomas (2002).

According to Wolfram and Thomas (2002), the type of infrastructure present in Hyde County probably explains the relative stability of the population. Sharpe (1958) notes:

> For a long time, Hyde was as isolated as Ocracoke is now. The hemming marshes and bogs forbade even travel by horseback, and all traffic was by boat. This insularity kept Hyde from development, but it also helped preserve some of its assets—its fine hunting, its neighborliness and independence of its people, its rural ways, and the distinctive speech which is known as 'Hoide' talk. But this, too, is fast disappearing. On the trip to gather material for this edition [in the 1950's], we were disappointed to hear "Hyde" a hundred times, and "Hoide" not even once (1958: 894).

The maintenance of a longstanding core community has been a byproduct of the county's economic isolation. Not only does the county's limited economy actually inhibit new population growth, but with so few economic opportunities available inside the county, the economy actually has the converse effect. The consequence has been the county's consistently decreasing population trend (Green 1998). Because Hyde County contains so few people and is predominated by marshland, the topography limits the types of industries that can successfully be established. Also, the dependence on water travel reflects the lack of roads connecting Hyde County with other areas (Wolfram & Thomas 2002). Despite this, however, agriculture dominated the local economy. Another important aspect of the economy was slavery. According to 1790 and 1850 Censuses, small plantations continued to predominate in the county as they had in colonial times. And although the slaveholdings increased somewhat in size from 1790 to 1850, the average slave in 1850 still lived in a holding of only 15 slaves. Nonetheless, these holdings were large enough to produce black communities (Wolfram & Thomas 2002).

The history of economic isolation in Hyde County has created and maintained a land of social isolation. According to Cecelski (1994), "employment within Hyde County was

limited almost exclusively to seasonal piece work in agriculture and seafood," and these jobs were not only grueling and dangerous, but paid little, were irregular, and provided no benefits or security (Green 1998). As a result, most black residents shucked oysters, picked crabmeat, cleaned fish, or earned a living through agricultural labor (Cecelski 1994). And since few blacks were able to purchase land even if they could afford it, most of the African Americans working in the county's agriculture industry farmed someone else's land, much like the former sharecropping system (Green 1998).

With such a limited economy, it is no surprise that there were racial tensions within Hyde County. African American citizens first became politically organized in the 1950s when they organized a local chapter of the NAACP to work on a campaign for voter registration. Later, they became involved in the battle for school integration (Green 1998). Today, race still plays a powerful role in Hyde County, and because the population is spread out over a large amount of land, it has been difficult to make changes (Cecelski 1994). Also, in a lot of ways, Hyde County is still behind the times, with Hill (1983) noting that as late as 1980, Hyde County still had no stoplights or four-lane highways. This remains the case today.

As Hyde County becomes less isolated, it becomes more apparent to note the language differences both between and within the different ethnic groups. The socio-cultural situation of the county clearly points to ethnicity as a critical factor for establishing identity within the community (Childs 2000).

1.7 PRINCEVILLE

Princeville is the oldest incorporated Black town in the United States. It is located in the Coastal Plain region of Eastern North Carolina and lies just south of the Tar River from the county seat of Tarboro in Edgecombe County. Settled just after the Civil War in 1865, Princeville was originally called "Freedom Hill" by the freed slaves who had gathered on this Tar River flood plain seeking refuge at a Union Army camp that was located there. A 98% African American town in Eastern North Carolina consisting of approximately 2,100 people, Princeville has a rich history of overcoming hardship to unite and flourish as a community.

Due to the conditions created by persistent and periodically dangerous flooding, the land was essentially unclaimed and unwanted until its settlement by Princeville's founders in 1865 (Rowe 2005). At that time, records indicate the land technically belonged to two white farmers. The area east of Old Sparta Road (now Highway 64) was registered to John Lloyd and the area west of Old Sparta was registered to Lafayette Dancy (Mobley 1994). However, this ownership was apparently in name only. Stagnant water from even minor floods caused sanitation problems and rampant mosquitoes. Subsequently, few buildings stood on the land, which was unfit for most farming and difficult for human living (Coles 1981).
Throughout its history, Princeville has endured racial intimidation, economic and social isolation, and repeated flooding (e.g. 1800, 1865, 1889, 1919, 1924, 1940, and 1958), but it has steadfastly persisted as a cohesive "all-Black" community. By the end of the Civil War, much like what was happening throughout the South, increasing numbers of escaped slaves began to congregate and seek refuge at a Union army camp located on the swampy lowlands just south the Confederate town of Tarboro on the opposite side of the Tar River. In the spring of 1865, Union soldiers went to a knoll near this camp to announce that the

Confederacy had surrendered and that the slaves of the area were now "freedmen." To commemorate this event, the freed slaves named that spot of land, and later their village of freed-slave refugees, Freedom Hill (Mobley 1994).

Soon after, a few of the Freedom Hill residents acquired funds to purchase a few individual lots from Henry Shaw, who had purchased the land from John Lloyd and Lafayette Dancy. Due to the flood risk, the land was relatively cheap (Mobley 1994).Those who could not purchase land simply claimed the uninhabited land as their own (Blue 2000). By 1870, the Black community of Freedom Hill began settling lots along the Tar River bridge and Old Sparta road as they improved on the crude housing structures put up after the war or built simple one or two-room houses (Mobley 1994).

The former slave owners and other white residents of Tarboro and Edgecombe justified the Freedom Hill settlement as a means of keeping Black people separate but close enough to be accessible as cheap labor to sustain Tarboro's economy (Mobley 1994: 342). While some in Princeville benefited from securing some of the few industrial jobs available to Black people at that time, the majority of citizens worked as day laborers and servants for the white businesses and homes of Tarboro. As most of the town's men took the less consistent and financially unstable work of day labor, most of the jobs for Princeville women were the better-paying, hourly jobs of servants in the white homes of Tarboro. As one historian suggests, this may have played a major role in the rapid increase of female-headed households from seven percent in 1880 to 30 percent in 1910 (Mobley 1994: 377). Of 379 inhabitants in the 1880 census, only 12 were farmers—mostly sharecroppers—and 43 worked as laborers on farms. The largest occupational groups were day laborers (30) and laundresses (25). By 1910 only nine of Princeville's 636 residents had farm-related jobs and only twelve were sharecroppers (Mobley1994).

After the building of a levee in 1965 to prevent major flooding, the town saw many modern improvements: the expanding of its borders, a growth in population and an increase in the number of businesses. In 1999 a 500-year flood caused by Hurricanes Dennis and Floyd broke the levee and wiped out the town, bringing national attention to the historical and social significance of Princeville as a symbol of African American perseverance and self-determination. This unique sense of place and solidarity among Princeville's town members, along with its historical status as a long-standing black community, make it an ideal community in which to begin the preservation of oral history (Rowe & D'Andrea 2005).

Despite having been destroyed, today, Princeville has been rebuilt and remains a predominantly African American community. When compared to the other African American communities looked at in this study, the members of Princeville does not demonstrate alignment to OBE, but rather reveals a marked divergence from OBE towards AAE. More evidence of this will be discussed later.

Chapter 2- Methodology

2.1 THE STATUS OF *to*

Static locative *to*, or *to* for *at*, as in *I worked to the crabhouse* instead of *I worked at the crabhouse*, is a well-attested regional dialect feature of American English. The *Oxford English Dictionary* documents static locative *to* or *to* expressing simple position dating back to the early 900s, as well as the phrase *"to work"*, as an American English colloquialism dating back to the period of the American Revolution. *The Dictionary of American Regional English* (Volume V, forthcoming) documents the use of this form on the eastern seaboard of the United States, throughout New England and even to some extent in the Midwest. *DARE* also notes that static locative *to* was likely a typical New England dialect variable in the late 1800s and into the beginning of the 1900s.

Nichols (1986) also noted locative *to* for *at* as a receding, but formerly salient feature of the dialects, including Gullah, spoken in the rural South Carolina coastal area called Waccamaw Neck. In fact, Nichols finds the use of static locative *to* historically present and currently receding at common rates according to apparent time for both white and black speakers in this bi-ethnic coastal area. There is a recession from levels of categorical to high *to* use in the oldest generations to total absence of *to* in the speech of the youngest residents of both ethnicities. While Nichols affiliates this use of *to* with African creole origins in the Sea Coast islands, this paper will address *to* as a regional dialect variable of American English.

Historically, on the Outer Banks of North Carolina, *to* for *at* has been a robust dialect feature. Although quantitative analyses of this dialect feature were not previously conducted for Outer Banks islands, Wolfram, Hazen and Schilling Estes (1999) comment on substantial

use of locative *to* in Ocracoke Island, North Carolina. As I stated earlier, the current residents of Ocracoke island are all white, except for one African American woman, Muzel Bryant, born in 1904. Based on the data from Bryant's interviews, she uses static locative *to* in thirty-three percent of static locative constructions. This is notable, as she is the only remaining, permanent African American resident whose family historically lived on Ocracoke. And while, impressionistically, Wolfram et al. rate the use of locative *to* as high by the white speakers on Ocracoke, Bryant does not use this feature in most possible instances (Carpenter & Vadnais 2005).

2.2 METHODOLOGY

In this analysis, data* were compiled from interviews with 40 residents of Roanoke Island, 31 residents of Ocracoke Island, 30 (Lumbee) residents from Robeson County, 32 residents from Harkers Island, 32 residents from Princeville, and 40 residents from Hyde County (20 black & 20 white). All of the speakers are lifelong residents of their respective communities. The speakers were divided into four generations, which I refer to as Gen 1, 2, 3 and 4, with one being the oldest and four being the youngest. These generational parameters are listed in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Generational Parameters*

Generation	Years of Birth
Gen 1/Oldest:	1905-1924
Gen 2/Older Middle:	1928-1942
Gen 3/Younger Middle:	1953-1969
Gen 4/Youngest:	1976-1991

* Data from this study reflected a small sample size, thereby affecting any & all graphed results.
* These parameters are approximate for each field site.

These generations were determined using parameters based on both familial relationships between speakers as well as major historical events such as bridge access to Roanoke Island and the integration of schools. The oldest, or Gen 1, speakers were all born before 1925; Gen 2 speakers were all born between 1928 and 1942; the Gen 3 speakers, born between 1953-1969, were all in school during or immediately following integration, and the Gen 4 speakers are children or peers of children of Gen 3 speakers, born in 1976 or after. The subjects in each field site were selected for interviews using community social networks, family-tree social networking, in which members of extended families are selected for interviewing, and door-to-door solicitation.

In order to determine rates of static locative *to* use for all of the speakers, all instances of static locative *at* and *to* were extracted for each of the speakers of the various field site locations. The number of occurrences of static locative *to* out of the total number of static locative constructions (i.e., those that take *at*) for each of the four generations was then tallied. An example of how this was done can be seen in Table 2.2. Also, chi square analyses were run when looking at gender and locative *to* in each of the communities.

Table 2.2 Calculating Locative *to*

Speaker	Sex	Year of Birth	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
101	M	1905	3	14	3 of 17	17.65

Chapter 3- Description

3.1 ROANOKE ISLAND RESULTS

Based on a series of sociolinguistic interviews with members of the African American community on Roanoke Island and a small selection of European American cohorts (also on the island), quantitative evaluations of the uses of static locative *to* for *at* were conducted. In order to determine rates of static locative *to* use for the Roanoke Island speakers, all instances of static locative *at* and *to* were extracted for each of the speakers. A transcript of static locative *to* in its context can be seen below in figure 3.1.

> Well, we had a yard wedding and ***it was like over to my mom's***- that's ***where I had my yard-wedding at***. It was cheaper- a lot cheaper- that's why- but I liked it and everything. It come out cheaper…um- mostly just about all of her life because she used to stay up there by the airport road and they like moved- we moved down here and I moved down here when I was like- I guess I was about 14 years old because ***we stayed up to North End***- by the airport road- and um- I think she got a house moved down here and stuff and it got kind of like remodeled and that's where we been ever since…that's when my husband got him a job ***out there to the school*** and then from there, he left from there and went to [Coastal Ready Mix]. ***I stayed at Harbor Town*** for- I don't know if it was ***about 3 or 4 years out to Harbor Town*** and then we moved back here- I bought the land from my mom and moved back here.

Figure 3.1 Speech Sample from 42 year-old black Roanoke Island Resident

With regard to Roanoke Island, there is a marked decline in the use of locative *to* between the second and third generations of African Americans. A summary of data and a graphic representation can be seen in figure 3.2. While Gen 1 and Gen 2 speakers appear likely to use either *to* or *at* in static locative constructions, the Gen 3 data show a less than

twenty percent occurrence of this variable in static locative constructions. The Gen 4 data also reflect low level occurrences of *to* for *at*. Notably, the only speaker in the youngest generation who uses static locative *to* is the oldest speaker, who has friends and associates in both Gen 4 and Gen 3, and the son of the Gen 3 woman who extends the use of locative *to* to beach constructions, i.e. *we were over on the beach* vs. *we were over at the beach.*

Generation	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Gen 1	20	38	20 of 38	52.6
Gen 2	16	53	16 of 53	30.2
Gen 3	3	35	3 of 35	8.6
Gen 4	1	18	1 of 18	5.6

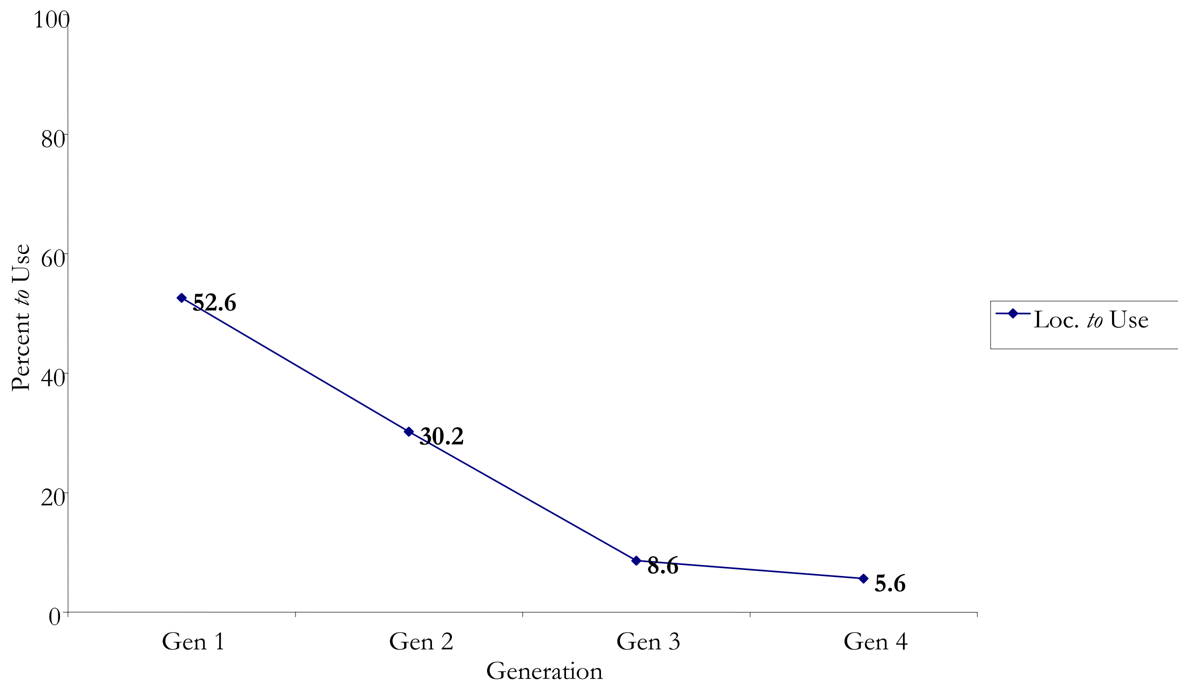

Figure 3.2 African American Locative *to* Use by Generation on Roanoke Island

3.2 OCRACOKE RESULTS

Data for the use of static locative *to* on Ocracoke Island, found in figure 3.3, show a different trend for the use of this variable across generations. In all four generations of speakers on Ocracoke, regardless of age, use of this regional dialect feature is maintained at substantial levels. These data represent a completely different trend for the white Ocracokers than what was determined for the African American Roanoke Islanders. The descriptive data present slightly less use of locative *to* by the younger two generations of Ocracokers than what was found for Generations 1 and 2, and there seems to be a more slowly declining use of perhaps only a slightly marked maintenance of this dialect feature in the Ocracoke brogue.

Generation	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Gen 1	18	29	18 of 29	62.1
Gen 2	50	66	50 of 66	75.8
Gen 3	13	34	13 of 34	38.2
Gen 4	13	27	13 of 27	48.1

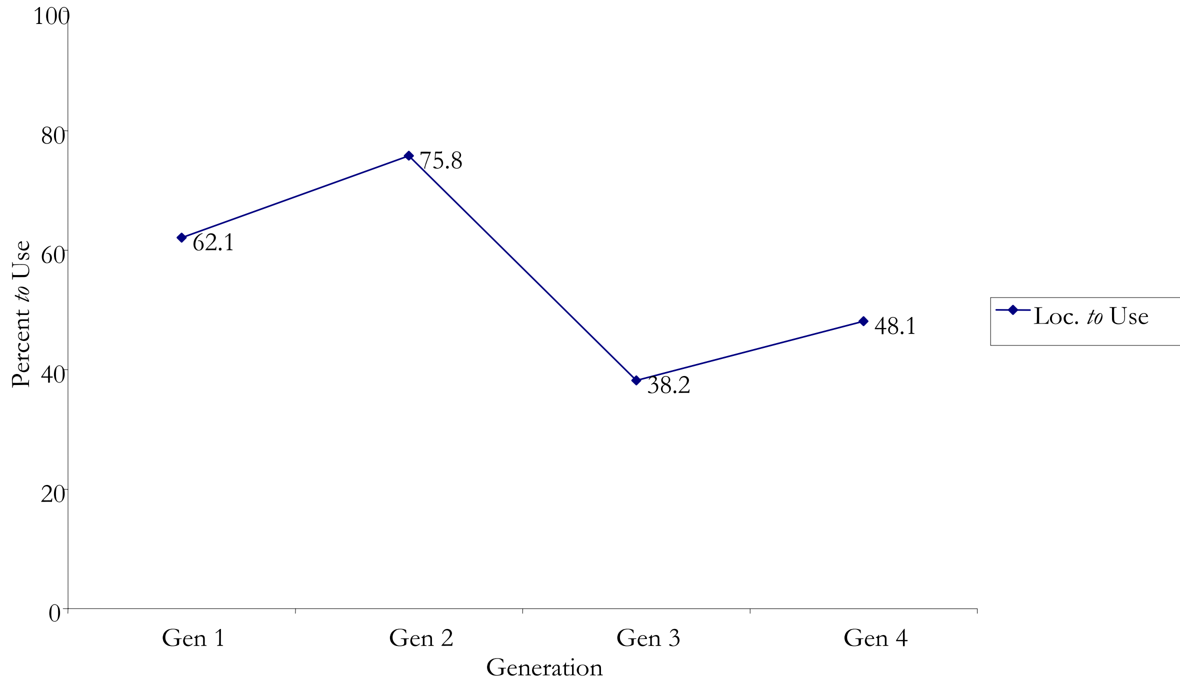

Figure 3.3 Locative *to* Use by Generation on Ocracoke

3.3 LUMBEE RESULTS

Data show that the Lumbees do not use locative *to* in conversation. For this reason, I have chosen not to represent the results graphically, although I should note that there was one instance of locative *to*. This can be seen in the chart in Table 3.1. Also, important to mention here is the fact that Robeson County (as stated earlier) is a tri-ethnic community. Thus, this difference in the Lumbee speaker data with respect to this feature merits closer comparative investigation- especially when comparing it to the other ethnicities in Robeson

County to see if there is something more significant going on, given the social diversity of the community.

Table 3.1 Lumbee Locative *to* use by Generation in Robeson County

Generation	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Gen 1	0	25	0 of 25	0
Gen 2	1	58	1 of 58	1.69
Gen 3	0	19	0 of 19	0
Gen 4	0	54	0 of 54	0

A 50 year-old Lumbee male used locative *to* once out of twenty-four possible instances (4.17%). However, the rate at which he uses this feature combined with the lack of occurrence cross-generationally leads me to tentatively conclude that locative *to* is not a robust feature in this speech community. Possible reasons for this being the case will be discussed later.

3.4 HARKERS ISLAND RESULTS

The data in figure 3.4 show that while there has been a steady decline in the use of locative *to*, there seems to be an overall trend of maintaining locative *to* cross-generationally. Somewhat similar to Roanoke Island, the most notable change comes between Gen 1 and Gen 2, where there is a significant decrease in the use of locative *to* before it then begins to level out among the remaining generations. This difference between the first and second generation is noteworthy in that it could be representative of an age difference. Chambers (2002) suggests that language variation can mark stable class differences or even sex

differences in communities as well as instability and change. When it marks change, however, the primary social correlate is usually age, and the "..change reveals itself prototypically in a pattern whereby some minor variant in the speech of the oldest generation occurs with greater frequency in the middle generation and with still greater frequency in the youngest generation." He also goes on to suggest that if the incoming variant, in this case, the occurrence or lack thereof of locative *to*, truly represents a linguistic change, then we will see it occurring more frequently as the generations progress.

Generation	***to***	**at**	**out of**	**% *to* use**
Gen 1	74	102	74 of 102	72.55
Gen 2	19	77	19 of 77	24.68
Gen 3	53	123	53 of 123	43.09
Gen 4	25	78	25 of 78	32.05

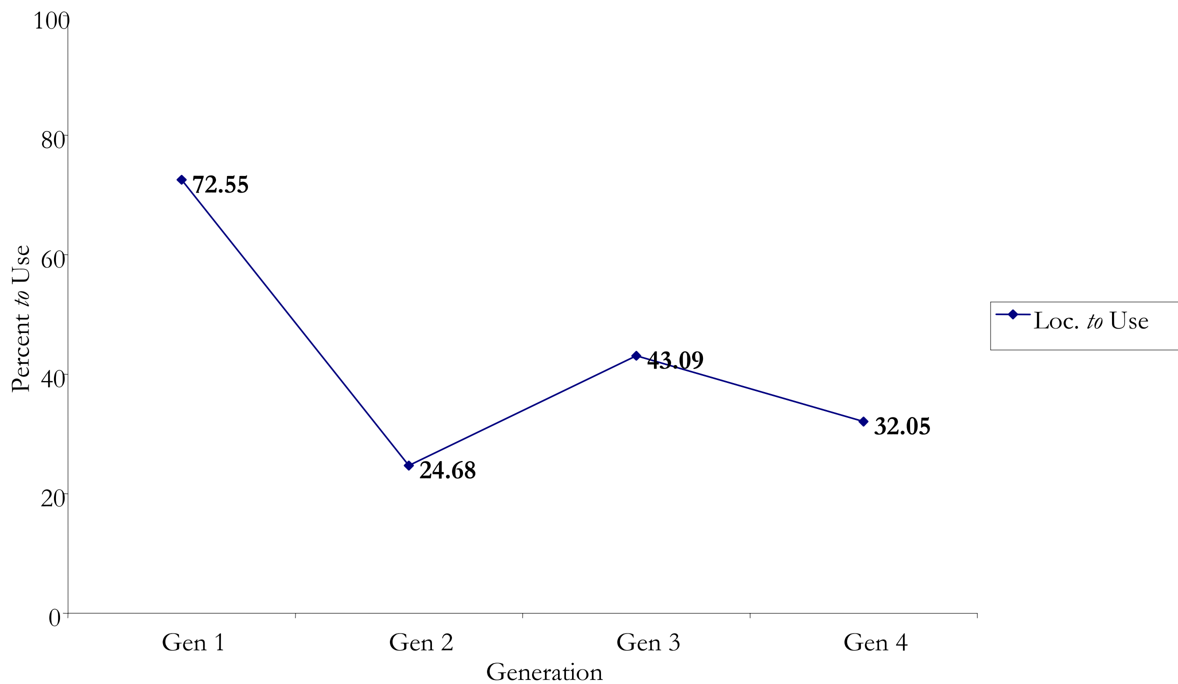

Figure 3.4 Locative *to* use by Generation on Harkers Island

3.5 PRINCEVILLE RESULTS

The data for Princeville, seen in figure 3.5, reveals a similar pattern to that of Roanoke Island's African Americans. Although there is what could be interpreted as a trend for the increased use of locative *to* in Gen 4, the overall pattern suggests a decrease in the use of this feature over time. One obvious suggestion to this overall decrease has to do with the fact that Princeville is an ideal community of practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992). Princeville is significant in that it has withstood so many changes (Rowe 2005), and yet still has managed to remain a relatively isolated African American community despite interaction with members from other neighboring communities. More than a century after its incorporation as the first black town, it is still an almost all-black town (98%). Additionally, the residents of this town share an extremely strong bond, which developed out of the hardships they faced with the damaging floods as well as slavery and the Civil War period. For instance, when interviewed, all of the residents at some point mentioned the most recent flood (caused by Hurricane Floyd in 1999) and how important it was for them to move back home and rebuild their community.

Generation	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Gen 1	10	33	10 of 33	30.3
Gen 2	9	94	9 of 94	9.57
Gen 3	1	80	1 of 80	1.25
Gen 4	2	57	2 of 57	3.5

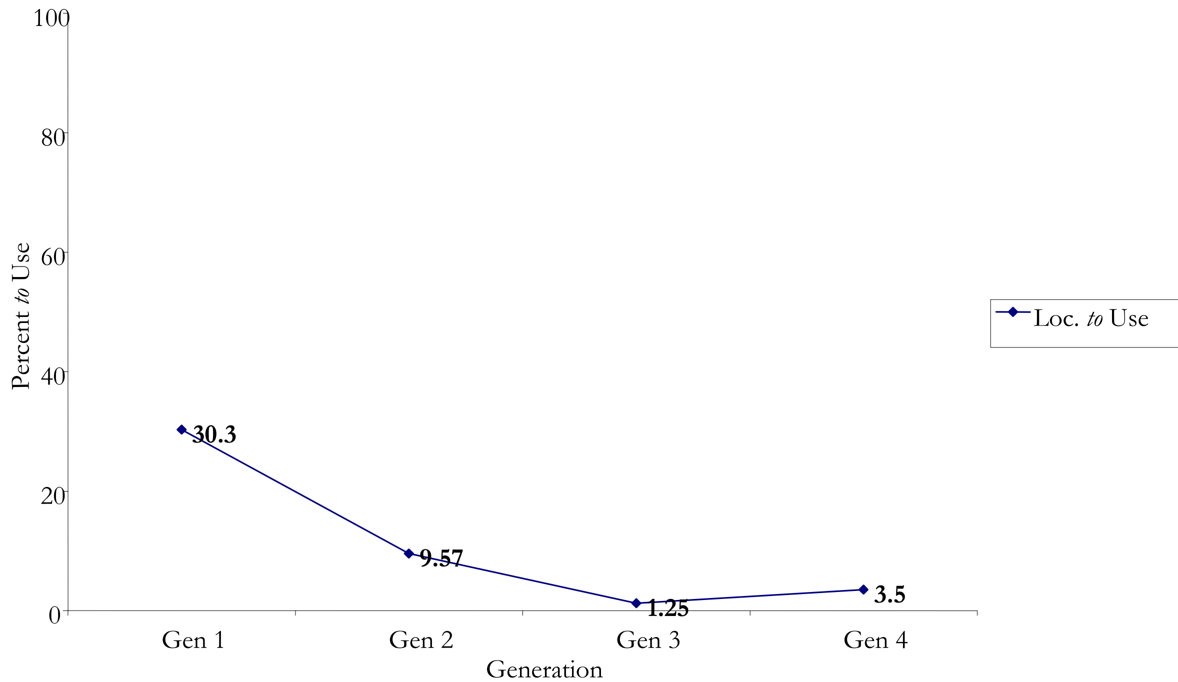

Figure 3.5 Locative *to* use by Generation in Princeville

Another suggestion for the decline in locative *to* may be due to the conscious effort of the African American residents to distinguish themselves from their white cohorts. The majority of Princeville is black, while Roanoke is not. There is also a lot of pride emanating from this community in its being the first chartered black town. Therefore, this need or 'desire' to separate themselves apart from other regional communities is probably heightened.

On a side note, the area that Princeville is in is notorious for getting flooded, but even after they were presented with the opportunity to move elsewhere, the majority of the residents chose to move back to Princeville and rebuild.

The kind of role that members of a community play reflects their own personal history and goals, and also the goals of the group that is jointly engaged in those practices (Meyerhoff 2002). This bond that the community has is represented in the linguistic repertoire. As a result, the members of Princeville may not only be trying to maintain their identity through the rebuilding of their community, but also may be doing so through the maintenance of their language—in this case, the decreasing use of locative *to*.

3.6 HYDE COUNTY RESULTS

The data for the use of locative *to* for whites in Hyde County can be seen in figure 3.6 and reveals a sudden increase in the use of this feature in Gen 2. Immediately following this increase is a decline in Gen 3 and then a slow increase to Gen 4. If Gen 2 were removed, the pattern would show a slow but steady increase in the use of this feature. However, with the exception of the second generation of speakers, this community seems to have fewer occurrences of locative *to* when compared to whites on Ocracoke Island and Harkers Island. One possible explanation for the high occurrences of locative *to* in Gen 2 may be inter-speaker variation (Schilling-Estes 2002). Part of the reason for the low occurrences may have to do with the fact that Hyde County is one of the largest communities in the study. Because of the rurality of Hyde County, the population is dispersed over the land and lacks a cultural center—such as is seen in the other smaller

communities like Ocracoke or Harkers Island. Additionally, limited transportation options as well as a fairly isolated economy do not allow for much interaction.

Generation	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Gen 1	3	19	3 of 22	13.64
Gen 2	14	8	14 of 22	63.64
Gen 3	4	23	4 of 27	14.81
Gen 4	3	12	3 of 15	20.00

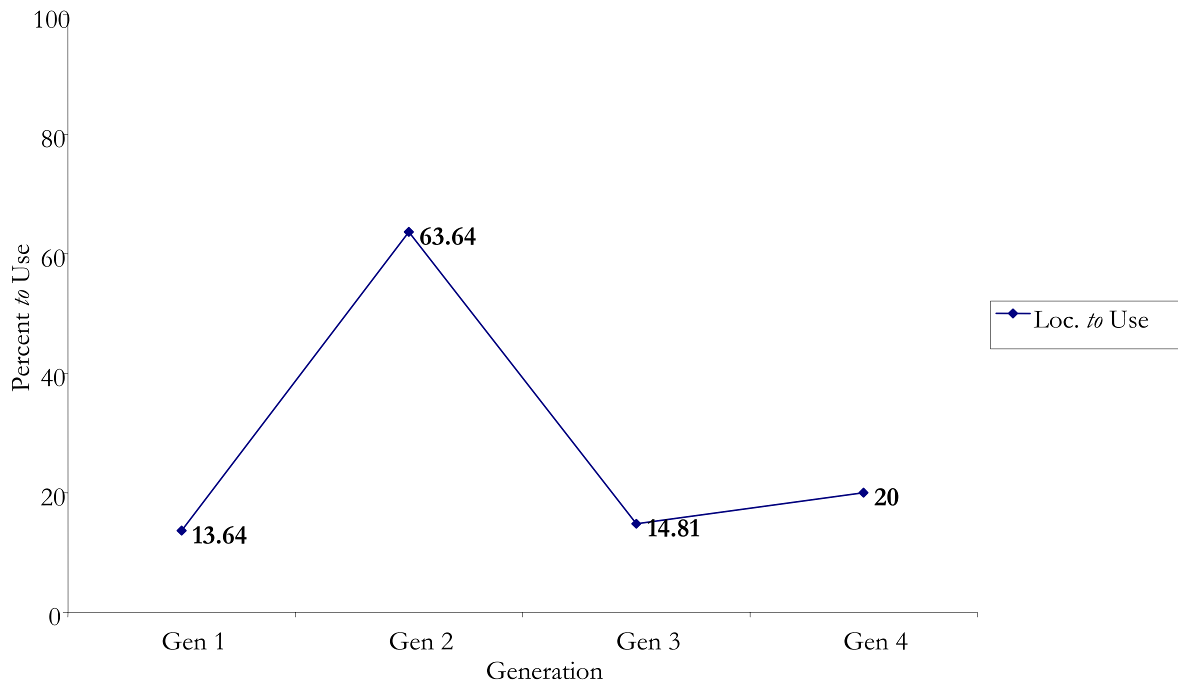

Figure 3.6 Locative *to* use by Generation for whites in Hyde County*

Figure 3.7 shows the results of locative *to* use for African Americans in Hyde County and, when compared to Roanoke Island, there exist convergent patterns of decreasing use of locative *to* for *at* in the third and fourth generations of speakers. However, this similarity

* Data reflects small sample size.

between the two African American communities is not reflected in the Gen 2 speaker data. Gen 2 data show heightened static locative *to* use in Hyde County, but in Roanoke Island this variable has been receding across time and all generations, including in Gen 2.

Generation	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Gen 1	13	12	13 of 25	52
Gen 2	19	20	19 of 39	48.72
Gen 3	14	41	14 of 55	25.45
Gen 4	3	20	3 of 23	13.04

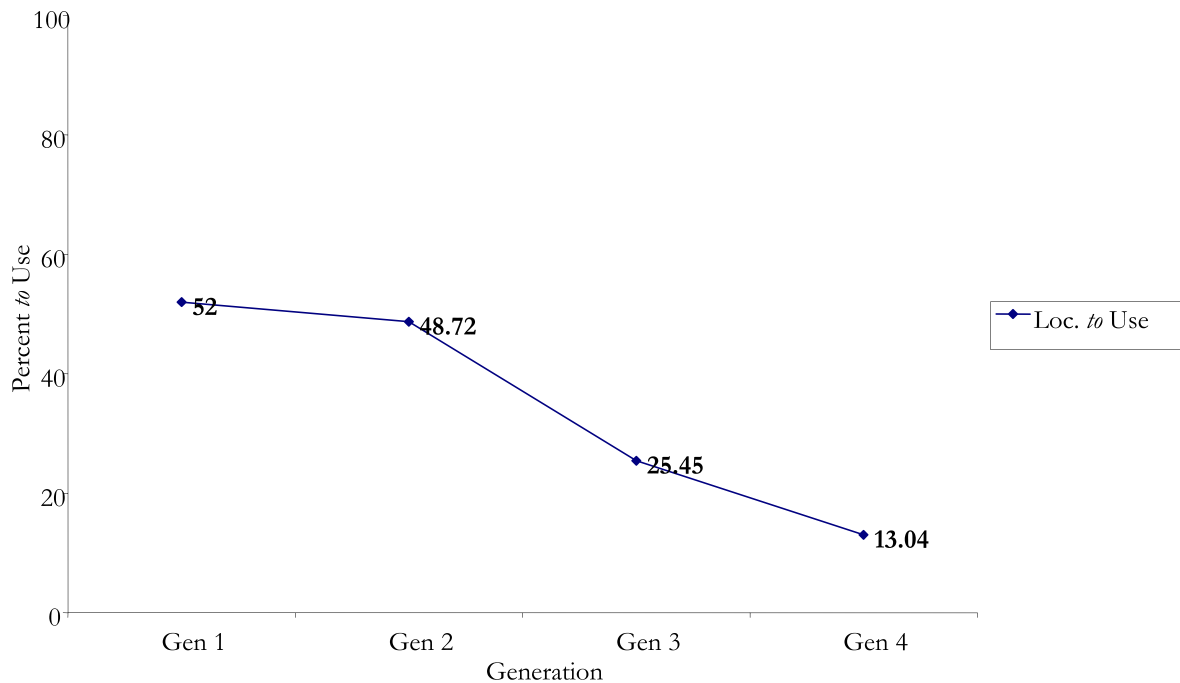

Figure 3.7 Locative *to* use by Generation for African Americans in Hyde County

In sum, the Lumbees do not use locative *to* at all. However, African Americans in Hyde County are demonstrating a receding pattern of locative *to* use across time in all generations while their white cohorts are showing a trend for the gradual increase of this feature, with a heightened use in Gen 2. The African American communities on Roanoke

Island and in Princeville are also following the same pattern as the African Americans in Hyde County, with Princeville having the lowest levels of occurrences. Meanwhile, despite a slight decline in the use of locative *to* on Ocracoke across time, this feature is still experiencing marked use among the third and fourth generations. And even though, whites on Harkers Island show converging patterns of the use of locative *to* in Gen 2 when compared to Ocracoke, the community is still maintaining the use of this feature at notable levels in each generation, thereby following a very similar trend.

Chapter 4- Gender

4.1 INDIVIDUAL VARIATION

While the generational data for Roanoke Island and Ocracoke Island show a marked decrease in the use of locative *to* from Gen 1 to Gen 4, the Lumbees don't use this feature at all. We have to remember that generational data do not necessarily reflect what is going on within the individual. There are many factors that may be affecting individual variation on a smaller scale as opposed to generationally. For example, the degree to which individuals are involved in the local community and prioritize their involvement in the immediate community may be reflected by the presence and/or absence of regional dialect features in their speech. Also, changing attitudes about the community as well as changing ideals and attitudes about group identity may affect identification within a group and how language is therefore used.

Previous studies conducted on Roanoke Island (Carpenter & Hilliard 2003a; ---& --- 2003b; Vadnais & Carpenter 2004) have shown that while individual variation is notable, it appears to consistently parallel community involvement by speakers. However, this evidence does not account for the results of the Lumbees. Only one member from this speech community uses locative *to* in his speech. And while it only occurs once, it is still noteworthy and deserving of our attention. None of the other Lumbees use this feature in their speech (at least not for the hour or so that the interview was being recorded); therefore, we could not simply infer that this speaker is following any generational trends towards or away from any norms. It seems that, in this case, the speaker will have to temporarily remain an 'anomaly' until further morphosyntactic analyses can be conducted in the community.

4.2 LOCATIVE *to* AND GENDER

Although locative *to* has been studied in each of these communities with respect to other morphosyntactic features, it has never been studied in terms of gender. Therefore, it is important to see what role, if any, gender plays in the use of this regional feature. To analyze how gender relates to the use of locative *to*, the subject pools for each of the field sites were split into male and female and then the number of locative *to* constructions were added up as it was done for the generational data shown earlier. While the results for each of the field sites seemed to accurately parallel the total generational results, it should be noted that there wasn't necessarily an even distribution of females and/or males in each generation. However, this did not seem to affect the overall results. The trends still followed suit with the previous analyses.

4.3 GENDER ANALYSIS

It has been suggested that within the class norms, women use fewer stigmatized and nonstandard variants than do men of the same social group in the same circumstances. As a result, speech communities are often marked by consistent and sometimes predictable linguistic correlations with regards to sex (Chambers 2002). As is seen in figure 4.1, graphed results show that the African American females on Roanoke Island show a similar pattern of locative *to* use when compared to the total generation data from earlier in figure 3.2.

Sex	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Males=	11	66	11 of 77	14.29
Females=	29	78	29 of 107	27.1

Chi-Square results:

Degrees of freedom: 1
Chi-square = 4.32363150867824
$p \leq 0.05$.

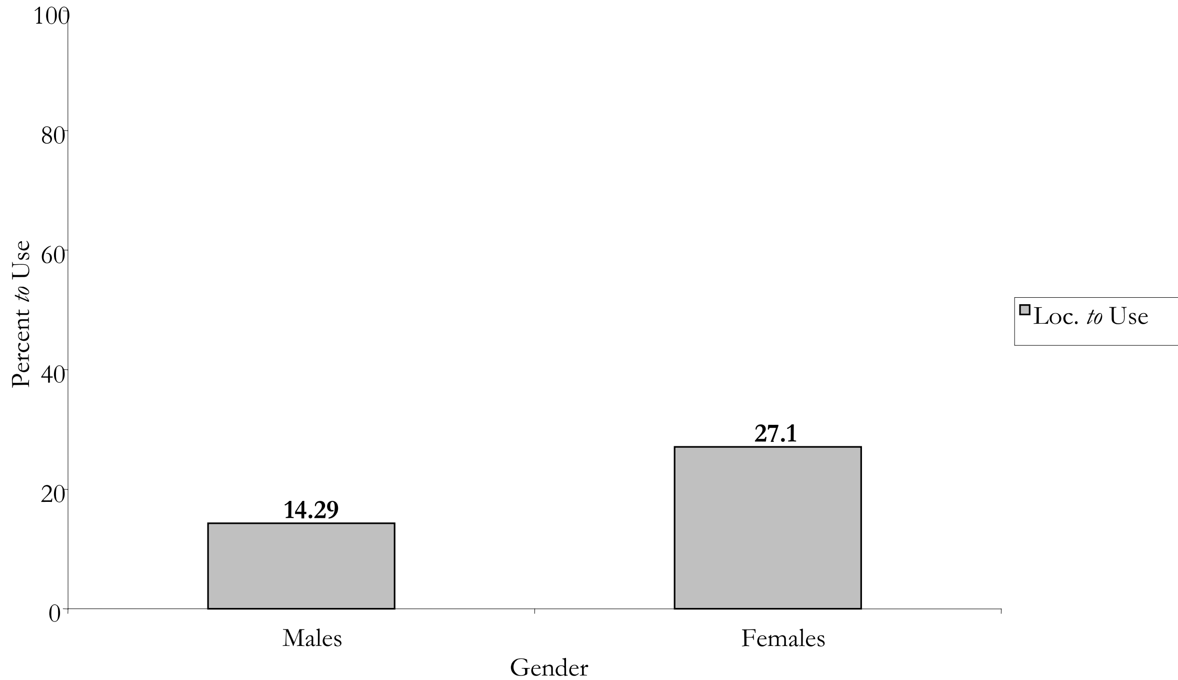

Figure 4.1 Locative *to* use by Gender on Roanoke Island

The males also show a decreasing pattern, but at a much steadier decline in usage. The decreasing use of this feature is significant in that it demonstrates a diverging trend away from the traditional OBE norm.

When we look at figure 4.2, we can see a better view of the sex trends on Roanoke Island by generation. While both sexes seem to be experiencing a decrease in the use of locative *to*, the females are using this feature at a higher rate than the males, especially in the first generation. So, what does this mean? The females are aligning themselves with the

local standard variety of OBE by using locative *to* more, while the males are not. This can be compared to Wolfram's study of a Detroit community, where he found consistent sex-correlations within certain syntactic and phonological variables and concluded: " Within each social class it is observed that females generally approximate the standard English norm more than males do" (1969: 215).

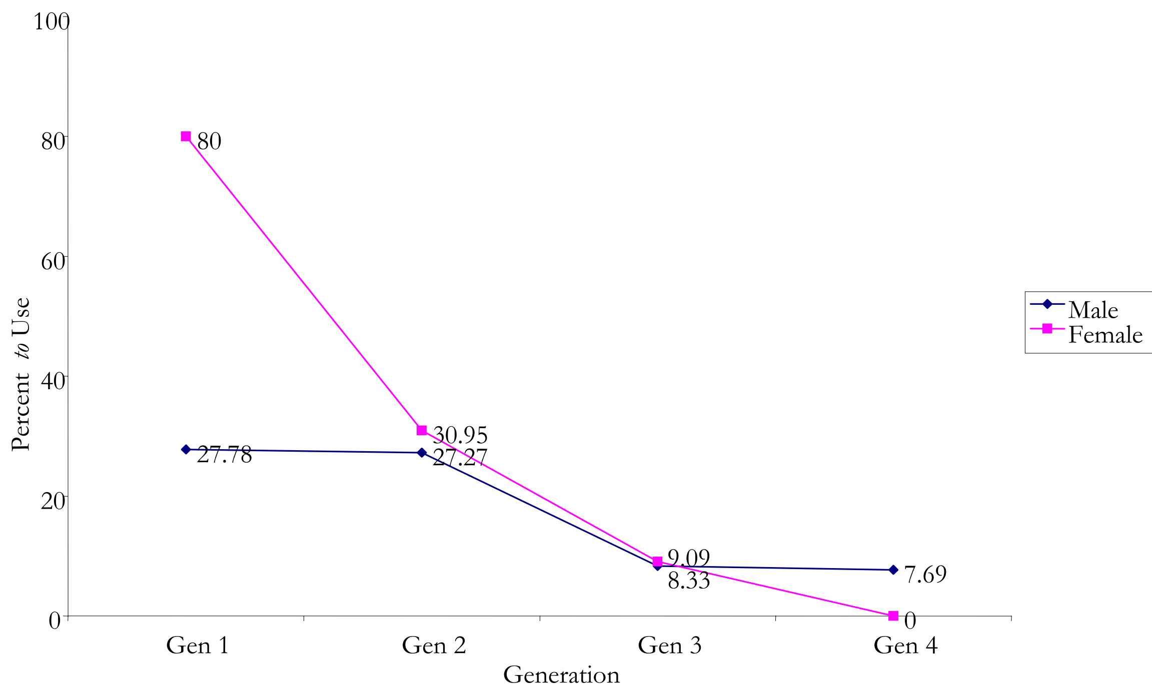

Figure 4.2 Gender Breakdown of Locative *to* Use on Roanoke Island*

Using this information, it can be hypothesized that while the overall trend suggests a decrease in the use of locative *to* over time, females are adhering to a higher use of this feature for a number of reasons that may or may not be socially constructed. For example, previously recorded interviews reveal that most jobs traditionally held by African American

* Lumbee data will not be displayed graphically due to the lack of significant data.

men on the island such as fishing and crabbing have almost disappeared. As a result, more men were forced to commute from the island to find other work. Similarly, there were other external factors that occurred concurrent to integration, such as a rapid population surge in the local community that began in the late 1960s. And certainly, there had also been considerable growth in terms of access to the island and tourism on the island so that more non-local and seasonal residents are now a regular presence on the island. For example, the first roads and bridges had been built (1920s), and tourism boomed after World War II.

Though present to a notable extent in the older two generations of speakers, static locative *to* is only present at token rates in all speakers who attended school during or after integration, suggesting that the linguistic alignment following desegregation involved increased divergence by African American speakers from regional European American speech on the Outer Banks (Vadnais & Carpenter 2004).

When considering language change, special attention has to be paid to changing social roles. DuBois and Horvath (1999) place considerable emphasis on how sex roles play an important part in language change. For instance, many of the older women who were interviewed on Roanoke Island grew up learning the gendered roles of being a mother. As children, they worked around the house. They cooked, cleaned and stayed at home in order take care of their brothers and/or sisters. Later on, most of these women went on to marry young and continue this matriarchal role as the nurturer. Very few of the older women pursued education beyond high school-even after the opportunity became available.

Younger women, however, grew up in a completely different time period when more opportunities were available to them, and they weren't exposed to the same callous environment as their grandparents and great grandparents. For instance, most, if not all, of

the younger middle generation women have a slightly higher level of education and maintain steady jobs in addition to their matriarchal responsibilities, such as raising children.

The increasing importance of education has had a notable impact on the African American Community on Roanoke Island. For much of the younger generation, it is a one-way ticket off of the island and into the "unknown". Much emphasis is placed upon the youngest generation of residents to do well in school, but for the most part education beyond high school is not necessarily a pressing issue coming from parents. For example, there has been an increase in the number of younger residents leaving the island to attend colleges/universities. However, the incentive for doing well in school (athletically or academically) usually comes from the individual's own motivation for such things as the chance to earn an academic or athletic scholarship.

In Nichols' study of Blacks in the Waccamaw Neck area of Georgetown County (between 1974-1975), she was able to conclude that "exposure to other language varieties has some effect on individual speech patterns, but membership in a particular gender group is the more influential factor…" (1983: 61). As we can see from figure 4.3, this holds true for speech participants on Ocracoke Island. Out of all of the speech communities in this study, Ocracoke had the highest use of locative *to*. Ocracoke also has the highest amount of tourism out of all of the communities. So, why hasn't tourism affected the language? The answer is both simple and complicated.

Sex	*to*	at	out of	% *to*
Males	23	57	23 of 57	40.35
Females	40	87	40 of 87	45.97

Chi-Square results:

Degrees of freedom: 1
Chi-square = 0.174816331552306
$p \leq 1$
The distribution is not significant.

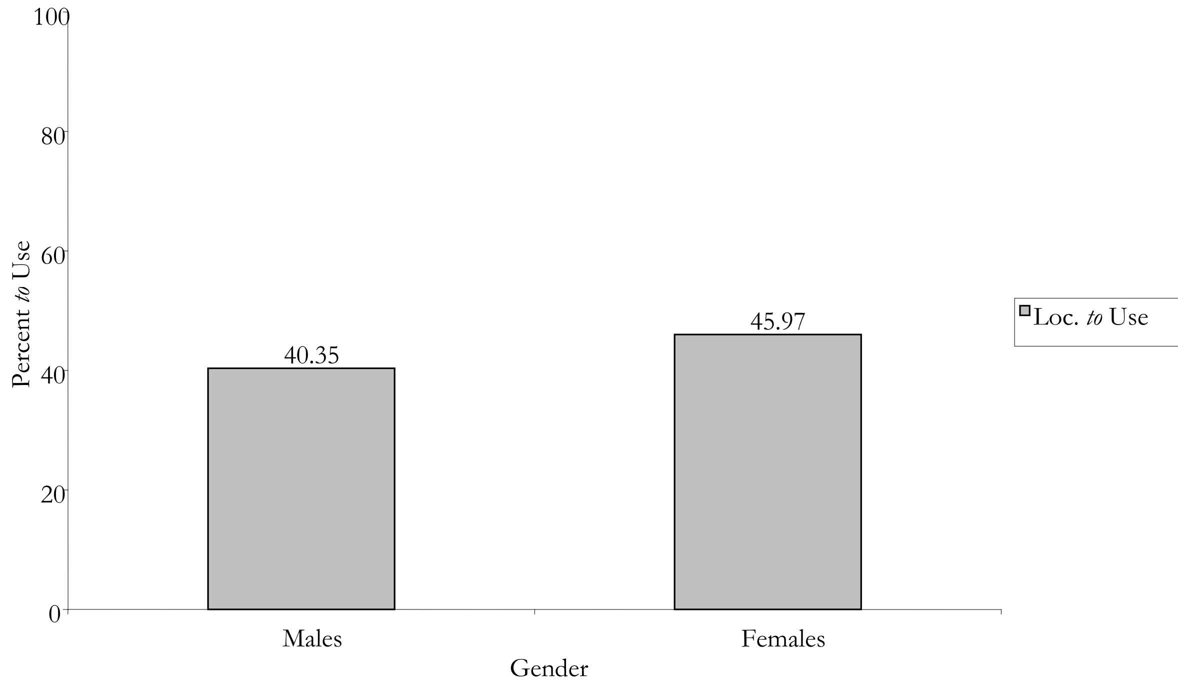

Figure 4.3 Locative *to* use by Gender on Ocracoke

Similarly to the women of Roanoke Island, the women on Ocracoke have jobs in which they deal with tourists more than the men. Therefore, it can be argued that they are enhancing the use of this particular language feature as part of a bigger, localized group identity, which marks them as being from the Outer Banks or the *Hoi Toide* area.

In a way, the use of locative *to* can be seen as a localized form of speech that marks someone as being from the Outer Banks. Tourism is now the main form of sustenance for Ocracoke, and since it is relied upon so heavily, it can be argued that the use of this feature is partly performative. As we have seen with such characters as the infamous Rex O'Neal (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes 1997), many of the Ocracoke natives enhance certain features of their dialect in order to appeal to outsiders. At the same time, it helps to reify their own identities within the speech community.

A more detailed breakdown of gender use per generation can be seen in figure 4.4 and shows a different trend for the use of this variable across generations. In all four generations of speakers on Ocracoke, regardless of age, use of this regional dialect feature is maintained at relatively high levels. These data represent a completely different trend for the white Ocracokers than what was determined for the African American Roanoke Islanders.

There is a noticeable decline in the use of locative *to* in the second generation of female speakers; however, this number begins to increase rapidly in the last two generations. In the males, there is a more gradual decrease among the first 3 generations. Only in the last generation do we see an increase in the use of this feature, but at a slightly lower rate than the females. What are some possible reasons behind this patterning? Nichols (1983) argues that island speech patterns are more likely to be maintained in male work groups than in the isolated female job characteristic of the contemporary community. However, as we have seen, quantitative examination of locative *to* on Ocracoke has revealed that men and women both use the feature at significant but similar levels. The reason for this, I hypothesize, is the exposure to tourists in the types of jobs that men and women hold on Ocracoke. Both sexes are afforded equal exposure to tourists. For example, the men take tourists out on their fishing trips, while the women deal with them in store settings. Also, Ocracoke has

become notorious for its *Hoi Toide* accent, and therefore, tourists expect to hear certain aspects of speech that the locals are more than happy to perform as a way of reinforcing their pride in their heritage as well as their sense of community.

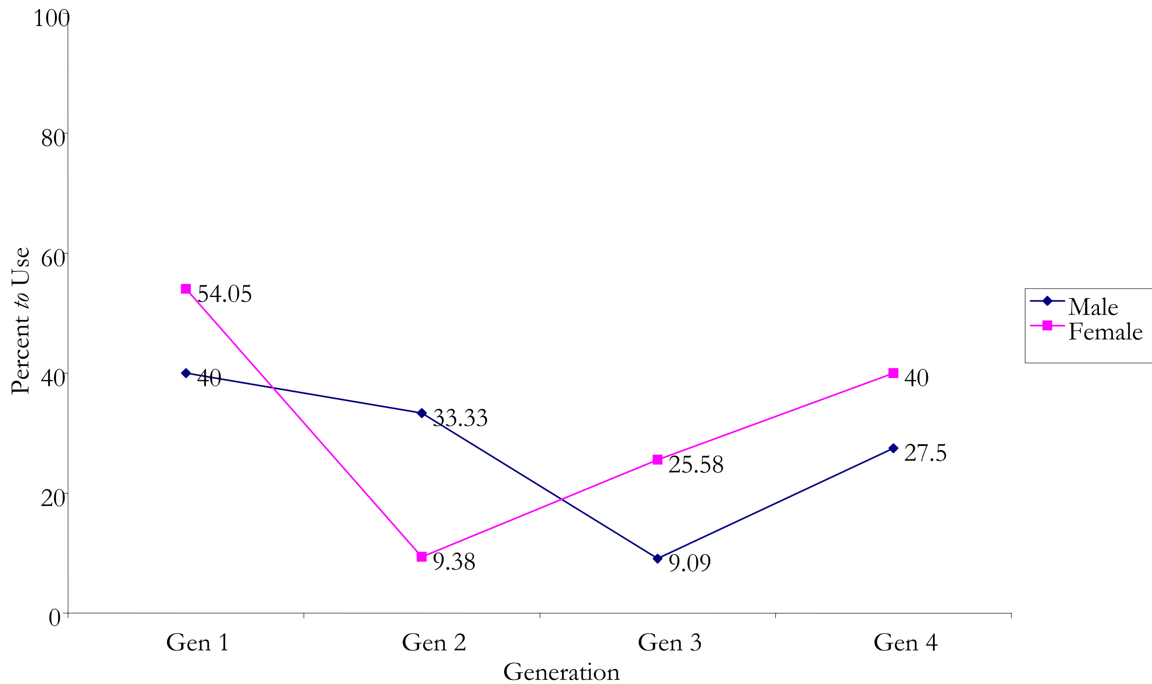

Figure 4.4 Gender Breakdown of Locative *to* use on Ocracoke

As figure 4.5 shows, data from Harkers Island reveal that, overall, women use locative *to* more than men. According to Lakoff (1975), such linguistic imbalances are worthy of study because: "..they bring into sharper focus real-world imbalances and inequities." Having said this, perhaps a closer look at lexical differences between men and women might reveal more about the speech community.

Sex	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Males=	53	115	53 of 168	31.55
Females=	118	94	118 of 212	55.66

Chi-Square results:

Degrees of freedom: 1
Chi-square = 22.0181146596241
$p \leq 0.001$.
The distribution is significant.

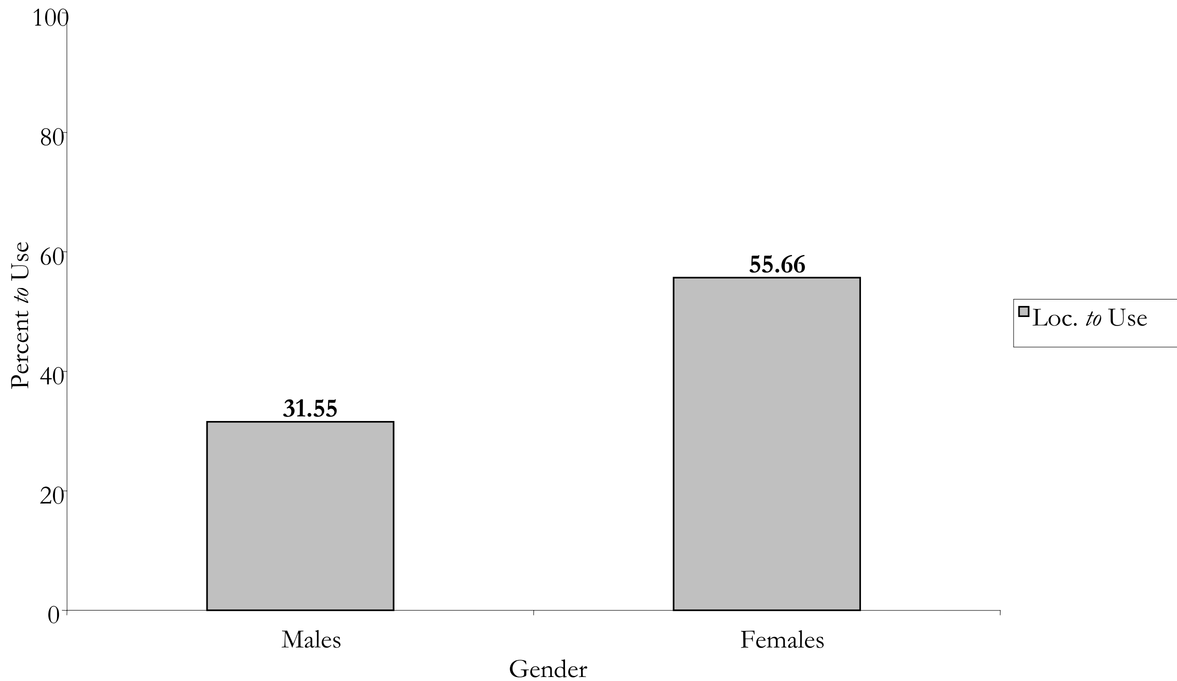

Figure 4.5 Locative *to* use by Gender on Harker's Island

In figure 4.6, a more detailed breakdown of gender among the four generations reveals a consistent pattern of declined usage among both the men and women on Harker's Island. Males and females in the Gen 1 use locative *to* the most. This is then followed by a sharp decline in Gen 2. In Gen 3, both males and females experience a rapid increase in the use of this feature, although the females experience it at a much higher rate (68%) when

compared to the males (35%). In Gen 4, there is a sharp decline in usage again among the females, while the decrease is less dramatic among the males.

These differences between the generations, again, may be explained by recalling the information from Table 1. Generational parameters were founded according to historical events surrounding each generation. For instance, what separates Gen 2 from Gen 3 on Harkers Island was the building of the first bridge to the island in 1941. This had a huge impact on the community. Before that, it remained in relative isolation.

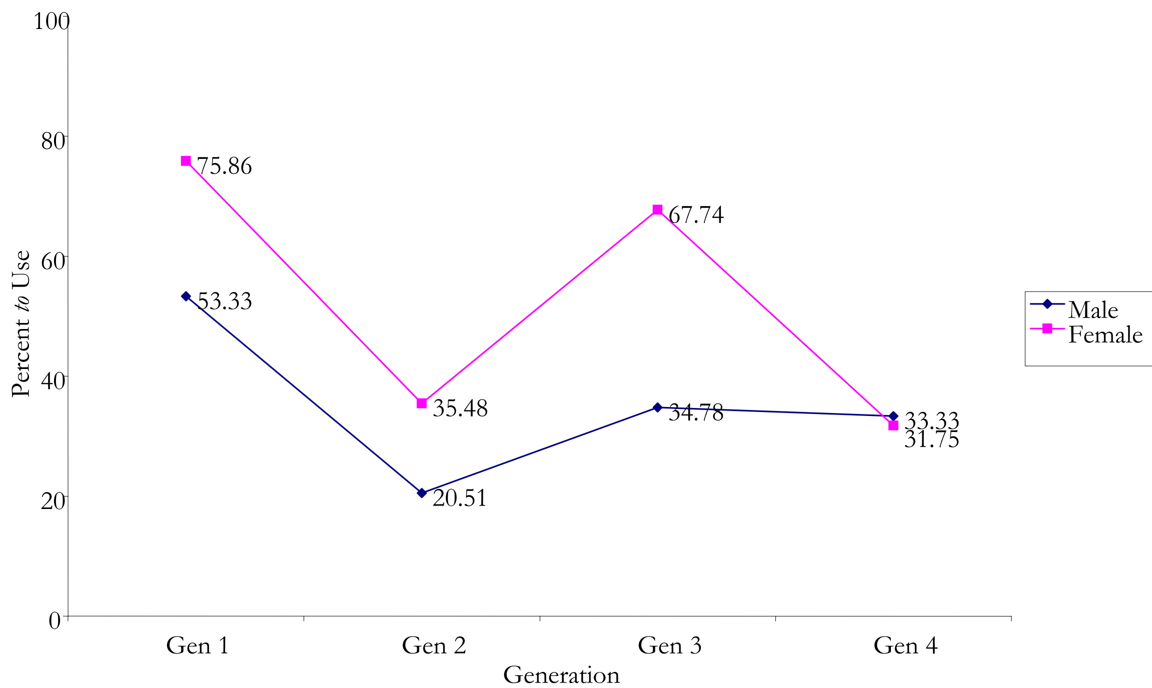

Figure 4.6 Gender Breakdown of Locative *to* use on Harker's Island

In Princeville, there is no significant difference between the males and females and their use of locative *to*. As can be seen in figure 4.7, the use of locative *to* is not one that is salient within this speech community. As Nichols pointed out in her study: "The linguistic choices made by both men and women are always constrained by the options available to them, and these options are available always and only in the context of a group which shares rules for the use and interpretation of language" (1983: 66). This idea can be applied to the native residents of Princeville in a number of ways. As noted earlier, Princeville was the first incorporated town in the United States by African Americans. Years later, it still remains a predominantly African American town despite the various social changes that have taken place over the years. Also, given the rich history of the town as well as the hardships that the townspeople have suffered through together, there is a unique bond that binds this group of people together.

Sex	***to***	**at**	**out of**	**% *to* use**
Males=	9	90	9 of 99	9.09
Females=	13	174	13 of 187	6.95

Chi-Square results:

Degrees of freedom: 1
Chi-square = 0.417112299465241
$p \leq 1$.
The distribution is not significant.

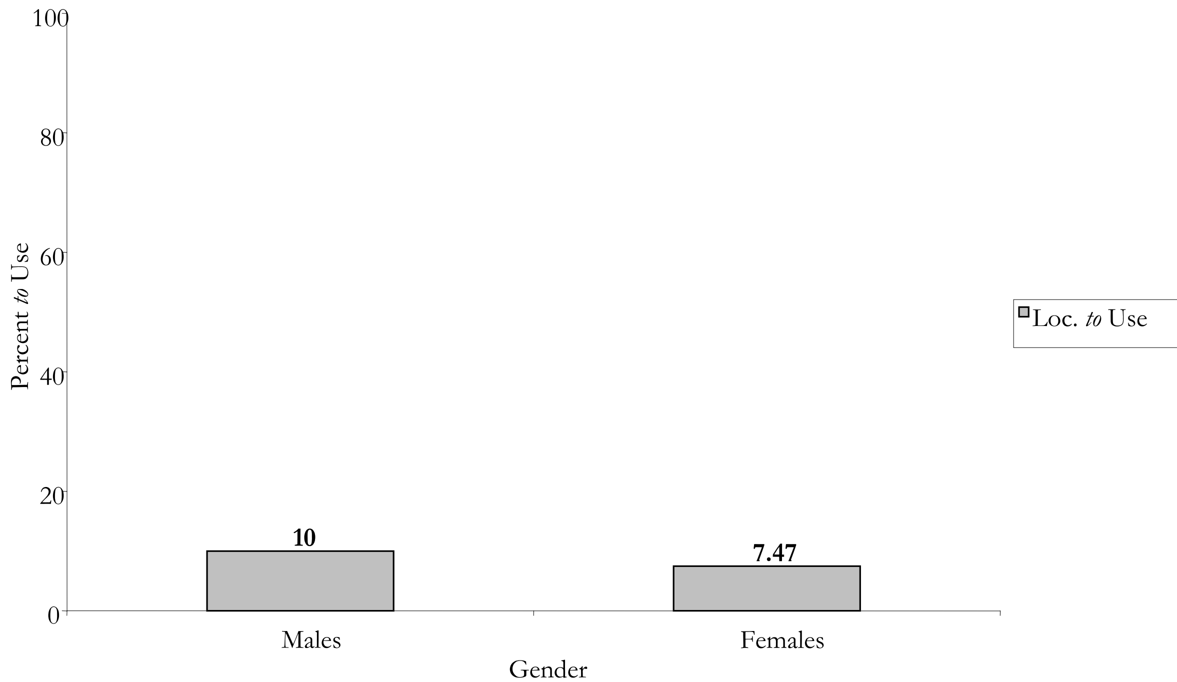

Figure 4.7 Locative *to* use by Gender in Princeville

As it can be seen in figure 4.8, the females show a decline in the use of locative *to* similar to that of the females from Roanoke Island. However, the males exhibit a noticeable increase in the second generation of speakers. This is followed by a sharp decline in Gen 3 and then into another increase with Gen 4. Again, we find ourselves faced with the question of why there is this patterning among the speakers. One possibility is the small sample size

in this study. However, Chambers suggests that one plausible explanation comes from the assignment of gender roles, the sociocultural division of labor for males and females (2002). For instance, in many working-class enclaves, women tend to be more mobile than men, working outside of the community in interactive positions dealing with the public in ways that would require them to use a more standard form of speech. However, Chambers later points out that this theory isn't without its faults: "Explanations as to why women characteristically use fewer nonstandard variants and a wider range of styles than men of the same social class in the same circumstances remains a challenge."

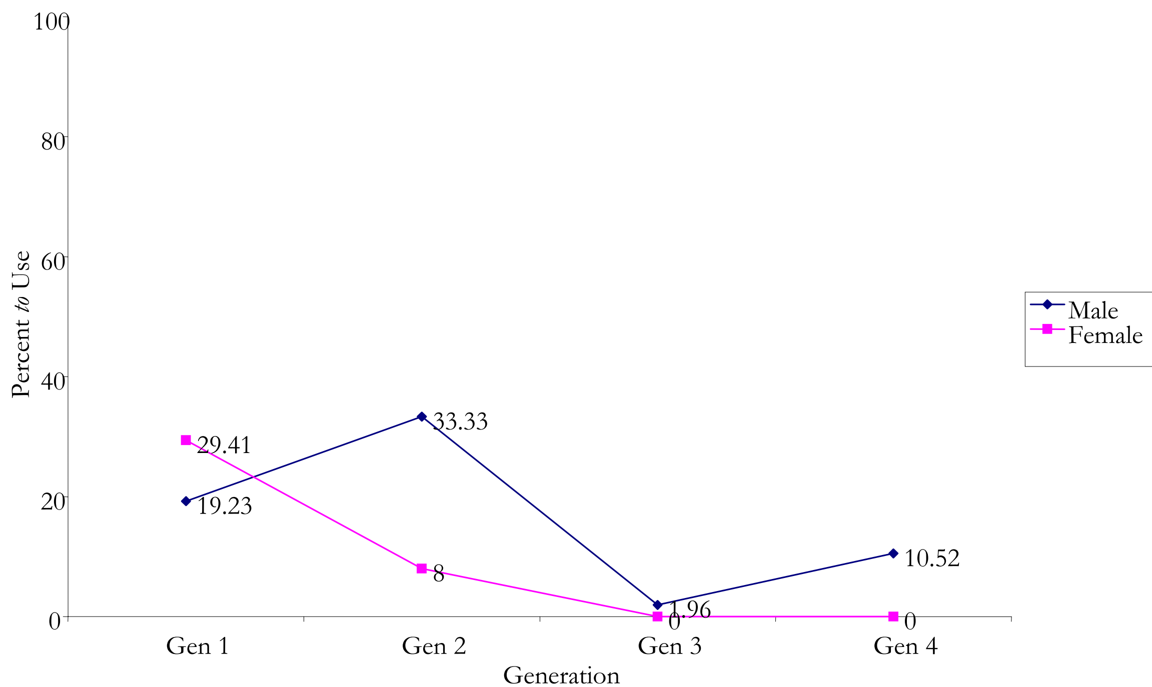

Figure 4.8 Gender Breakdown of Locative *to* use in Princeville

Among African Americans in Hyde County, males use locative *to* more than females. This can be seen in figure 4.9. Interesting to note here is that out of all of the communities examined in this study, only among the African Americans from Hyde County and Princeville do males have higher rates of locative *to* than females. In all of the other communities, the females use locative *to* more than the males.

Sex	*to*	at	Out of	% *to* use
Males=	27	38	27 of 68	39.71
Females=	22	55	22 of 77	28.57

Chi-Square results:

Degrees of freedom: 1
Chi-square = 2.62237398326931
$p \leq 0.20$
The distribution is not significant.

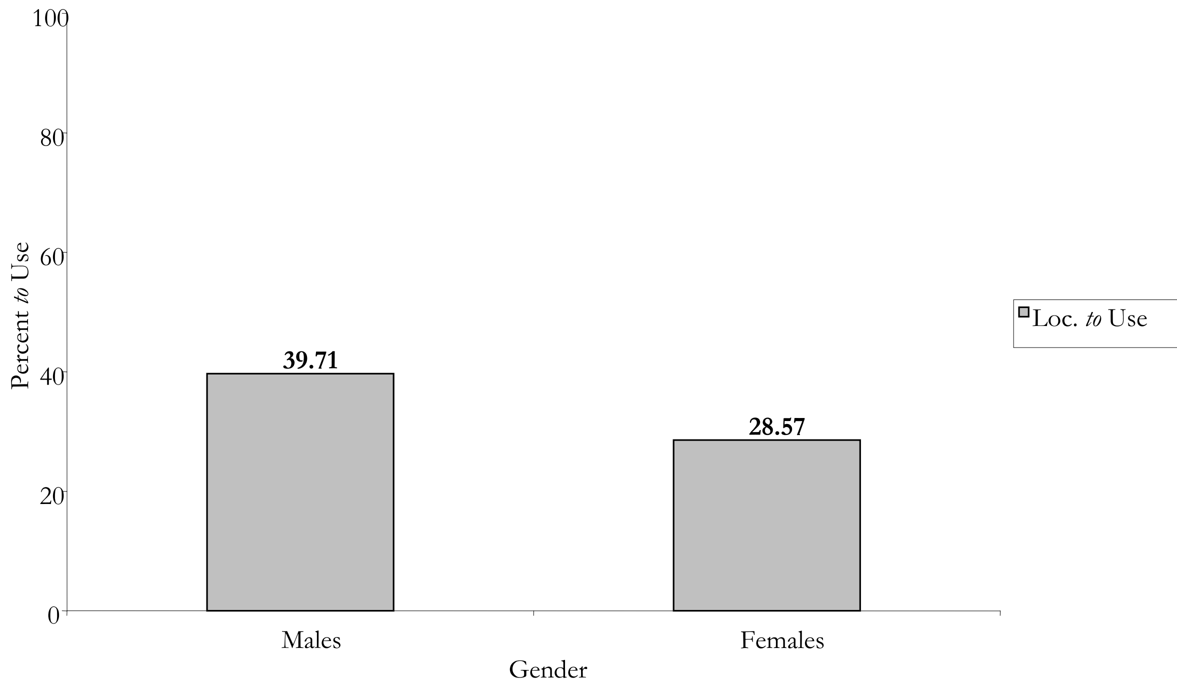

Figure 4.9 Locative *to* use by Gender in Hyde County by African Americans

Upon looking at figure 4.10, the females exhibit a pattern of usage that resembles an inverse relationship when compared to the females of Harkers Island. More significant perhaps is the fact that it resembles the same pattern as the white males on Harkers Island (which will be seen later). Females in Gen 1 start off with fairly low usage and then jump to more than twice the usage in Gen 2. From Gen 2, there is a sharp decline in Gen 3 and then a steady increase in Gen 4. For the males, the highest point of usage comes in Gen 2 and then gradually decreases over time.

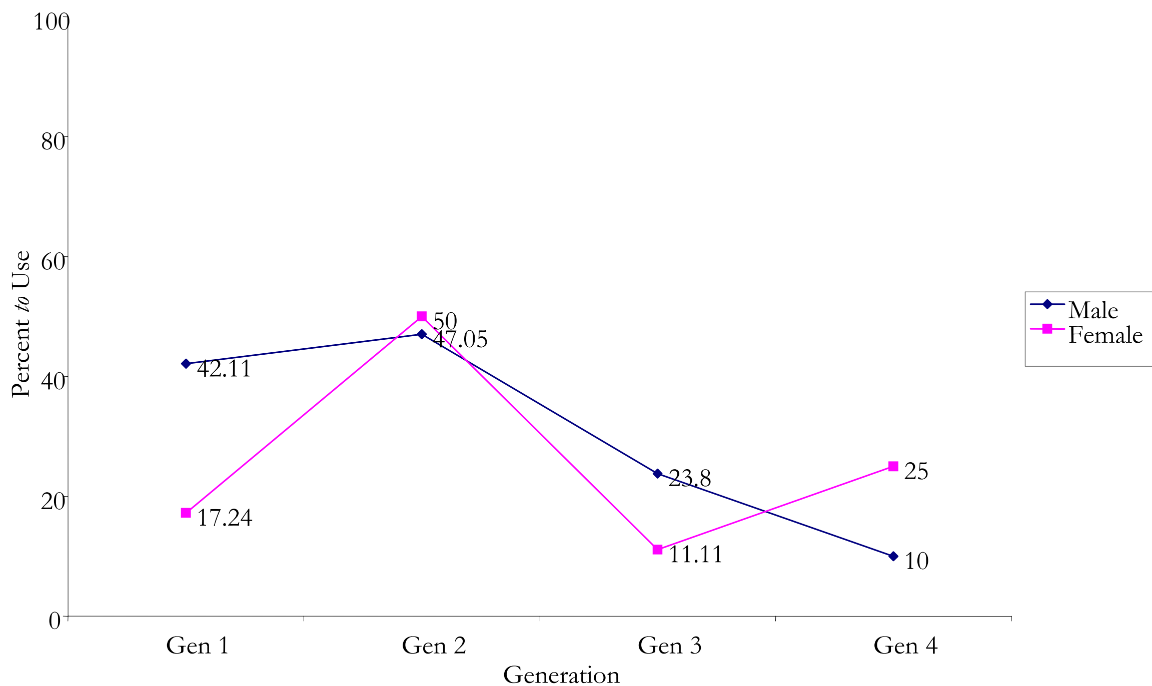

Figure 4.10 Gender Breakdown of Locative *to* use in Hyde County by African Americans

In Hyde County, white females use locative *to* more than twice as much as the males. This can be seen below in figure 4.11. Without repeating too much of what has already been stated, this follows the notion of females using more non-standard speech while the males use a more local variety. In figure 4.12, there is a more detailed breakdown of what is happening across the generations and gender for this dialect feature.

In Gen 1, there are no males that use locative *to*. However, there is then a sharp increase in the second generation to use this feature and from that point, there is a similar decline between both genders in Gen 3. In Gen 4, we see a steady increase in the use of this feature among the males, while the females experience a very slow, yet steady decline in the usage of this feature. However, it should be noted that, in general, the percentages are very similar for males and females in the third youngest generations. For the oldest generation, the sample size is small enough that it could be just an anomaly due to the particular speakers who were interviewed.

Sex	*to*	at	out of	% *to* use
Males=	6	32	6 of 38	15.8
Females=	18	30	18 of 48	37.5

Chi-Square results:

Degrees of freedom: 1
Chi-square = 4.96890916808149
$p \leq 0.05$.
The distribution is significant.

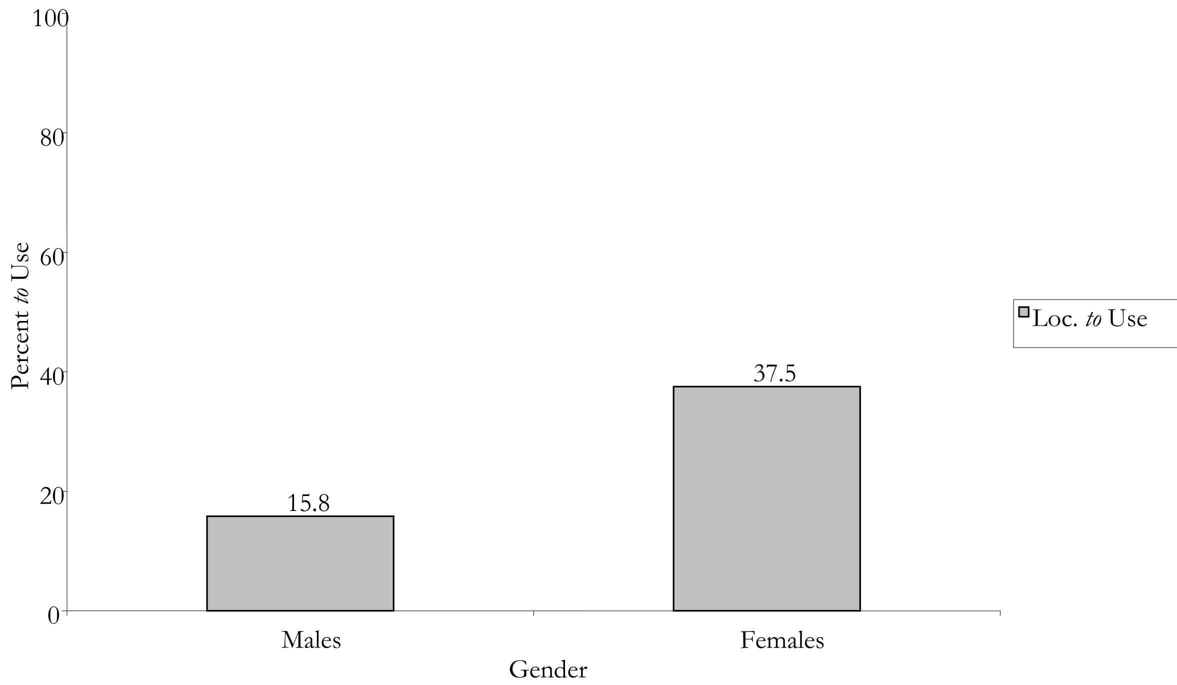

Figure 4.11 Locative *to* use by Gender in Hyde County by whites

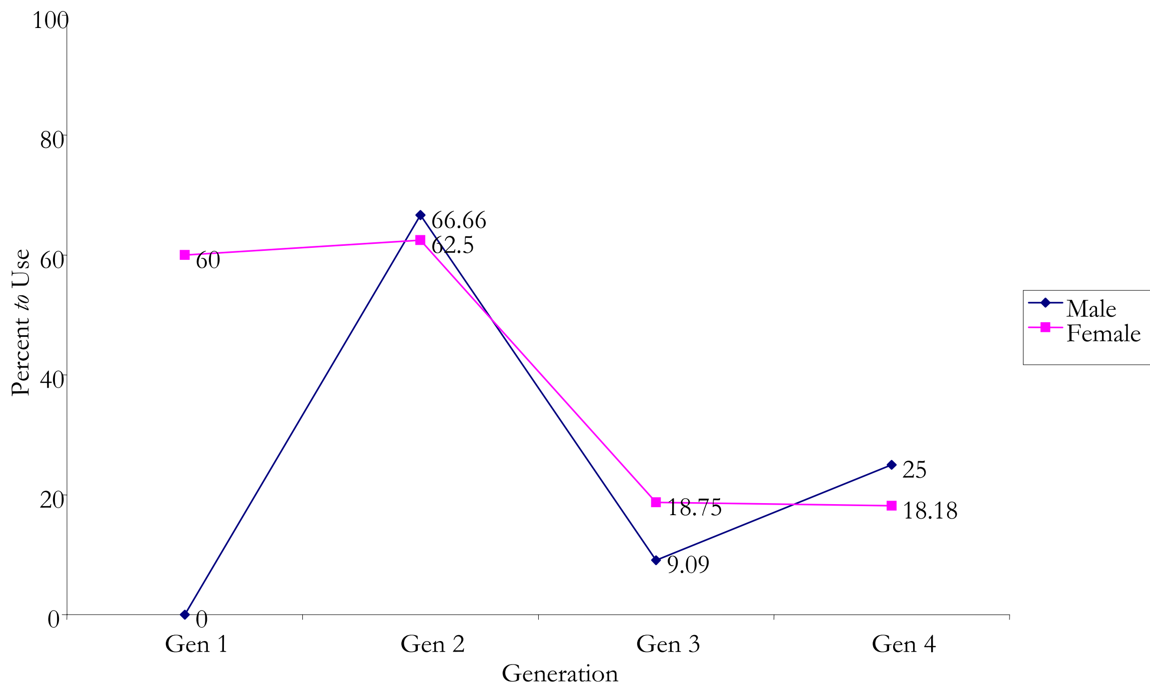

Figure 4.12 Gender Breakdown of Locative *to* use in Hyde County by whites

In sum, males on Roanoke Island are using locative *to* significantly less than the women with the biggest difference being in the first generation of speakers. On Ocracoke Island, males and females use locative *to* at fairly even rates, with the females using it at a slightly higher rate. Meanwhile, on Harkers Island, there is a significant difference between the females and the males, with the females using locative *to* at a higher rate. Princeville, however, does not show any significant use of locative *to*. And even though the males use this feature at a slightly higher rate than the females, it is done at much lower levels when compared to the other communities. In Hyde County, African American males use locative *to* more than the females but not at a significant level while, conversely, white females in Hyde County use locative *to* more than twice as much as white males. This is significant, with the biggest difference appearing in the first generation of speakers.

4.4 CONSTRUCTING AN ETHNIC IDENTITY

Wolfram and Thomas (2002) point out that: "Constructed identity appears to play an important role in the development and maintenance of the community and its language, as witnessed by the fact that these communities may reshape and perpetuate dialect distinctiveness during less insular periods, just as they maintain dialect distinctiveness during periods of greater isolation."

The different trends for locative *to* use in each of these communities suggest that this variable has taken on local ethnolinguistic significance in recent generations, becoming an indicator of the increased divergence of African American speech from regional European American speech. This trend is illustrated by the more rapidly receding use of static locative *to* in the Roanoke Island data, as well as in the Hyde County African American Gen 3 and Gen 4 data. Also, the more persistent maintenance of *to* for *at* on Ocracoke lends credence to the ethnolinguistic distinction reflected by the use of this variable. White OBE speakers are maintaining this regional dialect variable, but African American residents of this same salient dialect region are surrendering use of *to* for *at* (Carpenter & Vadnais 2005).

Interethnic contacts between a minority ethnic group and the local European-American majority group play an important role in language variation (Fought 2002). Wolfram & Thomas also argue that:

> Contact and connections pervade society, and cultures do not come in neatly packaged, independent entities. Similarly, so-called enclave dialect communities have linkages and interrelationships with other communities, and their interrelatedness is reflected in their dialect configurations. It is a constellation of structures that define an enclave community—not a unique dialect structure (2002).

Thus, the way that the Lumbee identify themselves as Native Americans is interesting given the almost 300-year period of tri-ethnic contact they have had with African American and European American groups. Historically, there has also been a lot of controversy surrounding the Lumbees as to whether or not they are truly Native American. For example, there have been suggestions that the Lumbee people are a result of different ethnicities mixing. Also, a lot of controversy stems from the fact that there seems to be no way of proving that the Lumbee ever had a native language like so many of the other Native American tribes (like the Cherokee) did. In many ways, the Lumbee have worked and are still struggling towards an identity of their own that goes simply beyond either being "white" or "black" or "mulatto". Notably, the Lumbees lack of knowledge or exposure regarding OBE is therefore reflected in their speech. Perhaps a future study comparing the Lumbees to their African American and white cohorts in Robeson County will give a better picture of what is going on, if anything.

Similarly, the African Americans of Princeville have struggled as a community through various hardships and are extremely tight-knit. Therefore, part of their ethnic makeup is the result of their struggle to distinguish themselves from their European American cohorts. Meanwhile, the African Americans of Roanoke Island and Hyde County have lived and interacted more alongside of their white cohorts, and it shows in their use of locative *to* as a regional OBE norm.

On the other hand, white residents of Ocracoke and Harkers Island have the highest usage of locative *to* as a OBE feature. This is due to a number of social factors as well, the most notable one being the influence of tourism on the islands and certain expectations that come with it. Unlike the other communities, who are trying to make a place for themselves outside of OBE norms, it can be argued that Ocracoke and Harkers Island are maintaining

the use of this dialect feature as a means of pride and of preserving their heritage. By retaining the use of locative *to* as well as other local varieties of OBE, the members of these two communities are keeping this feature as a means of distinguishing who they are.

Chapter 5- Conclusions

Quantitative examination of locative *to* reveals a marked pattern of OBE accommodation for the white speakers of Ocracoke and Harkers Island, while the white residents of Hyde County remain consistently low in their use of this feature. Among the African American speakers of Roanoke Island, Princeville and Hyde County, there is a decreasing use of locative *to* over time, revealing a pattern of trans-regional accommodation towards AAE and away from OBE. This is due to either conscious or subconscious efforts by African Americans in the various communities to distinguish themselves from their white cohorts, and also as a means of establishing their own identity. With regard to Robeson County, the Lumbee do not use this feature at all, which may be the result of a lack of exposure to OBE, especially given their relative isolation as well as little knowledge of OBE.

In the three African American communities looked at in this study, there is a general trend for the decreased use of locative *to* cross-generationally. On Ocracoke Island, however, the use of locative *to* peaks in the second generation before taking a giant dip in Gen 3. Despite this, trends are showing a steady increase with the fourth generation. Comparatively, Harkers Island also has high occurrences of locative *to* use. Despite a somewhat steady decline in Gen 4, residents of this community are maintaining steady use of this feature.

While social factors such as the integration of schools may have contributed to the use of locative *to* in these various communities, there were other external factors that occurred, such as increased access to the communities with the building of roads and bridges as well as the introduction of automobiles and ferry systems. In some cases (as we have

seen) these improvements led to tourism, which in turn led to the somewhat recent increase in population growth in communities such as Ocracoke, Harkers and Roanoke Island. Also, in general, there is more interaction with outsiders. For example, people who were once tourists are now year-round residents on Roanoke Island. Notably, recent follow-up interviews with residents on Roanoke Island have revealed negative attitudes towards outsiders. This may be an important factor when discussing language change in a community.

The diverging trend away from OBE for the African American communities is an important marker of social changes that are taking place. In his article entitled, "Speech at the Beach," Wolfram (2002) states, "…we must remember that African Americans have been a part of coastal North Carolina for hundreds of years and have also participated in various activities related to coastal marine culture."

On Ocracoke Island, natives are used to tourism and are more dependent on it to help sustain the island. Initial analyses of community attitudes show a less critical view of tourists when compared to Roanoke residents. There is more of a focus on education, and increasing numbers of the younger residents are leaving the island to go to college or to find jobs. With so many more residents leaving places such as Ocracoke, Roanoke Island and Harkers Island especially, they are increasing their exposure to other dialects, thereby increasing the chances that they will return to their respective communities with a modified version of their dialect. As we have seen with Ocracoke and Harkers Island, however, this is not always the case.

Another thing to keep in mind with regard to the use of this OBE dialect feature is that racial attitudes may still be affecting the African American communities. For example, to this day, the lifelong white residents of Roanoke Island live apart from the black

community; the only geographical marker dividing them is a two-lane highway. Hence, the different trends for locative *to* use in each of these communities may suggest that this variable has taken on local ethnolinguistic significance in recent generations for reasons specific to that community. For instance, the diverging trend of locative *to* use for the African Americans on Roanoke Island may be an indicator of the increased divergence of African American speech from regional European American speech. Of course, a closer examination of the white community on Roanoke Island would have to be done in order to provide a more accurate comparison. Also, the emerging trend for the youngest generation of male speakers on Ocracoke to increase their use of this feature may be an indicator for a type of performance speech act in which they try to enhance their speech in order to accommodate what the tourists expect to hear. At the same time, it may also help to maintain in-group solidarity.

Interesting to note is the diverging trend between the male and female speakers of Ocracoke versus the male and female speakers of Roanoke Island. For instance, most of the females on Roanoke Island work on the island and deal with the tourists. However, there is morphosyntatic evidence showing that the females are slightly more vernacular than the males (Carpenter & Hilliard 2003a; Carpenter & Vadnais 2005). Many of the males from Roanoke Island have had to take jobs off the island, and are less vernacular than the women. Conversely, on Ocracoke Island, the males are slightly more vernacular than the females even though both live and work on the island and deal with tourists.

On the other hand (and after listening to recorded interviews), the Lumbee community has mixed feelings towards both the local whites and blacks in their community. In addition to their apparent failure to use this feature due to lack of exposure to OBE, it should also be noted that the Lumbee are maintaining, or have established a separate, yet

distinct group identity apart from that of their ethnic neighbors. While a collection of dialect features have been shown in other NCLLP studies to coincide with other speech communities within North Carolina (Dannenberg 1996, 1998, 1999; Dannenberg & Wolfram 1998; Miller 1996; Wolfram & Sellers 1999), there is still intra-ethnic variation among the Lumbees. Schilling-Estes (1998) found that with certain features and lexical items, for example, that there is some truth to the popular notion in Robeson County that different communities have different dialects from each other. Also, not to be overlooked, is the fact that the Lumbee have been struggling for years to obtain full recognition as a Native American tribe, but to little avail.

There are several reasons for this intra-community variation. White OBE speakers are maintaining the use of locative *to* as a regional dialect variable. However, the African American residents of the same dialect region are not. Regardless of the reason, this evidence suggests that use of locative *to* or the lack thereof is not simply a matter of establishing an ethnic identity, but instead, it is the result of multiple social factors. In addition, the data support previous findings, which emphasize the unique status of locative *to* as a regional dialect variable, which in turn, sheds light on the changing role of regionality in dialect maintenance.

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